

# Four Years Of The World War

An Editorial

The Second World War is now in its fifth year. The First World War lasted 4 years and 3 months. In all respects, in the number of cities destroyed, in the number of men killed, wounded or missing, in the colossal costs, in the mounting national debts, the Second World War has unquestionably already gone far beyond its predecessor of 25 years ago. And the end is not in sight.

How many more of the world's leading cities are to be reduced to rubble? How many more millions of men must be sent to their doom? How many more billions of dollars have to be consumed before the war is concluded? Nobody knows, least of all the statesmen, generals and diplomats who at the present time hold the destinies of the peoples in their hands.

The war, however, has another feature: It poses all the questions of the class struggle point blank. It puts all peoples, ideas, organizations, and systems to an inexorable test; it rejects all half-measures, all ambiguity, and exposes all that is rotten and decaying. This war has already dealt annihilating blows to the decadent Second International and thrown into discard the Stalinized Comintern.

This war is speeding up the political education of the peoples of the whole world.

France, master of Europe after the First World War, chief architect among the Allies of the infamous Versailles Treaty, suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of Hitler's army in June, 1940. The ignominious capitulation of the French capitalists and their creation of the pro-Hitler dictatorial Vichy regime established definitively the fact that the capitalist class is interested first and foremost in the preservation of its class rule, of its power and privileges. Only the Marxist program, only the program of the Fourth International had correctly analyzed and explained that the capitalists everywhere adopt the rule of democracy, military dictatorship or fascism in accordance with expediency. "In a moment of danger the bourgeoisie has always been able to free from democratic trappings the real apparatus of its rule as the direct instrument of finance capital," says the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution."

The further sweep of Hitler's armies into Europe, the ease with which he demolished the national states, the artificial boundary lines and the customs barriers, as well as the whole course of Hitler's rule in Europe have demonstrated over and over again that the national state is outlived and is a brake on progress; that Europe is ripe and more than ripe for unification. Hitler's occupation has further demonstrated that unification cannot be accomplished under the auspices of monopoly capitalism. It can only be achieved under the socialist banner, under the leadership of the working class.

All the experiences of the past four years of war have shown how truly prophetic was Trotsky's analysis of Europe's impasse and how correct he was in counterposing to the mad house of capitalist Europe the program of the Socialist United States of Europe.

One year after the fall of France, in June 1941, Hitler launched his fateful attack upon the Soviet Union. The war on the eastern front is now entering its third year, but Hitler is further from victory today than when he first began his ferocious offensive. The magnificent morale of the Red Army and the Soviet masses was the determining factor that finally turned back the tide of retreats and defeat. The Red Army dealt the Wehrmacht a crushing blow at Stalingrad and went over to the offensive in the summer of 1943. Here again only the program of the Fourth International has correctly analyzed and explained the course of events. The Russian Revolution, debilitated by 20 years of Stalin's rule, is nevertheless still alive and still displays tremendous vitality. Its great conquests have not all been lost. The workers' state with its nationalized property and planned economy has again confounded the capitalist statesmen and military experts. It has buried forever the theory of the identity between the fascist and soviet systems. Its unprecedented victories have now thrown consternation and fear into the capitalist rulers of the Anglo-American camp. The deep-going contradiction between the Soviet state and the capitalist world has been disclosed anew in the current crisis between Stalin and his Allies.

"By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan states, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation," wrote Trotsky in 1940.

From the very first days of the Second World War, the struggle of the colonial peoples for national independence has been in the forefront. It has been a constant source of worry to the capitalist masters, above all, the Anglo-American war camp. The six-year military struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism has steered the Chinese masses, has built up the spirit of independence, self-reliance and determination to win national freedom and economic well-being.

Alongside of China, India with its 400-millions has risen from the sleep of centuries. India's struggle for a new life of economic security, of national freedom shook the British empire to its foundations.

The struggle of the Chinese and Indian masses, comprising two-fifths of humanity, is a grim warning, not only that the days

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## CANADIAN UNION EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR KELLY POSTAL

"We agree with you wholeheartedly that Brother Postal has been the victim of anti-labor authorities who miss no opportunity to persecute anyone who dares to fight for the rights of labor," wrote the Recording Secretary of Ford Local 200, UAW-CIO, Windsor, Ontario, to the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week.

"Because of wartime restrictions we are unable to export funds from Canada, even for such a worthy cause as you mention in your circular. I have been instructed by our executive to inform you that we wish you every success possible in your noble efforts to secure the release of Brother Kelly Postal."

In this country, similar senti-

ments are accompanied by financial support from a growing number of local trade unions. Among this week's contributors to the Kelly Postal Pardon Fund are UAW-CIO Bronze Workers Local 69, New Castle, Pa., and the United Construction Workers, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Postal is now serving a five year sentence in a Minnesota jail on trumped-up charges arising out of his union activity. His lawyers are scheduled to file application for his pardon on September 11, and the application will be reviewed by the Minnesota State Board of Pardons on October 11. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is circulating petitions asking for the release of Postal. Those who wish to help can secure petitions from the CRDC, 160 Fifth Ave., New York.

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# ITALIAN WORKERS ELECT OWN FACTORY COMMITTEES

## Employers Exert Pressure to Halt War Fraud Probes

Shipment of finished airplane engines at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant in Lockland, Ohio, declined by 85% between April and August 1 of this year. This coincided with the period during which the Senate's Truman Committee investigated conditions and inspection methods in the plant and made public the facts showing that the corporation—a subsidiary of Curtiss-Wright, holder of the nation's second largest war contracts—was deliberately endangering the lives of the men in the armed forces by turning out defective and sub-standard war material.

The N. Y. Times last week printed a series of articles on the situation, presenting them as "impartial" news stories but slanting them heavily to make it appear that the Truman Committee's investigation and revelations—and not the corporation—were responsible for the production slump.

The Senate committee, said the Times' stories, had "demoralized" the inspectors of finished material at the plant. "The element of judgment went out of the window. Strictest adherence to blueprints, really 'more than strictest' adherence, became the controlling law. Inspectors became jittery and frightened. Materials from the smallest parts to completed engines were tested, retested and re-retested beyond all necessity. Inspectors became irritated with each other and production men with all inspectors. . . . Etc., etc. "The demoralization . . . resulted in good part, it is said, from the mysterious, half-threatening and rumor-provoking manner in which the Truman committee conducted its inquiry." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 1.)

WHY PANIC?  
Why should the inspectors at the plant have become panic-stricken when the investigation began if they had been doing their jobs properly? The Times does

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## Minnesota Union Heads Back Democratic Party

By Grace Carlson

Gompersism, the policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies," which has kept AFL workers tied to the Democratic and Republican machines for decades, is now being promoted by the top bureaucrats of the CIO under the new name of labor political action. The rising tide of opposition to capitalist politics was shown by the large number of votes cast in last fall's elections for ALP candidates in New York and Farmer-Labor Party candidates in Minnesota. It was expressed even more dramatically by the demand of the majority of the Michigan CIO delegates at their July convention for an independent labor party. Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, is working overtime to direct this sentiment into the pro-Roosevelt stream.

In Minneapolis a Labor Day Victory banquet held under the auspices of the Minneapolis AFL Central Labor Union anticipated Hillman's projected visit to Minnesota next month, by formally opening a drive for a Roosevelt fourth-term. Two hundred eighty representatives of the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and farm cooperative organizations heard speaker after speaker urge "unity of all liberals" in order to secure the re-election of Roosevelt and of a Congress favorable to him.

"UNITY"—WITH THE DEMOCRATS  
A hint as to the type of "unity" they desire was given by Toastmaster Hubert Humphrey—(labor-endorsed candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis in the spring election, who declared that "after all the talk of unity there must be some place to come home to"—and then introduced the Democratic State Chairman!

Farmer-Labor Party leaders offered no objection to this proposed sellout of their party. Former Governor Elmer Benson, head of the Stalinist-dominated Farmer-Labor Association, was praised by CIO leaders as "the man who can be relied upon to lend his invaluable support in behalf of achieving greater unification among Roosevelt Democrats and Farmer-Laborites, as well as labor and other liberal groups and individuals."

The increasing strength of labor party sentiment among the masses of workers can be judged by the desperation with which the Hillmans, Murrays and Greens as well as all the lesser bureaucrats of the labor movement, are working to stem the tide and to deflect the movement into safe pro-Democratic Party channels.

## Anti-Nazi Protest in Norway



The Norwegian masses are shown in a recent demonstration against the German forces of occupation in Oslo. Surrounding this school in which "slave labor" transported from France is quartered, the Norwegians are shouting their opposition to the Hitlerites and demanding freedom for the French workers. A few seconds after this picture was snapped, German troops drove cars over the sidewalk and into the crowd. (Photo smuggled from Norway. Federated Pictures.)

## Rift Widens Between Stalin And His Allies

By John G. Wright

The capitalist press is filled with proposals and counter-proposals for assuring harmony with the Soviet Union. Hull and Roosevelt issue disclaimers of anti-Soviet bias. Churchill vows that he understands and sympathizes wholeheartedly with Russian views. But there is still no sign of improvement in the relations between Stalin and his "democratic" allies.

