

British Strike Leader Salutes Fight Of The 18

Links Churchill's Persecution of English Trotskyists With Roosevelt's Jailing of 18

William Davy, former secretary of the Tyne Apprentices Guild and an outstanding leader of the great apprentice strike in England last spring against forced labor in the mines, has addressed a letter to the American Trotskyist movement expressing his solidarity with the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case and with the 4 British Trotskyist leaders recently railroaded to prison for supporting the struggle of the young English workers.

His letter, which we reproduce in full below, expresses the rising spirit of working-class militancy in England and describes the increasing awareness among the advanced sections of British labor of the leading role of the Trotskyists in the struggle for working-class emancipation. Davy writes:

"The recent historic trial of Jock Haston, Roy Tearse, Heaton Lee and Ann Keen has created widespread interest amongst the entire British working class.

"For the first time the British Trotskyists have had the opportunity of appearing before the masses and putting forward their program and ideals, and, in spite of the limitation imposed by a bourgeois court and the distortions of the bourgeois press, obtaining a sympathetic hearing.

TYNE APPRENTICES

"The most sympathetic section of the British workers is the apprentices who participated in the recent strike against the infamous 'Bevin Pit Ballot Scheme.' These apprentices, who have had bitter experiences with the role being played by the trade union bureaucracy and the treacherous Communist Party, the elements who betrayed them in their struggle, now look upon the Trotskyist movement with a trustful respect which was non-existent before the trial.

"This interest is not confined only to the British Trotskyist movement, but extends toward the movement in America and as a consequence a link has now

been established between the famous Minneapolis Trial and the Newcastle Trial. James Cannon is looked upon in the same light as Jock Haston, and the brand of the bourgeoisie has been identified as being the same in both cases; imprisonment for championing the cause of the laboring masses.

"Arising out of this newly re-

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UAW Publicizes Pardon Demands

The September 1 issue of the United Automobile Worker, official weekly organ of the UAW-CIO, carries a front-page account of the hundreds of union resolutions supporting the pardon appeals of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists presented on Aug. 2 to the Presidential Pardon Authority in Washington.

It describes the Smith "Gag" Act under which the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders were railroaded to prison as "the first Federal statute in over 100 years to make the mere expression of opinion a Federal crime."

"More than 50 locals of the UAW-CIO are among the organizations urging their release," states the paper. "Other unions who joined in the petitions include the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO; United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO; United Transport Service Employees, CIO, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL."

Armed Struggle Of French Masses Arouses Fears Of Allied Rulers

Legislators Slash Proposed Benefits To Aid Jobless

By Art Preis

A majority of pro-Roosevelt Democrats together with the Republicans in the House, having first passed an Administration-sponsored measure ensuring "disposal" of \$75 billion worth of "surplus" government property to the monopolists, last week turned their attention to pushing through legislation guaranteeing insecurity and mass hunger for the American working class in the coming period.

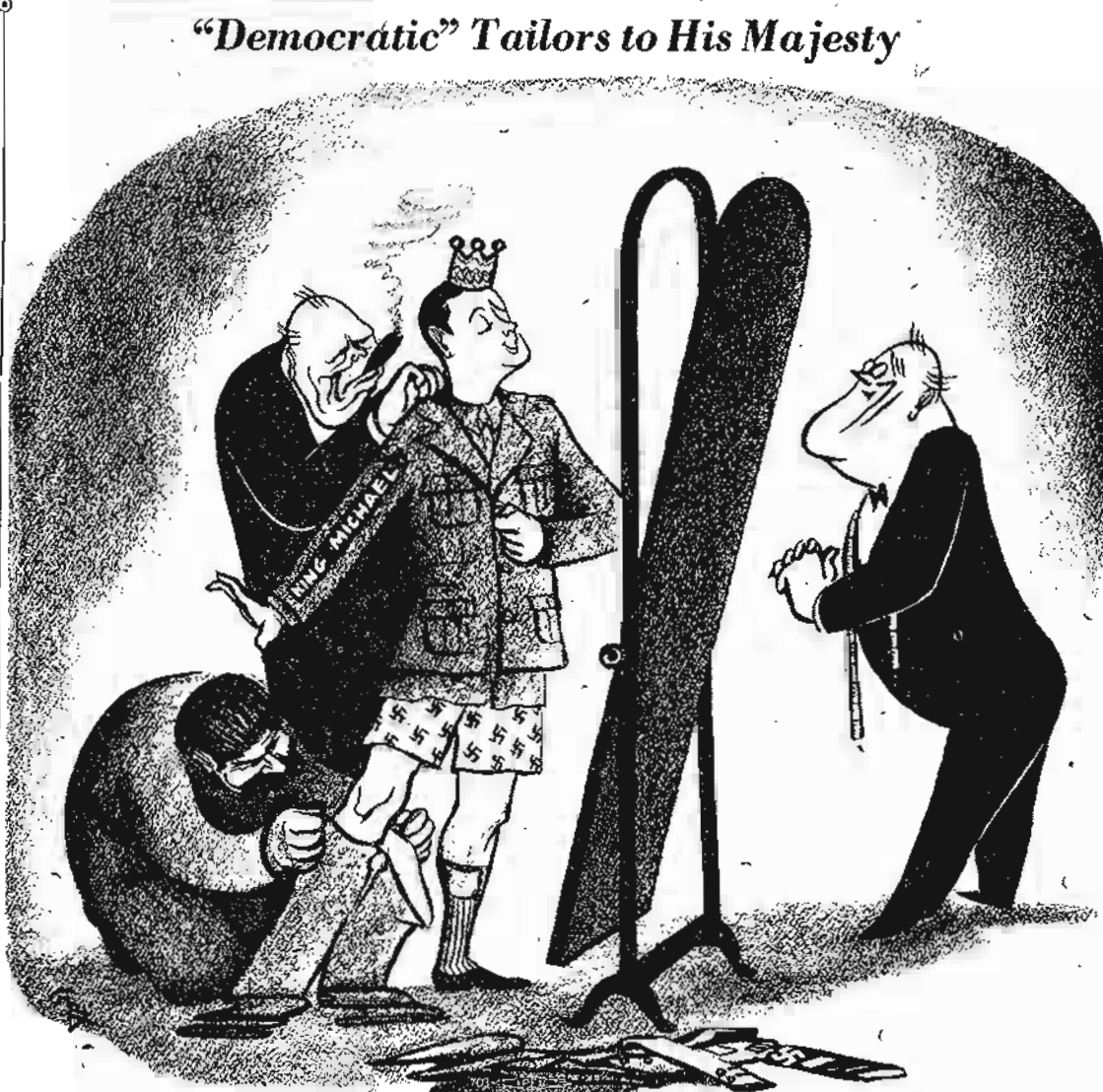
As a first step in adopting a Big Business program to impose starvation conditions on the unemployed, the House Ways and Means Committee proceeded to "swing the axe," as even the capitalist press described it, upon the reactionary George Bill, which had been passed by the Senate. It ruthlessly struck from that measure every one of its few provisions which had even a hint of liberality.

