

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN ITALY AS MASSES REVOLT AGAINST WAR

The Only Road For The Italian Working Class

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the workers and peasants of

the whole of Europe, will be their allies in this struggle. Let the Italian workers take the lead in a resolute fight for socialism, and all the European peoples, above all the German people, will rise and overthrow their oppressors.

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

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

Ruling Class Tries To Preserve Its Power By Creating A New Reactionary Government

Masses Attack Hated Fascists, Raise First Political Demands; Allied Leaders May Be Planning to Make A Deal With Badoglio

By Anthony Massini

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

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

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

masses of Italy are now in a

tremendous ferment. Large demonstrations are being held in all the important cities. Offices and headquarters of the fascist party and press have been attacked and in some places destroyed. Industrial workers in northern Italy were reported threatening to strike unless fascists are removed from all posts.

HOUSES STORMED

Houses of well-known fascists are being stormed; figures of casualties are not available, except in Milan, where four fascist leaders were killed and three seriously wounded, and where Badoglio's forces fired on demonstrators, wounding 22 and killing two. A number of political prisoners are reported to have escaped; on Monday demonstrators asked the editor of a Milan paper to demand through his paper the release of political prisoners; on Tuesday a large group attempted to free 200 prisoners in the Celulari prison, with the result that many were freed by the new military governor. Red banners were carried, inscribed with Mussolini's ex-slogan: "If I advance, follow me; if I retreat, kill me." Underground groups stepped up their activities.

The early demonstrations were for the most part peaceful and spontaneous, some of the slogans raised were confused, and the general feeling was exultation and relief. This is how all popular revolutions begin. The fact that some people are still cheer-

What Allied Leaders Fear

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

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

Mild and limited as are the first demands raised by the masses, the Badoglio government will be completely unable to satisfy them. Like the Mussolini regime, it is established on a dictatorial basis, and it holds its power through the police and military. Badoglio, the butcher of Ethiopia, and his cabinet are tarred with the fascist brush. Far from ousting all the fascists, the present government intends to lean on them and to use them, even though it dispenses with a few figureheads, the fascist insignia and salute. The purpose of this government is not to fulfill the desires of the masses, but on the contrary to protect the interests of the ruling class and its accomplices against the masses.

This is demonstrated by the

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AFL-CIO Bureaucrats Continue Farce Of Price Rollback Plan

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

By John Adamson

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

"We are unable to find any steps being taken at the present time to carry out our objectives," the bureaucrats complained, and Green added pompously: "Either prices must be brought down or the board must ask for revision of the 'Little Steel formula.'"

One of the reporters reminded Murray that the latter had said July 15 was the deadline for the price rollback. Murray acknowledged the statement, but stated "that we want to give the President an opportunity to apply the rollback permitted by Congress."

MURRAY BACKS DOWN

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

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

in the mines. That is why the AFL and CIO "labor statesmen" are going through these complicated motions to try to keep their own rank and file from registering too violent protest, and to convince them that the Murrays and Greens are doing everything in their power to improve labor's standard of living.

SUPPORT WAGE-FREEZING

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

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Ask Governor Thye To Pardon Kelly Postal

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

"I hope that you will see your way clear to use your power through the Minnesota State Board of Pardons to undo what seems to be a miscarriage of justice," wrote Starr in his letter to the Governor. "The fact that Judge Hall at a previous trial felt that the evidence was insufficient weighs heavily on my mind. If Mr. Postal had been found guilty of taking the money

for his personal use, the case would be entirely different. . . . Apparently nothing of this sort has been mentioned by his critics."

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

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is now conducting a national campaign in trade union and progressive circles to secure immediate and unconditional pardon for this unjustly imprisoned trade union leader guilty of nothing but adhering to union democracy.

All readers of The Militant are urged to write letters to Governor Ed Thye, St. Paul, Minnesota, appealing for the pardon of Kelly Postal.

LA Carmen Strike 30 UMW MEMBERS INDICTED Against War Labor Board Decision

By JANET BOWERS

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 25 — Thursday morning Los Angeles found itself without any streetcar or bus service. For 24 hours the familiar noisy trolleys were nowhere in sight.

The 3,000 Los Angeles Railway Workers, members of the Amalgamated Association of Streetcar, Electric and Motor Coach Operators Union, AFL, voted to call a 24 hour protest stoppage as soon as they received the news that the War Labor Board had rejected the 10 cent wage increase previously agreed to by the company. Throughout the stoppage the men displayed great militancy and solidarity despite the fact that the local union leadership opposed the stoppage. They ignored the ultimatum of the Regional War Labor Board that they return to work.

Not since the strike at the North American plant in June 1941 has Los Angeles been so deeply stirred. A streetcar strike affects the public more directly than other strikes, causing great inconvenience particularly to the workers who do not own cars. From all indications, however, the strikers had the overwhelming sympathy of the workers' population of Los Angeles. Not only because the LARY workers have been subjected to obviously outrageous treatment but because the workers everywhere are beginning to oppose the "Little Steel formula."

