Wallace Speaks On The Post-War World

— See Page 4 —

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VII-No. 31

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1943



PRICE: FIVE CENTS

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN ITALY AS MASSES REVOLT AGAINST WAR

The Only Road For The Italian Working Class Ruling Class Tries To Preserve Its Power

An Editorial

Great events are transpiring in Italy. The Italian masses are in revolt against the imperialist war. They want to get out of the war. They want to finish with the whole despicable crew of fascists and their supporters who inflicted on them for twenty years untold indignities, horrors, cruelties, and suffering.

The Italian masses want political liberty. They want economic security. They want the good things of life denied them under fascism and capitalism.

The question is: how are they going to get what they want?

The Italian capitalists, the monarchists, the clerical reactionaries are doing and will do their utmost to keep the

masses enslaved. They have replaced Mussolini with a monarchist-militarist dictatorship which has already duplicated the practices of the fascist regime in which they held partnership. From these sources the Italian workers and peasants can expect nothing but a continuation of the policies of repression and starvation which marked Mussolini's rule.

Many voices are raised especially in this country calling upon the Italian masses to place their confidence in the Allied "democracies." No course could be more fatal. The capitalist rulers of the United States and Great Britain financed and supported Mussolini's regime until it came into conflict with their international interests. They have no intentions of liberating the Italian people.

They intend to conspire with the most reactionary forces of the country to impose new forms of servitude upon the

The Italian workers and peasants can win peace, bread and freedom only by following the example of the Russian masses in the first World War. They must place confidence only in their own independent economic and political organizations. They must build their own revolutionary Marxist party. They must go forward to create their own Workers' and Peasants' Government to replace the present Badoglio dictatorship, or any other reactionary substitute for Musso-

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the workers and peasants of take the lead in a resolute fight for sooverthrow their oppressors.

The American workers who are watching with tremendous hope and enthusiasm the unfolding revolutionary developments in Italy must now be on guard against attempts to foist a Darlan deal upon the Italian people.

Hands off the Italian revolution! Complete support to the workers and peasants in their liberating fight against imperialist war, capitalist exploitation and political enslavement! For a Socialist Italy! For a Socialist United States of

A new and regular feature:

Paragraphs from

Pioneer Publications

begins on Page 2 of this issue

the whole of Europe, will be their allies in this struggle. Let the Italian workers By Creating A New Reactionary Government

cialism, and all the European peoples, Masses Attack Hated Fascists, Raise First Political Demands; above all the German people, will rise and Allied Leaders May Be Planning to Make A Deal With Badoglio

By Anthony Massini

JULY 28. — The Italian masses, oppressed by fascism for more than 20 years, hurled into an imperialist war which they did not want, are today in revolt. They are struggling for peace and to put an end to the system responsible for the war and their oppression. Their revolt is therefore a threat not only to the fascist party, but also to the monarchy, the military leaders, the capitalists, the landowners and the clerical hierarchy who supported the fascists.

Bereft of all mass support, engulfed in a profound crisis at the very beginning of their military difficulties, the ruling circles of Italian capitalism have attempted to preserve their power by ridding themselves of the Mussolini regime and replacing it with the Badoglio government.

Even from the censored and garbled news accounts, it is plain that the

masses of Italy are now in a tremendous f e r m e n t. Large demonstrations are being held in all the important cities. Offices and headquarters of the fascist party and press have been attacked and in some places destroyed. Industrial workers in northern Italy were reported threatening to strike unless fascists are removed from all

HOUSES STORMED

cept in Milan, where four fascist | many were freed by the new mili-

Shipyard Workers Denounce Policy Of Freezing Wages

BAYONNE, N. J., July 23-6,000 workers, belonging to Local 16 of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union, CIO, which has jurisdiction over the Federal Shipyards and Drydock Company yards at Kearny and Port Newark employing 40,000 workers, jammed the Elks Club Hall in Jersey City today, while an overflow crowd of additional workers of new price schedules on coal by milled around Journal Square and nearby streets. Several thousand shipyard workers on the 4 to 12 o'clock shift had walked out of the yards to attend the meeting, shutting down the yards for five

> hours. The Federal workers had come to hear a report of their negotiating committee on the progress of

See "Trade Union Notes" on Page 2 for more news on the shipyard union.

contract negotiations. The one month extension of the contract granted at the previous meeting had expired. The negotiating committee could report no progress. The workers were fighting mad. There was tremendous sentiment a month ago the commercial coal to take a strike vote right the and there. The Jersey Journal in reporting the meeting explained that a strike was averted by only "a close call."

WLB REJECTS DEMANDS

The day before the meeting, the War Labor Board had rejected the CIO demand for a 9% ment in the shipbuilding industry,

(Continued on page 2)

What Allied Leaders Fear

"Our officials are necessarily silent on the course to be followed in Italy, but it is plain that every attempt possible will be made to prevent Leftist revolutions. . ."-David Lawrence, Washington correspondent, N. Y. Sun, July 27.

strators, wounding 22 and killing oners are reported to have esto demand through his paper the and it holds its power me; if I retreat, kill me." Untheir activities.

spontaneous, some of the slogans class and its accomplices against raised were confused, and the the masses. general feeling was exultation and relief. This is how all popular revolutions begin. The fact that some people are still cheer-

ing their names does not satisfy King Victor Emanuel and Badoglio, however. They know how quickly the masses become educated in periods of revolutionary upheaval. They do not like the sound of demands for the removal of all fascists and the freeing of political prisoners. That is why the first important move of the new government was to proclaim martial faw, prohibiting all gatherings of more than three per-

Mild and limited as are the first demands raised by the masses, the two. A number of political pris- Badoglio government will be completely unable to satisfy them. caped; on Monday demonstrators Like the Mussolini regime, it is asked the editor of a Milan paper established on a dictatorial basis, release of political prisoners; on the police and military. Badoglio, Houses of well-known fascists Tuesday a large group attempted the butcher of Ethiopia, and his are being stormed; figures of to free 200 prisoners in the Cel-cabinet are tarred with the fascist casualties are not available, ex- lelari prison, with the result that brush. Far from ousting all the fascists, the present government leaders were killed and three tary governor. Red banners were intends to lean on them and to seriously wounded, and where carried, inscribed with Mussolini's use them, even though it dis-Badoglio's forces fired on demon- ex-slogan: "If I advance, follow penses with a few figureheads, the fascist insignia and salute. derground groups stepped up The purpose of this government is not to fulfill the desires of the The early demonstrations were masses, but on the contrary to or the most part peaceful and protect the interests of the ruling

This is demonstrated by the

(Continued on page 3)

Of Italian Fascism

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

new cover for the rule of It was Hitler's victory in Gerproved once and for all that Mussolini was able to intrench wherever the workers do not take himself in office thanks to the power, establish their own govfact that the first period of his ernment and lead society forward rule coincided with an upswing in with their own socialist program,

(Continued on page 3)

AFL-CIO Bureaucrats Continue Farce Of Price Rollback Plan

WLB Says Labor Has No Right to Demand Wage Increases to Meet Rising Prices

By John Adamson

Spurred on by a new rising wave of discontent among the American workers, Murray and Green, accompanied by several other AFL and CIO bureaucrats, visited the White House on July 22 and told Roosevelt all over again that labor could not continue to support the wage-freezing program unless prices were rolled back.

We are unable to find any steps being taken at the pres- 25 - Thursday, morning ent time to carry out our objectives," the bureaucrats complained, Angeles found itself without any and Green added pompously: "Either prices must be brought streetcar or bus service. For 24 down or the board must ask for revision of the 'Little Steel hours the familiar noisy trolleys area in Pennsylvania. formula.'

One of the reporters reminded in the mines. That is why the Murray that the latter had said AFL and CIO "labor statesmen" July 15 was the deadline for the price rollback, Murray acknowledged the statement, but stated "that we want to give the President an opportunity to apply the rollback permitted by Congress."

MURRAY BACKS DOWN

When the reporter asked if this was the last notice to Roosevelt, Murray replied: "I'm not in the habit of issuing ultimatums to the President of the United States."

Murray's latest statements give the whole show away. The visit of the labor bureaucrats to the White House, their pathetic pleading for a few crumbs, does not mean that the AFL and CIO top staffs are embarking on a fight for wage increases. No. The labor bureaucrats view with alarm the rising temper of labor's discontent, they are aware of the seething that is taking place in the shops and in the factories, on the railroads, and

are going through these complicated motions to try to keep their own rank and file from registerstandard of living.

SUPPORT WAGE-FREEZING

wage freezing problem. Literally work. millions of workers, all good standing and loyal members of the AFL and CIO, are daily protesting the wage freezing program. Many workers go so far as to call strikes and stoppages in defiance of their own top union officials in order to combat the infamous "Little Steel formula." Yet it is

(Continued on page 4)

Ask Governor Thye To **Pardon Kelly Postal**

and Alice Stone Blackwell, noted fighter for woman's rights and ics.' civil liberties, this week appealed to Governor Ed Thye of Minnesota to pardon Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, now serving a five year sentence on trumped-up charges in the State Penitentiary at Stillwater, Min-

"I hope that you will see your way clear to use your power through the Minnesota State Board of Pardons to undo what seems to be a miscarriage of justice," wrote Starr in his letter to the Governor. "The fact that racy. Judge Hall at a previous trial found guilty of taking the money Postal.