SLASH BILL

In secret session, the committee members slashed from the George "Post-War Starvation" Bill its clauses providing unemployment insurance for millions of government workers in arsenals and shipyards, government training to refit war workers for peacetime jobs, transportation expenses for discharged war workers returning to their home towns for work. In addition, the Congressional agents of Wall Street even eliminated a provision for a Department of Labor study on the proposal for an annual wage system in industry and reduced the life of the bill from two to one years.

Intent on maintaining conditions of mass insecurity and mis-

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Rumanian King Deserts Nazis, Joins Allies To Save Regime

By Ralph Graham

Pressed by the masses of war-weary Rumanian workers and peasants who have been growing more and more rebellious as the victorious Red Army plunges deeper into Rumanian territory, and anxious to end up on the winning side of the war, the monarchist-capitalist-landlord gang in this Balkan country has thrown the dictatorial regime of Gen. Ion Antonescu into the discard and set up a new government. Its first steps have been to repudiate the alliance with the Axis, accept the Allied terms of "unconditional surrender," and proclaim Rumania's adherence to the camp of Anglo-American imperialism.

This about face, executed by the youthful King Michael and the court camarilla, has caused wide breaches in Hitler's Balkan front. The Bulgarian fascist government of Ivan Bagrianov has announced termination of its war against the Allies and ordered the withdrawal of all German troops from the country under a new policy of "strict neutrality."

Simultaneously came reports of widespread revolts by the masses of Greece against the Nazi oppressors. Hitler's southeastern front is crumbling into ruins.

The breakaway of the Balkan satellites of Hitler's festung Europa is having repercussions outside the Balkan peninsula. The Bratislava radio, according to Associated Press, reported that the puppet government of Slovakia, which was part of the Czechoslovakian Republic until it became a Nazi "protectorate" in March, 1939, had "held a meeting and discussed urgent problems" and that "important decisions had been taken."

Hitherto they have leaned on the Nazis to hold the masses in check. But with Germany's defeat now fast approaching, they are driven to seek a new support in the Anglo-American imperialist camp, just as the Italian ruling class did more than a year ago when they ditched Mussolini under the pressure of the Italian masses.

In the initial reports three facts indicate the tremendous mass pressure to which the ruling junta in Bucharest was being subjected. In his proclamation

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Tobin, Stalinists Combine Forces in Slander Campaign

By Harry Martell

"The Trotskyites were wrong in Russia. They were wrong in the United States. Fortunately Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not."

This endorsement of one of the most monstrous crimes in history, the assassination of Leon Trotsky by Stalin, and this incitement to homicidal assault against Trotsky's co-thinkers appears in the August issue of the International Teamster, under the signature of Thomas E. Flynn, Executive Assistant to Daniel J. Tobin, General President of the AFL Teamsters Union.

TOBIN AND STALINISTS

If Stalin's secret police-terror apparatus, the GPU, didn't write this statement, it most certainly approves of it. As the climax of the current Tobin-Stalinist slander campaign against the Trotskyists this lynch statement comes as no surprise to progressive elements in the labor movement.

Tobin three years ago sought to destroy the most dangerous opposition to his union dictatorship and sell-out policies by smashing the famous Minneapolis Teamsters Union, Local 544, organized and led in historic struggles by the Trotskyists. To accomplish his traitorous aim, Tobin personally beseeched aid of Roosevelt, whose Attorney General Biddle initiated and carried through the frameup prosecution which railroaded Tobin's militant opponents to prison.

Tobin's attempts to throttle the Trotskyists did not succeed so well. His connivance in the frameup of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists has been denounced throughout the labor movement, including important sections of the AFL, his own organization. Over two million union workers

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Workers' Independent Action Is Threat To Capitalist Rule

Anglo-American Conquerors Issue Ultimatum to DeGaulle Demanding "Order"

By William F. Warde

As the beaten forces of the Nazi Wehrmacht retreat to the Rhine, leaving more than half of France in the throes of confused and wild jubilation, the victorious Allied imperialists in their pursuit look back with the greatest anxiety at the social explosions in their rear. For the "Blitz in reverse" is not only putting to rout the armies of Hitler. The accompanying insurrectionary actions of the masses in Paris, Marseilles and elsewhere are upsetting the plans of Washington and London for the rapid subjugation of the French people.

This elemental movement of the masses, originating with workers' strikes, has so far been confined in its objectives and program to the struggle against the Nazis and their native Fascist collaborators. Either because of the absence or weakness of a conscious revolutionary leadership, it

has fallen into the hands of the DeGaulle representatives of French capitalism and their Stalinist and Social democratic henchmen. The heroism and self-sacrifice displayed by the insurrectionary masses can achieve their liberating aims only when armed with a program of socialist internationalism and under the lead-

ership of a revolutionary working class party. Under the present domination of the bourgeois nationalists and their lackeys in the ranks of labor, the aspirations of the French people can only suffer betrayal and defeat.

Already the aspirations of the masses for peace, bread, and freedom are coming into conflict with the needs of the Allied and French imperialists for restoration of "order" and the stabilization of capitalist rule. That is why they fear the people in arms.

Among its first acts after the fall of Paris, the Allied Supreme Command issued a virtual ultimatum to DeGaulle, placing upon him the responsibility for immediately disarming the Parisian masses, restoring capitalist "order," and instituting a dictatorial control over the population. Thus, from the very first, the Allied imperialists have demonstratively

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Italian Masses Run Up Red Flag

The A.P. reports from Rome (Aug. 25) that "a demonstration in celebration of the liberation of Paris before the French Embassy on the Piazza Farnese today became a near riot when a demonstrator stripped an Italian monarchy flag from its staff at a nearby police station and ran up the Red Flag with the Hammer and Sickle."

