

Meaning and Lessons of the Coal Crisis

By William F. Warde and M. Stein

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Protest Against The Davies' Film

Dewey-La Follette
Letter Reiterates
Commission's Verdict

The film "Mission To Moscow" is an example of the kind of "propaganda which falsifies history through distortion, omission or pure invention of facts," according to a letter in the May 9 N. Y. Times written by John Dewey, noted American educator, and Suzanne La Follette, liberal writer, who served respectively as the chairman and secretary of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow trials.

The Dewey-LaFollette letter also declares:

"Mission To Moscow" deals essentially with three things: Soviet history since January, 1937; international relations since that time, and American history since 1939. It falsifies all three.

"In this synthetic trial (shown in the film) the accused confess that their alleged crimes were directed by Trotsky. What is omitted is the testimony in the actual trials to specific alleged meetings with Trotsky abroad—testimony immediately challenged in the world press and conclusively disproved by evidence offered in rebuttal before the international commission of inquiry of which the undersigned were respectively chairman and secretary. It is not irrelevant to mention here that the commission, after painstaking investigation, concluded that the Moscow trials were frameups—a conclusion endorsed by intelligent world opinion at the time of its announcement."

Five More Unions Aid Kelly Postal

Charges Condemned
As a Frameup and
Stab at Labor's Rights

"It is essential at this time that labor unite for the defense of Kelly Postal in order to hit hard against the anti-labor forces in the state of Minnesota. Our local understands the situation and it is the opinion of our membership that the whole affair was a frameup and a direct stab against labor's democratic rights. On behalf of the members of our union, I sincerely trust that Kelly Postal will be exonerated of the charges, and be free to continue his activities on behalf of labor."

United Steelworkers Donate Generously

These remarks accompanied a generous donation from Local 2431 of the United Steelworkers of America, Chelsea, Mass., to the Civil Rights Defense Committee which is conducting an intensive campaign to defray the legal expenses of the Kelly Postal appeal which will be heard before the Minnesota Supreme Court on May 17.

Other Organizations Give to Defense

Among the other organizations which contributed to the Kelly Postal defense fund during the last week were the American Youth Committee, Los Angeles, Calif.; UAW-CIO Fisher Body Local 45 and UAW-CIO Local 243, both of Cleveland, O.; UAW-CIO Local 942, Detroit, Mich.; State, County & Municipal Workers of America, Minneapolis, Minn.; Brewery Workers Local No. 9, Milwaukee, Wisc.

This last week was designated as Kelly Postal Week by the National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., N. Y. All friends and supporters of labor's democratic rights are urged to send in contributions to aid in reversing the conviction of the militant trade union leader, Kelly Postal.

READ

'THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL'

Natalia Trotsky
Appeals to Honest
Public Opinion

Natalia Sedov Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, last week appealed from Mexico "to all those who hold the truth dear, all those who refuse to assume moral responsibility for Stalin's crimes, to speak out in protest against 'Mission To Moscow,'" the Davies' motion picture which presents a 100% GPU version of the Moscow trials.

Her full statement follows: "The film 'Mission To Moscow' ought to have depicted the Moscow trials with full and genuine documentation and veracity; but in reality this film merely underwrites the lies and crude forgeries of these trials, the most outrageous in the annals of history.

"By terrorization, by threatening injury to the relatives and families of the victims, Stalin extorted admissions from people whose entire lives had been devoted to the revolution—in particular, the admissions of the monstrous charge that they were in Hitler's service. All this was perpetrated primarily because of fear of Leon Trotsky, his authority, his political integrity and heroism. It was indispensable for Stalin to discredit Leon Trotsky in advance in the eyes of the masses, to make him the target of the dirtiest slander, before proceeding, as Stalin later did, with the assassination. My husband, Leon Trotsky, was murdered on August 20, 1940 by one of the agents of Stalin's GPU.

"The production of 'Mission To Moscow' was needed by Stalin in order to present a semblance of justification for this vile crime. I thought there was one course open to me: to turn to the courts in order to lay bare the colossal forgery of 'Mission To Moscow,' its distortion of facts and of history and its abysmal slander. But to my great disappointment, I was informed by my attorney that the legal code of the United States does not provide for court action in the case of defamation of the dead.

"Only one other course is left me: to appeal to honest public opinion. I appeal to all those who hold the truth dear, all those who refuse to assume moral responsibility for Stalin's crimes, to speak out in protest against 'Mission To Moscow.'"

Earl Browder: Strikebreaker

By MICHAEL CORT

The mine workers are now observing a 15 day truce in their fight with the operators, but there is no truce in the strike-breaking campaign of the Stalinists. The Daily Worker is continuing its attacks against Lewis and the mine militants; C. P. organizers are busy organizing anti-Lewis meetings in the mine areas; Max Yergan of the Stalinist-dominated National Negro Congress is attempting to get the 100,000 Negro miners to scab against their white brothers; and now Earl Browder himself is stumping the country in an effort to cut off the miners from labor support.

Browder spoke in St. Louis on May 7, in Milwaukee on May 8 and in Buffalo on May 11, hurling the most vicious slander against the miners and attempting to sow discouragement and defeatism throughout the labor movement.

The Browder line is the same as the Daily Worker's which wrote editorially on May 5, "There are no circumstances in this war which can justify a strike."

"Think that one over! No informed worker doubts that it is fear of strike action which today slows the boss offensive against the unions. Should the workers follow the Stalinist line, the unions would be smashed within a month."

WHAT BROWDER DEMANDS

In his St. Louis speech Browder said that strikes would "let loose explosions of class struggle in America." But the facts are that the class struggle is going on every

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Mine Leaders Predict Walkout Unless Contract Is Negotiated



DUNNE ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMES TO SPIRITED CLOSE

—BULLETIN—

MINNEAPOLIS, May 11 (By wire) — V. R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in yesterday's primary election, was credited with 779 votes in the first election returns. The primary vote was the lowest in the city's history, constituting a decline of 27% from 1941. Dunne's vote represents a substantial percentage increase over what he received as mayoralty candidate in 1937. He finished eighth among the ten candidates. The incumbent Republican, Kline, and H. Humphrey were nominated for the regular election to be held next month.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., May 9. — In winding up a lively and spirited campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, V. R. Dunne, at a final election rally today challenged "the other candidates who ask for the support of the working people" to state their position on the miners' fight.

Speaking before an enthusiastic working class audience in the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on the subject, "The Fighting Miners Show the Way," Comrade Dunne charged that, "The people's democratic rights are being violated every day. Witness the vicious campaign launched against the hard-pressed men in the coal mines who fight for nothing more than the right to a living wage. The miners' families are 'ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed.' The coal bosses live in wasteful luxury."

Applause greeted his forceful declaration: "I stand to the end with the miners' union and its leadership against the greedy coal operators and the people in high places who do their bidding."

DUNNE'S RECORD

The long and honorable trade union record of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor was recounted by Harry DeBoer, campaign manager, in introducing V. R. Dunne to a radio audience on Friday, May 7.

"Since 1909 when he came to Minneapolis to live, Vincent Raymond Dunne has been an active worker in trade union and working class political movements," said DeBoer.

Dunne's early organizational ex-

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Govt. Tries to Head Off Militant Action By Meager 'Roll Call' Move

By C. Charles

Obviously intended as a notice that the wage demands of the miners and other workers would be denied under the pretext that prices are being "rolled back," the Office of Price Administration this week announced that starting June 1, prices of seven items would be reduced by 10%. The items include meats, butter and coffee.

The "roll back" in prices is to be achieved through a subsidy to the meat packers, dairies and coffee processors.

At the same time the OPA promises stricter enforcement of price ceilings.

These promises will not succeed in the least in changing the workers' minds concerning the urgent need for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living.

COMPLETELY INADEQUATE

First of all, the workers know that the increases in the prices of necessities have been far greater than 10% on a few items. Reductions of a cent or two on items which have increased in price by 20 and 30 cents will not mean much to the workers.

The American Federation of Labor has made a study of real prices of goods used by workers. The AFL survey shows that prices of food in many cities have increased by over 100% since January 7, 1941.

And prices continue to skyrocket. Price increases granted by the OPA in February were double those in the previous month (increasing by 1% as against the 1/2% of January). On May 4, OPA officials admitted that food prices were "practically out of control."

PAYING FOR SUBSIDIES

According to the OPA "roll back" plan, the meat packers, dairies and coffee processors will be subsidized by the government to the amount of \$300,000,000, so that the industrialists will be able to meet increased costs without cutting profits, or raising prices. Where will this money for the subsidies come from?

The answer is not difficult to find. In the city of Washington, where the OPA is planning to maintain capitalist profits by giving huge subsidies to food corporations, Congress is now discussing tax legislation.