Mark Starr, Educational Director his personal use, the case HUMOROUS SIDE tor of the International Ladies' would be entirely different. . . Garment Workers Union, AFL, Apparently nothing of this sort has been mentioned by his crit-

> " I earnestly urge your Excelency to grant a free pardon to Kelly Postal. The facts in the case show that there has been a serious miscarriage of justice, said Alice Blackwell.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is now conducting a national campaign in trade union and progressive circles to secure trade union leader guilty of nothing but adhering to union democ-

All readers of The Militant are felt that the evidence was insuf- urged to write letters to Governor ficient weighs heavily on my Ed Thye, St. Paul, Minnesota, ap- attend a last minute mass meet mind. If Mr. Postal had been pealing for the pardon of Kelly

Board Decision By JANET BOWERS LOS ANGELES, Calif., July

were nowhere in sight. The 3,000 Los Angeles Railway

Workers, members of the Amalgamated Association of Streetcar, Electric and Motor Coach Operators Union, AFL, voted to call a ing too violent protest, and to 24 hour protest stoppage as soon convince them that the Murrays as they received the news that the and Greens are doing everything | War Labor Board had rejected the in their power to improve labor's 10 cent wage increase previously agreed to by the company. Throughout the stoppage the men betrayal of the workers are dis- the stoppage. They ignored the on the insurgents. played in the crudest form in ultimatum of the Regional War

> affects the public more directly mitteemen. than other strikes, causing great THE ILLINOIS inconvenience particularly to the workers who do not own cars. From all indications, however, the peen subjected to obviously cause the workers everywhere are Steel formula.

OF STRIKE

The LARY strike, despite the patriotic" abuse heaped upon the strikers by the City officials, had its humorous sides. Mayor Bowron provided the comic relief. This 'democratic" mayor lost his temper when the union officials refused to call off the strike in accordance with Byrnes' request until they had consulted the union membership. "I'm going to tell the people of Los Angeles what we've tried to do and then, immediate and unconditional par- by God, see what you'll get," he don for this unjustly imprisoned threatened. One conductor said to me, "I don't know what we'll get, but I do know what Bowron won't get-and that's the labor

The mayor was scheduled to

(Continued on page 2)

L A Carmen Strike 30 UMW MEMBERS INDICTED **Against War Labor UNDER SMITH-CONNALLY LAW**

Thirty officers and members of the United Mine Workers were named in indictments returned by a federal grand jury at Pittsburgh on July 26. These are the first indictments to be handed down under the newly enacted Smith-Connally slave labor law. The UMW members, if found guilty, are subject to a fine of \$5,000 and imprison-

The indictments of the 30 miners arise out of the recent insurgent strike in the captive mines of the Brownsville-California

against the steel companies, who are the leaders of the present union-busting drive, was reached the week of July 10 when 18,000 miners, in disregard of their own Union Policy Committee's instructions, closed down 21 mines including the most important and largest mines of the steel corpo-

rations. The government, determined to housebreak the miners' union and displayed great militancy and demoralize and frighten its too The hypocrisy of the AFL and solidarity despite the fact that militant and aggressive rank and CIO bureaucrats, their cynical the local union leadership opposed file, has decided to crack down

The case against the striking their handling of the issue of the Labor Board that they return to miners was prepared by FBI agents working under the direc-Not since the strike at the tion of Attorney General Biddle. North American plant in June Among the 30 indicted union men 1941 has Los Angeles been so are 4 local union presidents, 1 deeply stirred. A streetcar strike local union secretary and 5 com-

AGREEMENT

The present Indictments were strikers had the overwhelming announced just after the UMW sympathy of the workers' popula- had finished negotiating a two tion of Los Angeles. Not only be- year contract with the Illinois cause the LARY workers have Coal Operators Association. The new agreement provides for poroutrageous treatment but be- tal-to-portal pay, amounting to approximately 76 cents per day. beginning to oppose the "Little The contract states that the 7 hour work day at the mine "face" will be increased to 8 hours and that time-and-one-half will be paid for the last hour.

> The coal operators agreed to accept liability for payment of

Trotskyists in **Britain Protest** Frameup Movie

As in many American cities, so in London last week the Trotskyists were on hand at the opening of the Warner Brothers-Joseph E. Davies' whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," to expose its lies and to call attention to the truth about the infamous Moscow trials. At the two London theatres showing the film, the Trotskyists sold a pamphlet entitled: "Mission To Moscow - A Frameup."

The climax of the miners' fight portal-to-portal travel time from October, 1938. The contract provides that 50% of the liability will be paid from that date until April 1, 1943, from which time the amount will be paid in full. It is computed that the sum will add up to approximately \$290 back pay for each miner from October, 1938 to April, 1943. The back pay is to be paid in installments. At the end of the two year period covered by the proposed agreement, each miner will be paid in full. The contract also includes a no-strike clause, operative for the duration of the contract.

> LEWIS TO APPEAR BEFORE WLB

ust: 3.

The contract will be executed and its provisions will go into effect only upon approval of the War Labor Board and approval

the OPA. The UMW officials dropped their policy of defiance of the WLB after the passage of the Smith-Connally Act, which grants the board statutory powers. Lewis asked the Board on July 23 to approve the Illinois contract and agreed to appear before it to argue the case. The Board set a public hearing for Tuesday, Aug-

Meanwhile the Appalachian coal operators, under the leadership of the steel corporations, continued to hammer away at the board to force Lewis to sign a two year "yellow dog" contract on the original terms laid down by the WLB.

They did not appear to be overly much concerned with the 'break" in their own ranks. Over operators of Central Pennsylvania had attempted to break away from the Appalachian conference and sign a separate agreement with the UMW. The steel corporation shoved them back into line. The steel corporations know

that their voice is powerful inleed in the councils of the government. They know further that general wage increase. The world economy, which followed the there the way is cleared for Big Roosevelt is committed to a poli- original wage stabilization agree- depression of 1921-23. Fascism Business to institute a fascist cy of keeping wages frozen. The

(Continued on page 2)

The Rise And Fall

The regime which its founder | rule approached very closely that Mussolini passed off as the most of a military and police dictatorvigorous in history has turned out ship. His boosters and admirers to be the weakest of the im- abroad, especially in England and perialist powers. The lifespan of Wall Street, bolstered him up with Italian fascism so confidently loans that ran into billions of predicted to constitute an entire dollars. Yet within ten years new "era" and a "new world fascism was on the verge of inorder" failed to eke out 21 years. ternal collapse. Mussolini's regime was merely BOLSTERED BY HITLER

Italian capitalism. It represented many that gave Mussolini a new capitalist dictatorship in its most lease on life, or more correctly, brutal and naked form. Mus- extended it for another ten years. solini was raised to power by the Many people, especially the magnates of heavy industry and German social-democrats, tried to the great landowners. It was the explain away the rise of fascism heads of the Italian Banking and its victory under Mussolini Association who paid out twenty as something that could happen million lira to finance the March only in a backward country like on Rome. It was King Victor Italy. It could never happen, they Emmanuel who conspired with said, in such a country as Ger-Big Business to lift Mussolini into many, with its great culture, its the saddle and who has been Democratic Weimar constitution. throughout closely associated with and a President like Hindenburg him. In this way the Italian sworn to uphold it, etc. The capitalists perpetuated their events in Italy and Germany

took all the credit for the boom. regime, to destroy all the indebureaucratization of the entire state apparatus took place. His

WLB is not allowed to raise drawn up in 1941, had provided In the subsequent period, a vast pendent organizations of the

TRADE UNION Wartime Blessings Of Capitalism By George Breitman there is usually more profit to be made, and businessmen who halved to

By E. R. Frank

the United Mine Workers rejoin- | tle Steel formula. ing the AFL.

situation looks no worse than be- ment agencies. fore we came in, and that means it must look a little better."

ers that the question of strike York City in the latter part of policy was not discussed. He in-Lewis took several months ago when testifying before the Tru- to say about the WLB and the man Committee, that the nostrike pledge was "not necessarily binding," would present no bar

by the Executive Council, if such action would be in the interest of labor."

"What the president of the Team- steps in. sters' Union said then goes to confirm what the Daily Worker half a chance, it will regiment has repeatedly cautioned labor the labor movement from top to would be the case if the AFL bottom. It is time the labor repthe man who is hampering the nation's war effort. . . will lead to the adoption of Lewis' seditious policies within the AFL." The editorial concludes with the fighting challenge: "It is not too late to stop this move. . ."

Why are the Stalinists almost bursting a blood vessel over this of the order are now being made matter? The miners' return to by the WLB. the AFL conflicts very radically with the program that the Stalinists have mapped out for the American labor movement. The Stalinists rightly fear that this al Union is preparing to poll its move will strengthen the anti-Stalinist forces inside the labor reaffiliation with the AFL, movement. They know Lewis is a labor politician who plays

servient to Roosevelt.

In the meantime, every two-by-

inist hack, who occupies the post | Director. of secretary-treasurer of Painters' District Council 9, AFL, came rushing into the fray: "We consider the no-strike pledge a matter for the duration. It's not something to play around with." And so on down the line.

The Stalinists have turned so finky and reactionary that even try. a case-hardened bureaucrat like Tobin begins looking dangerous to them.

The War Labor Board has rejected the demand of 1,100 000 shipyard workers for a wage in-

Who expected a different result? The head officials of the ty, creators of chaos and fomently fighting for wage increases. They just went through a lot of fake motions to try to keep their members satisfied.

The wage increases they demanded of the WLB went beyond the Little Steel formula.

cutive Board meeting in Wash- reactionary gangs.

The Stalinists are having a ington where they voted for the hemorrhage over the prospect of policy of submitting to the Lit-

No wonder John Green, Inter-Daniel J. Tobin, chairman of national President, hastily notithe AFL negotiating committee, fied all local unions that they do stated upon emerging from the not have authority to serve strike meeting with John L. Lewis and notices on the National Labor the UMW representatives: "The Relations Board or other govern-

The ninth National Convention of the Marine and Shipbuilding Tobin further told the report- Workers Union to be held in New September should prove a very dicated that the position that interesting labor gathering. The rank and file may have something CIO policy of kowtowing to it.