Shortly before the Quebec Conference came the launching of the "Free Germany" movement, with its obvious threat of an independent policy by the Kremlin with respect to Germany. Almost simultaneously, the Moscow publication, War and the Working Class, the mouthpiece for Stalin's foreign policy, charged publicly that Allied plans envisaged the isolation of the Soviet Union through the creation of a system of buffer states based on Poland and the Balkans.

When the Quebec Conference convened, the Kremlin was quite unambiguous in dissociating itself from it. While the Allied press expressed concern over the absence of Soviet spokesmen, the TASS, official Soviet news agency, bluntly announced that Moscow had not been invited. On top of this came the removal of Maisky and Litvinov from their posts as Ambassadors to England and the United States respectively, and their replacement by two nonentities.

### SIGNS IN THE WIND

In addition, Moscow took the opportunity to release such news items as the refusal by American authorities in North Africa to permit a Soviet emissary to contact the French Committee of National Liberation. The British authorities, it was further disclosed, were preventing President Benes of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile from going to Moscow to sign a pact there.

The crisis extends to such bodies as the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee where the British and Soviet delegates came into sharp disagreement, especially over the issue of the "second front," during the third session of the Committee in Moscow in July. Sir Walter Citrine is now being roundly denounced by the British and American Stalinists, who are discovering once again that the British labor bureaucrats will play the game of their imperialist masters each time it comes to a showdown.

There has been no moderation in the tone of War and the Work-

ing Class. The latest issue contains an article which in addition to denouncing the AMG (AMGOT) as "undemocratic," links it directly with the plan to isolate the USSR. This article states:

"Especially uneasiness has been caused among democrats of Allied countries by reports leaking through the press that AMG is designed for a grand European plan and, besides administering countries of the Hitlerite bloc, will take control over countries liberated from German occupation." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 3.)

Taking their cue from Moscow,

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## Badoglio Is Compelled To Agree To Secret Ballot

AMGOT Then Follows By Conceding 'Free Labor Movement' in the Occupied Areas

By Felix Morrow

The revolutionary workers of Italy have wrested from the Badoglio government an agreement for the election of factory committees by secret ballot of the workers.

In listing the achievements of the Italian workers, last week's issue of *The Militant* already referred to free elections in the factories, basing itself on a reference to this fact in dispatches from Moscow to the Stalinist press.

Now comes a formal announcement by the official Stefani news agency, dated Sept. 2, which gives the following details:

1. The agreement is between the "confederation of manufacturers" and the "confederation of industrial workers." Since the fascist "confederation of workers" covered employees in all enterprises including government services, etc., the reference now to a "confederation of industrial workers" appears to confirm previous intimations that the workers in the northern industrial cities had succeeded in seizing the fascist "unions" and transforming them into the workers' own organizations.

2. Factory committees will be elected in all "industrial enterprises" employing more than twenty persons. The committees will number from three to nine persons, depending on the size of the enterprise.

3. Members of the committees will be elected "by the direct and secret vote" of the workers who have been employed in the factory for at least one year. "The management staff is excluded from voting." This puts an end to the fascist myth of the identity of interests of management and workers, on the basis of which both together "chose" representatives hitherto.

4. The committees will "control stipulation and application of collective contracts of work,

mediate in individual controversies, etc."

We can be sure that the winning of the right to factory committees will not abate the workers' hostility to the military dictatorship of Badoglio. His tardy agreement to the elections can scarcely be dressed up as a generous concession. As I wrote on August 2: "The democratic rights which the masses are wresting for themselves in the streets and factories of Italy, and which the Italian bourgeoisie will tomorrow formally recognize, are seen to be the achievement of the masses themselves."

### AMGOT'S CONCESSION

Even tardier than Badoglio's concession is a lesser one made by AMGOT in Sicily. At least eight or ten days after the unofficial news of the agreement for factory elections in Italy, and two days after the official Stefani agency announcement, comes the first news, in a dispatch dated Sept. 4 and published in the Sept. 6 N. Y. Times, that "The AMG abolished today all fascist labor and corporate organizations . . . and is substituting a free labor movement."

At the time this dispatch from Sicily was published, the American press had not yet printed a word about the factory elections agreement in Italy. Just who is holding back that news? Is the

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## Carlo Tresca's Widow Gives His Views On Italian Events

The following statement by Margaret De Silver was written the day after Mussolini's fall at the request of the *New Leader*, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, but then refused publication in that paper. She is the widow of Carlo Tresca, the life-long anti-fascist who was assassinated in New York on Jan. 11, 1943, and herself an outstanding fighter for civil liberties. The editors of *The Militant* are of the opinion that her statement is a fair summary of the stand that the great anti-fascist leader would have taken were he here to participate in these stirring events.

It is a terrific responsibility to undertake to speak for someone else, particularly if one is a political amateur and attempts to speak for such an exceptionally astute person as Carlo Tresca.

Everybody can imagine Carlo whooping and bubbling and perhaps getting agreeably drunk at the downfall of his oldest enemy. As to the Badoglio item, I think he would be extremely skeptical and might conclude that not Hitler, but Roosevelt-Churchill-State Department had engineered the move.

It is sad for Carlo that he did not live to see these beginnings of the collapse of fascism in Italy, but it is tragic for the people of Italy that he is not here to do a lot of necessary debunking, especially of the weird assortment of people who are attempting to speak for Italy. Carlo knew an awful lot about what was going on inside Italy, but he frequently remarked that it was nonsense for people here to plan who was to do what, in case an Allied invasion of Italy should develop a revolutionary situation there, because the people inside Italy would have to take care of that.

He would say: "Poor Italians, they have been so beaten and starved, maybe they cannot pull

it off. . . But no one else can." This does not mean that Carlo was unaware of what the Allies would be up to in the matter of suppressing any real revolution. And he would have fought against these pressures. Maybe that is why he is not here. For the fact is that the ex-fascists who are scrambling onto the New Deal bandwagon, who are making hypocritical hurrahs, are the most serious threat at the moment: such as Generoso Pope and straddlers like LaGuardia, who hope to pull down plums and glory by playing along with the Powers.

Yes, Mussolini's oldest enemy, the honorable man who fought him always and unrelentingly, and not just when it became fashionable and safe to do so, and not just with his voice but with his whole heart and soul, lies dishonored and unavenged. Maybe the people of Italy, if they succeed in their terrible struggle, will be the ones to do the job of avenging Carlo's memory, the job which people in America seem incapable of accomplishing, to our disgrace.

MARGARET DE SILVER  
July 26, 1943



# The Struggle For A Labor Party In Michigan

By John Saunders

DETROIT — Sidney Hillman, head of the CIO Political Action Committee, the officers of the United Auto Workers, the leaders of the state CIO and the Stalinists all say openly or by innuendo that the move for a Michigan labor party is dead. This will come as news to many of the rank and file delegates who voted to launch such a party at the Michigan CIO convention last July. Nevertheless it is now clear that the fight to form an independent labor party, which had seemed almost an accomplished fact to the delegates at the convention, is still far from finished.

To properly understand the present prospects for independent labor political action in Michigan, one must first become acquainted with the forces operating within the UAW which wields the decisive influence on CIO policy in this state. Two powerful caucuses, one headed by Reuther, the other by Addes-Frankenstein, have been struggling for control of this union. Aside from the question of incentive pay, which is sponsored by Addes and his Stalinist supporters and opposed by Reuther, there is virtual agreement on basic policy. Both groups are fervent supporters of Roosevelt, both are opponents of revoking the no-strike pledge and are against creating an independent party of labor.

## The Reuther Policy

But the Reuther group differs from its rival in that its leaders are more sensitive

to the moods among the workers and realize how soon the workers' dissatisfaction with present conditions may erupt into a full-fledged revolt against the Roosevelt "union sacrifice" program and against the union officials who help to put this program over. As a result, the leaders of the Reuther group — in order to maintain their leadership over these dissatisfied workers and to keep them from going "too far" — often mouth more militant slogans than the Addes group. This explains why the demand for a labor party was exploited by some of the leaders of the Reuther group.

Emil Mazey, president of the Briggs local, is one of the leading "left wing" spokesmen of the Reuther group. Reuther applies the carrot-and-club policy toward Mazey: He dangles before him a post on the Executive Board of the International and gives him some leeway, when the question of basic policy or leadership is not in the balance, to bring new supporters into the Reuther group by espousing various progressive causes. But when talk gives way to action and there is serious work to be done, Mazey is faced with the alternative of retracting his steps and hewing strictly to the Reuther line or else losing all Reuther support for the post he has so long coveted. In the past six years, Mazey has consistently capitulated to Reuther when faced with this alternative. His explanation is always the same: that a break with the Reuther caucus would bring into control of the union a group that is still more reactionary. Actually his policy

keeps the militants tied to the Reuther caucus and prevents them from striking out on their own.

## The Role Played by Mazey

The demand for a labor party became widespread among Michigan workers in the middle of 1943 as the result of the rising cost of living, the freezing of wages and the repressive anti-labor legislation. Mazey spoke up for a labor party too and by promising to win the Reuther caucus over to support of the labor party managed to swing many workers behind the caucus. For a time it seemed Mazey would make good on his promise. With only a few dissenting votes he was able to put through a satisfactory resolution for the launching of a labor party at the June Convention of the Progressive Labor League which was dominated by the Reutherites.