"A policeman ripped down the Red Flag and threw it at the crowd below. There was a rush for the building, but two Allied policemen kept the people back and ordered an Italian flag without the Savoy Cross and the Red Flag to be flown side by side."

This episode with the two flags in Rome epitomizes the situation prevailing in Italy and throughout Europe. Today history itself has posed the choice: either the black flag of reaction or the red flag of socialist liberation.

PACIFIC COAST LONGSHOREMEN SEEK NEW MASTER CONTRACT

By Oscar Nelson

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 24—Negotiations began August 7 between representatives of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, and the Waterfront Employers of the Pacific Coast for a master coastwise agreement governing wages and working conditions of 15,000 longshoremen and thousands of terminal men and car loaders. The union is demanding an hourly increase of the basic longshoremen's wage from \$1.10 to \$1.25 with overtime after six hours, one week annual vacation with pay, a guaranteed work week of 36 hours, etc. The six hour day was established on the Pacific Coast after the coastwise maritime and San Francisco general strike of 1934. Longshoremen on the east coast receive \$1.25 per hour for an eight hour day.

ILWU CONFERENCE

The reopening of the contract was decided upon by a conference of the longshore section of the ILWU held in San Francisco July 2-29, attended by 66 delegates from locals up and down the west coast. The conference decided to request certain "modifications and amendments" to the contract in order to force consideration of the union's demands by the War Labor Board. The expiring contract contained a provision for the periodic "reviewal" of wages without opening the entire contract. The WLB rigidly maintained that, inasmuch as the existing contract contained an "adequate" arbitration machinery

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UAW Convention Faces Fight Between Ranks And Leadership

By E. Henry

The CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America is not only the largest but the most dynamic union in the country. All major issues which have confronted American labor during the past decade have invariably found their clearest and most intense expression within the UAW-CIO. Each of its conventions has marked a milestone in the development of the labor movement as a whole.

No preceding convention, however, has aroused so much attention and interest as the forthcoming Ninth Annual Convention which is to convene on September 11 in Grand Rapids, Michigan. For this convention will have the duty to deliberate and provide solutions for the momentous problems and issues which have been raised to an acute pitch by the developments of the war and the ominous prospects facing labor in the period ahead.

The war has been the decisive factor determining the recent course of the UAW-CIO and the nature of the conflicts within it. Along with the entire officialdom of the trade union movement, the leadership of the UAW-CIO was drawn ever closer to Roosevelt and the government apparatus with the approach of the war. Upon American entry into the "shooting war," the leadership capitulated to the Roosevelt war machine, abandoned labor's independent program and surrendered the weapons of labor struggle, above all, the right to strike.

THE 'EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE' PROGRAM

The disastrous consequences of the policies of the union leadership became almost immediately felt by the workers, and no more so than among UAW-CIO ranks in the key war industries. Roosevelt embarked upon a program of erasing such gains as double-time pay, enforcing compulsory arbitration through government agencies, introducing new methods for imposing the cost of the war on labor, including 10 per cent war bond deductions and pay-roll taxes. The corporations took advantage of the "no-strike pledge" to stall contract negotiations, ignore contract terms and undermine union conditions.

When the initial dissatisfaction was sharply expressed by the militant auto workers, it was countered by the "Equality of Sacrifice" program, projected by Roosevelt and adopted by the union leaders. Although this program met with some rank and file opposition, it was generally accepted as a necessary evil. Before very long, however, bitter experience began to teach the workers that they were doing all the sacrificing, while the employers were piling up stupendous war profits.

At the August 1942 UAW convention in Chicago, there were bitter protests against the "Equality of Sacrifice" program. But the militants who opposed it either were unable to draw the necessary

programmatic conclusions or were not strong enough to secure the scrapping of the "no-strike pledge." Further experience in life was necessary before the true implications of the phony "equality of sacrifice" program could be driven home to the auto workers.

This has occurred with the further unfolding of the capitalist war program. Roosevelt's wage-freeze, rising taxes on low incomes, the green light given to the profiteers and price gougers aroused increasing discontent. This discontent was manifested at the last UAW convention at Buffalo in October 1943, but largely in a distorted fashion. The key issues of the convention were the question of "Incentive Pay," the introduction of speed-up piece work systems, and the struggle for domination of the union's top apparatus between the Reuther-Leonard-Thomas and the Addes-Frankensteen clique supported by the Stalinists. There ensued an unprincipled clique fight for power. Reuther fulfilled his typical role of "left cover" for the leadership by channeling the militants into his camp through a verbal display of "militancy" in opposition to incentive pay, while he united with the whole top leadership against the militants on the decisive questions: support of the no-strike pledge, the War Labor Board, and a fourth term for Roosevelt.

GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATION ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

The most militant tendency in the convention, led by Mazej of Briggs Local 212, while formally opposing the no-strike pledge and calling for independent labor political action in speeches, clung to the Reuther caucus and failed to organize a serious struggle on these issues. Nevertheless, the pressure from the ranks compelled the top leadership to sugar-coat the bitter pills they fed the delegates. Virtually every major resolution and proposal was wrapped in "militant" phrase-mongering.

The forthcoming UAW-CIO convention will be marked by a qualitatively different alignment of forces on the major issues. On the one hand, the offensive of the corporations and the capitalist government against organized labor is proceeding with accelerated speed. On the other, the cleavage between the ranks and the top leadership has become extremely sharp, as the "labor statesmen" cuddle closer to the Roosevelt administration and its pro-corporation agencies and strike heavier bureaucratic blows against the mounting struggles of their membership.

Since the last UAW convention, the corporation and government attacks on the workers have taken on the character of a brazen and sustained offensive. Roosevelt has used the full powers of government to curb the struggles of the workers and deny them wage increases. The use of troops and plant seizures for the purposes of government strikebreaking—even in advance of threatened strikes, as in the railway case—has become standard policy. The demands

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The Coming Struggle At The UAW Convention

(Continued from page 1)

for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula, made by virtually every union, are being interminably stalled through the War Labor Board.

The demand for a general wage increase for the General Motors workers has been kicked around for months in WLB panel hearings, which finally concluded that the WLB has no power to grant wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula. The key Steel Wage case has been bogged down for over 8 months in farcical WLB hearings. Roosevelt and his WLB agents have openly supported the false claim that the cost-of-living rise has been negligible, while the CIO-AFL survey reveals at least a 45.3 percent increase in living costs since January 1941, 30 per cent above the 15 per cent rise covered by the Little Steel formula.