Last week the Cleveland Reto UMW reaffiliation with the gional War Labor Board outlawed a union shop. This week the Na-American Federation of Musimore radio transcriptions. There The leading editorial of the is no strike involved, there is no July 22 Daily Worker wails: labor dispute. Still the WLB

The WLB is insatiable, Given took Lewis in. Association with resentatives were vanked off the Board.

> William Green sent a letter to all central labor bodies and other AFL affiliates stating that the presidential wage freezing order of April 8 has been modified and that more liberal interpretations

Apparently Green is beginning o "see" things.

The International Typographicmembership on the question of

George F. Addes, secretarygrudges. And Lewis has a ter- treasurer of the United Auto ribly big grudge against the Sta- Workers, CIO, sent a wire to Davis, chairman of the War La-The Stalinists also fear that by bor Board, urging immediate acunscrambling the present delicate tion on the Chrysler case. He balance of forces inside the labor pointed out that six months had movement, the miners' reaffilia- elapsed before the panel had tion will help upset the conspir- made its recommendations and acy to keep organized labor sub- that now two additional months had already, passed.

Elmer E. Milliman, president four Stalinist business agent has of the Brotherhood of Maintenrushed in to say his two cents' ance of Way Employees, stated worth on the Tobin statement, that 300,000 railroad workers Six officers of the New York threaten to strike. He demanded Cooks, Pastry Cooks, and As- the 8 cent hourly wage increase sistants Union, AFL, issued a originally authorized by the solemn warning that "the no- Emergency Rail Labor Board on strike pledge is for the duration." May 24 and set aside by Fred Louis Weinstock, oldtime Stal- Vinson, Economics Stabilization

> The CIO Committee on Latin American Affairs has protested to the Argentine government its order dissolving the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Argentina, representing the principal labor unions of the coun-

The elections' primary fight between the Rose-Dubinsky-Social Democratic and the Stalinist factions inside New York's American Labor Party is going into its final lap. The Stalinists are demanding the elimination from leadership of "disrupters of uni-CIO Marine and Shipbuilding ers of strikes." The Social-Demo-Workers Union were not sincere- cratic faction has just played its trump card by calling for the re-

election of Roosevelt in 1944. It is obvious that the progressive workers of New York are determined to win independent labor political action. They are sticking with the ALP in spite But these same officials have of the sickening antics and the just returned from the CIO Exe- treacherous conduct of these two

SUBSCRIBE NOW

THE MILITANT

Six Months\$1.00 One Year\$2.00

Combination offer:

1 year of The Militant and 1 year of the monthly magazine, Fourth International . \$3.00

(Clip and Mail This Coupon) THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

I enclose | \$1.00 for a 6-month sub to THE MILITANT

\$2.00 for a 1-year sub to THE MILITANT

\$3.00 for a 1-year combination sub to THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Please send my subscription to:

Name

116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y.

City State

forces - and that includes practically the whole working class - have been shocked and enraged by the criminal activities of Big Business corporations and officials who deliberately ordered the faking of tests and the evasion of adequate inspection so that they could sell the government defective and sub-standard war material.

Many a worker - reading about U. S. Steel, Curtiss-Wright, Anaconda Wire and Cable, National Bronze and Aluminum, Sandusky Foundry and Machinery and the newest addition to the list: the Antonelli Fireworks Co., Inc., of Spencerport, N. Y., which is being sued for selling the Army faulty hand grenades and incendiary bombs has said that the men responsible for these crimes deserve to be taken out and shot.

But justifiable indignation must not blind the workers to the basic causes of these murderous practices nor to the fact that there is a deepgoing connection between these practices and all the other reactionary consequences of the war. It is necessary that punishment to fit their crimes be meted out to the guilty. It is also necessary "The pledge," Mr. Tobin said, tional War Labor Board takes for the workers to understand that such punish-"can be withdrawn at any time jurisdiction over the case of the ment cannot by itself solve the problem of the corporation practices which endanger the lives cians, who refuse to make any and welfare of the workers both at home and in the armed forces.

People Shocked

The sale of defective war material has shocked some people more than the other wartime activities of the corporations because it is so openly cynical and in such utter contrast to the highminded sentiments spread over the newspaper advertisements — with the result that there is a tendency to look upon this practice as something exceptional and unrelated to the general policies of capitalism. But at bottom it is no different in . kind from the other "scandals" perpetrated by Big Business every day in the year.

The explanation for the policies and activities of the monopolies and corporations is always to be found in the profit-motive. No employer keeps his factory running unless there is profit to be made from it. This is as true in wartime as in peacetime, with only one difference: in wartime

ever greater profits. Rare indeed is the case of an employer who has said, "I have got enough." The tendency of the ruling class is always to go after more and more. Billions are being made on war contracts; but even the most powerful corporations do not disdain to pick up a few million extra by manufacturing sub-standard products and then palming off the defective material as the article for which they are being paid such generous prices.

But in what sense does this differ from the normal practices of capitalism? In peacetime Big Business's concern for profits and profits alone results in the shutting of the factories. The hardships this brings to the whole working class, the undernourishment it visits on millions of children, the diseases that follow in its wake, surely take as heavy a toll of human life and well-being as the war frauds. Who will say which is worse? Who will contend that the cause is dif-

Profits Are Rising

What about war profiteering? The people were solemnly assured that there would be no war millionaires this time. Yet profits are bigger today, after the payment of taxes, than they were during the last war or in the boom year of 1929 - and they are rising every day. Which scandal is more detestable - the war frauds or the Big Business profiteering which will place heavy burdens on all the masses and act as a drag on their living standards for years to come? And who will deny the connection between the two?

No. the Big Business "scandals" of World War II do not begin and end with their cynical disregard for the safety of the armed services. They began long ago and they touch on every aspect of the war program and vitally affect the rights and conditions of every worker.

Ask the sailors at Pearl Harbor and they will tell you what they think about the manufacturers who sold the Japanese warlords the scrap metal which/was used to make the bombs that were dropped upon them.

Ask the soldiers in North Africa and they will tell you what they think about the American

Ask the marines in the South Pacific jungles what they think about the capitalists who restricted the production of quinine and other drugs so that they could maintain high prices for these

Ask the aviators and the workers of the merchant marine who have survived the sinking of their ships what they think about the rubber barons and oil magnates whose demand for monopoly control of rubber in the post-war period impeded the production of synthetic rubber that was necessary to build rafts and other life-saving equipment.

Monopoly Responsible for Shortages

There are shortages of aluminum, binoculars, critical chemicals, magnesium, tetracene, dyestuffs and tungsten carbide, used in producing machine tools. The reason? Because Standard Oil. du Pont, General Electric, ALCOA and other of the biggest corporations formed cartels with their fellow monopolists in Germany, Britain, France, Japan, etc., for the purpose of restricting production, maintaining monopoly and raising prices. Probably more lives have been lost in this war because of these cartel deals than because of the sale of defective material.

Other shortages affecting the war program can be traced directly to the fact that the big corporations have hogged the great majority of the government's war contracts. On April 22 of this year Assistant Attorney General Tom C. Clark stated "at the start of the war program in this country 175,000 companies provided 70% of the nation's manufacturing output, while today, two and a half years later, the ratio has been reversed to the point where 100, corporations hold 70% of the war and essential civilian contracts. This group, he declared, has obtained the bulk of the \$14,000,000,000 worth of new plants built at government expense." As a result, many small plants have been driven to the wall; with them went their productive capacity, while many of the new plants remain partly unused and unproductive. A glaring example of how the monopolists impede production is in the shipbuilding indus-

tion of powerful companies like Bethlehem Steel. Big Business domination is responsible not only for critical shortages of war materials but also of food. "Higher prices," say the meat packers and milk corporations and food processors and big baking companies, "or else we'll keep the cattle on the range and we'll kill the milk cows and we'll let the food rot in the fields and

we won't permit the flour to be baked."* Other wartime blessings for which we can thank Big Business are: the speedup, which resulted in greater casualties on the industrial front last year than on the military front; an intensification of the housing crisis in most war production centers, because of bad planning and the unwillingness of the capitalists to provide money for new homes, with the result that sickness, disease, child delinquency and disruption of family life have increased.

Capitalism Responsible

The liberal and trade union press have protested all of these wartime crimes of Big Business. But they regard each of them as a unique incident, isolated from all the others and caused by the greed or other bad characteristics of individual employers and officials. That is one reason why the liberals and union leaders are unable to work out a program to effectively combat such

But the workers must take another approach. They must learn to look at all the crimes of capitalism together and as a whole, to understand that each individual "scandal" is part of and flows from the biggest scandal of all - Big Business domination not only of the war program but of American economy. Only on this basis can they determine what counter-measures they must take against all these crimes.

(Another article on this question will be printed in next week's Militant.)

*For the full story of how the food corporations deliberately create shortages, see "Your Standard of Living - What Is Happening to It" by C. Charles, 32 pages, five cents, Pioneer Pubr lishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

PARAGRAPHS FROM PIONEER PUBLICATIONS

In Italy, after the war, there was a real revolutionary upsurge of the masses. Workers and peasants, although they were not mature enough to address themselves to the conquest of power, at least were militant enough to force big concessions. Industrial workers got better wages, the eight hour day, general recognition of collective contracts, and a voice in production through "factory committees." One strike followed another -1,663 in 1919; 1,881 in 1920. In Genoa and other big seaports, the solidly organized dock workers won out over the shipowners. The steel workers did even better: in September, 1920, they broadened a simple wage dispute into a large-scale class struggle. When the big industrialists resorted to a lock-out, 600,000 Italian metal workers occupied the mills and carried on production themselves through their own elected "shop committees." They did not hesitate to violate the holy of holies of the bosses. They opened their safes and discovered secrets, so closely guarded, of cost prices and profits. . . They won the fight: they were given - on paper, anyway - the right to check up on management, and "workers' control." (On paper, because the law drafted on "workers' control" never went into effect. The magnates used as a pretext the sharp economic crisis at the end of 1920 to obtain its postponement to better times. And the better times were . . .the triumph of fascism.)