But Reuther, Scholle, Doll and the other leaders of the caucus had no intention of bucking the national leadership of the CIO on this issue. It is one thing to speak vaguely about independent political action, especially when the workers are talking in favor of it — it is another to conduct a fight for the labor party against the top CIO bureaucrats and the White House. At the state CIO convention in July the Reuther leaders disregarded the wishes of the rank and file of their own caucus and joined forces with Addes and the Stalinists to defeat the Mazey-Silvers resolution.

Mazey, who confined his activities for a labor party to maneuvers at the top, had

failed to prepare the delegates for a struggle. Scholle made the strongest speech at the convention against the labor party while Mazey was not even recognized by the Reutherite who chaired the convention session. Only lesser-known supporters of the resolution were permitted to speak and Mazey's plea for a hand-vote was ignored. Mazey complained feebly that he had been doublecrossed. But it was neither his complaints nor the fear that he would bolt the Reuther caucus and set out on an independent course, but rather the anxiety that Mazey might not be able to keep his followers in line, that persuaded the Reuther caucus leaders to bring in a compromise resolution on the labor party.

The deliberately vague resolution which the Reuther leaders permitted to pass enabled them to maintain the appearance of supporting the move to create a labor party — while actually stifling it. The resolution called for the setting up of a committee of 17 "to explore and build sentiment for independent political action" for a period of 90 days and for a referendum on the part of the local unions within 30 days thereafter. Naturally the delegates expected that the chief supporters of the labor party would be appointed to this committee and that they would carry on a campaign of propaganda and agitation for a labor party by publishing literature and holding mass meetings. The referendum would then convince the most doubtful of the overwhelming sentiment of the rank and file for a labor party.

But all the national and state CIO leaders including the Reuther caucus leaders had different ideas. They were out to kill the labor party, not build it.

## After the CIO Convention

Far from strengthening sentiment for independent political action, the state CIO leaders — taking their cue from the Chicago conference held under the auspices of Hillman's Political Action Committee — are doing everything possible to mobilize sentiment against the launching of a labor party and are contriving ways and means to dispense with the referendum ordered by the state CIO Convention. The hypocritical formula adopted by the 17-man committee, according to the August 20 Michigan CIO News, is that all its members "concede the desirability of having a third party EVEN- TUALLY, while differing as to the advisability of launching it immediately."

Contrary to the wishes of the membership, union funds are being squandered in a substitute campaign to keep the workers tied to the capitalist parties. Tabulations of how the "friends" of labor voted in Congress, have been prepared and distributed to the membership. Great emphasis is being placed on a drive to get all the workers registered — so that they will be able to vote for new "friends" of labor at the coming election. No mention is made of the fact that it is precisely the failure to create a labor party which is responsible for the apathy of the masses to register and vote.

How is the rank and file to get out of

this impasse and implement its demand for a labor party at this time? First of all, it must rely not on the Reuther caucus but on its own strength and its own independent program. The union militants must build their own independent group and carry on a consistent fight for a labor party against the Reuther-Leonard as well as the Addes-Frankenstein forces. They must fight openly and squarely at the coming UAW convention for the launching of a labor party. They must pass resolutions in the locals insisting that the state CIO leaders hold the referendum in the time specified by the state convention.

The ranks must prepare for a long uphill fight because the entire trade union leadership is determined to thwart the wishes of the membership for an independent party of labor. But time is on the side of the progressive forces. The continued skyrocketing of prices while wages remain frozen and the anti-labor policies of Congress and Roosevelt will convince even the most backward of the necessity for an independent labor party. The present leftward swing of the masses in Australia and Canada in the direction of the labor party will have a great influence on the American workers. The twofold reactionary policy of the administration of throttling the workers at home and crushing the struggles of the workers abroad will rouse the American masses still more. The Michigan workers have the opportunity of winning the leadership of this great political labor campaign.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The latest development in the faction fight between the Reuther-Leonard and Addes-Frankenstein caucuses in the United Auto Workers was the announcement last week that Richard Leonard will run against George Addes for the post of secretary-treasurer at the Oct. 4 convention of the union in Buffalo.

This election contest is being discussed by both caucuses as though it was the main problem to face the convention. Thus the announcement of Leonard's candidacy is a sign not only that the faction fight is sharpening but also that the real problems facing the auto workers are being subordinated to a clique fight for posts.

During the past summer four million young people between the ages of 14 and 17 have been legally employed in factories, stores and on farms in the United States. The employment of this vast army of minors, over half the high-school population, has been made possible by the amendment, in 17 states, of child-labor laws, lowering both the standards of employment and the work-age limit for youth.

In addition to those legally employed under working papers, the federal Children's Bureau reports that the incidence of illegal employment has increased four-fold. Next week the fall school term opens. Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, and Katherine Lenroot, head of the Children's Bureau are engaged in a controversy over the Bureau's slogan—"back-to-school." McNutt is said to agree with the further education of the youth "in principle" but his agency is doing its best to undermine the Children's Bureau campaign.

McNutt's attempt to keep these young workers out of school presents the trade unions with a serious problem. The existing child-labor laws and the very educational system itself are not altruistic gifts of capitalism. They were brought into being through the work of the trade union movement. But the high cost of living has forced most of these four million young people into industry. Most of the youth work because they have to augment the family income, and tragically, many of them will forego their further education for the same reason.

A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living is vitally necessary to assure full educational opportunity to the working class youth.

The National Coal Operators Association complained bitterly last week that there is a production lag because the miners are practicing "enormous absenteeism and indifference." The bosses say the miners' slogan is "no contract—no sweat."

A United Mine Workers' spokesman, when asked to comment on the operators' charge, replied cryptically, "The men in the pits are sore. They feel they've been gypped."

The first strike called under the Smith-Connally Act is still holding firm. Involved are 28 members of the International Association

of Machinists who walked out in protest against the firing of nine union members.

Shortly after the strike began the War Labor Board ordered the local union officials to send the men back to work. George R. Nelson, union business agent, wired the board that "the workers have voted by secret ballot to sustain their refusal to work."

On Sept. 4 President Roosevelt authorized Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator, to seize and operate the Brooklyn ship repair yard of the Atlantic Basin Iron Works. Land immediately announced the appointment of Daniel S. Briery, head of the WSA repair and salvage department, as operations manager for the yard.

For more than three months Bernard C. Moran, the company president, has defiantly refused to obey a WLB order that he sign a contract with the Industrial Union of Shipbuilding and Marine Workers, CIO. In the final WLB hearing on the case last week, Moran stated bluntly that he "preferred" government seizure to signing a maintenance-of-membership contract with the union. The IUSMW won collective bargaining rights for the yard in an NLRB election in 1938 but has never been able to get a contract with the company.

Moran stands to lose only the titular control of his yard's operations. His bonanza cost-plus contracts, his priorities and his transportation privileges remain intact. Hence his profits will continue to roll in as before. And when the government considers that all danger of "interruptions by union action" have passed, Moran will get his yard back.

The national executive board of the CIO shipyard union voted last week to empower its president, John Green, to appoint a committee of three—himself and two others—to police the union and deal "severe punishment" to any individual member or local union which violates the no-strike pledge.

John Green and Philip Van Gelder, who head the shipyard workers union, started out in the CIO as militants organizing the workers for struggle against the capitalist class. Now the political representatives of Big Business have organized them into police agents against the workers.

The N. Y. Times opened up a campaign last week to discredit the Truman Committee's findings that the officials of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant at Lockland, Ohio, deliberately delivered defective airplane engines to the government. As part of its smear campaign, the Times printed some criticisms of the Truman Committee made by officers of the United Auto Workers Lockland plant local.

The motives of the Times are of course obvious. They want to whitewash the crimes of the Wright Corporation. The whole sorry incident in addition throws a rather lurid light on the policies and activities of the labor bureaucrats.

The labor movement should be

## Workers Are Electing Their Own Factory Committees In Italy

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OWI holding it up, in order to enable AMGOT to pretend that its change of line in Sicily is a freely-motivated decision rather than what it obviously is, a decision forced upon it by the developments in Italy?

The Sicily dispatch does not make clear precisely what kind of a "free labor movement" is to be permitted. Workers will be "freely choosing their own delegates," it says, but does not indicate whether this is to be by secret ballot, and whether on a city-wide or factory basis. Strikes remain outlawed, and there is a reference to appointment of "impartial arbiters" by the AMGOT-controlled "provincial labor office," whenever "an office of conciliation, mediation and arbitration" "fails to agree" to the workers' demands.