In the Congressional chambers a tax program is being drafted upon the basic principle that the workers must bear heavier tax

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Union Members Are Prepared To Fight As Truce Nears End

War Labor Board Crisis Sharpens and
AFL, CIO Call Emergency Conferences

By Philip Blake

May 12 — A new coal stoppage can be expected at the end of the 15-day truce on May 18 if a contract is not negotiated by that time, leaders of the United Mine Workers in several important mining districts warned this week.

On May 7 President Roosevelt told his press conference that he regards workers in the mines which have been taken over by the government as government employees who have no right to strike. This was understood as a sign of the administration's readiness to use every means at its disposal to break another coal strike and to uphold the authority of the greatly discredited War Labor Board.

But Roosevelt was answered only a few hours later when John P. Busarello, president of District 5 of the UMW, declared that unless an agreement covering the Appalachian mine field was reached by midnight, May 18, "there will be no bituminous fuel produced in this district at least." He reported that the union's district board, covering the de-

cisive Pittsburgh area, had voted to carry out "the traditional policy of 'no contract, no work'" after the truce deadline expired.

"IF THIS IS NOT DONE..."

Since then a number of other important sections of the union have adopted the same position.

Among these was District 6 in Ohio and the West Virginia Panhandle, whose president, John Owens, long known as an important lieutenant of the Lewis administration in the union, declared:

"We assumed when President Roosevelt instructed the solid fuels administrator (Ickes) to seize the mines and operate them, that they would negotiate wages and conditions of employment during the fifteen days of extension of the old agreement. If this is not done, the miners are determined to cease work."

The union locals in Wyoming, Utah, Missouri, Kansas, Washington, Colorado and New Mexico have also signified their intention of not "trespassing" on the mines if no settlement is reached by midnight of May 18.

MINE PROFITS ROSE IN 1943

Prosperity continues for the mining companies.

According to the April issue of the monthly bulletin of the National City Bank, 30 leading coal mines received 16% more profits in 1942 than in 1941. They got \$23,980,000 in 1942 as against \$20,623,000 in the previous year. These profit figures are computed after the payment of all taxes, reserve funds, etc.

It is to protect these profits that the mine operators are fighting the mine union. It was to help protect these profits that the powerful forces of the government and the daily press attacked the miners.

GOVERNMENT MOVES

Meanwhile there were many signs that the government too was preparing to stand fast in the mine wage dispute.

The Connally anti-strike bill, which was clearly aimed against the United Mine Workers, was

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ALP Council Asks Unions To Organize On Political Field

The trade unions should unite their forces and begin immediate organization on the political field to combat a growing anti-labor offensive, the Trade Union Council of the American Labor Party stated last week in an appeal addressed to the trade unionists of America. The council represents over 500,000 organized workers in New York.

The appeal begins by noting that "for the last six months reaction has been riding high over a large part of the United States."

As a result of legislation adopted in various states and presented to Congress, "the very existence of an effective trade union movement is at stake." It continues:

ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE

"In Kansas, Colorado and Texas, in South Dakota and Arkansas, in Idaho and Mississippi, the anti-labor crusaders have triumphed. Some of the laws passed

in these states are drastic beyond precedent.

"In Congress, the Hobbs bill, which responsible labor spokesmen have denounced for infringing on labor's established rights under federal statutes, passed the House early last month and is now before the Senate. Other bills, even more vicious, have been introduced and referred to various Congressional committees."

"A nation-wide conspiracy is under way to hamstring the labor unions and to undermine the social achievements of the past decade."

There is evidence that the so-called Christian American Association, a vicious reactionary outfit that has been described as just another form of the Ku Klux Klan, is behind the drive. Certainly the campaign has the support of all reactionaries, labor-haters and open-shoppers in the country. They mean to cripple the trade unions and they do not scruple to exploit the present

war emergency to attain their ends.

NO TIME TO LOSE

"There is no time to be lost. So far, only certain sections of the country have been affected, but let no one say that his state or his community is immune. Unless the organized workers throughout the country, together with the rest of liberal-minded citizenry, mobilize their forces to resist the offensive of the labor-haters, no state, no community will be safe."

"The Trade Union Council of the American Labor Party, representing over 500,000 organized workers of New York State both AFL and CIO, appeals to organized labor throughout the country to take immediate action to meet the danger that is threatening us all."

"The first and most essential requirement is unity of action on the part of labor. As long as la-

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Michael Cort

One thousand UAW-CIO delegates, representing virtually every aircraft and automobile plant on the east coast, met in New York on May 6 for a regional conference and voted support for the miners in their struggle to win a living wage.

The resolution said: "Whereas the miners are now engaged in a bitter struggle for a decent living standard, and whereas this struggle may conceivably break out into industrial warfare of the old kind, and where as the miners will be opposed in their just demands by various anti-labor forces, and the fight against John L. Lewis is not the issue in this particular case, and whereas it is evident that the miner's fight, involving as it does the struggle against lowering the living standard, is actually the fight of every working man and woman of America; therefore be it resolved that the delegates here concerned go on record as endorsing the demands of the miners."

The conference also condemned incentive pay plans now being pushed by the Stalinists.

For the first time in the stormy 100 year history of textiles in New Bedford, the workers have forced the employers to sit around the collective bargaining table and adjust wages and hours and working conditions. The Textile Workers Union, CIO, has finally backed, the New Bedford Cotton Manufacturers Association to the wall and forced it to surrender a union shop, check-off of union dues, seniority grievance machinery and pay for time lost by shop stewards and committeemen in adjusting grievances.

12,500 textile workers are covered by the new pact which was negotiated on April 30.

The national union is meeting in convention this week in New York City.

Brewster aircraft Local 365 of the UAW-CIO, has withdrawn from the Stalinist-dominated Greater New York Industrial Union Council. The local charged that the Council was more concerned with "political maneuvers" than with wages and conditions for the workers.

Top union bureaucrats, with the aid of the WLB and the employers, broke two more strikes this week. International officers of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, reduced striking workers at the Air Reduction Sales Company to submit their

case to the WLB and return to work. Their case was that the WLB had failed to act on a wage raise granted them by a referee.

Thus the WLB becomes the Jury and the judge of its own sins.

The other strike was conducted by Local 669 UAW-CIO against Wright Aeronautical Corporation in Paterson, N. J., and was broken when the striking workers in the magnesium foundry were condemned by the UAW top leaders and informed by the employer that they would be fired if they did not return to work by May 5.

The strike was over a cut in incentive bonus pay. Once the workers are tied to the incentive system, they are open to all sorts of chiseling from the employer (Earl Browder notwithstanding).

Chevrolet foremen are now organizing under the UAW-CIO. This news was contained in the lead story of the April 28 issue of *The Searchlight*, official organ of Local 659 in Flint.

"At the first meeting more than two months ago only seven men were present," writes the paper, "while 51 were in attendance at the meeting held last week."

While 51 foremen is not a large number, considering the size of the Chevrolet plant, it compares favorably with the attendance set at meetings of the auto workers when they were first organizing.

The union is maintaining the utmost secrecy concerning its plans for organizing foremen, since these men are unprotected by union contract and employer vengeance would fall swiftly and surely if their names were revealed prematurely.

Meanwhile Congress has already received a number of employer inspired bills aimed at denying "the non-commissioned officers of industry" the right of collective bargaining.

Many industries fled to Canada during the 1930's to escape union organization (and of course to exploit the Canadian market). This week another of these fugitives from union wages and conditions was cornered by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, and forced to sign a contract. Genelco, Ltd., a subsidiary of the General Electric Company, surrendered in Peterboro, Ontario, on May 3.

This is the first time in the history of Canadian GE that the company has fully recognized a union.

OPA Whitewashes Violations Of Price Ceilings In Mining Areas

The Office of Price Administration on May 9 made public its official report of an investigation into the price of food in the nation's coal mining areas.

The OPA survey of prices in the coal fields was ordered by President Roosevelt after John L. Lewis declared that the cost of living for miners had soared to such heights as to make it impossible for them to obtain primary necessities without wage increases.

The OPA report on the mining areas is a whitewash of the food companies, company and retail stores. Released a few days before the expiration of the 15 day truce in the mine dispute, the report is above all an attempt to confuse the American working class as to what is going on in the mining regions.

The most brazen conclusion of the OPA report is that "actual prices on the commodities checked" average "about 5% above ceiling prices."

The report further asserts that while substantial violations of OPA maximum price regulations were general, food costs were "not out of line with prices in nearby cities."

HOW THEY "INVESTIGATED"

The investigators limited themselves to surveying stores complying with OPA regulations; they made no attempt to discover the total (legal and illegal) price increases since January 1941.