The peasantry showed no less fighting spirit. Returning from the trenches, they demanded the "division of the land" which had been promised them, and, when it was not forthcoming, they occupied the coveted soil. A governmental decree sanctioned the fait accompli: on condition that they organize themselves into cooperatives, they obtained the right to remain four years on the lands they had spontaneously occupied (Visochi decree, September 2, 1919)...

These conquests threatened directly both the interests and the authority of the two dynastic powers that ruled Italy: the industrial "dynasty" and the landowning "dynasty." . . .

Certain steel magnates who had piled up insolent fortunes in the manufacture of instruments of death - the Perrones, the Agnellis, etc. - aspired, when the armistice was signed, to dominate the whole economic life of their country. Grudgingly, and to avoid a revolution, they made certain concessions to their workers, but they were determined to take them back as speedily as possible. The occupation of the factories, in particular, was for them a danger signal. They felt the chill of expropriation pass over them. Once the crisis was past, they and their allies, the shipowners - notably those of Genoa - were ready to go to any lengths to escape "workers' control" and the meddling of employees in management. Equally resolved to recapture lost ground were the great landowners - who, in Italy, were still mostly members of the old aristocracy. . .

But neither the industrialists nor the landowners could themselves undertake the fight against the organized proletariat. For this job, they called in the armed gangs, the fasci of Benito Mussolini, which styled themselves the "united front against bolshevism." These gangs were to harry the working class, to weaken its ability to fight and resist, so as to allow the bosses to recapture their lost ground as speedily as possible. In April, 1919, Mussolini hailed the gathering of the economic "congregations" and offered his cooperation, which was not rejected. But it was above all in the fall of 1920, after the workers' occupation of the factories, that the subsidies of the industrialists and the landowners rained into his coffers. . .

-From Pp. 10-12, "Fascism and Big Business" by Daniel Guerin, 1939, 339 pages, 50 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

It Is Time to Build An Independent **Labor Party**

Denounce Policy Of Freezing Wages

(Continued from page 1)

that wages were to be pegged to prices. The shipbuilding workers were thus entitled to a wage raise of approximately 15% a year ago. But Roosevelt cheated them out of this wage increase by a phony promise that he would keep prices down. Today prices are skyrocket. ing: but the WLB nevertheless has turned down the demand of the shipbuilding workers. The Federal workers in addi-

ion are constantly harassed by a vicious anti-union management. Grievances are allowed to pile up and go unsettled. After months of arguing, the bosses still refuse to provide a decent eating place. Many of the men were forced to eat their meals in the lavatories during winter, because there was no other warm place where they could eat. Company canteens continue to dish out slop which passes for food. And the workers cannot even quit. They are frozen to their

For two solid hours, the Federal workers booed and hooted down all the local officials as well as the International officer present must be patient and give the WLB time to dispose of their

BUREAUCRAT COUNSELS PATIENCE

Van Gelder, International Secretary-Treasurer of the union, answered the incessant demands why didn't U. S. Steel think of received." them when they sold defective boos were so loud and long that maintained. the meeting threatened to break

The Stalinists tried to turn the was narrowly averted when ter to the press and request a sentiment of the men by confusing the meeting. The Stalinist whip International President of the some action on your part." proposed that the local launch a Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen fight with a publicity campaign, a and promised to reopen their case. their pound of flesh. one hour picket line after work and similar "safe" measures. The ington and demand favorable ac- to report back to the local union workers were experienced enough tion of the WLB. to see through this cheap dema-

from the floor to go to Wash- plan. The committee is instructed action.

Shipyard Workers Carmen Strike Against Labor Board Decision

(Continued from page 1)

attempt to stall. The pompous busses. little mayor was left fuming helplessly.

At the conclusion of the 24hour strike, I spent a whole day riding street cars and talking to conductors and motormen. All those with whom I spoke were determined to get their wage increase, come what may. One conductor put it this way: "If we don't get results soon, the 24hour stoppage will be just a sample of what we will do." Another conductor showed me his semi-monthly check. The figures were so revealing that I borrowed his pencil and copied them down. 140 hours. That's 10 hours a day for 7 days a week. He earned who advised the men that they \$101. Then was listed deductions for war bonds, insurance, taxes, etc., and the check he could cash

SERVICEMEN SYMPATHETIC

One passenger on a street car (the only incident I saw or heard from the floor for strike action of its kind) accused the conductor by stating that "The CIO dissap- of being a foreigner because he proves of strikes during the war went on strike "when the boys crisis..." When Van Gelder began are giving their lives at the wrapping the flag around himself front." I asked the conductor if formula." and lectured the men that they he thought the soldiers and should think of the boys in the sailors were sympathetic. "Sure fox holes, he was constantly they are," he answered, "I talk to heckled from the floor, with re- a lot of them who ride the marks like: "Stop waving the trolleys. Don't you think they flag; we want action." "Sure, we want decent jobs when they come are thinking of the boys; they back? You should see some of are our sons and brothers, but the letters our members have The National War Labor Board

(Federal is a subsidiary of the reconsider the case. Morse an- should be exercised for its en-U. S. Steel Corporation.) At one nounced in advance, however, that forcement?) point of Van Gelder's speech the the "Little Steel formula" will be Meanwhile, a strike of the that we have been patient too Pacific Electric Railway workers long. We are submitting this let-

Actually, the board has already contract. A delegation was elected a hospitalization and sick benefit leadership and a definite plan of

The PER local General Grievance Committee announced on ing accompanied by high ranking July 22 that a strike vote had Dobbs spoke on the prospects for army officials to try to persuade carried by a vote of 1723 to 49 the independent labor party at a the men to call off the strike. At and that the strike would be ef-1:27 A. M. on Thursday, a shop fective as of 2:00 A. M., July 25. Center in this city on July 15, steward proposed that the men This action was taken as soon as under the auspices of the Boston leave promptly at 1:30 if the Vinson, Stabilization Economic mayor was late. At 1:33 the Director set aside the 13 cent in- Party. mayor and his procession filed crease awarded these workers by down the aisle of a completely an Emergency Rail Labor panel empty hall. The union officials and ruled that the men, in acrushed outside to plead with the cordance with the "Little Steel workers to return to the hall but formula," were entitled to only 3 they were only laughed at by the cents an hour. The Pacific Elec- of organized workers. In the face union members who correctly tric workers run the interurban of the drive against labor, he recognized this as but another passenger and freight trains and pointed out, more and more work-

Workers Are in Foxholes, Too

The General Grievance Committee of the Los Angeles Pacific Electric Workers local stated in its press release announcing their strike vote:

"We already have been told that our action will hurt those who are on the fighting front and those who are in the 'fox holes'. . . We, too, are in a 'fox hole'-an 'economic fox hole'-from which we must be lifted before we can again become 'soldiers in overalls'."

etc., and the check he could cash 30 UMW Members **Indicted Under Anti-Strike Law**

(Continued from page 1)

wages above the "Little Steel

R. L. Ireland, Jr., writing to Davis, the WLB chairman, on behalf of the operators negotiating committee of the Appalachian Joint Conference, arrogantly demanded to know; "What action has your board taken since its letter to the President of June 22 (expressing the WLB's unanimous opinion that its directive order should be enforced and that steel to the army and navy?" through Morse finally promised to all the powers of government

> "The time for action on your part is long past due. We feel Roosevelt called A. F. Whitney, prompt answer or, better yet,

The bosses are still demanding

meeting on August 1. The men of Local 16 demongogy and rejected the proposals. rejected the major wage demand strated that they are militant and The local union leaders finally of the shippard workers. The only want to fight for their rights. succeeded in having a proposal local demands still to be acted on The meeting made clear however PIONEER PUBLISHERS adopted for a one week's ex- are a one week's vacation with that the militants do not yet tension, until August 1, of the pay, upgrading of beginners and have a sufficiently well organized

Dobbs Speaks In Boston

BOSTON, July 19 - Farrell meeting held at the Workers' branch of the Socialist Workers

Tracing the course of development in American political life since Pearl Harbor, he discussed the steadily rising sentiment for the labor party among the masses ers are seeking an alternative to the Republican and Democratic Parties, and more and more of them are coming to realize that the answer is: An Independent Labor Party.

An enthusiastic audience participated in the discussion period that followed. The sum of \$91 was raised in cash, and an additional amount was pledged for the SWP'S labor party campaign

Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Boston-Adelman's Newsstand 284 Tremont St.

Chicago - Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St. Minneapolis - Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South. Newark (Downtown) - News-

stand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House, New Haven - Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St.,

near Chapel.



by C. Charles 5c PER COPY 31/2c IN BUNDLES

Order from

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Negro Struggle

🕳 By David Ransom 🕳

The Poll Tax in Tennessee

law," he had nothing on the Ten- legislation. The ten million disnessee Supreme Court. This judi- franchised Negroes and whites of ciary body packed with poll tax the South most certainly do not appointees has decided that the consider the Smiths, Connallys last Tennessee legislature had no and Rankins their representaright to repeal the State poll tax tives. Of course the passage of law and declared that a constitu- such a bill would not automatically CHURCHILL SPEAKS tional amendment was necessary guarantee the right to vote to the to repeal the law. The court poor whites and the Negro people chose the right moment for its of the South. But such a sucdecision, denying the right to vote cess would be a heartening stimto three million white and Negro ulant for further struggle along the latest developments in Italy. Tennesseeans on July 3, the eve the same road, and most imporof Independence day.

bor and liberal groups to strike these exploited masses on the side the 70-year old poll tax from of the labor movement. Tennessee's statute books has foundered on the rock of this Roosevelt Writes reactionary decision, which even a minority of the court held to be "supported by no precedent in law and unsound in principle."

liberals are doing, about this "unthe will of the majority and makes they control the local machinery of government in the Southern

poll tax is through a federal dustries. law. This is the meaning of the

posed by the Senate.

demanding that the Senate in- bursts, and on a larger scale.

voke cloture by the necessary two-thirds vote. The passage of When Boss Frank Hague of poll tax Senators who are the tant of all it would bring to life Thus the long struggle by la- the slumbering political power of

The universal condemnation the annals of English or American and the aroused sentiments of the Negro people to do something It is of little use to wail, as the about anti-negro violence have forced President Roosevelt to precedented" ruling which flouts break his silence on this question. In a letter to Representative a mockery of legal procedure. The Marcantonio of New York last capitalists of the South and their week Roosevelt stated, "The recpolitical henchman respect the ent outbreaks of violence in widelaw only so far as it serves to ly scattered parts of the country maintain their class power and endanger our national unity and privilege. When it threatens comfort our enemies." Roosevelt their domination they either ig- also informed Marcantonio that nore it or tailor it to suit their he had asked the Attorney Gennore it or tailor it to suit their needs, as the Tennessee Supreme call and other government agencies to give special attention to with the help of the poll tax, this country." this country."