HUMOROUS SIDE OF STRIKE

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

The mayor was scheduled to attend a last minute mass meet-

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30 UMW MEMBERS INDICTED UNDER SMITH-CONNALLY LAW

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

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

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

The government, determined to housebreak the miners' union and demoralize and frighten its too militant and aggressive rank and file, has decided to crack down on the insurgents.

The case against the striking miners was prepared by FBI agents working under the direction of Attorney General Biddle. Among the 30 indicted union men are 4 local union presidents, 1 local union secretary and 5 committeemen.

THE ILLINOIS AGREEMENT

The present indictments were announced just after the UMW had finished negotiating a two year contract with the Illinois Coal Operators Association. The new agreement provides for portal-to-portal pay, amounting to approximately 76 cents per day. The contract states that the 7 hour work day at the mine "face" will be increased to 8 hours and that time-and-one-half will be paid for the last hour.

The coal operators agreed to accept liability for payment of

Trotskyists in Britain Protest Frameup Movie

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

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

LEWIS TO APPEAR BEFORE WLB

The contract will be executed and its provisions will go into effect only upon approval of the War Labor Board and approval of new price schedules on coal by the OPA.

The UMW officials dropped their policy of defiance of the WLB after the passage of the Smith-Connally Act, which grants the board statutory powers. Lewis is asked the Board on July 23 to approve the Illinois contract and agreed to appear before it to argue the case. The Board set a public hearing for Tuesday, August 3.

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

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

The steel corporations know that their voice is powerful indeed in the councils of the government. They know further that Roosevelt is committed to a policy of keeping wages frozen. The WLB is not allowed to raise

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Shipyards Workers Denounce Policy Of Freezing Wages

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

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

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

contract negotiations. The one month extension of the contract granted at the previous meeting had expired. The negotiating committee could report no progress.

The workers were fighting mad. There was tremendous sentiment to take a strike vote right then and there. The Jersey Journal in reporting the meeting explained that a strike was averted by only "a close call."

WLB REJECTS DEMANDS

The day before the meeting, the War Labor Board had rejected the CIO demand for a 9% general wage increase. The original wage stabilization agreement in the shipbuilding industry, drawn up in 1941, had provided

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The Rise And Fall Of Italian Fascism

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The regime which its founder, Mussolini passed off as the most vigorous in history has turned out to be the weakest of the imperialist powers. The lifespan of Italian fascism so confidently predicted to constitute an entire new "era" and a "new world order" failed to eke out 21 years.

Mussolini's regime was merely a new cover for the rule of Italian capitalism. It represented capitalist dictatorship in its most brutal and naked form. Mussolini was raised to power by the magnates of heavy industry and the great landowners. It was the heads of the Italian Banking Association who paid out twenty million lira to finance the March on Rome. It was King Victor Emmanuel who conspired with Big Business to lift Mussolini into the saddle and who has been throughout closely associated with him. In this way the Italian capitalists perpetuated their power.

Mussolini was able to entrench himself in office thanks to the fact that the first period of his rule coincided with an upswing in world economy, which followed the depression of 1921-23. Fascism took all the credit for the boom. In the subsequent period, a vast bureaucratization of the entire state apparatus took place. His

rule approached very closely that of a military and police dictatorship. His boosters and admirers abroad, especially in England and Wall Street, bolstered him up with loans that ran into billions of dollars. Yet within ten years fascism was on the verge of internal collapse.

BOLSTERED BY HITLER
It was Hitler's victory in Germany that gave Mussolini a new lease on life, or more correctly, extended it for another ten years.

Many people, especially the German social-democrats, tried to explain away the rise of fascism and its victory under Mussolini as something that could happen only in a backward country like Italy. It could never happen, they said, in such a country as Germany, with its great culture, its Democratic Weimar constitution, and a President like Hindenburg sworn to uphold it, etc. The events in Italy and Germany proved once and for all that wherever the workers do not take power, establish their own government and lead society forward with their own socialist program, there the way is cleared for Big Business to institute a fascist regime, to destroy all the independent organizations of the

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

The Stalinists are having a hemorrhage over the prospect of the United Mine Workers rejoining the AFL.

Daniel J. Tobin, chairman of the AFL negotiating committee, stated upon emerging from the meeting with John L. Lewis and the UMW representatives: "The situation looks no worse than before we came in, and that means it must look a little better."

Tobin further told the reporters that the question of strike policy was not discussed. He indicated that the position that Lewis took several months ago when testifying before the Truman Committee, that the no-strike pledge was "not necessarily binding," would present no bar to UMW affiliation with the AFL.

"The pledge," Mr. Tobin said, "can be withdrawn at any time by the Executive Council, if such action would be in the interest of labor."

The leading editorial of the July 22 Daily Worker reads: "What the president of the Teamsters' Union said then goes to confirm what the Daily Worker has repeatedly cautioned labor would be the case if the AFL took Lewis in. Association with the man who is hampering the nation's war effort... will lead to the adoption of Lewis' sedition policies within the AFL."