Furthermore, the investigators frankly admit in their report that

they made no attempt to actually buy goods at the listed prices. They arrived at their conclusions by taking the posted list of OPA maximum prices as the real prices and by taking the storekeeper's word for it that these were the prices actually charged the customer.

But every consumer knows that the OPA ceilings are not worth the paper they are printed on. The ceiling prices may be posted all over a store, but unless the customer is willing to pay far above the listed prices, he or she cannot buy any goods. This fact seems to have escaped the investigators.

FOR THE TIME ONLY

It likewise seems that they made no effort to discover if the prices had been lowered simultaneously with the announcement of the investigation.

The *Militant's* correspondent in the coal fields, Art Preis, reported last week that no sooner was the news of an impending investigation announced than the stores in the mining areas hurriedly reduced prices. Even then, they

were, by the admission of the investigators, at least 5% over legal ceilings. The miners expect that shortly after the investigation prices will be hiked up again.

A GIVE-AWAY

The statement that prices miners pay are not out of line with those of nearby cities is a dead giveaway. For what are the prices in nearby cities?

The AFL in a study of prices in two typical towns, showed that prices of food at the end of March averaged 110% over the January, 1941 figures in Canton, Ohio, while food and clothing prices together in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, averaged 79% over the January, 1941 figures.

By the assertion that miners pay prices not "out of line" with those in nearby cities, the OPA investigators help to underline the fact that living standards, not only of the miners, but of all workers, are being forced down by soaring prices and frozen wages. Not only the miners should receive wage increases, but other workers as well.

Govt. Tries to Head Off Militant Action By Meager 'Roll Back' Move

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burdens, while the rich are favored.

The OPA subsidy will merely increase the tax burden of the workers. At best, the workers may perhaps pay slightly less for a few food items, but proportionately greater taxes. And in all likelihood the workers will be loaded with higher taxes, and still be paying current or increased prices for food, even after the subsidy.

VALUE OF OPA PROMISES

Can the OPA's promise to "roll back" be realized? If the OPA could not enforce previous price ceilings, will it be successful in the much more difficult task of enforcing the lower prices?

Since the OPA operates, with a very small staff, on the basis of policies designed to defend capitalist profits, the answer is clear: the OPA cannot enforce the new price ceilings any more than they could enforce the old.

At the same time the capitalist class is by no means united behind the subsidy plan. A group of capitalists, represented by the "farm bloc" and the food processors, are against the subsidy plan.

These dissidents figure that allowing prices to rise freely is the best way of increasing their profits. It is this group which a few weeks ago successfully opposed the Farm Security Act, designed to aid small farmers with loans. A few months ago this group caused the termination of subsidies to milk producers, which resulted in an immediate jump in milk prices.

THE PROGRAM NEEDED

The workers would stumble into a pitfall if they supported one or the other group of capitalists. Instead they should fight to defend their standard of living by a completely independent program.

The workers must first of all fight for the rising scale of wages so that every increase in prices will be met by an increase in wages. All labor should support the miners in their present struggle to raise wages in the face of increased living costs.

The workers must of course demand that prices be stopped from going up and be rolled back. But this cannot be accomplished by the impotent OPA.

Instead, price control and rationing must be placed under the control of mass committees of unions, working farmers and housewives — dedicated to the defense of the people's living standards and opposed to all moves of Big Business to maintain and increase their profits by raising prices.

Student Problems Left Unsolved By Conference

The first annual conference of the United States Student Assembly ended in a defeat of the Stalinists who attempted to take over the organization. The conference was held at the YWCA in New York City on May 7-9.

A conflict occurred between the liberal bureaucrats who run the organization and the Stalinist bureaucrats who'd like to run it. There was no real ideological conflict between the two groups, both of which agreed on supporting the war. This was demonstrated most forcibly by the fact that despite the shelling of the Stalins at the Conference, the *Daily Worker* for May 11 hailed it as a "victory for the war effort."

Students, and youth in general, will find nothing to solve their problem in this conference which abounded in generalizations about a "dynamic revision of society," a "new America," etc.

No really progressive and militant opinion was represented except possibly for John Loeb, a delegate from California, who was hardly able to represent a working class viewpoint. Loeb was unable to get a resolution put forward warning liberal and labor groups against the Stalinists, nor was he allowed to present a resolution defending civil rights for minority political parties.

Among the many reactionary resolutions passed was one calling John L. Lewis a "psychotic labor leader" and bracketing him with the anti-labor Eddie Rickenbacker as "discrediting labor." When Loeb tried to protest and defend the mine workers, he was not recognized by the chairman.

ALP Urges Unions To Organize Politically

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bor remains divided against itself, its enemies will have an easy time.

"Let all labor organizations, AFL, CIO, Railway Brotherhoods and United Mine Workers, join hands nationally and locally in combating this growing menace to our common interests, to our very existence. Let joint committees be established in every state and in every community to defend the labor movement against attack and to bring the case of labor before the public. Here in New York we are beginning to build up such a group in our Trade Union Council. Something of the kind must be developed everywhere if labor is to have the strength to weather the crisis."

POLITICAL ACTION NEEDED

"Labor's enemies are carrying their campaign to Congress and the state legislatures. Labor can answer only through political action. We, trade unionists who

form the backbone of the American Labor Party in the State of New York, urge our fellow-workers everywhere to unite their forces politically into independent political organizations in each community and state. You cannot block the plots of the labor-haters unless you have political power, and to have political power you must organize. Take a tip from us in New York where our party has polled over 400,000 votes and is a power to be reckoned with in the state. Labor everywhere can do the same or even better.

"But for that it must have unity and organization, on the political as well as on the industrial front."

"Fellow-unionists! The time is short. Tomorrow the Colorado, the Kansas or the Idaho law may be adopted in your state. Then it will be too late to prevent it. The time to act is now. Unite to defend the labor movement against the reactionary offensive! Organize your forces politically in every state and community of this country."

THE PROBLEM OF POST-WAR ITALY

By A. ROLAND

The war is entering a crucial phase not only in the military sense, but in the political as well. The end of the campaign in North Africa places on the order of the day for the Allied armies the problem of knocking Italy out of the war. While the first landing in Europe may not be in Italy itself, that country will be invaded in a not-too-distant future. If the political steps taken by Roosevelt and Churchill in North Africa proved dishearteningly strong medicine for the liberal and social-democratic supporters of the war, they stand to be sadly cast down indeed at the policies to be pursued in Europe.

The *New Leader* recently sent out a questionnaire to many Italo-American labor leaders and to some Italian anti-fascist refugees. They were asked to answer the questions: Are the Allies at war with "one man," Mussolini—or against the entire hierarchy of fascism—its roots and developments? How shall the leaders of post-war Italy be chosen? Shall the United States government take steps to render immediate help to the underground groups in Italy?

They did not direct these questions to the Allied leaders, whose opinions, in the matter, it would seem, count a bit more heavily than do those of the *New Leader* correspondents. The British and U. S. governments have already answered the questions. Churchill said it was only one man that the English were fighting in Italy, Mussolini. Roosevelt has not been quite as outspoken as his colleague, but the inferences are all there, plain to be seen.

CAPITALIST ROOTS OF FASCISM

The political strategists of democratic capitalism must of necessity draw a distinction between capitalism and fascism. But in their actions they are forced to deal with the reality that capitalism in Italy and Germany was the creator and supporter of fascism. Without the brutal and unbridled dictatorship of Hitler and Mussolini, capitalism in Germany and earlier in Italy would have gone under and been supplanted by socialism.

The roots of fascism are neither more nor less than the roots of capitalism in utter decay. Does the *New Leader* mean seriously to imply that Roosevelt and Churchill desire to destroy these roots, to crush capitalism in Italy? No doubt we will be told that even these social-democrats know better, that what they expect is the restoration of democratic capitalism. But what do they mean by this? Italian defeat in the war will bring in its train the greatest crisis in Italian history. How will the *New Leader* suspend the class struggle that is bound to burst forth when Mussolini flees the country?

The question as to whether the U. S. government shall take steps to help the underground movement in Italy is laughable. Roosevelt gave his answer in the case of France when he recognized Giraud who refused pointblank to have anything whatever to do with the French underground. The Girauds, assisted by the Allied armies, will make every effort, rest assured, to suppress the underground, the most important section of which includes the labor and socialist elements. Just how the social-democrats can ask for aid to the underground, and at the same time support the idea of policing Europe after victory, will not be explained clearly by them. Back of the policing of the "new" Europe lies precisely the aim of preventing the class struggle

root and branch. The way to crush fascism is to replace it by socialism.