This letter is nothing less than states, it is easy for them to an insult to the intelligence of the shape the law to their own ends. Negro people. Ever since the Because Tennessee was the one war began, the Negro people have state out of the eight poll tax been telling Roosevelt that the states where it was thought pos- government was preparing the sible to repeal the poll tax way for anti-Negro explosions by through state legislation, the its Jim Crow policies in the armdecision of the Supreme Court ed forces and government agenmakes it plain that the only cies as well as by its refusal to realistic way of outlawing the fight discrimination in the war in-

As chief executive of a capi-Tennessee Supreme Court decision. talist government which rests up-Such a federal anti-poll tax on the pillars of private property bill was passed by the House of and Jim Crow, Roosevelt can do Representatives on May 25, 1943. nothing but make pretty speeches It is now in the hands of the Sen- and set up super-agencies designed ate Judiciary Committee. In order only to create the illusion that the to prevent the Southern poll tax government has the interests of senators from filibustering the the Negro people at heart. The bill to death when it comes up for Stalinists and many liberals are discussion, a limitation on debate playing Roosevelt's game by tryknown as cloture must be im- ing to foster this same illusion. If Roosevelt and the government Together with the Negro people continue to give their kind of atthe labor movement, which has a tention to the problem of antireal interest in abolishing the Negro violence, there are certainpoll tax, must take the lead in ly going to be more of such out-

LAUNCH DRIVE TO SELL CANNON BOOK IN

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party has launched be conducted in the branches, to a seven-week educational and distribution campaign to promote James P. Cannon's book, "The Cannon's book. A mimeographed Struggle For A Proletarian Par- symposium bulletin similar to the ty," which has just come off the one published during the "In Depress. The Local has accepted a fense of Marxism" campaign will quota of 200 volumes of the book. be issued. All branches in the city will participate in the campaign to give the book the widest distribution.

The present campaign is based on the experience of the highly successful drive to sell Leon Trotsky's classic, "In Defense of Throughout the seven weeks of Marxism." Campaign plans in- the campaign, displays and recclude:

Prizes: A set of specially bound branch sales will be exhibited in imitation leather volumes of both | the headquarters of the branches. "In Defense of Marxism" and Displays of the book will be fea-"The Struggle For A Proletarian tured at all branch meetings, Party" will be given to the indi- classes, public meetings, etc. vidual comrade selling the highest number of books. A city-wide the winning team at the conclusion of the campaign, September

Educationals: Educationals will provide the membership with a thorough-going knowledge of

Public Sales: The City Office plans to assist in placing this volume in bookstores, university and public libraries, etc.

Sales Records and Displays: ords of individual, team and

The branches have all set up teams. Each team is headed by a social will be held in the honor of captain. The campaign is already off to a good start.

Progress of the campaign will be reported in The Militant.

Fourth International

The Fall of Mussolini

Assassin of Trotsky by Walter O'Rourke The CIO's Answer to the Anti-Labor Drive . by Felix Morrow The Roosevelt Regime in Crisis by William F. Warde

A Report on the Communist International . by Leon Trotsky James P. Cannon's Book (A Review) by E. R. Frank

Mexico - A New Trotskyist Voice

Single copies, 20 cents. Subscriptions \$2 per year. Order from Business Manager, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

116 University Place

Italy Under Martial Law As Churchill, Roosevelt And Masses Revolt Against War

all to check the awakened workof the government, it will quickly maintain the support of the mass- now that Mussolini has gone and es. If it seriously intends to con- the fascist power has certainly life indeed.

Speaking before the British rulers to strike a bargain. Parliament on July 27, Prime Minister Churchill outlined the attitude of the Allied leaders to failed to attack or criticize the Italian monarchy. The only note another." of complaint he struck against the new government was that it had failed thus far to make any us," he said.

By John G. Wright

in the field of foreign diplomacy

indicate that considerable impor-

tance is attached to it by Moscow.

offensive in the Orel sector.

tion of some deal with the Bado-

to general conclusion with the an invitation to Italy's present

And out of such swift changes, Churchill fears, may come a so-

against the adoption of any policy and expression of the Italian attacking Badoglio and King Vicstate. We certainly do not wish tor. to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy, and "We do not know what is going find ourselves without any authorities with whom to deal. . ."

tinue the war, despite the anti- been irretrievably broken, we of the workers and peasants. try. If they are to obtain the war demonstrations of the mass- would be foolish to deprive our- These are authorities with whom es, it is fated to have a very short selves of any means of coming he certainly has no intention of yearn, they will have to rely first dealing. He knows very well that of all on themselves and their Italian nation." This is plainly if the masses take matters into own organizations. their own hands, there can be no other outcome than a workers' much confidence in the Badoglio And Churchill dreads this more today. The revolutionary spirit Allied leaders want to get their ganizations after the first world armies into Italy as soon as pos- war, which struck mortal terror prevent "chaos and anarchy," and ers when they stormed the facconference on July 26, Churchill government of a nation very often any policy, including a deal with dead. The workers will soon take Badoglio if he doesn't disappear up where they left off when Musachieve this end.

That Roosevelt has no imporcial revolution: "It would be a tant differences with Churchill's peace overtures. "Therefore no grave mistake when Italian af- attitude to the Badoglio governnew decisions are called for from fairs are in this flexible, fluid ment was shown a few hours treacherous leaders. and formative condition for the after Churchill's speech when Churchill, no less than the rul- rescuing powers of Britain and Roosevelt in a press conference ers of Italy, is worried about pos- the United States so to act as to demonstratively denounced Office

ALLIES UNTRUSTWORTHY

The masses of Italy can have no more faith in the Allied cap-To Churchill, "chaos and anar- italists than they have in the chy" is another name for the rule ruling forces of their own counpeace and security for which they

The heroic underground fighters of the industrial and agriculand peasants' government along tural working class of Italy have the lines of the state created by waited more than 20 years for the Russian Revolution in 1917. the opportunity which faces them than any victory by Hitler. The which built magnificent labor orsible so that they can help to into the capitalists and landownthey can be expected to follow tories and seized the land, is not from the scene too soon, to solini's thugs smashed their organizations, and this time they will not easily be deflected from their revolutionary course by the false counsel of weak-kneed and

> Five underground political organizations seeking to assume the leadership of the awakening masses - the Action, Christian Democratic, Communist. Liberal Reconstruction and Socialist Parties - have issued a manifesto from Turin. The manifesto advocates strength and courage and unity, promises punishment for the people guilty for the "grave damage inflicted on the nation" and raises one slogan: liberty. And that is all.

> The manifesto is absolutely devoid of any program based on either the immediate or longrange needs of the masses. It has nothing to say against Badoglio or the king or the capitalists in fact, it does not even mention them by name. The only thing such parties can lead the masses

The immediate needs of the

restoration of all democratic rights, including freedom of press, clearly hostile to the Soviet Pravda, the official organ of the Stalin's bid to the Junkers for Union." (Sunday Worker, July speech and assembly; the recognition of the right to strike; the trade unions, peasant organizations and political parties; the The Kremlin must at all costs the right of the soldiers to form committees and present griev-

generally, becomes more im-On the basis of their regained rights and reconstituted organ-Clearly revealed in the Krem- izations, the workers of Italy lin's veiled articles and diplomatic must unfold a resolute struggle moves is the distrust and fear for the establishment of a Soof Moscow toward Washington- cialist Italy. The immediate task London. It is equally clear that of the proletarian vanguard is the Stalin's hand is being forced. It building of the only instrument is only in desparation that the through which this can be accomman people? The emphasis in the literary and academic world Kremlin would talk of any kind plished, the revolutionary Marxof revolution in Germany, even ist party patterned after the Bola "democratic" one. Stalin waited shevik party of Lenin and Trotmore than two years before he sky which led the masses to vic- the present moment is simply to to the task of bringing true libventured to launch even this tory in the midst of the first world war.

the war has revealed its state and military strength-will belong one of the leading roles in the the invasion of Sicily and the country and in the army to over- the whole world. Nevertheless ITALIAN WORKERS' NEEDS

Italian workers can be summed up as follows:

An end to martial law; the reorganization and legalization of release of all political prisoners;

commonly known as democratic By Sunday, July foremost proponent of alliance fall of Mussolini, the prospect of es will have to conduct vigorous 25, the Daily Worker announced and collaboration with Russia. direct Allied intervention in the struggles against the government

THE RISE AND FALL

(Continued from page 1)

'Free Germany" movement.

workers and every vestige of democracy in the country.

Mussolini turned to military destroy the Spanish revolution raised the curtain on the second World War. From then on the servants of German imperialism.