The editorial concludes with the fighting challenge: "It is not too late to stop this move..."

Why are the Stalinists almost bursting a blood vessel over this matter? The miners' return to the AFL conflicts very radically with the program that the Stalinists have mapped out for the American labor movement. The Stalinists rightly fear that this move will strengthen the anti-Stalinist forces inside the labor movement. They know Lewis is a labor politician who plays grudges. And Lewis has a terribly big grudge against the Stalinists.

The Stalinists also fear that by unscrambling the present delicate balance of forces inside the labor movement, the miners' reaffiliation will help upset the conspiracy to keep organized labor subservient to Roosevelt.

In the meantime, every two-by-four Stalinist business agent has rushed in to say his two cents' worth on the Tobin statement.

Six officers of the New York Cooks, Pastry Cooks, and Assistants Union, AFL, issued a solemn warning that "the no-strike pledge is for the duration."

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

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

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

Who expected a different result? The head officials of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union were not sincere in fighting for wage increases. They just went through a lot of fake motions to try to keep their members satisfied.

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

But these same officials have just returned from the CIO Executive Board meeting in Wash-

ington where they voted for the policy of submitting to the Little Steel formula.

No wonder John Green, International President, hastily notified all local unions that they do not have authority to serve strike notices on the National Labor Relations Board or other government agencies.

The ninth National Convention of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Union to be held in New York City in the latter part of September should prove a very interesting labor gathering. The rank and file may have something to say about the WLB and the CIO policy of kowtowing to it.

Last week the Cleveland Regional War Labor Board outlawed a union shop. This week the National War Labor Board takes jurisdiction over the case of the American Federation of Musicians, who refuse to make any more radio transcriptions. There is no strike involved, there is no labor dispute. Still the WLB steps in.

The WLB is insatiable. Given half a chance, it will regiment the labor movement from top to bottom. It is time the labor representatives were yanked off the Board.

William Green sent a letter to all central labor bodies and other AFL affiliates stating that the presidential wage freezing order of April 8 has been modified and that more liberal interpretations of the order are now being made by the WLB.

Apparently Green is beginning to "see" things.

The International Typographical Union is preparing to poll its membership on the question of reaffiliation with the AFL.

George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, CIO, sent a wire to Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, urging immediate action on the Chrysler case.

He pointed out that six months had elapsed before the panel had made its recommendations and that now two additional months had already passed.

Elmer E. Millman, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, stated that 300,000 railroad workers threaten to strike. He demanded the 8 cent hourly wage increase originally authorized by the Emergency Rail Labor Board on May 24 and set aside by Fred Vinson, Economics Stabilization Director.

The CIO Committee on Latin American Affairs has protested to the Argentine government its order dissolving the Confederación General de Trabajadores de Argentina, representing the principal labor unions of the country.

The elections' primary fight between the Rose-Dubinsky-Social Democratic and the Stalinist factions inside New York's American Labor Party is going into its final lap. The Stalinists are demanding the elimination from leadership of "disrupters of unity, creators of chaos and fomenters of strikes."

The Social-Democratic faction has just played its trump card by calling for the reelection of Roosevelt in 1944.

It is obvious that the progressive workers of New York are determined to win independent labor political action. They are sticking with the ALP in spite of the sickening antics and the treacherous conduct of these two reactionary gangs.

Wartime Blessings Of Capitalism

By George Breitman

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

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

But justifiable indignation must not blind the workers to the basic causes of these murderous practices nor to the fact that there is a deep-going connection between these practices and all the other reactionary consequences of the war. It is necessary that punishment to fit their crimes be meted out to the guilty. It is also necessary for the workers to understand that such punishment cannot by itself solve the problem of the corporation practices which endanger the lives and welfare of the workers both at home and in the armed forces.

People Shocked

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

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

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

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

Profits Are Rising

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

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

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

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

businessmen who helped to finance Hitler and thus enabled him to build his tanks and dive-bombers.

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

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

Monopoly Responsible for Shortages

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

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

try, where the revolutionary Higgins assembly-line production program was strangled because it was considered a competitive threat to the position of powerful companies like Bethlehem Steel.

Big Business domination is responsible not only for critical shortages of war materials but also of food. "Higher prices," say the meat packers and milk corporations and food processors and big baking companies, "or else we'll keep the cattle on the range and we'll kill the milk cows and we'll let the food rot in the fields and we won't permit the flour to be baked."

Other wartime blessings for which we can thank Big Business are: the speedup, which resulted in greater casualties on the industrial front last year than on the military front; an intensification of the housing crisis in most war production centers, because of bad planning and the unwillingness of the capitalists to provide money for new homes, with the result that sickness, disease, child delinquency and disruption of family life have increased.