Capitalism can be maintained in post-war Europe only by preventing the workers and peasants from freely and democratically uniting to carry out their own aims. Capitalism can be upheld only by using many of those very same elements that previously supported fascism. Hitler and Mussolini were dictators, true enough, but they were after all only the spokesmen for monopoly capitalism. Churchill and Roosevelt have no desire to destroy the monopoly capitalists of Italy. Quite the contrary, they wish to enlist these same big bankers and industrialists on the side of the victorious Allies to carry out a regime more to the liking of the United Nations than that of Mussolini or Hitler.

How will the leaders of post-war Italy be chosen? Emphatically not according to the will of the Italian masses. They will be chosen according to how safe they will make Italy for capitalism. It is clear already that not the slightest effort will be made to dethrone the Italian monarchy and substitute for it a democratic republic. How could one expect that from leaders who even proposed (perhaps still do) to restore to power the most reactionary of all monarchies, that of the Habsburgs? What the Allied command proposes is to set up a totalitarian regime based on the power of armed might. Of course the worst of the fascist leaders will be ousted, perhaps punished. But the real masters back of the fascist politicians, the big financiers, will not be touched. In fact any Italian who tries to harm these figures or their system will find himself in need of Allied re-education.

Of course, these answers to the naive questions of the *New Leader* have been given on the assumption that the aims of the democratic capitalists are carried out in life. There precisely lies the worm of doubt that disturbs the innards of the capitalist politicians. Can the masses of Italy, later of Germany, be made to submit to their ruling class? After all, no other ruling class can be substituted for the one which led the nation into such suffering and defeat. Some new surface of this ruling class will be presented as though it were entirely different from the old brand, but will this deception take?

But the *New Leader* manifests the greatest of faith in the masses—in words. What does its support of long-term occupation of the fascist countries after their defeat mean then? It means just about the same thing in their case as in that of the outright capitalists. It proves their fear and distrust of the masses of toilers. Social-democracy shows in this way that it knows it cannot rule without the aid of the capitalists against the majority. For the sake of the plums of power, social democracy is willing to deceive the masses and uphold capitalism. But capitalism cannot afford to turn to social democracy in the immediate post-war period. That would be much too dangerous, because social democracy would be entirely too weak to hold back the tide that must inevitably sweep over Europe. All the policing in the world will not stem this tide. The questions of the *New Leader* have thus been answered. The very posing of the questions shows that the social-democrats are preparing to step from under the responsibility of having supported the war on the basis of aims that never existed. The war is entering a period when the real aims will become clear for all to see. The aim of the social-democrats is to suppress those who want really to destroy fascism,

New York Sunday Forum Ends Successful Series

With last week's lecture by William F. Warde on "Roosevelt and the Coal Crisis," the Sunday Night Forum of the New York School of Social Science completed its highly successful spring series of lectures on labor problems.

It was the aim of the school to bring leading Marxist speakers to the public on important questions of the day. Among the speakers at the forum were Albert Goldman, E. R. Frank, Felix Morrow, C. Charles, William F. Warde, John G. Wright and others. The attendance was excellent and reached a high point at Albert Goldman's lecture on the Erlich-Altman case. Labor problems, vital political issues, and the discussion around the film "Mission To Moscow" drew a new audience which expressed a great interest in the work of the school and signified the intention of attending fall

sessions and future activities of the school.

While the forum last Sunday was the last to be scheduled in the regular series, there will be important single lectures given during the summer.

The winter series given by the school included talks on "American Economy at War," by C. Charles and "Colonial Peoples and the Second World War," by John G. Wright. The series on "Dialectical Materialism" by Warde attracted record crowds and extended over 9 weeks.

The lectures on "The Soviet Union, 1917-1943," given by Felix Morrow every Wednesday evening, will continue for two more weeks.

The New York School of Social Science will reopen its regular Sunday Night Forum and lecture series in the fall. Watch *The Militant* for future announcements.

Stassen Leaves Office Same Way He Entered It

MINNEAPOLIS—One of Governor Harold Stassen's first acts when he became the head of the Minnesota state government back in 1938 was to maneuver past the state legislature the notorious Stassen Slave Labor Law. This law provided for a lengthy waiting period before a union is permitted to strike, and was opposed by the union movement.

One of Stassen's last acts before he resigned office last month to accept a berth in the Navy as a commissioned officer, was to sign, and thus enact into law, two more vicious anti-labor bills.

One of these S.F. 612, requires that a vote be taken before a strike can be called, and makes it unlawful for one union to aid another in disputes involving the processing and transportation of food. The second Stassen-backed law is even more vicious, providing for a "labor referee" to be appointed by the governor, with powers to "disqualify" a union from representing its membership. The "referee" has the further power to stick his nose in all union affairs, to subpoena witnesses, etc.

Sander Genis, state CIO president, has publicly charged that Stassen double-crossed the union bureaucrats by signing the anti-labor measures after giving his word that he would not.

"The bill which you permitted to become law is as damaging to free labor as it was in its original form when it was proposed in the state senate. . . You have let us down and we have no way of explaining to our constituents why you as governor have not lived up to your commitments," whined Genis.

Even the AFL Teamsters' leaders, who have zealously sought to protect Stassen from the rank and file workers' hatred, speak bitterly in the *Minnesota Teamster* about the need for labor to "defeat those reactionaries who pretend to represent the interest of all the people." They also threaten to challenge the latest Stassen laws in the court.

In a parting effort to defend his anti-labor measures Stassen claimed that "they will promote democracy within labor organizations." This is the same Stassen who used all the powers of his office in 1941 to prevent the Minneapolis drivers from exercising their democratic right to select their own union.

Stassen left office as he entered it—the relentless foe of unionism, the tool of the wealthy labor-haters in this state and nation.

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The Negro Struggle

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

By Albert Parker

Problems Facing The NAACP Conference

We Trotskyists are seriously concerned about the coming national conferences of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (in Detroit, June 3-5) and of the March-On-Washington Movement (in Chicago, June 30-July 4) because we recognize them to be the most important organizations of the Negro people and because we want to see them transformed into more effective fighters against Jim Crowism. For that reason we intend during the coming weeks to devote most of this column to the problems facing the delegates to these conferences. Because the NAACP gathering comes first, we shall discuss it first.

Let's open the discussion by calling attention to a front page editorial in last week's *Pittsburgh Courier* (May 8) which takes up the situation facing the two conferences and subjects the two organizations to criticism. It is worthwhile quoting a little from this editorial in the most widely-read Negro paper in the country: "... it seems clear that the whole tendency in this country is toward a more strictly bi-racial civilization in which colored people will be 'frozen' into the status of second-class citizens and from which they will be unable to emerge."

"It is unlikely that this trend toward bi-racialism will be lessened with the end of the war. On the contrary, it may well be accelerated until the color caste system becomes 'fixed, fast and frozen' like the Hindu caste system, unless it can be effectively combated."

"This is the problem facing our organizations, and because American colored people are pacing the progress of the world, the strategy determined by their two organizations at their coming conferences will in large part determine the future of the colored world."

"Under the circumstances it is unfortunate that the leadership of both these organizations seem baffled by the tremendous problems confronting colored people."

The editorial then lightly disposes of the MOWM as "visionary" and its leaders as "irresponsible," declaring that the NAACP is "sane, more constructive, more experienced and immeasurably larger and more powerful," that it "has a great number of achievements to its credit, and more than any other organization, it has helped to definitely slow the national trend toward that bi-racialism which will sound forever the death knell of our aspirations."

"But the NAACP, with its self-perpetuating board of directors, its oligarchic structure, its archaic administrative machinery, its increasing centralization of operations, is far from being the sort of instrumentality capable of leading the Negro out of the wilderness of segregation into the green fields of democracy."

"Democracy must begin at home, and the effectiveness of the NAACP would be immeasurably increased if it had an administrative

tion elected by and answerable to the rank and file membership. "The NAACP has become a mere protest legal aid and lobbying agency, and while its achievements as such have been noteworthy, it has been unable by this policy to secure a real mass membership because its appeal has not been broad enough."

"In a situation crying for new techniques, its leadership follows the old ones. While the need is for broad-visioned statesmanship which can rise above the strident protest against obvious injustices, the association too often loses itself in the tortuous superficialities of legalism and the wearisome echoing of the obvious."

"Colored people want, need and will overwhelmingly support an agency which will attack the evil of segregation on a broad front, which will enlist the wide masses of the colored people, which will recognize the necessity of educating the masses of white and colored people away from color-caste thinking, which will establish and maintain alliances with organized labor and other colored minorities..."

The *Courier* editorial then asserts that it expects nothing but talk from the MOWM conference, "but we believe that something can — and we hope that it will — come out of the NAACP Detroit meeting."

"There will be the opportunity to modernize administrative machinery, to democratize control and to work out a new strategy capable of making some discernible headway against the powerful forces of reaction."