### WHY AMGOT ACTED

That the AMGOT agreement to permit workers to elect their own delegates is merely an attempt to get formally in line with what the workers have already achieved by themselves in Italy, is clear to anyone who studies the previous policy of AMGOT. Under the formula "prohibition of political activity," it has previously indicated quite obviously that not only political parties but also trade unions would not be allowed. The workers' interests were to be "protected" by AMGOT's "provincial labor offices." The Sept. 4 dispatch from Sicily (written by Herbert L. Matthews) attempts to note, in double-talk acceptable to the military censors that the new policy is a decided change: "Thus the Allied organization has abandoned its original idea of trying to foist Anglo-Saxon labor principles upon the Italians." As if to give his readers a broad hint that the new step is not part of a general policy of democratization, Matthews adds: "... it is realized that it is highly questionable whether the Allies have the right to impose Western democratic institutions on a country that in many respects did not have them even before fascism." It is hard to believe that the well-informed Matthews does not know that the last part of his sentence is a flagrant falsehood and that the Italian workers and peasants had won a broad arena of democratic rights before fascism, especially during the revolutionary crisis of 1919-1920, when they won workers' control of production in many instances, and the peasants seized land and organized socialist co-operatives—broader rights than those which the American workers have as yet won.

In any event it is clear that the Italian workers, under AMGOT no less than under Badoglio, will get only what they win in struggle. Already thanks to the victories won by the workers against Badoglio, AMGOT is

in the forefront of the campaign to expose the profiteering and the criminal activities of the billion dollar corporations. Instead it is the kite to the pro-Big Business Truman Committee. In the present instance, the stupid, confused statements of the local CIO leaders have served only to give aid and comfort to the enemies of labor.

power and the crushing of the capitalist counter-revolution. Trotsky proposed thus to utilize the German factory committees in 1923, instead of artificially trying to get up soviet side by side with the existing committees.

### ROLE OF COMMITTEES

Elected factory committees in a time of revolutionary crisis will undoubtedly prove to have far more scope than questions of wages and working conditions. Like the Russian factory committees of February-October 1917, the German factory committees of November 1918-October 1923, and the elected shop stewards in England after the last war, the Italian factory committees are certain to become spokesmen of the workers on the most basic political issues.

We write from afar and with the scantiest information, but we can be sure that the older communist and socialist workers, who recall the fatal role of the reformist trade union leaders in making possible the victory of fascism in 1922, see in the factory committees a far more sensitive instrument for expressing the will of the workers than trade unions can be in a period of revolutionary upheaval. During the post-war revolutionary wave of 1917-1923, the trade union officialdom everywhere lagged far behind the factory committees and shop steward. Directly under the pressure of the workers and in daily contact with them in the shops, the factory committees and shop stewards were far to the left of the trade union officials.

### EMBRYO OF SOVIETS

Indeed, at the beginning of the October revolution in Russia, the factory committees were on the workers' side of the barricades, the official top trade union bodies on the other side. Prior to that, in July 1917, the Bolsheviks for a time considered abandoning the possibility of leading the revolution through the existing soviets—composed of workers' and soldiers' deputies elected one or two from each factory and regiment—and considered basing the coming revolution on the broader factory committees. For at that time the reformist Mensheviks and S.R.'s had well-nigh strangled the soviets, turning them into appendages of the Provisional Government, while the factory committees, directly responsive to the workers, had remained revolutionary bodies. In the end, the soviets proved capable of being revived.

Actually, under conditions of revolutionary crisis, factory committees are the embryo of soviets, and can, under the leadership of a genuinely revolutionary Marxist party, assume the functions of the soviets of October—become the most authoritative organs of defense of the workers' rights, leading to the assumption of state

power and the crushing of the capitalist counter-revolution. Trotsky proposed thus to utilize the German factory committees in 1923, instead of artificially trying to get up soviet side by side with the existing committees. On the other hand, if a revolutionary Marxist party fails to develop and become the leader of the masses, the factory committees may in the end be emptied of their potentialities and transformed into mere instruments of class collaboration, no less than the trade unions. This happened in Germany after the Communist Party failed to seize the revolutionary opportunity in 1923.

### DEEPENING OF CRISIS

For the present, the appearance of the factory committees in Italy indicates the deepening of the revolutionary crisis, and the developing opportunity for the workers, supported by the land-hungry peasantry, to establish a Workers' and Peasants' Government based on the factory committees and on elected peasant committees.

As yet, by all indications, the Italian workers' movement remains essentially "spontaneous," in the sense that it is not under the control of the parties which emerged from underground on July 26. Undoubtedly members of the Communist and Socialist Parties, especially those with experience during the pre-fascist period, are being thrown up by the factory and union leaders by the

mass movement. But the parties themselves do not yet appear to speak with dominating authority to the workers.

This fact has profound significance for the future of the Italian revolution. The Communist and Socialist Parties are not revolutionary organizations: both propose nothing more than the formation of a democratic-capitalist republic (the Stalinists don't even speak of ending the monarchical system!). Once they get control of the workers' movement, they are certain to act as a brake upon it. Meanwhile, fortunately, the elemental force of the mass movement is creating a broad arena of workers' democracy—trade unions and other organizations and, above all, the factory committees—which will be a forum in which the genuinely revolutionary Marxist elements can win the minds of the workers.

Those genuinely revolutionary elements, coming from the Communist and Socialist Parties, and the many dissident unattached communists, as well as from the small Trotskyist groups, will have their opportunity to fuse together into a party of the Fourth International and sink their roots deep into the mass movement. The assurance of that opportunity—that is the tremendous revolutionary significance of the agreement won by the workers for the free election of factory committees.

## ETHIOPIA AND SICILY PROVIDE PREVIEW OF THE ALLIED POLICIES

It has been correctly emphasized that the Allied Military Government policy in Sicily—collaboration with fascist officials, suppression of political activity by the masses, maintenance of capitalist property relations—is a preview of the policies which the Allies will try to carry out in Italy and the other Axis countries. But it should not be forgotten that this is not the first preview. The first was given in Ethiopia almost two years ago.

The situation in Ethiopia was different, of course. Italy is the military foe of Great Britain while Ethiopia is her ally. That only makes what happened to Ethiopia all the more significant.

An Anglo-Ethiopian treaty and military convention were signed early in 1942 after the Italian armies had been driven out. Haile Selassie was reinstated as emperor, but Ethiopia was not restored to even its pre-1935 status as an independent nation. By the treaty which Britain imposed on the country it was reduced to the status of a virtual colony.

### DR. MARTIN'S ANALYSIS

That this is recognized (and resented) by the Ethiopian people was confirmed recently by Dr. Wargneh Martin, former Ethiopian ambassador to Britain, whose legation in London was shut down to appease Mussolini and to prepare the way for the British government's recognition of the fascist conquest of Ethiopia before the outbreak of the present war. As reported by George Padmore in the British New Leader of July 17, Dr. Martin has issued a statement subjecting the treaty to analysis and showing it to be a device by which independence is denied to Ethiopia.

Through this treaty, as Dr. Martin demonstrates, British diplomatic representatives are given precedence over all other foreign representatives; Britain is given the right to use "immovable property" of the Ethio-

pian state for the prosecution of the war; Ethiopian public expenditure is practically controlled by the British; the British must approve all matters relating to Ethiopian currency; the emperor is obligated to consult the British military authorities concerning any external military operations; and the British are granted civil air transport freedom of passage to, in and over Ethiopia while the same facilities are denied to other foreign aircraft without the concurrence of the British. As Dr. Martin asks of this last clause, "Would any free and independent state tolerate such an injunction from another state?"

### A STRANGLING GRIP

Under the military convention, Dr. Martin continues, the Ethiopian emperor is practically placed under the control of the British commander-in-chief in Kenya; the British are given "the right to keep such military forces in Ethiopia as they think necessary;" exemption from taxation and the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the Ethiopian courts is made for all British military and police forces, and for civilians serving with them; and thousands of square miles of Ethiopian territory which have been occupied as reserved areas "shall be inviolable and shall be subject to the exclusive control and authority of the appropriate British authority."

No wonder that Dr. Martin concludes his analysis with the statement that all this "has been effected in contradiction to the pious statement that the British government is fighting for justice and independence for all the oppressed and invaded nations, and not with a view to acquire more territory for the British Empire."

Add what happened in Ethiopia to what happened in Sicily. The sum will be the policy which Churchill and Roosevelt hope to put into effect in Europe and the rest of the world.

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## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

### Not Lectures On Manners, But A Program

Last week's column was devoted to showing how wrong it had been, after the August 1-2 outbreak in Harlem, for the Negro press and Negro leaders to spend their time denouncing the Harlem masses as "hoodlums" when they should have been attacking the Jim Crow system fostered by capitalism which was the real cause of the outbreak as it was of the anti-Negro violence in Detroit and elsewhere. This week we want to conclude with our remarks on that question.

Some of the Negro leaders who blew their top against the Harlem masses just didn't know any better, we believe. Other leaders did know better, but they were worried about the effect of this spontaneous demonstration of resentment against Jim Crow would have on the administration, with whom they are pleading for concessions. This fear is clearly reflected, for example, in the column which Mr. Roy Wilkins, assistant national secretary of the NAACP, wrote for the August 28 N. Y. Amsterdam News:

"... Did the riot do any good? A young fellow in a zoot suit and a zoot hat yelled at me August 2: 'I bet they will pay attention to this in Washington!'