FASCISM BANKRUPT

The war quickly revealed the now poorer and more debilitated than she was at the termination many. time as they did in peace.

tion, inevitable under the circum- Europe point the only way out timate Spanish government. stances, the monarchists and for the insurgent peoples of capitalists of Italy are trying at Europe.

themselves from the completely fascism. rotted corpse of fascism. Meanwhile, they have demonstrated Bolstered by Hitler's victory, that fascism is nothing but an truth about the war. They are very gates of the city, the Italian agency of their rule, to be preparations on a huge scale, assumed or cast off as the to the motives and aims of the If they should do so, in spite of seeking a way out of the blind exigencies of the situation may enemy countries. It is almost as all the obstacles, then a suffering alley of Italian capitalism dictate. History has shown that through war. His adventure in under certain circumstances, the American and British propaganda them for striking the first blow Ethiopia cost billions of lira. His capitalists are indeed able to that the war against the Axis leading to peace and liberty. joint intervention with Hitler to preserve themselves a while powers is one for democracy, as longer under a murderous fascist gears of the Italian war machine maneuvers, survive its collapse. one to liberate mankind from the became meshed in with the far The last word is yet to be spoken slavery of the plutocratic democmightier power of the Nazis, the and it will come from the awaken- racies. ed and aroused Italian masses.

prostrate, a malodorous corpse. befallen them, it does not mean The fate of Mussolini proves in- that they trust American and controvertibly that the regime of British capitalism. What facts are fascism, instead of imbuing there to make them believe that capitalism with a new vigor, on the part of the United States speeding up enormously the decay democracy against fascism? of the capitalist system. The very Did any of the British or Amersame processes of decay but at a ican political leaders, prior to the different tempo are likewise war, lift their voices in condemntaking place in Hitler's Ger- ation of Italian fascism? On Germany after the first World European federation" referred to of the first World War. The only through the first stages of these of his way to praise Mussolini. War could only prove even more by correspondent Werth has al- ones who have gained from the impending colossal events. Not Did either the British or Amerirule of fascism have been the big only Italy but all of Europe is can governments aid the Spanish capitalists whose profits have plunging headlong toward revolu- people in their struggle against continued to pour in during war- tion. The socialist program and the fascists? On the contrary, the struggle for the establishment Roosevelt placed an embargo on In order to head off the revolu- of the Socialist United States of the shipment of arms to the legi-

only as an appeal to the "responian fascism there are unquessible people"—the monarch per- tionably many revolutionary haps, or the generals and the clerics-to take measures to oust time in many years raising their Mussolini and arrange an "honor- heads and seeing the possibility

want in Italy is a rising of workers and peasants, which will surely not stop at a point satisfactory to these two gentlemen. It can be said with great confidence that if the Italian masses rise against the regime, it will active, they will soon become acnot be in response to any appeal of the leaders of the capitalist democracies nor will they stop at

simply overthrowing Mussolini. · For two decades the Italian masses have been compelled to bear the yoke of fascism. With their organizations completely destroyed, they were unable to the course of the war, they underresist the governmental decrees which brought their standard of dications point to an intention on living down to a level which barely sufficed to prevent actual ill to keep "order" in Europe by starvation.

It may well be that a section of the Italian masses was deceived by the flamboyant promises of the British and American govern-Mussolini, of a great Italian Em- ments. Soft and kind words are pire with rich colonies to which used to refer to the Italian monpoor Italians could emigrate and archy. And these exiles who improve their miserable lot. There have anything to do with the revis a certain justice to an argument that Italy is entitled to colonies if England is. There is no reason why God should forever condemn Italy to the crumbs of workers in Italy can look forward imperialism. But if any section to seeing Roosevelt and Churchill of the Italian masses had illu-help to restore the democratic sions of a Great Italian Empire, capitalist regime of pre-fascist it was not long before stern days. And while they undoubtreality caused them to vanish.

defeats of the Italian armies at was helpless.

Hitler came to the aid of Mussolini but then it became clear that the Italian people, even in case of victory, would only be subjects of the German Nazis. And with the entry into the war of the United States, the most powerful country in the world, not even "victory" could be expected. Defeat followed defeat and the Italian masses became completely disillusioned with the fascist regime. We can accept as All these constitute what are trust-worthy all the reports to the fall on barren ground as far as effect that the Italian soldiers the Italian masses are concerned. simply do not want to fight. The Italian masses are ready to overthrow the regime which has brought such calamities upon

causes the Italian workers and of workers and peasants. peasants to hesitate about making an attempt to overthrow the the last moment to disassociate Italian people from the yoke of masses in taking power.

of every country are told the with the foreign enemy at the given a fair degree of truth as workers can do the same in Italy. easy for the fascists to ridicule world will be forever grateful to it is for the Americans and the regime. It remains to be seen British to ridicule the claims of whether they can, with all their the fascists that their war is

If the Italian people hate and Mussolini's regime now lies detest fascism for all that has 'dynamism," etc., ends up by and England this is a war for

We are now passing the contrary, Churchill went out

Do the Italian masses believe that Great Britain is fighting to

The Italian People

By M. Morrison

The message of Churchill and liberate nations when it refuses Roosevelt, though addressed to to liberate India? the people of Italy is couched in terms which can be interpreted In this critical period of Ital-

workers who are for the first able capitulation." The last thing of destroying Mussolini's regime. that Roosevelt and Churchill Their hopes are reviving and they are eagerly waiting for the day when the Italian working class will once more appear on the scene as an independent and revolutionary factor. If these revolutionary workers are not vet tive. They are the ones who will play the leading role in any mass uprising against the fascist rule. If these revolutionary workers have, in some way or other, been able to follow what the political leaders of the capitalist democracies have said and done during stand, as well as we, that all inthe part of Roosevelt and Churchmeans of clerical authoritarianism. Even the exiled middle-class democrats have been snubbed by olutionary movement must conceal their identity to escape

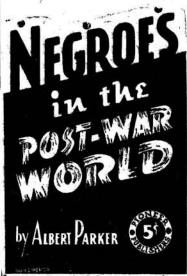
deportation or prison. At the very best the advanced edly prefer that kind of a regime Mussolini's military power was to the fascist one, they undernothing to boast about. Italy's stand that for the masses of conomic base is too weak to en- Italy it means the same toil and able it to build a powerful mili- drudgery for the benefit of the tary machine. The boasting of capitalists. They have not for-Mussolini is no substitute for gotten that it is out of the democoal, iron, and oil. The initial cratic capitalist rule that fascism emerged. Whereas, for Roosevelt the hands of the British showed and Churchill, the democratic that without German aid Italy capitalist regime may be an ideal, for the Italian masses it can be at best only a transitional regime towards one where power is in the hands of the workers and

peasants When one takes all the factors into consideration one must conclude that there can be no cooperation between the Italian masses and American and British capitalism. An appeal by Roosevelt and Churchill for a revolution against Mussolini, even assuming that such an appeal would be made in clear language, would They would respond however to an appeal of a labor government in the United States or England. which would assure them not only their right to determine their own fate but would aid them in es-If there is anything which tablishing their own government

A glorious opportunity faces hated Mussolini regime it is un- the Italian masses. In the midst doubtedly a feeling that their sit- of the slaughter of peoples they uation is hopeless. For in all can be the first to establish a probability it appears to them government based on the princithat to overthrow Mussolini at ples of socialism and dedicated make easier the task of Amer- erty and democracy to the people ican and British capitalism in of the world. The difficulties, we conquering their country. We can must admit, are enormous. The almost take it for granted that Italian masses have been bled they do not believe the propa- white by the war; their indusganda coming to them from tries have been ruined; they have America and England that the no trained revolutionary party to armies of these two nations are lead them. These are the obcoming to Italy to liberate the stacles in the way of the Italian

But if the Parisian workers To a certain extent the masses could proclaim their Commune

> The above article was written before Mussolini's ouster .- Ed.)



PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

August Number TABLE OF CONTENTS

To the Memory of Leon Trotsky, 1879-1940 Campaign for a Labor Party! by James P. Cannon

The Verdict Against the

From the Arsenal of Marxism:

International Notes: Cuba - the Trotskyists and the Trade Unions England - A Split in the Glasgow Stalinists

New York-3, N. Y.

fact that Badoglio acts first of that might prevent the negotiathe bill would be a blow at the ers. Whatever the foreign policy glio regime. Jersey City said, "I am the fountainhead of most anti-labor prove its inability to win and to happen in Italy," he said, "and

CHURCHILL WORRIED If Churchill does not have too His speech contained not a single government, it is because he realword of criticism of the reaction- izes how quickly it can be swept ary Badoglio government; not a aside by the fast-moving developwhisper about applying the "Four ments in Italy: "Past experience Freedoms" to Italy. Like Secre- shows that in cases of great tary Hull at a Washington press | change of heart and character in one stage is rapidly succeeded by

'Free Germany' Group

Sponsored by Stalin have to pass through such an ex- ready been cabled to this counperience all over again. Salvation try. It begins with the following well as the rest of Europe, lies

The manifesto estensibly ad- organization of the post-war to is defeat, The release of the news has been carefully timed to coincide with dresses itself to the masses in the reconstruction of Europe and of launching of the Soviet counter- throw Hitler. But these are not anti-democratic and semi-fascist Stalin's real allies. It is quite clear elements are trying to prevent One week was permitted to just what forces in Germany he the participation of the USSR in clapse before Moscow broadcast banks upon. They are the capital- the organization of the post-war widely the text of the manifesto ist class of Germany and the world and are building the most adopted by the newly constituted military caste of the Junkers — fantastic plans in this direction,

body and it was then featured in "all adherents of Hitler."

the manifesto is placed on the and former Stalinist functionaries ove throw of Hitler, the forma- in Germany.) tion of a "genuine national government" and the immediate conclusion of peace. No mention is made of German imperialism; nor understood more fully in the light is there even a direct reference to of the vast, world-wide game of Nazism. Instead there is an of- secret diplomacy that has been fer of complete "amnesty for all underway for some time. Alex-Hitler adherents who in good ander Werth, the Moscow cortime will renounce him and join respondent of the New York the movement for a Free Ger- Times, has been permitted to many," and, presumably, these cable, in connection with the gentlemen would be granted prop- "Free Germany" movement, the er representation in the govern- following illuminating comment: ment formed after Hitler's over-

ative mass following."