This tightening of the wage freeze has been accompanied by a general union-busting campaign within the plants. Intensified speed-up has followed from the curtailment of cost-plus contracts. Collective bargaining has broken down, as the corporations toss the simplest grievances into the WLB swamp. Corporation provocations, the firing of union leaders and militants on flimsy pretexts have become almost daily occurrences.

POLICIES OF INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

And now, the auto workers are getting a preview of the coming period, with the increase in war contract terminations and production cutbacks. Tens of thousands of auto and aircraft workers have been laid-off, reduced to lower paying jobs, or suffered cuts in their weekly earnings through drastic reduction in working hours. Holding the club of insecurity over the workers' heads, the corporations have become bolder each passing day in their attempts to undermine the unions.

The no-strike pledge has thus become an intolerable noose around the throats of the workers. Their efforts to break out of this noose, which the top leadership seeks to tighten, have found increasing expression in a growing series of "wildcat" strikes. The ranks of the UAW have ever more clearly indicated their desire for a return to the methods of direct union action in order to defend their rights, keep their still-existing gains and preserve the very existence of their organizations.

But the International Executive Board has opposed the policy of militant resistance to the attacks of the corporations and government. Instead, it has been directing heavier and heavier fire against the militant locals and local leaders. Its course of grovelling before the corporations and centering its full attack upon the ranks was clearly defined at its meeting in Los Angeles last March.

At this meeting, as a demonstrative expression of its servile policy, the Board adopted a virtual declaration of "unconditional surrender" to the corporations and established the procedure for penalizing workers forced to strike. Although acknowledging the responsibility of company provocations and contract-violations for the current strike wave, the Board's resolution wound up by attacking



Joining their husbands and brothers on the picket line and bringing food to the men "sitting in," the members of the Women's Auxiliary played an important role in winning the 1937 strikes. The group pictured above carries its own placard demanding Equal Pay for Men and Women for the same work.

Pioneer Paragraphs

FOR RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET THE RISING PRICES

The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists which, to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crisis, the disorganization of the monetary system and all their scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony, upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands employment and decent living conditions for all. Neither monetary inflation nor stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick. Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods.

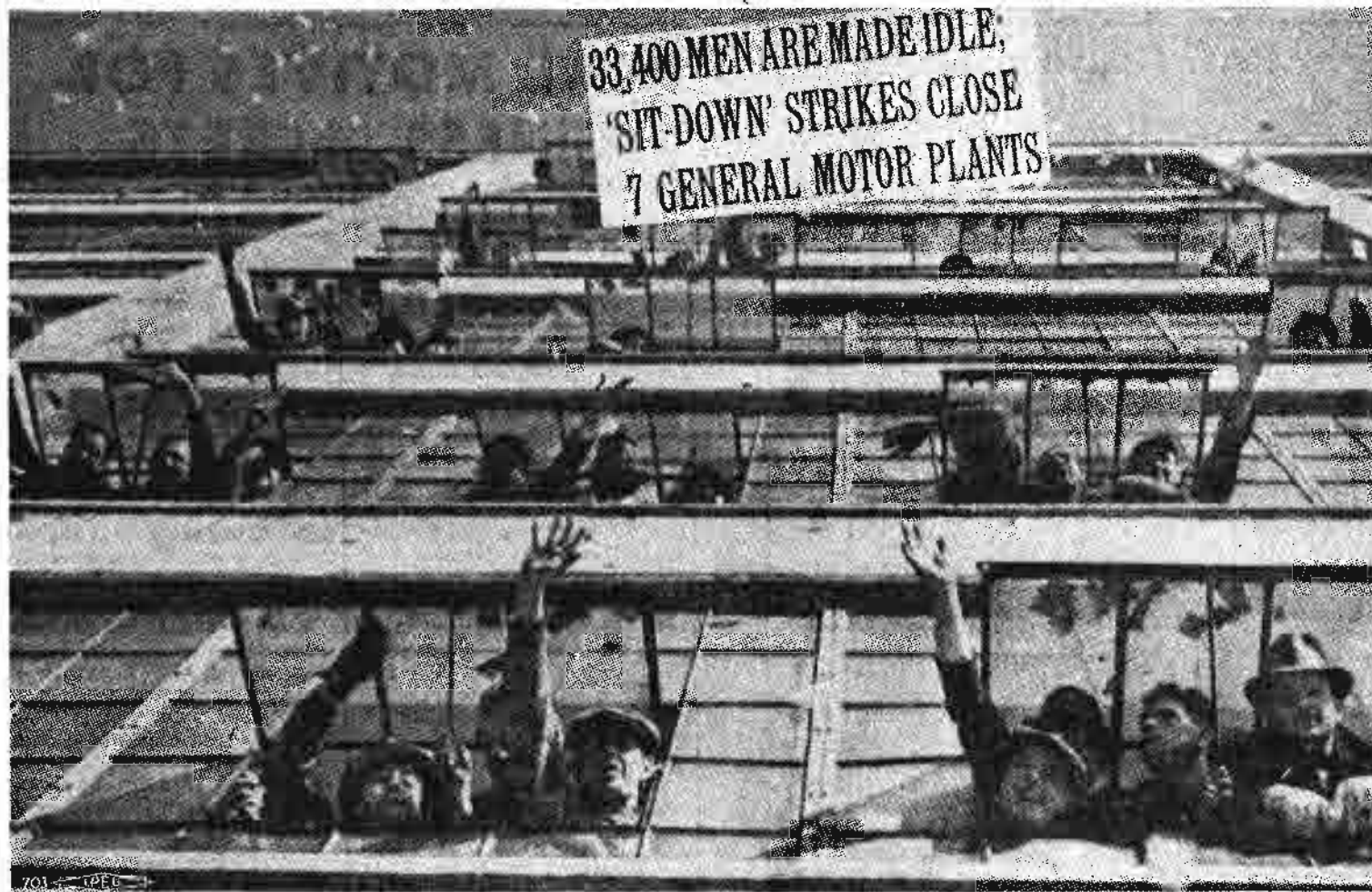
Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. The right

to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being snatched from him at every step. Against unemployment, "structural" as well as "conjunctural," the time is ripe to advance along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours.

Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis, all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, under a strictly guaranteed minimum would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period.