If we have taken up most of this column with a quotation, it is because we are in general agreement with most of the *Courier's* remarks on the NAACP, although we disagree quite strongly with its views on the March-On-Washington Movement and its failure to correctly estimate the MOWM as a new organization reflecting the desire of the Negro masses for ACTION and weakened by the lack of good organizers."

Yes, it is true that the NAACP has a bureaucratic setup; its board of directors is little in touch with the Negro masses and is composed to a large extent of capitalist "humanitarians" and politicians; it follows a dull routine and confines itself largely to lobbying, having little appeal to the average Negro worker or unionist. All this is true, just as it is true that the NAACP has done some good work in a limited field, but the *Courier* is wrong when it sums it up at that. For even if the NAACP's administrative machinery is modernized and democratized (and it certainly should be), that won't settle the problem. You can have a democratic organization and still get nowhere. Even more urgently needed is a revision in the basic policy of the NAACP—what the *Courier* calls a "new strategy" without being able to hint what that new strategy should be.

It is this question which we shall discuss next week.

Lessons Of The Coal Crisis

By William F. Warde

(The following are extracts from a speech delivered on May 9 before the Sunday Night Forum of the New York School of Social Science.)

The struggle between the miners and coal operators is one of the critical class battles of our day. Upon its outcome hinges the fate of the American labor movement in the coming months.

Three main forces are involved in this struggle. On one side stand half a million miners organized in the United Mine Workers. Opposing them are the coal operators under the command of the U. S. Steel corporation controlled by the House of Morgan. Maneuvering between these two contending class forces is the Roosevelt administration.

Since the no-strike agreement between Roosevelt and the CIO-AFL leaders, all disputes between employers and the unions have been routed through government agencies and settled by the War Labor Board and similar bodies. This surrender of the strike weapon and subordination of organized labor to Roosevelt's war policies have crippled the unions and worked entirely to the advantage of the profiteering corporations. Grievances have been piled up for months, then buried in that graveyard of grievances, the WLB. The Little Steel Formula has been used to deny wage increases to compensate for soaring living costs and taxes. Militants who protested against these conditions and the policies that produced them have been slandered and victimized by the Murray-Green-Stalinist gang.

MINERS STRIKE IN SELF-DEFENSE

This paralysis of the trade union movement since Pearl Harbor has been broken by the firm stand, the stubborn struggle and fighting solidarity of the miners in defense of their rights. The miners were driven to strike by the economic consequences of the war and the diabolical attitude of the coal barons. "We'll stay out," declared one miner's wife, "until hell or prices freeze over."

Supporters of Roosevelt's policies in liberal and labor circles, while professing sympathy for the miners' grievances, oppose their strike action. They invoke all kinds of reasons why the miners, despite their just demands, should not have walked out.

They say: "The miners should withdraw their demands and sacrifice for the common war effort." In this, they echo Roosevelt who has talked a lot about "equality of sacrifice." So far, the miners have already sacrificed more than most other sections of the population. High taxes and prices have slashed into their living standards. Roosevelt has frozen wages, but not prices or profits. How much more are the miners expected to sacrifice?

If the operators have their way, they will be pushed to the point of starvation, and beyond. But the miners have determined to call a halt here and now. They want to see the operators do a little sacrificing for a change and cough up a bit of their swollen profits.

Another argument: "The nation needs production at all costs." Last year the miners produced more coal than ever before in history. They are wearing themselves out in the process. To maintain and increase production, it is essential to take care of the means of production. The miners are the most important factor in coal production. The operators take excellent care of their mine machinery because their capital is invested in it. But they won't feed, clothe and house properly the men who use that machinery.

When the operators cried that their costs of production had increased the government promptly granted them 25 cents a ton more. But when the mine workers ask for higher wages to compensate for the rising cost of food, clothing and shelter, the operators and their government agents refuse.

In point of fact, neither Washington nor the operators are so much concerned with the problem of guaranteeing coal production as with making the miners and workers pay the costs of the war while guaranteeing profits to the coal operators and all capitalists.

OPERATORS FORCE STRIKE

"This is no time to strike," argue the false "friends" of the miners. They choose to ignore the fact that the operators, not the UMW, precipitated the strike by sabotaging the negotiations. When the operators sat back, offered nothing to the miners, and then walked out, did Roosevelt order

them back to conclude a settlement with the miners? No, he welcomed them to Washington and placed the machinery of the WLB at their disposal.

But when the miners were driven as a last resort to walk out of the mines, Roosevelt ordered them back to work. He treats the operators with consideration and the miners with commands.

In war or in peace, a strike is never timely so far as the bosses and their spokesmen are concerned. If the miners were to wait until capitalists approved their acting in self-defense, they would wait forever.

By their militant action the miners have reasserted the independence of organized labor. They have breached the fortifications Roosevelt has erected around the WLB and his wage and job-freezing edicts, to prevent the workers from obtaining any wage increases. They are waging a magnificent battle but they have not yet scored a decisive victory.

LABOR BACKS MINERS

Already their fight has inspired workers the country over. This is evidenced by the important UAW conferences held in the past two weeks where one delegate after another rose to castigate their own cowardly leaders and to praise the miners.

Roosevelt counted on isolating the miners from the rest of the labor movement, and smashing his enemy, Lewis, and the UMW. The opposite has taken place. Despite the ambiguous and even strike-

breaking attitude of certain AFL and CIO officials, the bulk of rank and file unionists support the miners. Thanks to his aggressive and independent policies, Lewis has done much to rehabilitate his reputation.

This represents the first big break of a sizeable section of organized labor with Roosevelt and his domestic war policies. This is a political event of tremendous importance. Whatever John L. Lewis may do, it paves the way for the political independence of labor and a break from the Republican and Democratic capitalist parties. How much stronger the position of the miners would be if they had their own labor representatives in Congress to plead their case and to stop the flood of anti-labor and anti-strike legislation!

The miners deserve the support of every progressive worker and friend of labor. Should the miners be beaten down, the entire labor movement will suffer. The bosses will hold high holiday. The history of capital-labor relations in the pre-war years will be reversed. Just as the growth of the UAW gave direct impetus and material support to industrial unionism and the CIO, so a defeat of the miners would give Big Business the green light to crush, if they can, every powerful union in industry.

If the miners win, every worker stands to gain. The miners are fighting for all of American labor. They are the shock-troops in today's struggle with the bosses.

Walkout Predicted If No Contract Is Signed

(Continued from page 1)

adopted by the Senate, with the support of most of the administration's followers.

The OPA announced that it would "roll back" the prices of a few food items, an ineffectual gesture whose main purpose was to confuse the miners and divert them from the struggle for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living.

OPA officials issued a statement on price violations in the mining areas which sought to prove that prices in those areas are no higher than in other places — an indication that the administration does not recognize the justice of the miners' demand for wage raises. (See article on page 2).

A WLB panel continued to hold, in the absence of UMW representatives, hearings on the mine dispute. The progress of the hearings by this week showed there was little chance of a decision by the WLB itself by May 18.

(A. N. Y. Times report this morning asserted that there was a possibility of a contract being worked out between the anthracite operators and the union, and declared that this might persuade the WLB panel to offer some concessions to the UMW before May 18. It is reported that the labor members of the WLB are ready to vote for portal-to-portal pay, but what the Board as a whole would do it is impossible to state at this time.)

It is well-known that an important section of the administration is opposed to offering any concessions to the miners and is seeking the opportunity for a finished fight with the UMW leadership. Whether this group will have its way, or whether the administration will seek to settle the fight somehow before it spreads to other sections of the union movement, remains to be seen. At any rate, the union has made clear its readiness to meet any fight forced upon it.

Roosevelt thought that by his "hold-the-line" order he would close the question of workers' conditions. He felt assured of the loyalty (or subservience) of the Green-Murray-Stalinist leadership (which to him meant the loyalty of the AFL and CIO workers) and

he expected to effectively and conclusively isolate and finish Lewis as a leader of the labor movement.

But Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order literally stirred up a hornet's nest. It did not cause the present labor crisis, but it brought it to a head.

For one thing, he did not expect the overwhelming support for the miners voiced by wide sections of the AFL and CIO ranks, which was expressed again, for example, when the eastern regional conference of the UAW last week followed the example of the Michigan conference in unambiguously backing the miners' demands.

PRESSURE ON LEADERS

This sympathy for the miners by the ranks of the AFL and CIO has had the effect of exerting tremendous pressure on the Murphys and the Greens, and is one of the causes for the present crisis of the WLB, which is desperately trying to justify itself to the workers and stave off its own extinction.