"FREE GERMANY"

CAPITALIST

MOVEMENT IS PRO-

makes it clear that the formation political manifestations, partiof a Soviet Germany is excluded. cularly in America but also in for the dissolution of the Com- 'War and the Working Class,' lin gave thereby an implicit cal on international affairs, prints guarantee that it would help to in its latest number an article perpetuate capitalism in Ger- analyzing the currents in America mitted to the perpetuation of Ger- a cordon sanitaire, it is held,

The German people are promised

capitalist "democracy" which bankrupted itself so quickly in The article on the "East short-lived in the post-war Europe that lies ahead. The lessons of Weimar, and Germany's fate under it, have burned so deeply into the consciousness of the people that the Nazis use as a powerful argument the threat that if they fall, Germany will

The latest move of the Kremlin for the people of Germany as significant remarks: "Every logically thinking pers the setting up of a "National through the establishment of son understands that to the Soviet Committee of Free Germany" in socialism. Stalin, however, forbids Union—the biggest power on the Moscow. The circumstances sur- all mention of socialism and bars continent which in the course of rounding the creation of this body the road to socialist struggle.

STALIN FEARS

STALIN'S ALLIES

Russian Communist Party, and collaboration with his regime is 25.) in all the other Moscow dailies, underscored by the prominence of including the army newspaper, army officers in the National Red Star. It has been further Committee of "Free Germany." disclosed that the "Free Ger- The first and second vice-presimany" movement disposes of its dents of this Committee are prevent the encirclement of the own German paper, published in respectively: Major Karl Hetz and Moscow, and a radio transmit- Lieutenant Prince Heinrich von long projected in Washington, ting station, "Freies Deutsch- Einsiedel, "a great grandson of London, the Vatican, etc., for land," which broadcasts three Bismarck." (Bismarck was the Eastern Europe. With the down-rights, but to win them the masstriumphantly: "At last there is a The linking up of his name with Balkans and Eastern Europe and the capitalists. 'Free Germany' movement with the "Free Germany" movement the nucleus of a broad represent- is not accidental.) Moreover, of mediate. the 34 signatories to the manifesto, 12 are commissioned German officers. They together with the non-commissioned officers and soldiers comprised the majority of What program does this new the delegates. (The rest consisted 'mass movement" offer the Ger- of notorious Stalinist stooges in

SECRET DIPLOMACY The Kremlin's move can be

"Many people (i.e., the Kremlin) throw. The text of the manifesto are disturbed by a variety of By issuing last month the order England. The Russian magazine munist International, the Krem- now the leading Russian periodimany. This guarantee is now and England, with particular atmade explicit by the Kremlin's tention to the idea of an East sponsorship of the "Free Ger- European federation. . . The idea many" movement which is com- of such a federation is essentially man capitalism under "demo-directed against Russia." And

then it is added: "It may be said that the conall the blessings of the old stitution of the Polish division Weimar regime but this time here and the prominence given complete exhaustion of Italian under a "strong democratic power to the Free German Manifesto are fascism. Two decades of its rule that will have nothing in com- all part of 'a Russian insurance have left the country completely mon with the helpless Weimar policy' against various 'political bankrupt. Her fiscal system and surprises' which, it is widely her entire economic life have been The manifesto wisely omits to felt, may be hatched through undermined beyond repair. Her say just how this miracle will be various elements in the Allied national debt has assumed achieved. For the regime of countries." (N. Y. Times, July astronomic proportions. Italy is

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK FOR WOMEN

Soviet Morale Differs

From Italian Morale

One of the principal causes of Mussolini's down.

fall is the fact that the Italian workers and peasants

simply refused to work, to fight, to sacrifice, or to

die for his fascist regime. They rightfully saw noth-

ing worth defending in that utterly decadent and op-

At the other end of Europe the Soviet workers

and peasants fight on against Hitler's powerful mili-

tary machine. Their morale has astounded the world.

After unlimited sacrifices and sufferings, the Soviet

masses score new victories at the very hour that Ital-

ian fascism crumbles to pieces. Why? Because they

have something to fight for: nationalized property,

the land and factories which belong to them, their

planned economy. They want no return to the ex-

ploitation and blind-alley of capitalism which they

pressive political system.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Saturday, July 31, 1943 VOL. VII-No. 31

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not accessarily represent the policies of THE MILI-**FANT** which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

> Application for entry as second-class matter is pending.



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 e v e r y class-conscious

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Wallace Speaks On Post-War World

President Roosevelt's demonstrative dismissal of Vice-President Wallace and his supporters from control of the Board of Economic Warfare has strengthened the belief of many workers and liberals that Roosevelt has conclusively abandoned the New Deal program on which they based all their hopes. Their feelings have been reflected in such statements as that made by I. F. Stone in the July 24 issue of The Nation: "The man who created the New Deal seems intent on destroying it before he leaves office in his flaccid retreat before the bourbons of his own party. Isn't it time for labor and the left to look around for new leader-

It was in an attempt to combat this growing feeling, as well as to bolster his own political fortunes, t hat Wallace spoke on "The America of Tomorrow" in Detroit last Sunday. His speech began with a defense of Roosevelt, and the assertion that reactionaries and fascists, not Roosevelt, were trying to abolish the social gains of the last ten years. But Wallace did not limit himself to this. He knows very well that the masses are wondering not only about Roosevelt the individual, but about the whole program of capitalism. His speech therefore was also an attempt to convince the workers that the New Deal could be depended on to lead the people toward security and democracy in the post-war period.

"I believe in our democratic, capitalist system," said Wallace, "but it must be a capitalism of abundance and full employment. If we return to a capitalism of scarcity such as that which produced both 1929 and 1932, we must anticipate that the returning soldiers and displaced war workers will

speak in no uncertain terms." Wallace is not only afraid of what the masses will say and do about capitalism after the war, he is also afraid of what they will think and do during the war. To reassure them he drew a beautiful picture of the post-war world. But like most of the post-war plans, no explanation was offered of how and when all these beautiful plans would be brought

Imperialism will be abolished and peace and brotherhood will reign, said Wallace. But how will that be possible so long as nothing is done to get rid of the same capitalist-imperialist system which produced the present war? Everyone will have a good job, said Wallace. But who can believe this when capitalism was unable to end unemployment before the war? We will do away with the slums,

said Wallace. But how, when the ruling class couldn't and wouldn't do away with them before? Wallace's speech was long on noble promises, and short on practicable methods for carrying them out under capitalism. The only honest description for such a performance is demagogy.

The workers' skepticism about the blessings of post-war capitalism is a healthy thing. They suspect - and with good reason - that it is pie in the sky offered to divert their attention from the growing attacks on their living standards and democratic rights today. They know that it will be exceedingly difficult to maintain their present conditions, let alone to improve them, if their organizations are weakened and their rights whittled away during the war.

More and more workers are beginning to grasp the additional truth that the post-war world is being shaped right now. The future depends not on promises, not on roseate dreams, not on the weaving of beguiling, beautiful pictures but on the relationship of forces between the capitalists and the workers. If the workers' organizations become so housebroken that they are helpless and ineffectual, labor will suffer cruelties, repression, unemployment, hunger which will make the depression days of 1932 look good by comparison. If the workers' organizations are strengthened, their capacity for protecting labor's rights increased, their solidarity and militancy developed, then labor will succeed in hurling back the union-busting, reactionary attacks of the employers and in pushing forward towards the building of a better world. That is what real post-war planning boils down to.

- LEON TROTSKY Pro-Labor Sentiment Among Negro People

Each week the Pittsburgh Courier's Bureau of Public Sentiment asks more than 10,000 Negroes workers and middle class elements, Southerners and non-Southerners — to express their views on various current issues. The results of this survey are widely recognized as the nation's most authoritative and representative poll of Negro

Last week the Courier printed the results of answers to the question: "Should Negro workers seek closer co-operation with organized labor?" 96.4% of those questioned said Yes, 2.4% said No, and 1.2% were uncertain.

Such an expression of overwhelmingly pro-labor sentiment among the Negro people would be significant at any time. But it is doubly significant and heartening — at the present time. For it comes more than a month after the tragic anti-Negro terror in Detroit and other cities. And it comes at the height of the worst barrage of anti-union propaganda and labor-baiting in recent years.

It shows the Negro people have learned the lesson that their fate is inseparably connected with that of the white workers and that the labor movement, although some backward sections of it continue to practice race discrimination, is their most dependable ally in the fight against Jim Crowism. It shows they have learned this lesson so well that they remain unshaken by the anti-Negro riots, whose purpose is to divide Negro from white, and that they have not fallen into the trap of blaming all white people for such anti-Negro attacks. It shows also that they have not been greatly impressed or affected by the anti-labor editorials, speeches and radio addresses which are designed to discredit the unions and lessen their prestige and attractive power.

The pro-labor sentiment of the Negro people is a cause for rejoicing in the labor movement. It must also be the occasion for labor to recognize its own responsibility toward the Negro people. The labor movement owes a debt to the Negroes for their loyalty and solidarity and support. It can repay that debt, and strengthen its own power at the same time, only by exerting ever greater efforts to integrate the Negro workers in the leadership and ranks of the labor movement and to help destroy Jim Crowism whever it exists.