(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," pp. 19-20. Published by the Socialist Workers Party, 1939; 128 pp. 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

Scene from 1937 Sitdown Strikes



Workers wave their hands from the windows of one of the huge auto plants during the sit-down strikes that built the UAW and made labor history in 1937.

the strikers and threatening reprisal against them by withholding union benefits and international support from victimized strikers. This resolution emboldened the corporations and hammered down the wedge between the cowardly leadership and the militant ranks.

COMPANIES AND THOMAS AGAINST MILITANTS

On the heels of this meeting Ford intensified its attacks upon the members of the Aircraft Division of Ford Local 600 by the "disciplinary suspension" of three workers, two of them ex-marines with medical discharges, for smoking in a lavatory. This provoked a heated demonstration of several hundred workers last March at the company's labor relations office. Management immediately fired ten workers. The International Board publicly denounced the workers involved and UAW President R. J. Thomas addressed an open letter to the Ford Local leaders demanding that they take "drastic and effective action" against the militant workers. This further encouraged management to fire or suspend 20 more workers.

The incensed Ford workers then walked out and established picket lines and barricades before the plant entrances. The International leaders immediately intervened against the workers and drove them back to their jobs. By this time, the list of company-victimised workers had grown to 121.

This policy of the top union leadership did not pass unchallenged. Ford Aircraft Division of Local 600 responded with a meeting at which the workers put forth two motions: a demand for a special UAW convention to rescind the no-strike pledge; a call for a strike vote under the Smith-Connally act and government operation of the plants. The leaders arbitrarily declared the motions out of order and adjourned the meeting. However, the workers continued the meeting with their unit Vice-President and adopted both motions overwhelmingly.

Other strikes broke forth against management union-busting provocations. In rapid order there was a two-weeks strike of Republic Aircraft workers against a wage-cut, a militant strike of Ford workers in Windsor Canada, against the abrogation of the union contract, strikes at Motor Products, Briggs and other Detroit plants. The top leadership in every case drove the workers back into the plants without any settlements and with outstanding militants left out on the streets.

In addition to the relatively wide-spread strike actions at that time, one local after another adopted resolutions urging a special convention to throw out the no-strike pledge, including Briggs Local 212, Motor Products Local 208, Budd Local 306, Dodge Truck Local 140, Chrysler Local 7, Fruehauf Trailer Local 99, Flint Chevrolet Local 659.

The International Board then met in Minneapolis. It ignored these local resolutions for a special convention. Instead, it reaffirmed its "unconditional surrender" policy, once more castigated the defensive actions of the workers and dispatched emissaries to break those strikes still in progress. At this same meeting, the leadership made initial preparations for a truce in their old clique struggle in order to weld a united front against the militant ranks.

THE STRUGGLES OF CHRYSLER LOCAL 490

Shortly after its Minneapolis meeting, the International Board had a new opportunity to prove its "responsibility" to the corporations and government. This was the lockout of the Highland Park Chrysler workers. Following a whole series of provocations, the company locked out a number of workers, for allegedly preventing an AFL man during the Coca-Cola strike from entering the plant premises. The locked-out workers included union stewards and committeemen.

The Chrysler workers answered this provocation with picket lines. Immediately they were subjected to an all-out attack in the press and over the radio, not only on the part of management and the government agencies, but by the top UAW officials as well. Thomas and Addes issued an ultimatum to end the strike in 24 hours or "drastic action would be taken." Addes and Reuther personally addressed a strikers meeting with "back-to-work" pleas and threats. Thomas and Addes then used the radio and Big Business press to urge the Chrysler workers to break their own picket line.

Finally threats of establishing a dictator-administrator over Chrysler Local 490 and an order for the local leaders to stand trial before the International Board forced the local board to call off the picket line in order to prevent further victimization. At a Board hearing, which lacked even a constitutional quorum, all local officers were summarily removed and Leo LaMotte, Chrysler Director, was appointed administrator over Local 490.

Protesting this action of the Board, the Chrysler workers again went on strike. This was called off two days later at a heated local meeting. But the workers clearly expressed their sentiments, demanding a fighting policy for the international union and reinstatement of the fired workers, fixing full responsibility for the strikes on the corporation and calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge.

LATEST CONFLICTS BETWEEN RANKS AND LEADERS

All the issues dividing the militant ranks from the servile leadership have been posed ever more sharply by the most recent strike struggles, the two walkouts at Detroit Chevrolet Gear and Axle and

the current stoppage of Ford Local 400 members at the Ford Highland Park plant. In the GM-Chevrolet strikes, corporation provocation was clear and admitted by the International leaders. Nevertheless, they acted as strikebreakers, removed the local officers by bureaucratic decision, and gave the cue to the company to fire seven local officers in violation of a WLB order. This time, the Board was compelled to soften its action by reappointing the local officers under an administrator, loudly and unsuccessfully appealing to the WLB against the firings, and promising to see that the local demands against speedup would be satisfactorily settled.

The latest conflict between the ranks and the leaders occurred last week in the Ford Local 400 strike. There Richard T. Leonard, Ford Division Director, was roundly booed at a meeting of the strikers for attempting to organize a back-to-work movement and was subsequently chased from the scene when he appeared at a plant gate early in the morning and tried to order the workers into the plant. Significantly, strikers were wearing jackets bearing the slogan, "Scrap the No-Strike Pledge—Local 400."

This slogan reflects the awareness of the workers of the need for a broader and more basic solution to their problems than the episodic and isolated strikes which have been the primary means of resistance to the anti-labor offensive. While supporting every struggle of the auto workers, The Militant has nevertheless repeatedly pointed out the limitations of local and isolated struggles which by their very nature seldom prove effective and often result in the victimization of the most militant local members and leaders.

Confronting the UAW workers at the forthcoming convention is the imperative need for adopting a whole new fighting program and electing a completely new leadership from the ranks, a leadership which will guide and inspire the union in action to fulfill that program. The adoption of such a program and the election of such a leadership, however, can be achieved only in a deliberate and organized struggle against the present top leaders. That requires a firm grouping of the militants based on a clear program of their own and divorced from all previous ties with the old leadership or any section of it.

FORMATION OF A NEW MILITANT GROUPING

Evidence that an important section of UAW rank and file militants and local leaders are beginning to grasp the need for such an independent progressive grouping around a militant program is revealed in the recent formation of an independent militant caucus, with a program centered primarily around the demand for rescinding the no-strike pledge. This group at the very start attracted significant support from officers and leading committeemen of a dozen or more important locals in the Detroit area.