The AFL and CIO leaders are dissatisfied with the WLB. They feel it cannot survive under the "hold-the-line" order; they say the order is too "rigid" and they want the WLB's power to correct wage inequities restored; they ask for an end to Byrnes' dictation to the WLB. In typical fashion they are using the present crisis not to advance the general interests of the workers but to save face by wheedling a few little concessions from the administration.

As the price for continued support of the WLB, they ask only a return to the conditions that existed before the "hold-the-line" order, when the WLB would occasionally grant some underpaid workers a two or three cent raise. The crisis of the WLB will be one of the main subjects discussed at the emergency meeting of the CIO executive board, scheduled to begin in Cleveland on May 14, and of the AFL executive council in Washington beginning May 17.

UNUSUAL LANGUAGE

Prior to these conferences, some of the labor leaders have been making statements very unusual for them. Most significant was that made on May 10 by AFL vice-president Matthew Woll who

said that the great majority of organized labor supported the miners' demands, both for economic reasons and reasons of labor solidarity. "The defeat of the miners and the weakening of their organization would certainly react upon the position of all organized labor."

He also said: "... the War Labor Board has become a policeman's club..."

"The time has now come when unity in the labor movement has become an imperative necessity. Labor must once more be united under one banner if it is to repel successfully the attacks leveled against it in Congress, in many legislatures through draconian anti-labor laws, and through the mobilization of certain powerful industrial groups..."

"The time has come for labor to declare its independence of unconstitutional government dictation and the intrigues and machinations of politicians..."

IMPORTANT REFLECTION

The fact that such a case-hardened bureaucrat as Woll, who helped to make the WLB a "policeman's club" and who will readily discard his militant language tomorrow if Roosevelt will throw him a few face-saving devices, is an important reflection of the ferment going on in labor's ranks today.

His appeal for labor unity is also an indication of the timeliness of *The Militant's* repeated call for united action by the labor movement against Roosevelt's freezing orders and on behalf of the fighting miners leading the battle of all the workers. Even Woll, personification of the conservative AFL leaders, sees the necessity for such action and is compelled to advocate it. How much more effective it would be coming from the leadership of the United Mine Workers which now holds the moral leadership of the union movement!

Government, Bosses, Press And Radio Vs. The Miners

By M. Stein

The nation's coal diggers vs. the nation's coal bosses: The men who go down into the pits to mine the coal that fires the locomotives, that smelts the steel, that heats the homes — these men insist on a living wage; the mine owners, the coupon clippers, are against it. This is how it all started. Five hundred thousand men bent with toil in the dark recesses deep beneath the earth's surface, swallowing coal dust, in constant danger of falling rock and gas explosions, demand a wage increase to meet the skyrocketing cost of living. The handful of coal barons, the men behind the \$25,000 salary limitation as an infringement on individual liberty, are against the "unjust" demands of the miners. This is how it all started.

And this is how it continued for almost two months while the dispute was confined to the Hotel Biltmore conference room in New York. John L. Lewis, representing the miners, came with an impressive array of facts and figures to show how the miners' standard of living had deteriorated. He argued with the operators, he pleaded, he threatened, but to no avail. The operators would not make the slightest concession. They even turned down the compromise proposal of the government conciliator, Dr. Steelman.

The miners then took recourse to the right guaranteed them by the Constitution — the right of free men not to work under intolerable conditions. The miners struck. They threatened no insurrection. They simply refused to work for substandard wages.

This is where the story really begins — A story, rich in lessons. And its chief characters are: A government that swears friendship for the working people; a press that claims to print the truth without bias; a radio that is supposed to serve the interests of public enlightenment.

Yet, in a flash all pretense was thrown to the winds. With all the power at their command the government, the press, the radio descended upon the striking miners in true "blitz" fashion, in order to crush them into submission. In fact, no totalitarian government could have mustered a greater display of force and instruments of intimidation than our "democratic" government did. And whenever democratic capitalism resorts to the methods of coercion and intimidation that are characteristic of totalitarian capitalism, then it becomes clear indeed that "the colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin."

Is it correct to brand the struggle against the coal miners as totalitarian? We do not believe in slinging accusations or in employing words merely as insults that have a precise scientific meaning. But the truth of this charge will be verified once we examine why the wrath of the entire capitalist class and its institutions were brought down upon the miners:

1. The miners called a strike. But the right to strike is a democratic right. The prohibition of strikes is precisely one of the characteristics of totalitarian rule.
2. The miners dared to act independently of the government and its agencies. But the right to free, independent unions is a democratic right. The crushing of such unions is characteristic of totalitarian rule. Hitler crushed the independent unions of the workers and substituted for them unions that are government-sponsored and government-controlled.
3. The miners dared to strike in a period of "national emer-

gency." But once the workers are deprived of the democratic right to choose the time most propitious to strike, they are deprived of the strike as a weapon and threatened with the status of totalitarian slave labor.

The totalitarian character of the struggle against the miners was likewise manifested in the methods that were employed in this struggle. Whose point of view did the press express when it spat its venom against the miners in screaming headlines? Whose point of view did the press expound in its editorials? Where did all the high paid columnists get their line against the miners — a line that bore a striking resemblance to totalitarian unanimity. What had happened to the pretense of democratic objectivity and tolerance, the pretense of presenting both sides of an argument? It all evaporated into thin air.

And the radio? Every commentator on every one of the networks kept repeating one line and one line only, just as if they were reading the same script prepared by a propaganda minister of a totalitarian country.

The lynch campaign against John L. Lewis reeked to high heaven with the smell of totalitarian gangster rule. Read the following:

"In Orlando, Fla., an Army flying ace with 13 Jap planes to his credit, Colonel Robert L. Scott, former aide to Major General Claire L. Chennault in China, boiled over in anger: 'I know I could do one service. — This service would be the destruction with six fifty-caliber machine guns on an American fighter plane of John L. Lewis. I definitely believe that by such a cold-blooded act I could rid the country of a man who acts as though he were in the pay of the Japanese Government.'" (*Time* magazine May 10).

And this was not directed against John L. Lewis alone. The press also prominently featured such morsels as: "I'd just as soon shoot one of those strikers as Japs." But let us go back for a moment to the colonel. We are not given his background in civilian life. But it is safe to say that workers don't as a rule become colonels. That privilege is reserved for the rich. He and the press that prints his lynch-inciting statements show that their venom against workers at home fighting for a living wage is greater than their hate of their enemies abroad.

But there is more proof of that than the words of a mere colonel. The commander-in-chief himself was prepared to use the army for the purpose of breaking the strike; he was prepared if need be to take several divisions out of active service and send them into the coal fields as "occupying troops." This is different only in degree from the action of Keren-sky in 1917 who did not hesitate to open the front in Russia to the enemy in order to use the troops against the workers at home.

In the struggle against the coal miners, the government, the press and the radio revealed themselves not only as capitalist institutions serving the interests of their class, but they also proved that they are not above borrowing liberally from Hitler's arsenal of weapons for the purpose of keeping the workers in submission.

On the other side of the ledger, however, we saw that the American working class is far from crushed. The firmness with which the miners stood up in the face of all the intimidation and terror cheered the heart of every true believer in working class democracy. The miners were not alone in their fight. Wherever the rank and file workers had the chance to express themselves, they spoke up in no uncertain terms in solidarity with the miners. The Detroit conference representing 350,000 auto workers was a splendid example of this. There is the only one real guarantee against the triumph of totalitarian rule in this country: A working class that acts in solidarity and refuses to be intimidated by the bosses and their agents.

There is one more lesson the American worker must learn from the coal crisis: The need for independent working class organizations in the political field—the need for an independent Labor Party and an independent labor press.

EARL BROWDER: STRIKEBREAKER

(Continued from page 1)

day in the form of wage cuts, firing of unionists, chiseling on contracts, etc. What Browder demands is that the workers do not defend themselves, that they passively accept the status of slave labor.

Trying to frighten labor into submission, Browder warns, "The most reactionary employers... (are) eagerly waiting the opportunity... to permanently cripple the trade unions." Of course! In war time the employers are greatly emboldened and attack upon the slightest pretext. And every retreat on the part of the workers is interpreted as a sign of weakness and calls forth redoubled blows against them.

But the workers will not escape these blows by an ostrich-like ignoring of the enemy; they will escape them and preserve their unions only by the most militant and resolute self defense.

Still singing the tune of more posts-on-government-boards-for-

labor-leaders Browder charges that the discrediting of the WLB was due largely to sabotage by Lewis and Reuther. These boards have sagged to the breaking point under the weight of their own crimes against labor. It is the outraged rank and file unionists who are demanding that their officials resign from these bodies—and none too soon.

LABOR'S "FRIENDS"

Browder pretends to see nothing but treason in the workers' resistance to these anti-union boards. His cynical line contains no condemnation of the employers who created and packed the boards—only venomous outbursts against the workers for refusing to permit any further slashes in their living standards.