Capitalism Responsible

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

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

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

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

PARAGRAPHS FROM PIONEER PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

Shipyard Workers Denounce Policy Of Freezing Wages

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

BUREAUCRAT COUNSELS PATIENCE

Van Gelder, International Secretary-Treasurer of the union, answered the incessant demands from the floor for strike action by stating that "The CIO disapproves of strikes during the war crisis..." When Van Gelder began wrapping the flag around himself and lectured the men that they should think of the boys in the fox holes, he was constantly heckled from the floor, with remarks like: "Stop waving the flag; we want action." "Sure, we are thinking of the boys; they are our sons and brothers, but why didn't U. S. Steel think of them when they sold defective steel to the army and navy?" (Federal is a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Corporation.) At one point of Van Gelder's speech the boos were so loud and long that the meeting threatened to break up.

The Stalinists tried to turn the sentiment of the men by confusing the meeting. The Stalinist whip proposed that the local launch a fight with a publicity campaign, a one hour picket line after work

Carmen Strike Against Labor Board Decision

(Continued from page 1)

ing accompanied by high ranking army officials to try to persuade the men to call off the strike. At 1:27 A. M. on Thursday, a shop steward proposed that the men leave promptly at 1:30 if the mayor was late. At 1:33 the mayor and his procession filed down the aisle of a completely empty hall. The union officials rushed outside to plead with the workers to return to the hall but they were only laughed at by the union members who correctly recognized this as but another attempt to stall. The pompous little mayor was left fuming helplessly.

At the conclusion of the 24-hour strike, I spent a whole day riding street cars and talking to conductors and motormen. All those with whom I spoke were determined to get their wage increase, come what may. One conductor put it this way: "If we don't get results soon, the 24-hour stoppage will be just a sample of what we will do." Another conductor showed me his semi-monthly check. The figures were so revealing that I borrowed his pencil and copied them down. 140 hours. That's 10 hours a day for 7 days a week. He earned \$101. Then was listed deductions for war bonds, insurance, taxes, etc., and the check he could cash totalled \$77.62 for one half month.

SERVICEMEN SYMPATHETIC

One passenger on a street car (the only incident I saw or heard of its kind) accused the conductor of being a foreigner because he went on strike "when the boys are giving their lives at the front." I asked the conductor if he thought the soldiers and sailors were sympathetic. "Sure they are," he answered, "I talk to a lot of them who ride the trolleys. Don't you think they want decent jobs when they come back? You should see some of the letters our members have received."

The National War Labor Board through Morse finally promised to reconsider the case. Morse announced in advance, however, that the "Little Steel formula" will be maintained.

Meanwhile, a strike of the Pacific Electric Railway workers was narrowly averted when Roosevelt called A. F. Whitney, International President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and promised to reopen their case.

The PER local General Grievance Committee announced on July 22 that a strike vote had carried by a vote of 1723 to 49 and that the strike would be effective as of 2:00 A. M., July 25. This action was taken as soon as Vinson, Stabilization Economic Director set aside the 13 cent increase awarded these workers by an Emergency Rail Labor panel and ruled that the men, in accordance with the "Little Steel formula," were entitled to only 3 cents an hour. The Pacific Electric workers run the interurban passenger and freight trains and busses.

Workers Are in Foxholes, Too

The General Grievance Committee of the Los Angeles Pacific Electric Workers local stated in its press release announcing their strike vote: "We already have been told that our action will hurt those who are on the fighting front and those who are in the 'fox holes'... We, too, are in a 'fox hole'—an 'economic fox hole'—from which we must be lifted before we can again become 'soldiers in overalls'."

30 UMW Members Indicted Under Anti-Strike Law

(Continued from page 1)

wages above the "Little Steel formula."

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

"The time for action on your part is long past due. We feel that we have been patient too long. We are submitting this letter to the press and request a prompt answer or, better yet, some action on your part."

The bosses are still demanding their pound of flesh.

to report back to the local union meeting on August 1.

The men of Local 16 demonstrated that they are militant and want to fight for their rights. The meeting made clear however that the militants do not yet have a sufficiently well organized leadership and a definite plan of action.

Dobbs Speaks In Boston

BOSTON, July 19 — Farrell Dobbs spoke on the prospects for the independent labor party at a meeting held at the Workers' Center in this city on July 15, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

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

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

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The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

The Poll Tax in Tennessee

When Boss Frank Hague of Jersey City said, "I am the law," he had nothing on the Tennessee Supreme Court. This judiciary body packed with poll tax appointees has decided that the last Tennessee legislature had no right to repeal the State poll tax law and declared that a constitutional amendment was necessary to repeal the law. The court chose the right moment for its decision, denying the right to vote to three million white and Negro Tennesseans on July 3, the eve of Independence day.

Thus the long struggle by labor and liberal groups to strike the 70-year old poll tax from Tennessee's statute books has foundered on the rock of this reactionary decision, which even a minority of the court held to be "supported by no precedent in the annals of English or American law and unsound in principle."

It is of little use to wail, as the liberals are doing, about this "unprecedented" ruling which flouts the will of the majority and makes a mockery of legal procedure. The capitalists of the South and their political henchman respect the law only so far as it serves to maintain their class power and privilege. When it threatens their domination they either ignore it or tailor it to suit their needs, as the Tennessee Supreme Court decision shows. And since, with the help of the poll tax, they control the local machinery of government in the Southern states, it is easy for them to shape the law to their own ends.