This group, in the process of development and crystallization, is an extremely hopeful sign, although it still contains tendencies opposed to a fully-rounded, effective program and some who are still reluctant to sever completely their ties with all the present international leaders and power cliques.

There is a tendency which thinks that all the auto workers problems will be solved simply by elimination of the no-strike pledge. They fail to take into account the fundamental problem: that the basic issues confronting the workers today can and will be solved, in the final analysis, only by political means. Every issue of the workers versus the employers, even the most minor, has long since become an issue between labor and the Big Business government. The period of mass unemployment and starvation which looms ahead, the unfolding of an all-out corporation-government offensive against the labor movement, dictates the need for a program of independent political action through an independent party of labor based on the trade unions, which will fight for a fundamental program against the financial parasites and monopolists and for jobs, permanent security and a decent standard of living for all workers.

The need for such an independent labor party has been partially recognized through the formation of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation as an independent party in the main stronghold of the auto workers. Despite its deficiencies this party, which has secured

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its chief support from the militant auto workers, has already served to awaken many thousands of Michigan workers and inspire them to take the road of independent political action. Many of the leading elements in the new group have taken an active part in the MCF movement.

An initial test of the new militant grouping within the UAW was provided by the Michigan State CIO Convention in July. Here this group, still in its early and formative stages, led a fight against the no-strike pledge. Due to lack of serious organization and preparation for the floor struggle this fight lost much of its potential effectiveness. Nevertheless, against the combined opposition of the entire CIO and UAW top leadership, the bureaucratic conduct of the chair and the large concentration of delegates from Stalinist-influenced white collar unions, one third of the delegates supported a minority report to rescind the no-strike pledge. In the election of state officers, the militant group displayed a further weakness when it created confusion on the key issue of leadership by supporting certain candidates who also ran on the slates of the Addes and Reuther cliques.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

The fight on the no-strike pledge at the State CIO convention provided a preview of the temper of the auto workers and the ferment in their ranks. This points to a possible show-down fight against the no-strike pledge at the UAW convention. That the workers in the locals are determined to press this fight has been further confirmed by the action taken in a number of locals whose delegates at the State CIO convention violated the mandates of their memberships to vote against the no-strike pledge. These delegates have been virtually assured defeat in running for delegate posts to the UAW convention.

The entire International leadership is making preparations to repel the anticipated offensive against the no-strike pledge. All the heavy artillery of the CIO officials and the Roosevelt administration will be trained once more upon the UAW convention, in an effort to frustrate the clear desires of the rank and file. The union leadership again counts primarily upon acrobatic flag-waving to divert the delegates from adopting a fighting program of action against the anti-labor consequences of the capitalist war. UAW President Thomas is sight-seeing the battle-fronts of Normandy prior to the convention precisely in order to pick-up more jingo ammunition to hurl at the convention delegates.

UAW RANKS MUST CHOOSE A NEW LEADERSHIP

At the same time, as the convention nears, reports are circulating to the effect that, despite their unity against the ranks on all fundamental issues, the two top power-cliques are preparing to turn the convention into another disgraceful factional squabble for control of the union apparatus. Deals are being made, double-crosses are being prepared. These will come out in the course of the convention. As before such unprincipled faction fights will only serve to confuse the real issues and prevent adequate discussion of the decisive questions.

Reuther, it is rumored, is planning once more to play the false role of "militant" in order to gain the leadership of the progressive forces and disorient their fight against the no-strike pledge. The Reutherites are said to be adopting the strategy of proposing a referendum on the no-strike pledge as against its outright revocation by the convention. The purpose of such a proposal would be to stall off any clear-cut decision. Just as the Michigan CIO leaders violated the convention decision to hold a referendum on the labor party, so the UAW leaders, if they cannot secure a vote reaffirming the no-strike pledge, would unquestionably prefer a vote for a referendum which would permit them to shelve the fight on the no-strike pledge after the convention.

This auto workers convention can open a new and glorious chapter in the struggle of the American workers in defense of their rights and conditions. That struggle will have to be based on a fighting program, the first plank of which must be, "Scrap the No-Strike Pledge." That program must also include the demand for withdrawal of labor support from the War Labor Board and putting an end to company-unionism in politics by building an independent Labor Party.

A successful fight for this program must begin with an organized struggle of the militants against the treacherous top leadership of Thomas-Addes-Reuther-Frankenstein. This leadership will have to be repudiated and eliminated before the UAW-CIO decks can be cleared for action. The auto workers need to elect a militant leadership pledged to carry out this program of independent economic and political struggle against the corporations and their governmental agents of the Democratic and Republican parties.

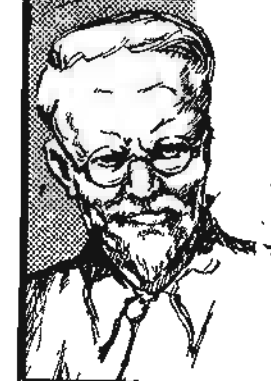
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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

No Middle Ground

As a result of this present artificial wartime boom there are many of us who have been temporarily able to rise above our previous economic stations in life.

You may have heard one or more of them. Their cocky palaver goes like this: "Yes, I know the Negro workers are going to catch hell as soon as the lay offs and depression come but that won't affect me. I'll be able to get along on the money I've got tucked away, so why should I worry?"

WIDE-SWEEPING

Almost every day, however, some incident occurs that indicates that "middle-class" Negroes will inevitably be swept up and carried in the wake of anti-Negroism just the same as those who work for wages.

In New Iberia, La. this year we saw Negro professionals banished from the town because they were active in trying to set up a branch of the NAACP and to obtain some economic concessions for the Negroes.

Reported this week from Cameron, Texas was the savage beating administered to Cecil Poole, a Newton County Agricultural Extension Agent, and his being run out to town minus his belongings and his job because he committed the "crime" of voting in the July elections and urged others to do so.

LYNCH MOB

By far the best, (or rather, worst), example of the non-immunity of "better-class" Negroes to the vicious poisons of anti-Negroism was revealed in the recent exposure of the barbaric lynching of the prominent Rev. Isaac Simmons of Amite County, Miss.

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Allies Fear Independent Armed Struggle Of French Masses As Threat To Capitalist Rule

(Continued from page 1)

indicated that they do not intend to permit the French people to determine their own destiny. Instead, as in Italy, they propose to subjugate the French masses and impose upon them a subservient puppet-regime.