"They will pay attention, all right, but the question is: 'What kind of attention?' The Negroes who have to deal with people in power are meeting a cold front. Many do not even wish to discuss the Negro question. The progress of getting attention for real grievances, justifiable complaints, is made difficult by wild behavior of the people who have just cause for yelling.

"Of course white people are at fault. Of course the whole system of repression and cruelty is at fault. But we have to take a good, honest look at ourselves. We aren't perfect, either. The white man must make concessions, but we must also. We can't win with profane, obscene and loud language, nor with crude behavior. While we fight for our rights, we have got to straighten out and 'fly right.'"

(In passing, we should point out that we do not accept the formulation that "white people are at fault"—the capitalist class and its political, educational and journalistic servants who maintain Jim Crow. Some white people are not at fault—the advanced workers who fight to abolish discrimination and segregation, the backward workers who are misled by capitalist miseducation. Some Negroes are also at fault—particularly the self-styled leaders who refuse to lead the masses in an all-out fight against the cause and supporters of Jim Crow.)

Now Mr. Wilkins is not at all the most horrible example of a Negro leader to whom we could point. But that makes this statement all the more significant. For he too has his eyes turned in the wrong direction. He seems to be more concerned with what Washington is thinking than with what the Negro masses are thinking. Many of the administration officials do not even want to discuss the Negro question, he asserts, and "wild behavior" makes the job of the Negro leaders more difficult.

But why are he and other leaders meeting "a cold front" from

the people in power? One thing is sure: it's not because the Negro people have been misbehaving. The great majority of the Negro people, on the contrary, have been behaving far too meekly and respectfully, considering all the insult and oppression they have had to put up with. The present administration has been in office almost eleven years; during that time the Negro people have acted "wild" so seldom that you can count the instances on the fingers of one hand. That has not made the administration any less "cold."

Mr. Wilkins recognizes that the Jim Crow system is at fault, but says Negroes aren't perfect either. True, they are not perfect, but the fault of the Jim Crow system cannot be placed on the same level as the faults or shortcomings of the people whom this system oppresses. The Negro cannot win his fight by profane language or crude behavior, he continues. It all depends on what is meant by "crude behavior."

To a poll tax senator it is crude and subversive behavior to demand the abolition of the poll tax. To Roosevelt it is crude behavior to demand the end of segregation in the armed forces. And these people don't care what kind of language the Negro people use in raising such demands—it is the demands themselves which they consider objectionable. They are not nearly so concerned about manners as Mr. Wilkins seems to think. Need we really point out that the refined language and cultured behavior of the Negro leaders has never won a single concession for the masses?

The point of the matter is that the struggle against Jim Crow requires vigorous, militant struggles, for only such struggles will frighten the ruling class into granting concessions. The trouble with the action of the masses in the Harlem protest against Jim Crow was not that it was crude or unrefined but that it was not organized and directed along the proper lines. The reason for this was that the Negro masses have not yet got a program which will enable them to conduct the militant demonstrations and fights which are necessary. It is not lectures on manners and morals which the masses require, but a leadership which will organize them around the correct, pro-labor, anti-capitalist program.

Our column last week may have left a wrong impression that we would like to correct here. Not all of the Negro press went overboard in denouncing the Harlem masses as "hoodlums." As the Chicago Defender points out this week, it asserted immediately after the outbreak that the shouting against hoodlumism "answers nothing; explains nothing." It notes that it is in a minority on this question among the Negro papers, and warns against falling into "the trap of forgetting that the root of the evil lies not in the individual, but in our society—in the ghetto, the kitchenette, the TB rate, the 'no colored need apply' signs. . . Our battle is not against the results, but the cause—not against the Bigger Thomases, but the Bilbos and Rankins." Well put, except that the name of Roosevelt should not be omitted from the list of the advocates of "white supremacy."

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## THE CHOICE NOW IS BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND SLAVERY

By Leon Trotsky

Today it is no longer a question, as was the case in the nineteenth century, of simply assuring a more rapid and more healthy development of economic life: today it is a question of saving mankind from suicide. It is precisely the acuteness of the historical problem that completely cuts the ground from under the feet of the opportunist parties. The party of the revolution, on the contrary, finds a well-spring of inexhaustible power in the consciousness of the fact that it carries out inexorable historical necessity. . .

War, let us once again recall, speeds up enormously the political development. Those great tasks which only yesterday seemed long years, if not decades away, can loom up directly before us in the next two or three years, and even sooner. Programs which are based on habitual peaceful conditions will inevitably remain dangling in mid-air. On the other hand, the Fourth International's Program

of Transitional Demands which seemed so "unreal" to near-sighted politicians, will reveal its full significance in the process of the mobilization of the masses for the conquest of state power.

At the beginning of the new revolution, the opportunists will once again strive, just as they did a quarter of a century ago, to imbue the workers with the idea that it is impossible to build socialism on ruins and devastation. As if the proletariat is free to choose! It is necessary to build on those foundations which history provides. The Russian Revolution showed that workers' rule can raise even a very backward country out of deepest poverty. All the greater are the miracles of the advanced countries. War destroys structures, railways, factories, mines; but it cannot destroy technology, science, skills. After creating its own state, correctly organizing its own ranks, drawing into the work qualified forces bequeathed by the bourgeois

# The Theory And Practice Of Marxist Party Organization

By John G. Wright

"The Struggle for a Proletarian Party" by James P. Cannon is the companion volume to "In Defense of Marxism" by Leon Trotsky. These two books comprise the basic documentation of the struggle against the petty-bourgeois revisionists led by Burnham - Shachtman - Abner which took place in the Socialist Workers Party three years ago.

In the second section of Comrade Cannon's book, "Letters to Comrades," the reader will find recorded the day to day, week to week, and month to month chronology of this struggle. What renders these letters especially valuable is their complete freedom from the subjective, the incidental and the episodic. Although composed in the very heat of the struggle, they were not written for the moment. The reader can judge for himself how well they stand up after a lapse of three years.

The third section of the book, "Documents of the Struggle," records the action taken by the

party at each stage of the struggle up to its very end with the expulsion of the petty-bourgeois opposition.

### ORTHODOX LENINISM

Contained in the first section is the pamphlet, "The Struggle For a Proletarian Party," which was originally written almost at the termination of the struggle. It sums up the whole struggle, after all the conflicting ideas had fully unfolded and each camp had fully disclosed its true nature. For the convenience of the reader this pamphlet is placed at the beginning inasmuch as a careful study of it will enable him to follow and understand the other sections all the more easily.

The Appendix gives the organizational principles of the revisionists in their own words and enables the reader to contrast these views with those of the Trotskyists.

The ideas and method advanced and defended throughout by Comrade Cannon are those of an orthodox Leninist. Especially noteworthy are the party's resolu-

tions which present the principles of Leninist party organization in their classic form. (See "Documents of the Struggle.") In point of fact, Comrade Cannon's book sets forth the Leninist principles of party organization more comprehensively than this subject has ever been treated before.

### DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

It ought to be borne in mind that Bolshevism (Leninism) as a system of organizational ideas and principles is a genuine product of the twentieth century. It is something quite new. In fact, the current year, 1943, marks only its fortieth anniversary. For it was in 1903 that Lenin first began to promulgate systematically the theory and practice of building the proletarian party, the principal instrument for achieving the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The great progressive role of Bolshevism still remains to a great many a secret sealed with seven seals. In this book they will find this precious secret unlocked.

Contained in it is the key to the Leninist concept of organization which may be summed up in the single formula: democratic centralism.

How is it possible for centralism to be democratized? Or, on the other hand, for democracy to be centralized, without thereby automatically ceasing to be democratic? To scholars, empiricists and formal thinkers of all varieties, the Leninist concept of democratic centralism appears self-contradictory, paradoxical, irrational. The whole point, however, is that democratic centralism is not simply a mechanical combination or sum of democracy and centralism. It is something new. It is a dialectical synthesis of the two, containing both and at the same time differing profoundly from both.

### A LUCID APPLICATION

In this organizational system the centralist or democratic features predominate and combine not in accordance with a blueprint made in advance and good for all times and under all conditions, but depending on the circumstances in each given situation. This is not to say that the system is an arbitrary one. Far from it. The interplay of democracy and centralism in the Leninist system of organization is rigorously designed to serve the end of maintaining the party as the vanguard of the working class. This means above all to: 1) safeguard the party's character as a combat organization by preserving unity in action; 2) safeguard at all times and under all conditions its firmness of line; 3) maintain its principles unadulterated. In the pages of this book, the reader will find a lucid and brilliant application and demonstration of the principle of democratic centralism.

### LENIN'S METHOD

In Lenin's system, as expounded in this book, the party is conceived as a whole with the minority always subordinate to the majority, just as a party remains subordinate to the whole. In this system every member is rendered responsible for the party; and, conversely, the party is responsible for every member. Anti-Leninism or opportunism in organizational questions is unfailingly marked by a constitutional antipathy toward democratic centralism and reflected in the attempts to render the party amorphous; to water down its class composition and revise its principles; to undermine its discipline and unity in action; to debate the calling and meaning of party membership. (For a graphic illustration of this, see the Appendix to this volume.)