Browder pleads for faith in Roosevelt. The Roosevelt myth was worn thin under the blows suffered by the workers at the hands of this "friend of labor," but Browder still tries to put this myth over.

LABOR cannot remedy the weak-

ness of the administration by joining its enemies to destroy it," he says. "But labor can remedy these weaknesses if it resolutely condemns the use of strikes or strike threats..."

Browder unintentionally lets slip an important truth here. Should labor surrender the strike weapon, the administration would unquestionably be strengthened—so, would the entire capitalist class, and so would the native fascists, friends of Jim Crow, etc. This is Browder's real task: to strengthen the administration by rendering labor prostrate, and to palm all this off as labor helping out its friend.

The workers from coast to coast are beginning to understand just what sort of friends they have in Washington, and they are now turning from them toward dependence upon their own strength and their own independent organizations. It will take more than Browder's speeches to make black appear as white, and enemies as friends.

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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

Morality And The Davies' Film

One of the basic factors in the degeneration of the Soviet Union has been the Stalinist bureaucracy's attempt at reconciliation with world capitalism at the expense of the world working class. In this is to be found the true explanation for Stalinism and its purges, frameups, falsifications, murders and assassinations. Because of the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet masses, the Stalinists had to carry out this program of reconciliation with capitalism in the name of socialism. Thus Stalinism has a lie and a frameup at its very core.

We fight Stalinism and its frameups in the name of socialism and the international working class, whose cause can be advanced by the truth alone and never by lies. This is the basis of our militant attack against all frameups, including the Davies' film, "Mission To Moscow."

Other voices of criticism have been raised against this film on supposedly "moral" grounds. These people, even when they did denounce the purges and murders in the Soviet Union, never neglected to preach sermons on the superior morality of democratic capitalism to Stalinism, which this gentry—dropping their scruples for the occasion—identified with Bolshevism. The fact is, as they know very well, that Bolshevism and Stalinism have nothing in common and that the purges were in fact an expression of the fundamental hostility of Stalinism to Bolshevism.

Now the film "Mission To Moscow" has put the democratic capitalist moralists in a slight dilemma. For this film, which defends and continues the Moscow trial frameups and whitewashes the crimes of Stalinism, has been "made in America" with the obvious blessings of our highly moral democratic capitalist administration in Washington.

These critics denounce the film as a falsification of history, and in this they are right. They condemn it as an offense against morality, and there is something to be said for this thesis too.

But they leave unexplained how such a conglomeration of frameups and offenses against morality—which they themselves have hitherto explained as Soviet products—could make its appearance in the United States and get the nod from Washington.

They have, of course, a reason for remaining silent on this point. In order to tell the whole truth the liberal and social-democratic critics of "Mission To Moscow" would have to admit that, sad as it may seem, the political leaders of democratic capitalism are no less cynical, dishonest and immoral in pursuit of their aims than Stalin who learned his morals and manners from them.

But if they permit themselves to utter this simple truth, they would destroy their central thesis about the superior virtues of a system of capitalist exploitation, robbery and war under democratic forms. Therefore our highly moral ladies and gentlemen keep mum on this not unimportant point and, consequently, fail to tell the whole truth.

But isn't it well known that a half-truth is a form of falsification? And isn't this squeamishness and reticence on the part of our democratic moralists, this failure to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, isn't this—God help us—just a little bit immoral?

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Anti-Poll Tax Bill Heads For A Vote

218 signatures have been secured for Discharge Petition No. 3 in the House of Representatives. This means that the House Judiciary Committee, dominated by the poll taxers, is deprived of its control over the bill to abolish payment of poll taxes in federal elections and that the House of Representatives will vote on the measure on May 24.

It will be remembered that it was also necessary to get a discharge petition signed to force the anti-poll tax bill out of the Judiciary Committee in last year's House of Representatives. But there is an important difference: a year and a half of the last House's two year term had passed before the necessary 218 signatures were obtained; this year they were secured in four months. That was possible not because the present Congress is any less reactionary than its predecessor but because the masses of the people are more educated to the meaning of the poll tax and more determined to wipe it out.

It appears certain also that the anti-poll tax bill has a good chance of being adopted by the House this year. But the obstacles that the bill will then face in the Senate—where the members from Georgia have as much voting strength as the members from densely-populated New York (and a better strategic position)—will be even greater this year than they were in 1942 when the anti-poll tax bill was filibustered to death.

The Southern Democrats hold the balance of power in the Senate. Nobody, of course, expects them to vote to abolish the undemocratic poll tax restrictions which enabled them to be elected. But because they can swing a majority of the Senate on any given issue to either the non-Southern Democrats or the Republicans, they possess a strength greatly out of proportion to their numbers. By their performance of last year we can be certain that neither the Roosevelt administration nor the Republican leaders of Congress will be willing to offend the poll tax Senators unless such tremendous pressure is exerted on them by the labor, liberal and Negro organizations that they see no other way out. That is why one of the key tasks of these organizations in the coming period is to put as much heat as possible on both the national Democratic and Republican leaders.

Everyone acquainted with the history of the poll tax knows that its advocates pretended it was to be used to uphold "white supremacy" by disfranchising the Negro, but that actually it was used to take the vote away from even more Southern white workers than Negroes. But not enough workers are aware that the poll tax in one-sixth of the states directly affects the workers in all the states. They must be shown that the poll tax makes possible the election of the most reactionary spokesmen for Big Business and the large agricultural interests who take the lead in adopting anti-labor legislation which strikes at the interests of the workers in Michigan and California every bit as much as it strikes at those of the Southern masses.

The poll tax issue should be raised in every trade union local in the country. The abolition of the poll tax will strengthen the labor movement. The fight to abolish it will help to further open the eyes of the trade union members to the character of the Republican and Democratic Parties and to the need for building an Independent Labor Party.

Bookburning

May 10 marked the tenth anniversary of the infamous book-burning night when the Nazi party "cleansed" German culture of "subversive" literature, including the works of Leon Trotsky. The Nazis and their capitalist masters hoped that the burning of liberal and Marxist literature would remove all anti-capitalist thoughts from the minds of the workers.

What the Nazis failed to understand was that the workers' struggles against capitalism were not primarily the product of written words, but the bankruptcy of the system itself. So long as the root cause of poverty, unemployment and war remains, the workers will continue to fight for their right to peace and bread — despite bonfire fed by "subversive literature."

Ten years after the Nazi bookburning the American ruling class employed a similar method for suppressing working class protests when it banned *The Militant* from the second class mails and destroyed a number of issues. As far as we know, no demonstrative bonfires have been made of *The Militant*, but this is only because the American labor movement is still strong and capable of defending itself.

But the authorities in Washington have shown that they share with the Nazis a police mind which thinks that truth and human progress can be prohibited by force.

That force can delay progress and make the creation of a just society more costly in human lives, is true. But all the night sticks and all the burning of "dangerous thoughts" cannot long prop up this capitalist system and its terror, hunger, and bloodshed.

Fruits Of The Bermuda Conference On Refugees

By DAN SHELTON

The Bermuda conference on refugees ended two weeks ago with a communique to the effect that for "military reasons" the decisions had to remain "secret." This secret is—the absence of any proposals.

The conference was designed as a face-saver for the "democracies." Against the background of the systematic extermination of European Jewry, Poles and other martyred peoples, a cry of anguish went out to the Allies imploring them to help. A rising tide of protest meetings on an international scale, and growing resentment and suspicion on the part of Jews, Gentiles, liberals and organized labor, finally drove the authorities in England and the U. S. to "action." Here is a brief summary of how democratic capitalism proved to the world and to its own guilty conscience that it could "do something" about the refugee problem.

THE KEYNOTE

After weeks of delay, attributed to the U. S. by England and to England by the U. S., the conference ("purely exploratory" in nature, as was hastily proclaimed) was launched with this keynote: "Only the U. S. Congress can change the immigration laws." (Senator Lucas, April 14). No doubt the tortured masses of Europe drew a deep breath of relief at this statement. In any case, this took care of the U. S.

April 15: "The conference will deal only with refugees already in Spain, Portugal and Switzerland" — thus "omitting" (a mere detail) the Jews in Germany and German-occupied territories, apparently no part of the refugee problem.

April 20: The delegates, the *N. Y. Times* announced, were engaged in "a clearing away of underbrush." The meaning of this was clarified by the significant addition that "proposals for the

solution of the refugee problem" will encounter the objection that a "military area" was involved. This objection is most difficult to overcome since the term "military area" is extremely elastic, covering not only territories at present construed as military but also all areas likely to become such in the future. (Jewish Telegraph Agency, April 20). This "clears away" our planet as a whole so far as the refugees are concerned.