The independent rising of the working masses evidently, took the Allied and DeGaulist leaders by complete surprise: It broke out upon the initiative of the workers themselves without directives from the official leaders of the resistance movement.

STRIKE ACTIONS

The most informative and authoritative account of the Paris events is contained in an eye-witness report of a United Press correspondent on August 29. Jean De Gandt, the correspondent, relates that: "The first effective blow of the French patriots was a railroad strike on August 13.

"The following day the Germans, suspecting disaffection, disarmed the French police in the suburban towns of Asnières and Gennevilliers. Within twelve hours the police struck all over Paris and released 1,000 political prisoners. The postal workers then went on strike."

The next night the Nazis machine-gunned several hundred demonstrators gathered outside the Luftwaffe headquarters, in the former meeting place of the French Senate. Scores were killed and wounded. Instead of intimidating the workers, this atrocity roused the entire working populace into action.

"The seething city," reports De Gandt, "reacted with a general strike of the French General Confederation of Labor and the Confederation of Christian Workers on the 18th." By the next day, the Paris proletariat poured out into the streets in overwhelming numbers and engaged the Nazi and Vichyite forces in armed clashes throughout the city.

Dispatches from official sources have since made it clear that the



NEWS ITEM: Six high-ranking officials of the CIO and AFI are guests of the Army this month touring England and France.

Allied command and DeGaulle were opposed to any such independent intervention on the part of the masses. Harold Callender cabled from Algiers to the N. Y. Times, August 26: "Local leaders precipitated the uprising and battle in the capital without awaiting the approval of either Gen. Charles DeGaulle or the Allies, who had hoped to avoid that battle."

Although DeGaulle opposes insurrectionary uprising, that does not prevent him from exploiting the heroic actions of the masses for his own reactionary political purposes as a servant of the Allied conquerors and as representative of French imperialism.

This, in his first speech upon

entering Paris, DeGaulle made his imperialist purpose clear. "We will not rest," he said, "until we march, as we must, into enemy territory as conquerors. France has rights abroad. France is a great nation and has a right that she will know how to make heard."

THE REAL POWER

But the real rulers in France today are the Anglo-American forces of occupation. Any share in the spoils of conquest they may grant to DeGaulle's regime has been made explicitly contingent on its ability to restore "law and order," that is, to subdue and disarm the masses and suppress any manifestations of proletarian class struggle which might imperil capitalist rule.

United Press correspondent Howard Cowan, reporting his personal interview with General Eis-

enhower, cabled from Paris on Aug. 28 that the Allies want "disorderly elements of the Maquis and the French Forces of the Interior kept in-check. The Allies are determined that Gen. Charles DeGaulle must solve that problem."

This reporter for the combined American press then sardonically observed: "Gen. DeGaulle probably does not view the assignment as the best way to make friends and influence people. The Allies are shying away from the use of the military, which would expose them to the accusation of using Nazi methods... It is known that he (DeGaulle) asked Gen. Eisenhower to send two divisions of British and American troops on parade through the city, and it is not unlikely that Paris will see a demonstration of Allied might sooner or later."

Thus, from the very moment of his entrance into Paris, DeGaulle feels obliged to call upon Anglo-American military aid against the French people whom he claims to represent.

ALLIED PLAN

To keep DeGaulle on their leash, the Allied powers have recognized his "government" only de facto, not de jure. They thereby hold in reserve the possible use of Vichyites or other native reactionary elements if DeGaulle does not satisfactorily fulfill the role they have assigned him.

The Anglo-American imperialists started out with a plan to impose upon France a dictatorship on the Badoglio model, using Darlan, Giraud, and possibly Petain himself. However, even before the invasion of Normandy, the mood of the masses resisting the Nazi occupation and opposing the Vichyites upset the Allies' plans and forced them to switch to DeGaulle for a native agency of control.

"The French... are after the collaborationists. We saw dozen of clashes between patriots in the streets and PPF's (Doriot's Fascist Party) barricaded in apartments. The hatred between Frenchman and Frenchman is infinitely greater than that between the French and the Germans."

Despite their sacrifices and struggles, the French people have not achieved national liberation. They have thrown off the yoke of one imperialist power only to feel immediately the weight of another. The detested Vichy government of collaboration with the Nazis is now being replaced by a regime of collaboration with the Allied invaders.

It is significant of the revolutionary temper of the Rumanian masses that the Stalinists, Social Democrats and Liberals did not wait a whole year, as they did in Italy, before coming into the open as props and defenders of capitalist reaction and its police-military dictatorship.

Despite their traitorous support, the redecorated regime will gain no more popular approval and will display no more durability than its Badoglio-Bonomi counterparts in Italy. The mass resurgence which forced Antonescu from the political stage is a promise of the further development of the revolutionary crisis in the Balkans which can only end with a clean sweep of all the monarchist-capitalist-landlord scum.

Rumanian King Deserts Nazis And Joins Allies

(Continued from page 1)

of August 23, announcing Rumania's unconditional surrender to the Allies and the Soviet Union, King Michael was obliged to declare: "Rumanians—the dictatorship has ended!" The first two decrees of the new government proclaimed an "amnesty for all political crimes since 1918, except certain cases such as assassinations" and "the closure of all concentration camps and the restoration of full liberty of the internees."

While compelled to take these steps, the Rumanian ruling clique has not, in reality, relinquished its dictatorship. The new government—handpicked, elected by no one—has proclaimed a state of siege over the entire country and instituted a rigid curfew. This state of martial law is directed against the masses who desire to get out of the war and settle scores with their age-old exploiters and oppressors.

KING MICHAEL'S RECORD

King Michael and the new government, however, intend—if they can—to harness the country to the Allied war machine just as King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio sought to do in Italy. Above all, they are anxious to preserve the property and privileges of their class against revolutionary attack.

"All Rumanians," says the King's proclamation, "must rally around the Throne and the Government for the salvation of the fatherland. He who does not assist the government and resists the will of the nation is a traitor to the country."

Who is this King Michael who thus insolently commands the Rumanian people? He is the son of the ex-King Carol, now living in Mexico City on the wealth he plundered from Rumania. Carol surrendered Rumania to the rule of the fascist butcher Gen. Ion Antonescu, who in turn helped subject the country to the Nazis. But Michael served as king under Antonescu and held his throne as a puppet monarch during all the years that Antonescu played the Nazi game.