The invaluable experiences, lessons and traditions of Lenin's original party which functioned for the most part under Czarist illegality are available primarily to those who have access to the original literature of Bolshevism. The archives of the Russian Trotskyists functioning under Stalinist illegality are even less accessible.

The programmatic importance of Cannon's book lies precisely in the fact that generalized and summed up in it is the entire forty years' experience of the Leninist system of organization, the only one that has withstood the test of history.

### A PARTY MANUAL

This is a manual of party organization. It is of utmost importance and value not only to the American Trotskyists but to our co-thinkers throughout the world because it is not only a restatement of tested principles and correct method but an application of them in life. It is a manual of party organization enriched by a decade and a half of building the party in the United States under conditions in many respects far more adverse than those which obtain in other advanced countries.

We recommend it above all to the revolutionary youth. Those who assimilate its ideas and lessons will find the major obstacles removed which stand in the way of a young worker militant groping toward political life and action.

Leon Trotsky valued most highly Cannon's work and contribution in the field of organization. Of the pamphlet which constitutes the first section of this book, Trotsky gave the following appraisal:

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

(The above is a reprint of the introduction by John G. Wright to "The Struggle For a Proletarian Party" by James P. Cannon.—Ed.)

## Australian Labor Party And The Fight For Socialism

By M. Morrison

The victory of the Labor Party in Australia presents social democracy with a wonderful opportunity to prove its fundamental thesis that a socialist order can be established through a parliamentary majority and without any revolutionary violence. The Australian Labor Party has at present a clear majority in both houses of Parliament. This means that a decisive majority of the people of Australia has voted for a party that stands, in its program, for socialism as against capitalism. Will the Labor Party proceed to carry its program into fulfillment?

No one would applaud a peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism with greater enthusiasm than revolutionary Marxists. It is obvious that a violent struggle between the toiling masses desiring to establish socialism and the organized minority of capitalists determined to maintain the capitalist system involves serious disadvantages to socialism. Such a struggle necessarily must result in vast destruction and in a limitation of democracy, both of which factors are not at all beneficial to the building of a socialist order.

Under certain historic conditions a peaceful revolution is quite possible. Soon after the February Revolution in Russia, Lenin was hopeful that the powerful soviets would assume complete control of the country without any disturbance whatever. The Bolshevik Party offered critical support to a government of the Soviets even though such a government would consist of Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries. The refusal of these parties to take power was a big factor in preventing a completely peaceful solution to the problem of power as between the capitalist Provisional Government and the Soviets.

In the present situation in Australia it is almost certain that the minority of capitalists could not successfully organize a violent revolt against the party in power if it should decide to proceed with measures for the establishment of a socialist order. As it seems all too certain, however, that the Australian Labor Party will follow in the footsteps of the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries. I can only hope that the Labor Party will prove me wrong.

Ignorant or vicious opponents of revolutionary Marxism contend that the difference between revolutionary Marxists and social reformists consists in the fact that the former believe in revolutionary violence while the latter believe in democratic, constitutional methods as a means of achieving socialism. In reality the distinction between the two camps can be described as follows: revolutionary Marxists believe in taking power for the purpose of establishing socialism when the majority of the people support them, regardless of the opposition of the minority of capitalists; reformists, though believing in socialism as a theory, in practice would postpone the taking of power and the abolition of the capitalist system until the minority of capitalists give their consent. Reformists are so fearful of the violent opposition of the capitalists that in practice they submit to the basic demands of the capitalist class.

Revolutionary Marxists, having the support of a majority of the people would not permit the capitalists to utilize parliamentary and constitutional trickery to thwart the determination of the masses to do away with the capitalist system. Under certain conditions the revolutionary party, having the support of the masses, would not wait for a count of noses before taking power, for any delay may mean playing right into the hands of the reaction. When the Bolshevik Party had a majority in the Soviets they took power. On the other hand the German Social Democrats having the support of the vast majority of the German people in 1918 insisted on observing capitalist-democratic forms in order to avoid any struggle against the capitalists. They violated real democracy to permit German capitalism to continue its existence.

Some capitalist commentators ascribe the victory of the Australian Labor Party to the fact that the war has taken a favorable turn and consequently the Labor Party, which has been in control of the government during this period, was returned to power by a substantial majority of the people, including the armed forces. Without pretending to know all the factors that influenced the Australian people to vote as they did, I am certain that this theory can have no validity whatever. Because the Australian masses know very well that the favorable turn in the war against Japanese imperialism is not due to the efforts of the Australian Government but to the efforts of American imperialism endangered by the victories of Japan. What must have influenced the masses of Australia is their desire to give the Labor Party a chance to realize its program. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the opposition ran on a platform of a government of all parties. The masses preferred to have the Labor Party rule exclusively.

To justify the confidence placed in it by the masses the Labor Party must proceed to take those measures representing the initial steps in the building of a socialist order. It must nationalize the banks, transport, and all big industries and introduce workers' management of industry. It must nationalize the land and provide for its use by those who actually work on the land. The question of compensation to the present capitalist owners is not a question of principle. Compensation can be given on condition that no violent opposition be organized by them.

Failure of the Australian Labor Party to take the steps outlined above will inevitably lead to profound disappointment in the ranks of the masses and could result in the victory of reaction on fascist lines. It can be taken for granted that without taking these measures the Labor Party will be unable to solve any of the serious problems confronting the masses. Permitting capitalism to exist means to permit the very conditions that turned the masses from the conservative party to the Labor Party. The masses want a change and that is why they placed the Labor Party in power. Tinkering with the capitalist order offers no hope whatever to the people of Australia. If this is the path the Labor Party will follow it can be predicted with certainty that wide sections of the masses, disappointed and disheartened, will turn away from the Labor Party.

The victory of the Republican Party in the 1942 elections in this country shows that when a program to improve conditions of the people by reforming capitalism fails, a swing away from the administration is inevitable. All of Roosevelt's political tricks could not prevent large sections of the middle class from voting for the Republican Party and large sections of the working class from abstaining from voting altogether.

In the absence of a revolutionary party the failure of a reformist party can lead only to reaction. But the very fact that a reformist party is in power permits a very rapid growth of a revolutionary party. The Australian Trotskyists, following correct tactics, may easily develop into a large and powerful party. They will undoubtedly recognize that a Labor Party in power must be approached differently from a capitalist party in power. The mere fact that the laboring masses expect the Labor Party to fulfill a certain program in their interests makes a different approach to that party mandatory. The essence of that approach lies in the insistence of the revolutionary Marxists for the fulfillment of that program.

The Trotskyists of Australia must say to the Labor Party: "You now have a majority in Parliament. Take the industries and land away from the capitalists and proceed to lay the foundations of the socialist order." For the present the Australian masses must be mobilized for the purpose of exerting pressure on the Labor Party representatives. Failure of the Labor Party to yield to the pressure of the masses can only mean the revolutionizing of the masses and a consequent strengthening of the revolutionary party.

## Rift Widens Between Stalin And His Allies

(Continued from page 1)

The American Stalinists have shelved their previous line of maintaining that the closest possible harmony existed; that only a handful of reactionaries were seeking to "create bad blood" with Moscow; that all reports of deep-going differences were simply Nazi propaganda picked up by the "fifth column," etc., etc.

### U. S. STALINIST LINE

The Daily Worker has been sounding the alarm. On the day following Hull's attack on columnist Drew Pearson, William Z. Foster repeated almost verbatim—to be sure, without naming names—the charge that a conspiracy was being hatched to "betray our Soviet ally and to leave it bleed itself white in our common struggle." (Daily Worker, Aug. 31.) On Sept. 1 the Stalinists demanded editorially "the immediate cleansing by Hull of those State Department circles who have served as one of the principal centers of anti-Soviet and anti-democratic intrigue."

On Sept. 2, Browder delivered a speech warning that the failure to meet the Kremlin's demands would cause the relations among the Allies to "deteriorate sharply." Also without mentioning names he reiterated the charge of "bad faith" with regard to the Soviet Union. Although engaged in an all-out attack on Roosevelt's foreign policy, the Stalinists still continue the wretched pretense that Roosevelt and even Hull are really not responsible; that they are being subjected to reactionary pressure; that the way to remedy the situation is to rally still more firmly behind "our Commander-in-Chief." It was on this note that Browder closed.

### REDUCTION TO ABSURDITY

What are the real issues in this conflict? The issue is "short or long war," says Browder. (Daily Worker, Sept. 3.) In this way he reduces the whole thing to an absurdity: the dispute, you see, is over the duration of the war. The Soviet Union wants to shorten it, while the opponents of the "second front" seek to prolong it.

No belligerent power determines its conduct by how long or how short a period it wants to fight. What counts in a war is what each participant is fighting for. Roosevelt and Churchill would gladly terminate the war on the morrow, on one condition: that they get what they want. They are just as ready to fight it out for years until and unless they do get it.

Browder is not quite as stupid as he pretends. He knows, al-

though he lies to the contrary, that the "democracies" are not fighting for the same things as the masses of the Soviet Union. The Red Army is not fighting a national war, nor a war for "democracy," nor a war to preserve the capitalist order in Europe and to assure domination to one or another group of imperialist rivals. The Soviet workers and peasants are performing unprecedented feats at the front and in the rear in defense of basic conquests of the October revolution which still remain even under Stalin: nationalized property and planned economy.