Because Tennessee was the one state out of the eight poll tax states where it was thought possible to repeal the poll tax through state legislation, the decision of the Supreme Court makes it plain that the only realistic way of outlawing the poll tax is through a federal law. This is the meaning of the Tennessee Supreme Court decision. Such a federal anti-poll tax bill was passed by the House of Representatives on May 25, 1943. It is now in the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In order to prevent the Southern poll tax senators from filibustering the bill to death when it comes up for discussion, a limitation on debate known as cloture must be imposed by the Senate.

Together with the Negro people the labor movement, which has a real interest in abolishing the poll tax, must take the lead in demanding that the Senate in-

voke cloture by the necessary two-thirds vote. The passage of the bill would be a blow at the poll tax Senators who are the fountainhead of most anti-labor legislation. The ten million disfranchised Negroes and whites of the South most certainly do not consider the Smiths, Connallys and Rankins their representatives. Of course the passage of such a bill would not automatically guarantee the right to vote to the poor whites and the Negro people of the South. But such a success would be a heartening stimulant for further struggle along the same road, and most important of all it would bring to life the slumbering political power of these exploited masses on the side of the labor movement.

Roosevelt Writes A Letter On Detroit

The universal condemnation and the aroused sentiments of the Negro people to do something about anti-negro violence have forced President Roosevelt to break his silence on this question. In a letter to Representative Marcantonio of New York last week Roosevelt stated, "The recent outbreaks of violence in widely scattered parts of the country endanger our national unity and comfort our enemies." Roosevelt also informed Marcantonio that he had asked the Attorney General and other government agencies "to give special attention to the problem of race riots in this country."

This letter is nothing less than an insult to the intelligence of the Negro people. Ever since the war began, the Negro people have been telling Roosevelt that the government was preparing the way for anti-Negro explosions by its Jim Crow policies in the armed forces and government agencies as well as by its refusal to fight discrimination in the war industries.

As chief executive of a capitalist government which rests upon the pillars of private property and Jim Crow, Roosevelt can do nothing but make pretty speeches and set up super-agencies designed only to create the illusion that the government has the interests of the Negro people at heart. The Stalinists and many liberals are playing Roosevelt's game by trying to foster this same illusion. If Roosevelt and the government continue to give their kind of attention to the problem of anti-Negro violence, there are certainly going to be more of such outbursts, and on a larger scale.

Italy Under Martial Law As Masses Revolt Against War

(Continued from page 1)

fact that Badoglio acts first of all to check the awakened workers. Whatever the foreign policy of the government, it will quickly prove its inability to win and maintain the support of the masses. If it seriously intends to continue the war, despite the anti-war demonstrations of the masses, it is fated to have a very short life indeed.

CHURCHILL SPEAKS

Speaking before the British Parliament on July 27, Prime Minister Churchill outlined the attitude of the Allied leaders to the latest developments in Italy. His speech contained not a single word of criticism of the reaction of Badoglio government; not a whisper about applying the "Four Freedoms" to Italy. Like Secretary Hull at a Washington press conference on July 26, Churchill failed to attack or criticize the Italian monarchy. The only note of complaint he struck against the new government was that it had failed thus far to make any peace overtures. "Therefore no new decisions are called for from us," he said.

Churchill, no less than the rulers of Italy, is worried about pos-

sible developments. And he warns against the adoption of any policy that might prevent the negotiation of some deal with the Badoglio regime.

"We do not know what is going to happen in Italy," he said, "and now that Mussolini has gone and the fascist power has certainly been irrevocably broken, we would be foolish to deprive ourselves of any means of coming to general conclusion with the Italian nation." This is plainly an invitation to Italy's present rulers to strike a bargain.

CHURCHILL WORRIED

If Churchill does not have too much confidence in the Badoglio government, it is because he realizes how quickly it can be swept aside by the fast-moving developments in Italy. "Past experience shows that in cases of great change of heart and character in government of a nation very often one stage is rapidly succeeded by another."

And out of such swift changes, Churchill fears, may come a social revolution: "It would be a grave mistake when Italian affairs are in this flexible, fluid and formative condition for the rescuing powers of Britain and the United States so to act as to

break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian state. We certainly do not wish to reduce Italian life to a condition of chaos and anarchy, and find ourselves without any authorities with whom to deal."

To Churchill, "chaos and anarchy" is another name for the rule of the workers and peasants. These are authorities with whom he certainly has no intention of dealing. He knows very well that if the masses take matters into their own hands, there can be no other outcome than a workers' and peasants' government along the lines of the state created by the Russian Revolution in 1917. And Churchill dreads this more than any victory by Hitler. The Allied leaders want to get their armies into Italy as soon as possible so that they can help to prevent "chaos and anarchy," and they can be expected to follow any policy, including a deal with Badoglio if he doesn't disappear from the scene too soon, to achieve this end.