It was Michael who, in this role of puppet to the Nazis, went to Odessa after the Soviet Black Sea port was captured by German and Rumanian troops—there to congratulate the despoilers of Soviet territory on their handiwork. He proclaimed Odessa "forever Rumanian," the center of that conquered Russian territory which his government in Bucharest named "Transistrea."

MONARCHICAL AIMS

That there is no real political difference between Carol and his son is emphasized by the statement which Carol issued when Michael ousted Antonescu last week. As reported by the New York Times from Mexico City, Carol expressed his happiness over the fact that "my son listened to the real sentiments of the people and pulled Rumania out of the war. The fact that Rumania ceases to be an enemy of the nations that had always been her friends has a happy significance for the future."

Carol, of course, hopes to return to Rumania and resume his former life as a royal parasite. Both he and Michael were willing tools of the Rumanian fascist butchers and of the Nazis. Today they are clambering on the war bandwagon of Roosevelt and Churchill, who, in conjunction with the capitalists and landlords of Rumania, are conspiring to subject the masses of that country to the continued oppression of their rulers and exploiters and to make them cannon-fodder for the Allied imperialists. They have switched sides in the war, but their aims and purposes remain unchanged.

Examination of the "new" government which Michael has set up reveals that nothing has really been changed. The government is handpicked and no more representative of, or responsible to, the people than the government of Antonescu.

The new premier is Gen. Constantin Sanatescu, master of the King's military household and himself a member of the brutal and reactionary military clique which produced Antonescu. To members of the same military clique, all generals and admirals,

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

The boy's home! I just came away from his room, where he was sleeping exactly the way he used to as a youngster, his head turned a little to one side and his forearm resting over his eyes. In fact, he looked like a youngster, although he's twenty-five years old and a veteran of the most horrible war in history.

He's home just as his mother and I have been wishing and hoping for such a long time, and I can't sleep for excitement, even though I'm dead tired from working on the furnace in this heat. My heart is so full of happiness at seeing Joey again and so full of sorrow and worry at the thought that he will be going back into that hell of death and devastation in a little while, that sleep won't come. I sit here in the dead of night writing these words, alone.

WILL HE COME HOME AGAIN?

I wonder... will he come back again when he leaves us this time? Will he come back whole to marry his Helen? Or will he be a staggering wreck, a legless pencil peddler, blind, or disfigured? I have known of men who were shipped back from the last war, lumps of flesh alive only in the sense that their hearts beat and there was blood in their veins, alive only in that they didn't die—couldn't die—for a long time afterwards. I keep thinking of Joey up there in his room, asleep like a little kid. I keep wondering if they'll send him home like that.



It's hard not to go out and make a damn fool out of myself, when I think of my son—my son!—going out to fight and maybe die or be ruined for life for the merchants and bankers and industrialists, so that they may have profits, so that they may have colonies and spheres of influence to get them more profits! It makes me want to run out into the streets and call all the people, all the oppressed to rise up and put a stop to this fiendish slaughter and to the system that causes it, so that we'd have no more wars, no more profits, brown with the dried blood of death and black with agony and heartbreak.

Then there'd be no more kids marching away like Joey, perhaps to return crippled or crazed... or never to return at all. And there'd be no more parents like us waiting each day for that telegram from the War Department.

WORKERS WILL END TYRANNY

Oh it's hard to hold back, to wait for an opening before I start throwing punches, hard to take my time and fight sensibly, when I think of that sleeping kid up there with a bullet scar on his shoulder. But I've learned how to fight, and I'll go about it methodically... and, by god, I'll hasten the day when all the other fathers and mothers, all the brothers, friends, and sweethearts, and comrades of those kids will rise up, when the working class will end the tyranny that lies so heavily and suffocatingly on top of the world.

Joey, son, I'd be in this fight anyway, but when a man's a father, and when he sees his only remaining son fighting against his will for the capitalists, I guess it's bound to make him fight even harder yet.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

SEPTEMBER 1, 1934

NEW YORK—750,000 textile workers prepared to leave the factories in the first nation-wide strike since the inception of the NRA (National Recovery Act). "Despite the statements of the timid, treacherous Gorman, chairman of the strike committee, that the strike is not against the government, the fact remains that it hits directly at the NRA," The Militant explained.

"The first of the slave codes to be adopted in the country was the textile code. The code did not abolish the stretchout, nor did it raise wages, nor did it grant union recognition. Not only did the code and the code authorities grant the workers nothing, but through a plan of 25 percent production curtailment, thousands were forced out of jobs and into the unemployed army."

"If the strike depends on militancy and a will to fight, then there can be no doubt of the outcome of the strike. Terror, intimidation, deputy thugs and all the other trimmings of democratic America will not stop the textile workers. If the strike is crushed or sold out we can say in advance it will be due to the Gormans... and the rest of that treacherous crew."

WASHINGTON—Harry Hopkins, Relief Administrator under Roosevelt's direction, hastened to assure the textile bosses that the government would not feed striking workers. He pointed to the record of relief agencies during the great West Coast longshoremen's strike: "During the California strike, no additional funds were given by the Federal Relief Administration to California for relief needs, nor was the cost of relief appreciably increased."

Hopkins' statement was made in direct reply to the demand of John E. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who shouted that the threatened textile strike would not last a week "if the government would revoke its unfortunate comment that no one shall go hungry in this country."

PITTSBURGH—"As first fruits of Mike Tighe's (president of the AFL Iron and Steel Workers Union) betrayal of the steel strike in July, a drastic cut in the salaries of white collar employees has been announced by virtually all members of the American Steel and Iron Institute." The Militant reported.

"Prices, as the NRA intended, will leap rocket high this winter—are already mounting... Prices will go up, and wages will come down. Unemployment is increasing, and will increase. That is the prospect facing the worker this winter, under the smiling regime of President Roosevelt and his coterie of social workers."

in hand and are refusing to surrender them. The workers remember the glorious days of the 1936 sit-down strikes, when they raised the Red Flag in one occupied factory after another. The cry of that time, "Les Soviets Partout!" (For the Soviets Everywhere) must and will again become the central rallying slogan of the revolutionary movement.

In its new revolutionary offensive, the French working class will find powerful allies among the rising masses of all Europe. With the battle-cry of "The Socialist United States of Europe", they will unite forces to expel all the imperialists, purge the continent of capitalist rule, abolish national divisions, and reorganize Europe on socialist foundations.