Each success of the Red Army strikes powerful blows not only against the German imperialists but against the whole capitalist order. As the prestige of the Soviet Union rises, the oppressed masses in Europe, above all in Germany, take new courage and hope. The Italian people have already overthrown Mussolini and his fascist regime; Churchill and Roosevelt know very well that this is only a prelude to far vaster upheavals. Will the resurgent peoples submit to the perpetuation of the capitalist order in Europe? Stalin has pledged to help maintain the capitalist order. But

what will happen to Stalin's regime with Europe in the throes of revolution? Roosevelt and Churchill prefer to depend on their own forces and resources. They know that the most colossal obstacle to the preservation of capitalism in Europe would be the survival of the USSR as the dominant power on the continent. The precondition for making Europe safe for capitalism is the relegation of the USSR to a subordinate position, its isolation and eventual destruction. This is what determines the course of the "democracies." This is what underlies the present differences.

### EFFECT OF VICTORIES

Stalin's policies have led the Soviet Union to still another crisis. It may be patched up this time, only to recur later with redoubled force. It will become increasingly clear to the Soviet masses that even before they have succeeded in clearing the country of the present enemy, the prospect before them is of another hostile alliance, determined to isolate and destroy them.

The hammer blows of events are bringing home to the masses in the USSR and in occupied Europe that their real security, liberation and salvation lies in the struggle for socialism, and in the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

September 1943

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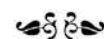
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

## Four Years Of The World War

(Continued from page 1)

of the British empire are numbered but that history is already pronouncing the death sentence on the system of imperialism itself.

We Trotskyists have predicted on more than one occasion that while the rulers started this war the masses will end it. Just a few weeks ago, one of the chief engineers of the imperialist conflict was tossed on the junk heap of history. Mussolini was powerful enough to drag the unwilling Italian people into the Second World War. He was not powerful enough, however, to make them fight for the Italian capitalists. The great revolt of the Italian workers and soldiers is one of the colossal events to come out of this war. The smashing of the hated fascist regime and the repercussions of Italy's revolt throughout Europe demonstrate again that the socialist revolution is on the order of the day. We live in the period not only of capitalist wars but of liberating revolutions.

Today, after four years of war, the imperialists are still powerful. They are still dictating the destinies of mankind. They are still mobilizing millions upon millions of people and herding them onto the battlefields of the world. They have been eminently successful in turning this world into a veritable hell of destruction, of horror, of brutality, of starvation, of death. And amidst all this stands the mightiest capitalism in history: United States capitalism. American Big Business is fighting for hegemony over the whole world. Its program calls for putting all of Europe on the dole and converting its peoples into serfs of Wall Street. It is planning to supplant the British empire as the great exploiter of the colonial masses. It is scheming to make Wall Street the center to which all the plunder and tribute of the world will flow.

And what is going to be the cost of this grandiose scheme? How many millions of people will have to go to their doom, how many will be left homeless, how many must starve, how much wealth must be destroyed and how long will this war have to continue before this new beneficent world order of Wall Street can come into being? Nobody knows. But Knox, Secretary of the Navy, has blurted out in an unguarded moment that the U. S. and Britain will have to police the world for the next 100 years. By then Knox and his friends feel that it will be safe.

In an effort to crush all resistance and to stabilize their regime, Hitler and his Gestapo have been engaged in the last four years in murdering millions of workers and anti-fascists. But Hitler and the Gestapo have failed as the most recent revolt in Denmark shows. Now U. S. capitalism is poised to take over Hitler's hangman work, to stamp out the rising working class revolution. It can be safely predicted that American capitalism will meet the same resistance and will fail as miserably as Hitler.

Though the capitalist masters are still strong as we enter the fifth year of the Second World War, the contradictions of capitalism are growing even stronger, more harassing and acute every day. The plight of the peoples is growing more desperate. The revolt of the Italian masses clearly points the road that the European working classes are going to take. The horizon is already beginning to gleam red, not only in Europe but in the East as well. We already hear the premonitory mutterings that give warning of the coming storm. As the great Norwegian poet, Bjornsen, wrote: "The whispering that is going through the cornfields will soon become a storm in the treetops."

The capitalist masters, stunned in 1917 by the Bolshevik revolution, hastily ended the war the following year, when the German workers and sol-

diers raised the red banner. It was the workers' revolution that finally put an end to the four-year slaughter. The events of the Second World War, which have already precipitated the revolt of the Italian masses, give warning that out of this war will issue the next cycle of workers' revolutions which will wipe capitalism, as well as its wars, off the surface of the earth.

## Congress Reconvenes

The Seventy-eighth Congress is scheduled to reconvene September 14. Its actions will serve quickly and decisively to refute the false and treacherous line of the CIO Political Action Committee headed by Sidney Hillman. The workers will receive more hard blows from Congress despite Hillman's crusade to make the corporation-dominated legislators halt their anti-labor campaign. But Hillman has succeeded in retarding the development of an independent labor party and that was his main objective.

During its first six months in session the present Congress consistently protected the war profiteers and attacked the unions. Democrats and Republicans alike refused to establish effective price controls, but they gave full support to Roosevelt's wage-freezing policy. They repealed the \$25,000 salary limitation and voted a 75% tax grab which netted millions to those in the high income brackets. In the same period they imposed the heavy 20% wage tax on the workers and enacted the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

The raw deal from Congress, together with Roosevelt's anti-labor actions, caused a heavy wave of resentment to sweep through the working class. This indignation found expression in the growing movement for a labor party among the trade union workers in the great industrial states of Michigan and New Jersey. A big majority of the delegates to the Michigan CIO convention in July voted for the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions.

The official leaders of the CIO became so alarmed at this rank and file demand for independent working class political action that they hurriedly set up their so-called Political Action Committee to head it off. This committee was deliberately designed to keep the workers shackled to Roosevelt's rotten Democratic Party.

Now the trade unions face the prospect of a renewed assault from Congress, including the strong probability of a campaign against existing labor legislation such as the Wagner Act and the Wage and Hour Law. This is what Big Business has told Congress it wants next.

The workers cannot place their confidence in capitalist politicians of any stripe. The trade unions must take the lead in organizing an independent labor party, based on the unions and controlled by the unions.

## Police Agents In The Unions

The top officials of the CIO and AFL have accepted the traitorous police role against the workers assigned to them in President Roosevelt's sanctions order of August 16. This fact is clearly established by the continued presence of the union officials on the War Labor Board and by their failure even to comment on the anti-union executive order.

The CIO News has been silent on the question for two consecutive issues since Roosevelt authorized the WLB to impose sanctions against the unions. The AFL News Service of August 24 carried only a routine news report on the executive order, written as though the top AFL officials were mere spectators disinterestedly watching Roosevelt hack away at the unions. Neither Philip Murray nor William Green have as yet said anything on the subject. Obviously the union heads are hard put to find an alibi for the President.

The Sept. 1 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* condemns the sanctions order through which Roosevelt has further extended the anti-union campaign. After the enactment of the Smith-Connally law, the *Journal* states, "nobody knew what the law would amount to until the President, by executive order, gave it its actual form and function. That order is now on the books. It goes to the very limit of the law — if not beyond it." The officials of the CIO and AFL know this too, but these misleaders of labor do not want to tell the workers even this much of the truth; they still want to uphold Roosevelt as a "friend of labor."

Murray and Green tremble at the very thought of independent class action in defense of the workers' rights. Their policy is one of complete dependence on Roosevelt. And the heavier the pressure of the workers upon them the more desperately they cling to the President's coat-tails. Instead of supporting the workers' demands for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living, they have whimpered and whined for government action to roll back prices. But prices have not been rolled back, nor have they been kept from rising still higher. Nevertheless, Murray, Green and Co. are now ready to support Roosevelt's attempt by police measures to enforce the wage freeze.

For a long time the top union officials have been covering up for the government strikebreakers. Now Roosevelt is pushing them more and more into the role of outright police agents against the workers. It is high time to call a halt to this betrayal. Force the labor traitors off the War Labor Board. Take back the right of the rank and file to decide union policy.

# Events In Italy And The Future Of Europe

The following editorial comment on the Italian crisis is reprinted from the August issue of the *British Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Workers International League:

In 1918, Italy emerged from the war as a "victor" nation. Weak in economic structure, shattered by the years of war, faced by millions of peasants who were demanding the land, and millions of workers who were seeking some compensation for the death and suffering which the war had brought to them, Italian capitalist democracy was forced to turn to the path of Fascist politics and the massacre of the militant workers and peasants.

How then will it be possible to organize a new "liberal" capitalist democracy when Italy emerges from this war defeated and completely ruined? A new flowering of democracy is impossible in Italy whilst the capitalist system remains the economic mode. Even resting on the bayonets of Anglo-American imperialism, it will be impossible for a defeated capitalism to solve the economic and cultural needs of the Italian people.

A temporary sham democracy must soon give rise to military dictatorship of the Franco character.

### Socialism Or Barbarism

But Italy is only the beginning of the dilemma in Europe: forward to socialism and a new culture, or the continuance of capitalism and a barbaric regime of military occupation and the destruction of culture. These are the alternatives.