That Roosevelt has no important differences with Churchill's attitude to the Badoglio government was shown a few hours after Churchill's speech when Roosevelt in a press conference demonstratively denounced Office

of War Information broadcasts attacking Badoglio and King Victor.

ALLIES UNTRUSTWORTHY

The masses of Italy can have no more faith in the Allied capitalists than they have in the ruling forces of their own country. If they are to obtain the peace and security for which they yearn, they will have to rely first of all on themselves and their own organizations.

The heroic underground fighters of the industrial and agricultural working class of Italy have waited more than 20 years for the opportunity which faces them today. The revolutionary spirit which built magnificent labor organizations after the first world war, which struck mortal terror into the capitalists and landowners when they stormed the factories and seized the land, is not dead. The workers will soon take up where they left off when Mussolini's thugs smashed their organizations, and this time they will not easily be deflected from their revolutionary course by the false counsel of weak-kneed and treacherous leaders.

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

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

ITALIAN WORKERS' NEEDS

The immediate needs of the Italian workers can be summed up as follows:

An end to martial law; the restoration of all democratic rights, including freedom of press, speech and assembly; the recognition of the right to strike; the reorganization and legalization of trade unions, peasant organizations and political parties; the release of all political prisoners; the right of the soldiers to form committees and present grievances, etc.

All these constitute what are commonly known as democratic rights, but to win them the masses will have to conduct vigorous struggles against the government and the capitalists.

On the basis of their regained rights and reconstituted organizations, the workers of Italy must unfold a resolute struggle for the establishment of a Socialist Italy. The immediate task of the proletarian vanguard is the building of the only instrument through which this can be accomplished, the revolutionary Marxist party patterned after the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the masses to victory in the midst of the first world war.

'Free Germany' Group Sponsored by Stalin

By John G. Wright

The latest move of the Kremlin in the field of foreign diplomacy is the setting up of a "National Committee of Free Germany" in Moscow. The circumstances surrounding the creation of this body indicate that considerable importance is attached to it by Moscow.

The release of the news has been carefully timed to coincide with the invasion of Sicily and the launching of the Soviet counter-offensive in the Orel sector.

One week was permitted to elapse before Moscow broadcast widely the text of the manifesto adopted by the newly constituted body and it was then featured in Pravda, the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, and in all the other Moscow dailies, including the army newspaper, Red Star. It has been further disclosed that the "Free Germany" movement disposes of its own German paper, published in Moscow, and a radio transmitting station, "Freies Deutschland," which broadcasts three times a day. By Sunday, July 25, the Daily Worker announced triumphantly: "At last there is a 'Free Germany' movement with the nucleus of a broad representative mass following."

"FREE GERMANY" MOVEMENT IS PRO-CAPITALIST

What program does this new "mass movement" offer the German people? The emphasis in the manifesto is placed on the overthrow of Hitler, the formation of a "genuine national government" and the immediate conclusion of peace. No mention is made of German imperialism; nor is there even a direct reference to Nazism. Instead there is an offer of complete "amnesty" for all Hitler adherents who in good time will renounce him and join the movement for a Free Germany, and, presumably, these gentlemen would be granted proper representation in the government formed after Hitler's overthrow. The text of the manifesto makes it clear that the formation of a Soviet Germany is excluded.

By issuing last month the order for the dissolution of the Communist International, the Kremlin gave thereby an implicit guarantee that it would help to perpetuate capitalism in Germany. This guarantee is now made explicit by the Kremlin's sponsorship of the "Free Germany" movement which is committed to the perpetuation of German capitalism under "democratic" forms.

The German people are promised all the blessings of the old Weimar regime but this time under a "strong democratic power" that will have nothing in common with the helpless Weimar regime.

The manifesto wisely omits to say just how this miracle will be achieved. "Democracy" which bankrupted itself so quickly in Germany after the first World War could only prove even more short-lived in the post-war Europe that lies ahead. The lessons of Weimar, and Germany's fate under it, have burned so deeply into the consciousness of the people that the Nazis use as a powerful argument the threat that if they fall, Germany will

have to pass through such an experience all over again. Salvation for the people of Germany as well as the rest of Europe, lies through the establishment of socialism. Stalin, however, forbids all mention of socialism and bars the road to socialist struggle.

STALIN'S ALLIES

The manifesto ostensibly addresses itself to the masses in the country and in the army to overthrow Hitler. But these are not Stalin's real allies. It is quite clear just what forces in Germany he banks upon. They are the capitalist class of Germany and the military caste of the Junkers — "all adherents of Hitler."

Stalin's bid to the Junkers for collaboration with his regime is underscored by the prominence of army officers in the National Committee of "Free Germany." The first and second vice-presidents of this Committee are respectively: Major Karl Hetz and Lieutenant Prince Heinrich von Einsiedel, "a great grandson of Bismarck." (Bismarck was the foremost proponent of alliance and collaboration with Russia. The linking up of his name with the "Free Germany" movement is not accidental.) Moreover, of the 34 signatories to the manifesto, 12 are commissioned German officers. They together with the non-commissioned officers and soldiers comprised the majority of the delegates. (The rest consisted of notorious Stalinist stooges in the literary and academic world and former Stalinist functionaries in Germany.)