In New York last week Secretary of the Interior lckes declared that "it is the business men who have been running the war." (N. Y. Times, July 21.) Ickes made this admission as a defense of New Dealers and government bureaucrats like himself against the charge that they are responsible for bungling or hampering the war program, but it helps to explain a lot more than Ickes intended.

In the first place it explains why the people who are running the war are so anxious to freeze wages. Wage freezing insures the maintenance of high profits to the employers from whose ranks the business men in Washington come.

It explains in part why no effective program has been adopted in Washington to halt the rise in living costs. Higher prices mean greater profits for the business men whose representatives are running the war.

Similarly it explains why there is always a gang of government officials ready to step forward and whitewash the powerful corporations when they are caught in some particularly dirty scandal; why so many small businesses have been forced out of existence while the monopolies grow stronger; why Congress abolished the \$25,000 limitation on salaries and refused to raise the miserably inadequate allotments for soldiers' dependents; why Congress passed the Smith-Connally slave-labor bill. . .

All this is done under the convenient cover that the government is an impartial agency administering justice on behalf of all the people. It is high time that labor woke up to the fact that this government is a class government of business men, by business men and for business men.

AFL-CIO Bureaucrats Continue Price Farce

(Continued from page 1)

fact that both the AFL and CIO, as well as their constituent international unions, are officially on record in favor of this same policy of wage freezing, are in favor of the "Little Steel for-

Every day some important union of the AFL and CIO submits a case to the War Labor Board demanding wage increases, in most cases increases that go well beyond those permitted under the "Little Steel formula." Yet these very same officers that are submitting cases to the WLB demanding wage increases beyond the "Little Steel formula" are responsible for the AFL-CIO policy of backing Roosevelt's wage reezing program based on the 'Little Steel formula" and of upholding the now thoroughly discredited War Labor Board whose sole purpose is to administer and to carry out the wage freezing

PART OF WAR MACHINE These labor bureaucrats have ong ago sold themselves bag and baggage to the war machine. In return for Roosevelt's guaranteeing them their careers and union organizations by means of "maintenance of membership," they are using every bit of their strength every shred of their influence, to put across Roosevelt's program of repression and hunger and to stifle every single voice of protest, every opposition. Their aim is to keep the labor movement securely in the straitjacket of the war machine.

Their visits to the White House, their theatrical threats, their periodic demands that prices be rolled back, are only part of the elaborate game of cheating, fooling, confusing, disorienting the working class. They pretend that they are putting up a great fight when the truth of the matter is they have betrayed the fight, they have sold the workers down the

As far as the rollback campaign is concerned, it is a joke. Nobody in Washington takes it seriously any longer. It is only bait to catch the ignorant and

AN EMPTY PROMISE

Chester Davis, ex-food adminstrator, called the rollback program "an empty promise." That is exactly what it is. Roosevelt employs it as his main weapon in preventing the labor movement from fighting for higher wages in the midst of soaring war inflation. The rollback program is flimsy enough. But Roosevelt has no other. That is why he was so determined for Congress to support his subsidization scheme. Roosevelt knows that it is of questionable value as an economic measure. It is of incalculable importance to him, however, as a political measure. It gives him as well as the Murrays and Greens something to talk about.

OPA plans did not include a rollback of any new food prices. The present subsidy program is limited to \$450,000,000, an admittedly inadequate sum to subsidize any significant rollback program. Grade labeling is out, by order of Congress, which has further directed the OPA to cut down even its present inadequate staff. Taking the most optimistic point of view, Brown hopes that the price rollback will reduce the cost of living by one percent. Green admitted at the convention of the Maintenance of Way Railroad

OPA Administrator Brown

publicly admitted on July 15 that



Workers that food prices have risen from 50 to 200%. HOLDS LID ON WAGES

The Murray-Green visit to the White House obviously did a lot of good. If the AFL and CIO have as much success in the visits with the Republican and Democratic Congressmen, then the cause of labor is assured.

The War Labor Board announced the very next day in connection with its decision on the Los Angeles street car men's an awful word, and he wished case, that it would "hold the lid | that someone would invent a new on wages." The board reached a one.

high point in its arrogance when it proclaimed that labor had no right "to demand wage increases beyond the wage stabilization policies of the WLB on the ground that other sectors of our battle line against inflation are not being held. . .'

Roosevelt himself was very genial about the whole thing. In his press interview of the same day, he said that "rollback" was

Cannon Book A 'Must' For Every Militant

- By Art Preis .

The test of time and living events since the spring of 1940, when the petty-bourgeois minority split from the Fourth International movement, has reaffirmed the correctness of the Bolshevik method of organization for the genuine party of social revolution.

What the method is and how it flows from a correct Marxist political program, has never been more clearly, forcefully and convincingly stated than in James P. Cannon's new book, "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party." (Pioneer Publishers, 302 pages, \$2 cloth bound, \$1.50 paper bound.)

This book, the outgrowth of a bitter internal faction struggle in the Socialist Workers Party, is a vivid summation of how to build a workers' party that will be capable of leading the workers and oppressed to power and organizing the socialist society of the future. It is more than a generalized theoretical exposition. It is a "case history," charting the actual application of the Bolshevik methods in the course of an historic struggle.

Rereading most of the material for the first time since the conclusions of that struggle over three years ago, one is the more impressed, because it has become crystal clear that only a party like the Socialist Workers Party built on the program and by the methods described in this book, could have withstood the impact of the war, the hammer blows of reaction, the GPU assassination of Trotsky, the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, the Post Office attack on The Militant, the "Mission To Moscow" smear campaign against the Trotskyists, etc., and stand today more powerful, more firm politically, with deeper roots among the working masses.

'The Struggle for a Proletarian Party" is 'must' reading for every worker seriously seeking an answer to the question, "What kind of party do we need to achieve the end of capitalism and the establishment of socialism?'

In the contrast between the two countries, life itself demonstrates the vast difference between the fascist and the Soviet states, between dying capitalism and nascent socialism, the old world and the new. **Bombing of Rome Lays**

abolished in the October revolution of 1917.

The Vatican has expressed horror, dismay and grief over the Allied raid on Rome and the destruction it brought, especially to a basilica and some other antiquities connected with religion. Amid the welter of destruction, mutilation and death now raging in its fourth year, the Pope's sudden sorrow and protestations recall to us the patient resignation and silence that has emanated from the Vatican on so many other occasions of ruthless and criminal destruction.

Bare Some Hypocrisy

For instance, we do not remember so much as a peep from the Holy Father when the wealth and antiquities of the Ethiopian people as well as the tribesmen themselves were turned into smoking heaps by Mussolini's bombs. Or when British planes rained destruction on "rebellious" tribes in India.

The toll of lives and suffering among the toiling masses exacted by fascism in peacetime both in Italy and Germany never stirred the Pope to protests. Protests were reserved only for those occasions when the prerogatives and the property of the Church were infringed upon. And what about Spain? Didn't the Church literally extend its blessings to the butcher Franco, and all the havoc wrought by the cohorts of Mussolini and Hitler?

Incalculable wealth, both the accumulated labor of centuries and the current resources of mankind, have already been destroyed. And even vaster wealth is scheduled for destruction. Hundreds of European cities lie in charred ruins, and other hundreds are to be turned into rubble. Millions have died and other millions are being led to slaughter - all this, so far as the Pope's conduct is concerned, was apparently something to be borne in silence, so long, that is, as Rome and the cherished possessions of the Vatican

The war is destroying many things, but it is also performing many great constructive tasks. Not the least of these is the ripping away of the veils of hypocrisy from the ruling classes of all countries, and their agencies, including the Church of Rome which yields to none either in hypocrisy or cynicism or greed.

Giraud and De Gaulle Slander Axis Victims

When General Giraud arrived in London last week, he deemed it advisable to "correct" the laudatory remarks he had made about Nazism in a Canadian press interview on July 16. He had said: "Not all is bad in the (German) National Socialist system. . . Some of its accomplishments have been magnificent

. . . From the social point of view things had been well done. . ." In London on July 22 the General declared that his remarks had been badly translated. With the aid of "good" translators, he proceeded to "explain" what he really meant. When he said that from the social point of view things had been well done under Hitler,

he meant that "many Germans had drawn many social advantages from the Nazi system and were likely to fight to the end to preserve them. General Giraud cited as one example the workers' quarters that he had seen in Germany and that he regarded as a great improvement over their predecessors." (N. Y. Times, July 23.) In other words, Giraud meant that Nazism had im-

proved the conditions of the workers, and that therefore the German workers would "fight to the end" to preserve Hitlerism! It is not I but the German workers who admire Hitlerism, Giraud says in effect, and if you want to attack anyone for pro-Nazism, pick on them and not me.

The other great "democrat", General De Gaulle, similarly divested himself of a few pearls last week. He not only slandered the German people. He walloped the Italian people as well.

Speaking to a newspaperman in Algiers on July 21, De Gaulle assured him that the American people need have no worries about his attempting to set up a dictatorship in France because the French people "reject any form of totalitarian dictatorship. Hitler imposed dictatorship on Germany and Mussolini imposed dictatorship on Italy because the people wanted them and accepted them." (N. Y. Times, July 22.)

The two French generals may squabble with each other over how best to reestablish the might of French imperialism. But already today, while France is still overrun by the German army, while the French empire lies in ruins, while the French army is completely dependent on the bounty of the U.S. and Britain, even today in the days of adversity, both Giraud and De Gaulle unite in slandering the peoples of Europe, in preparing to wreak vengeance on the Italian and German working classes. Such is the aim of the two major leaders of the French Committee of National Liberation. Such is their "democracy."

The Struggle For A Proletarian Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

Léon Trotsky appraised this companion volume to his "In Defense of Marxism" as follows:

"It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader. If the discussion had not produced more than this document, it would be justified."

> Price: Paper Cover, \$1.50 Clothbound, \$2.00

> > Order Now From

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.