EVASION BY BRITISH

The same day the British made doubly sure that no refugees would get into the Empire by contributing the following: the West Indies are already overcrowded; East Africa is all filled up; Madagascar — unsuitable for colonization; and Mauritius — impossible.

This no doubt encouraged an American delegate to the conference to make the impudent announcement that "we all feel we are making some progress and that we shall not have lived in vain." (N. Y. Times, April 21.) This was followed by an emphatic declaration that "there could be no mass refugee shifts at the present time."

On April 23 came a new contribution from the British: there would be no change in Britain's White Paper Policy in Palestine stopping the trickle of immigration altogether in 1944.

By April 24: "Scant hope seen for Axis victims." (N. Y. Times). And on April 27: "... with the talks to conclude tomorrow... there is no indication of specific recommendations." (*Idem*).

A FITTING CLIMAX

Finally, as a fitting climax for this gruesome farce: "complete accord was stressed" and "secret" decisions hinted at. (N. Y. Times, April 29.)

This is the record: Most of the time before and during the conference was spent on "deciding" how best NOT to do anything.

The lessons of Bermuda are clear. It revealed the utter inability of democratic capitalism to

even alleviate the refugee problem. Every day the naked bankruptcy of the decaying capitalist order is more and more glaringly demonstrated. A social system that in any given country cannot provide for its own population cannot be expected to provide for "strangers." A system that regularly kills off whole generations in wars cannot be swayed on grounds of "humanitarianism" to help refugees.

This stark truth should by now be clear to everyone, especially Jews who have harbored illusions about the "democracies." By your deeds you shall know them. A refugee conference that excludes first Jews under Hitler, then all the other refugees, and finally arrives at "complete accord" on NO ACTION AT ALL — that is indeed a warning to all the Jews.

THE JEWS' PLACE TODAY

Today the Jews are far worse off than in 1917 when they could still "bargain" for the Balfour Declaration. Hitler has seen to it and the "democracies" too are aware of the fact that the Jews no longer are important pawns in the gamble for world domination. Capitalism in its early, expanding stages needed their special talents and hence appeared as a champion of emancipation. Capitalism in decline has no use for them anymore. Under decaying capitalism the Jew's place of abode is the concentration camp and the ghetto; his "preferred" method of leaving this world, via unnatural causes.

The profound divergence of interests between themselves and the imperialist powers is being made very clear to the Jews. Their only hope of salvation lies in the rising class, the proletariat, which by lifting itself raises mankind as a whole. The Jewish people must fuse itself with the profoundly revolutionary struggle of all oppressed minorities and with the working class, its only the colonial peoples for freedom; Jewry must turn to class action really ally.

May 'Fourth International' Offers Many Lively Articles

The May issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, which came off the press last week, is a well-rounded number, featuring several articles of interest to the labor movement.

The editorial notes, "The Month In Review," discuss the significance of the coal strike and the miners' answer to Roosevelt's ultimatum; Washington's "carrot and club" policy toward the Soviet Union; the "Mission To Moscow" film: "a triple frameup"; and some thoughts on Colonel McCormick's proposal in the *Chicago Tribune* that the British Empire and nations in Western Europe apply for admission as states in the United States.

"Wendell Willkie's Program" by Felix Morrow is both a review of Willkie's book and a thought-provoking analysis of his program for United States domination of the world.

An article which should arouse

considerable discussion among shipyard and other war plant workers is "The Shipbuilding Scandal" by Joseph Hansen, which goes to the *Congressional Record* and a little known report by an AFL committee on the reasons behind the cancellation of the Higgins Corporation contracts to show that the administration and the Maritime Commission deliberately killed a time-saving shipbuilding program which could have built ships faster and cheaper than ever before. The reason was that Admiral Land and other administration officials wanted to protect the profits and competitive position of other shipyards following old-time practices.

"The Dutch East Indies" by P. van Vliet explains why the masses of the Indies could not be aroused to support their own Dutch oppressors in the war against the Japanese oppressors. It

has a lot of interesting information on the labor movement and struggles in the Dutch colony. "Roosevelt's Hold-The-Line Order" by William F. Warde explains the administration's freezing order of April 8 and the reason for it.

"Europe and America" is the second and concluding section of Leon Trotsky's brilliant speech on the relation between the old world and the new world capitalism.

"What The Peacemakers Did To Europe" by Terence Phelan is a second article on the Versailles Peace that ended World War I and helped to lay the basis of World War II. Like Trotsky's article it should be read by all those who are concerned with the problem of achieving a really durable peace.

The *F. I.* sells for 20 cents per copy, \$2 for a year's subscription. Order from Business Mgr., 116 University Pl., New York.

More Denunciations of 'Mission To Moscow' Lies

The falsifications in the film "Mission To Moscow" are so raw and crude that many liberals and even conservatives have been unable to swallow them. Thus, despite Warner Brothers heavy advertising for the film which resulted in generally favorable comment on the part of the movie critics, a number of protests are now beginning to be heard.

Dorothy Thompson was the first important columnist with the courage to speak out against the film. In the *N. Y. Post* for May 5, she wrote: "The characters are phony; the history is phony... The picture is full of fiction presented as fact... The famous purge trials are grossly fictionalized."

In the May 8 *N. Y. Times* Ann O'Hare McCormick calls it "the false picture of America, the false picture of Russia and the false picture of history that are combined in the distorted composite to which the former Ambassador unthinkingly gives his authorization in an introductory speech."

An editorial in the May 8 issue of *The Nation* calls the picture "whitewash" and asserts: "In the matter of the 'purges' *The Nation* has always held that the evidence on which the alleged Trotskyist conspirators were convicted was unconvincing and the film version of the trials does nothing to change this opinion."

The movie reviewer of the *New Republic*, Manny Farber, states in the May 10 issue of that magazine that the picture "makes up its own facts" for the history of the period of the purges and the Moscow trials. "Any truth that has ever been told about Russia heretofore now has this obstacle to face."

The Washington columnist of the *N. Y. Daily News* calls it a "fact-defying propaganda film."

The *New Leader* of May 8 carries the comment of a number of liberals and ex-radicals, some of whom denounce it as "a blow to democratic unity in America" and "moral depravity." (See editorial on "Morality and the Davies' Film" in column 1 of this page.)

Were British Involved In The Moscow Trials Plots?

Last week's *Militant* told of many glaring omissions in the Hollywood-Davies version of "Mission To Moscow" and explained why the producers and authors of the picture thought it wise to leave them out. Here we add another:

In the third Moscow trial, held in March, 1938, Bukharin and others were made to confess that they had been plotting not only with Germany and Japan, but also with Britain and Poland.

Stalin's prosecutor at the trial, Vyshinsky, stated: "Implicated in this case are the remnants of... at least, as has been exactly established by the trial, four foreign intelligence services, the Japanese, German, Polish and British — and, it goes without saying, all the other foreign intelligence services which maintain friendly, so-called operative contact with the above-mentioned intelligence services."

Thus, if the official version of the Moscow trials is to be believed, the defendants were plotting to overthrow the Soviet Union with Britain and with other of the present "United Nations," including presumably the United States!

If you catch a man in a lie, his whole story is placed in doubt. Davies should be compelled to publicly state whether or not he accepts this part of the official version of the trials; and if he rejects it, on what ground he pretends to accept the other parts.

Reactionaries Were Also Pleased By the Frameups

The "democratic" press is now engaged in hailing the Moscow trial frameups. As we showed last week, the fascists also liked the trials which resulted in the execution of most of the leaders of the Russian Revolution and Mussolini even wrote an article declaring that by the trials "Stalin is rendering a commendable service to fascism."

There were other reactionaries who had opposed the Russian Revolution from the very beginning and who were ecstatically happy about the trials. After the first trial (Zinoviev-Kamenev) in August, 1936, the *Golos Rossii*, which advocated the overthrow of the workers' state and the restoration of the Czar, stated on Sept. 1, 1936:

"This is the first time that we are pleased with an execution among the millions of executions carried out by the Bolsheviks... They will not stop at Zinoviev and his associates any more than the French Revolution stopped at Danton..."

And the *Vozrozhdenye*, likewise monarchist, printed the following verses on August 29, 1936:

We think thee, Stalin!
Sixteen scoundrels,
Sixteen butchers of the fatherland,
Have been gathered to their forefathers!

Today the sky looks blue,
Thou hast repaid us for the sorrows of so many years!

But why only sixteen?
Give us forty,
Give us hundreds,
Thousands,
Make a bridge across the Moscow river,
A bridge without towers or beams,
A bridge of Soviet carrion.
—And add thy carcass to the rest!

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