SECRET DIPLOMACY

The Kremlin's move can be understood more fully in the light of the vast, world-wide game of secret diplomacy that has been underway for some time. Alexander Werth, the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, has been permitted to cable, in connection with the "Free Germany" movement, the following illuminating comment: "Many people (i.e., the Kremlin) are disturbed by a variety of political manifestations, particularly in America but also in England. The Russian magazine 'War and the Working Class,' now the leading Russian periodical on international affairs, prints in its latest number an article analyzing the currents in America and England, with particular attention to the idea of an East European federation. . . The idea of such a federation is essentially a cordon sanitaire, it is held, directed against Russia." And then it is added:

"It may be said that the constitution of the Polish division here and the prominence given to the Free German Manifesto are all part of a Russian insurance policy" against various "political surprises" which, it is widely felt, may be hatched through various elements in the Allied countries." (N. Y. Times, July 25.)

The article on the "East European federation" referred to by correspondent Werth has al-

ready been cabled to this country. It begins with the following significant remarks:

"Every logically thinking person understands that to the Soviet Union—the biggest power on the continent which in the course of the war has revealed its state and military strength—will belong one of the leading roles in the organization of the post-war reconstruction of Europe and of the whole world. Nevertheless anti-democratic and semi-fascist elements are trying to prevent the participation of the USSR in the organization of the post-war world and are building the most fantastic plans in this direction, clearly hostile to the Soviet Union." (Sunday Worker, July 25.)

STALIN FEARS IMPERIALISTS

The Kremlin must at all costs prevent the encirclement of the USSR by a new cordon sanitaire, long projected in Washington, London, the Vatican, etc., for Eastern Europe. With the downfall of Mussolini, the prospect of direct Allied intervention in the Balkans and Eastern Europe generally, becomes more immediate.

Clearly revealed in the Kremlin's veiled articles and diplomatic moves is the distrust and fear of Moscow toward Washington-London. It is equally clear that Stalin's hand is being forced. It is only in desperation that the Kremlin would talk of any kind of revolution in Germany, even a "democratic" one. Stalin waited more than two years before he ventured to launch even this "Free Germany" movement.

THE RISE AND FALL OF ITALIAN FASCISM

(Continued from page 1)

workers and every vestige of democracy in the country. Bolstered by Hitler's victory, Mussolini turned to military preparations on a huge scale, seeking a way out of the blind alley of Italian capitalism through war. His adventure in Ethiopia cost billions of lira. His joint intervention with Hitler to destroy the Spanish revolution raised the curtain on the second World War. From then on the gears of the Italian war machine became meshed in with the far mightier power of the Nazis, the servants of German imperialism.

FASCISM BANKRUPT

The war quickly revealed the complete exhaustion of Italian fascism. Two decades of its rule have left the country completely bankrupt. Her fiscal system and her entire economic life have been undermined beyond repair. Her national debt has assumed astronomical proportions. Italy is now poorer and more debilitated than she was at the termination of the first World War. The only ones who have gained from the rule of fascism have been the big capitalists whose profits have continued to pour in during wartime as they did in peace.

In order to head off the revolution, inevitable under the circumstances, the monarchists and capitalists of Italy are trying at

Churchill, Roosevelt And The Italian People

By M. Morrison

The message of Churchill and Roosevelt, though addressed to the people of Italy is couched in terms which can be interpreted only as an appeal to the "responsible people"—the monarch perhaps, or the generals and the clerics—to take measures to oust Mussolini and arrange an "honorable capitulation." The last thing that Roosevelt and Churchill want in Italy is a rising of workers and peasants, which will surely not stop at a point satisfactory to these two gentlemen. It can be said with great confidence that if the Italian masses rise against the regime, it will not be in response to any appeal of the leaders of the capitalist democracies nor will they stop at simply overthrowing Mussolini.

For two decades the Italian masses have been compelled to bear the yoke of fascism. With their organizations completely destroyed, they were unable to resist the governmental decrees which brought their standard of living down to a level which barely sufficed to prevent actual starvation.

It may well be that a section of the Italian masses was deceived by the flamboyant promises of Mussolini, of a great Italian Empire with rich colonies to which poor Italians could emigrate and improve their miserable lot. There is a certain justice to an argument that Italy is entitled to colonies if England is. There is no reason why God should forever condemn Italy to the crumbs of imperialism. But if any section of the Italian masses had illusions of a Great Italian Empire, it was not long before stern reality caused them to vanish.

Mussolini's military power was nothing to boast about. Italy's economic base is too weak to enable it to build a powerful military machine. The boasting of Mussolini is no substitute for coal, iron, and oil. The initial defeats of the Italian armies at the hands of the British showed that without German aid Italy was helpless.