The war to end fascism is a sham and a trick whilst the power remains in the hands of the capitalist class. Socialists who accept the capitalist program are treacherously stabbing the European workers in the back.

"Imperialism," wrote Lenin, in 1914, "has placed the fate of European culture at stake.

After this war, if a series of successful revolutions do not occur, more wars will follow — the fairy tale of a 'war to end all wars' is a hollow and pernicious fairy tale."

The new stage of imperialist antagonisms pose the question of Europe's culture more imperiously than in 1914. The collapse of Mussolini has begun a "series of revolutions" in Europe.

Against the program of military occupation, the protection of capitalism and the maintenance of petty reactionary capitalism states, Workers International League and the Fourth International proclaim the fraternization of the Allied troops with the European people, the joint expropriation of the land and factories by the workers and peasants and the introduction of a workers' democracy through the United Socialist States of Europe.

### Working Class Program For Europe

Shame upon these so-called socialists and communists, who, whilst the Italian workers seek salvation by revolution, continue to support the program of the self-same Churchill who welcomed Mussolini's dictatorship against the Italian workers not so many years ago.

Now it is time for labor to lift its voice to the Italian, German and European workers and give them inspiration in the struggle to destroy the basis of fascism and all other forms of capitalist reaction. But that can be done only if a genuine struggle for power is conducted by the British workers.

End the coalition with the capitalist class! Not a military dictatorship and "Allied" Quislings on the necks of the European population! But the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the fraternal collaboration of all peoples through the United Socialist States of Europe!

This is the program of the Fourth International! Tomorrow it will be the program of the European and world working class!

# Employers Exert Pressure To Halt War Fraud Probes

(Continued from page 1)

not bother to try to explain. It is impressed—and apparently unfavorably—to find that one effect of the investigation was "strictest adherence to blueprints," a situation that had evidently not obtained previously. Such adherence to blueprints seems to worry the Times more than the fact that the corporation was willing to endanger the lives of the air forces in order to increase their profits.

"The slowdown," says the Times, "is estimated to have cost the Army and Navy the equivalent of 10,000 airplane motors, counting the direct result of Lockland and its incidental effect on other plants of this and other companies."

The moral which the Times is trying to draw is that investigations of capitalist frauds and crimes do more harm than good. If the Committee had not investigated, why the war program would be 10,000 motors ahead of where it is today. Isn't that a more important consideration than the charge that the corporation endangered the lives of American soldiers—a charge into the "merits or demerits" of which the Times wisely declines to go?

### "OTHER COMPANIES"

While thus whitewashing the role of Curtiss-Wright, the Times indirectly throws some glaring light on "other companies." "Leading industrialists and production experts the country over are care-

fully watching the case . . ." a Times' story reports on Sept. 2. "The extent to which other companies and other plants of the Curtiss-Wright group have been affected by what happened at Lockland is difficult to estimate. Many other concerns, are said to be worrying however, lest they run into similar situations. . ."

But why should they be worrying if they aren't guilty of the same kind of criminal practices that were carried on by Curtiss-Wright? Their apprehension is good reason to believe that the Truman Committee investigations have only touched the very surface of the Big Business production crimes in this war.

### CAUSES OF SLUMP

One reason for the production decline at Lockland was undoubtedly the corporation's fear that it would get into real trouble if it continued as usual after the story of its practices had been made public. For the time being, at least, they have to be careful. Defective material must be put aside, inspection procedure improved; as a result production falls.

But why 85%? We cannot say with certainty, but we would be justified in suspecting that one reason is that the corporation, like the Times, wants to put pressure on the Truman Committee and other agencies to "lay off."

The same thing happened last spring when the Committee showed that Carnegie-Illinois, subsidiary of U. S. Steel Corpora-

tion, had falsified its test records in order to hide the fact that it was delivering defective war material to the government. At that time the press reported a threatened 35% decline in nationwide production of steel plate. Shortly thereafter, when the War Production Board had issued a statement whitewashing U. S. Steel and when it became clear that government agencies were not going to be "too strict," production rose again.

### TRUMAN'S COMMENT

Senator Truman was indignant about the Times' stories last week. "The facts are," he said, "that they [Curtiss-Wright] were turning out phony engines and I have no doubt a lot of kids in training planes have been killed as a result. The Committee was conservative in its report, in order to prevent too much alarm over the situation. . . ." He linked the Times' stories with "the advertising Curtiss-Wright has been doing with the N. Y. Times and elsewhere."

But this explanation is oversimplified. The N. Y. Times would undoubtedly have printed its smear stories even if the corporation wasn't an advertiser. It is a paper wholeheartedly devoted to the capitalist system and its interests. It knows how much the fraud revelations have done to expose the greed of Big Business and its pretended patriotism. Not advertising, but class-consciousness and self-interest explain the Times' stories.

## Why Not Confront Them With the War Profiteers?

In Newark, N. J., Major Lepper, Area Director of the War Manpower Commission, staged a show trial for the press last week. Four shipyard workers, who had been fired by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and were requesting certificates of availability to get other jobs, were confronted by three wounded soldiers. The Major incited the soldiers to condemn strikes and to make anti-labor remarks. The men in uniform "later confessed that they were unaware of the nature of their trip from a near-by hospital."

Instead of four victimized workers the people who should have been placed on trial before the wounded veterans were the Bethlehem magnates and other profiteers who have already coined tens of billions out of this war. At their head should be arraigned the stockholders and officials of U. S. Steel, Curtiss-Wright, Anaconda Wire and Cable, and all the other monopolists who have been caught red-handed selling defective armor-plate, substandard wire, defective airplane engines and other rotten war materials to the government. These profit-greedy capitalists are directly responsible for causing the deaths of many men in the armed forces and imperiling the lives of maritime workers.

But this employer-dominated administration prefers to hound and harass workers rather than punish powerful profiteers for their crimes.

## What Stalin Is Promising To German Capitalists

German capitalists and the Prussian Junkers have nothing to fear from the Kremlin. Stalin is making it quite clear to them that he does not want a Soviet Germany and that he will do his utmost to preserve the German army intact.

These pledges are being reaffirmed three times a day in broadcasts beamed to Germany and through loud speakers all along the front by the "Free Germany" radio station in the name of the "Free Germany" movement launched in Moscow in July.

Here is an extract from one of the speeches as recorded by the United States Broadcast Intelligence Service: "We must avert at all costs any repetition of the events of 1918. We must avoid all anarchy and undisciplined behavior." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 5.) Stalin uses the same language as Churchill and Roosevelt in referring to the revolution as "anarchy" because he, too, seeks to avert the overthrow of Hitler by the revolutionary masses as the Kaiser was overthrown in 1918.

The Kremlin wants Hitler removed by the German capitalists and the army tops before the masses themselves begin to move. That is why "Free Germany" radio warns that: "there is danger the armed forces might simply break up, and that would be the end of any chance of an orderly march back. We all know what that would mean." Every word here bespeaks the Kremlin's own fear of the revolution. Stalin dreads that once the German masses rise, he will be impotent to check them. And this would mean his own downfall.

No words are minced when it comes to the need of preserving the German army:

"We are opposed to fomenting demoralization in the Wehrmacht. We do not intend to incite the soldiers to abandon their arms and retreat in disorder."

The German army, insists Stalin through the spokesmen for the "Free Germany" Committee, is a "valuable instrument which must be preserved at any cost and in full."

By its blows the Red Army is cracking the morale of the German soldiers. Meanwhile Stalin is busy supplying the Prussian Junkers with arguments to prop up and maintain their discipline.

## Big Business Breaks All Records for War Profits

Big Business made more profits after taxes in 1942 than it did in 1929. But it now is certain that 1943 will go down as the year in which the corporations made the highest profits in the history of this country. For, as the Department of Commerce reported on Sept. 4, corporate profits were 14% higher, after taxes and other deductions, during the first six months of this year than during the same period in 1942.

Many of the important industrial and manufacturing groups enjoyed an even greater rise in profits during this period. According to the Department of Commerce report:

"Net income after taxes of the railroads increased by 71% for the first half of this year." These are the same railroads which have with government aid been denying wage increases to compensate their employees for the rising cost of living.

"Of the manufacturing sub-groups, the sharpest increase for the first half of this year occurred in the automobile group. Profits before taxes increased by 43%, while profits after taxes showed a 17% rise. . ."

It is figures such as these which provide the key to the drastic drop in Wall Street stocks in the period following the downfall of Mussolini. The Exchange, organ of the New York Stock Exchange, attempted this week to explain away this slump in stocks by attributing it to the market's "practice of jumping suddenly whatever the news, provided it is unexpected." The truth is that the stocks took a nosedive after Mussolini's fall because Wall Street's fear that the huge flow of war profits might be discontinued in the near future.

A typical example is the case of American Locomotive. This company's profits were five times greater in 1942 than its peacetime average, and its reported profits for the first half of 1943 were almost twice as great as for all of 1942! Its stocks fell 17.6% during the three weeks after Mussolini was removed. The prospect of peace comes under the category of bad news for the war profiteers.

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