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

If there is anything which causes the Italian workers and peasants to hesitate about making an attempt to overthrow the hated Mussolini regime it is undoubtedly a feeling that their situation is hopeless. For in all probability it appears to them that to overthrow Mussolini at the present moment is simply to make easier the task of American and British capitalism in conquering their country. We can almost take it for granted that they do not believe the propaganda coming to them from America and England that the armies of these two nations are coming to Italy to liberate the Italian people from the yoke of fascism.

To a certain extent the masses of every country are told the truth about the war. They are given a fair degree of truth as to the motives and aims of the enemy countries. It is almost as easy for the fascists to ridicule American and British propaganda that the war against the Axis powers is one for democracy, as it is for the Americans and the British to ridicule the claims of the fascists that their war is one to liberate mankind from the slavery of the plutocratic democracies.

If the Italian people hate and detest fascism for all that has befallen them, it does not mean that they trust American and British capitalism. What facts are there to make them believe that on the part of the United States and England this is a war for democracy against fascism?

Did any of the British or American political leaders, prior to the war, lift their voices in condemnation of Italian fascism? On the contrary, Churchill went out of his way to praise Mussolini. Did either the British or American governments aid the Spanish people in their struggle against the fascists? On the contrary, Roosevelt placed an embargo on the shipment of arms to the legitimate Spanish government.

Do the Italian masses believe that Great Britain is fighting to

liberate nations when it refuses to liberate India?

In this critical period of Italian fascism there are unquestionably many revolutionary workers who are for the first time in many years raising their heads and seeing the possibility of destroying Mussolini's regime. Their hopes are reviving and they are eagerly waiting for the day when the Italian working class will once more appear on the scene as an independent and revolutionary factor. If these revolutionary workers are not yet active, they will soon become active. They are the ones who will play the leading role in any mass uprising against the fascist rule.

If these revolutionary workers have, in some way or other, been able to follow what the political leaders of the capitalist democracies have said and done during the course of the war, they understand, as well as we, that all indications point to an intention on the part of Roosevelt and Churchill to keep "order" in Europe by means of clerical authoritarianism. Even the exiled middle-class democrats have been snubbed by the British and American governments. Soft and kind words are used to refer to the Italian monarchy. And those exiles who have anything to do with the revolutionary movement must conceal their identity to escape deportation or prison.

At the very best the advanced workers in Italy can look forward to seeing Roosevelt and Churchill help to restore the democratic capitalist regime of pre-fascist days. And while they undoubtedly prefer that kind of a regime to the fascist one, they understand that for the masses of Italy it means the same toil and drudgery for the benefit of the capitalists. They have not forgotten that it is out of the democratic capitalist rule that fascism emerged. Whereas, for Roosevelt and Churchill, the democratic capitalist regime may be an ideal, for the Italian masses it can be at best only a transitional regime towards one where power is in the hands of the workers and peasants.

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

A glorious opportunity faces the Italian masses. In the midst of the slaughter of peoples they can be the first to establish a government based on the principles of socialism and dedicated to the task of bringing true liberty and democracy to the people of the world. The difficulties, we must admit, are enormous. The Italian masses have been bled white by the war; their industries have been ruined; they have no trained revolutionary party to lead them. These are the obstacles in the way of the Italian masses in taking power.

But if the Parisian workers could proclaim their Commune with the foreign enemy at the very gates of the city, the Italian workers can do the same in Italy. If they should do so, in spite of all the obstacles, then a suffering world will be forever grateful to them for striking the first blow leading to peace and liberty.

The above article was written before Mussolini's ouster.—Ed.

NEGROES
in the
POST-WAR
WORLD

by ALBERT PARKER

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New York City

LAUNCH DRIVE TO SELL CANNON BOOK IN N. Y.

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party has launched a seven-week educational and distribution campaign to promote James P. Cannon's book, "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," which has just come off the press. The Local has accepted a quota of 200 volumes of the book. All branches in the city will participate in the campaign to give the book the widest distribution. The present campaign is based on the experience of the highly successful drive to sell Leon Trotsky's classic, "In Defense of Marxism." Campaign plans include:

Prizes: A set of specially bound imitation leather volumes of both "In Defense of Marxism" and "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party" will be given to the individual comrade selling the highest number of books. A city-wide social will be held in the honor of the winning team at the conclusion of the campaign, September 11.

Educational: Educationalists will be conducted in the branches, to provide the membership with a thorough-going knowledge of Cannon's book. A mimeographed symposium bulletin similar to the one published during the "In Defense of Marxism" campaign will be issued.

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

Sales Records and Displays: Throughout the seven weeks of the campaign, displays and records of individual, team and branch sales will be exhibited in the headquarters of the branches. Displays of the book will be featured at all branch meetings, classes, public meetings, etc.

The branches have all set up teams. Each team is headed by a captain. The campaign is already off to a good start.

Progress of the campaign will be reported in The Militant.

Fourth International

August Number
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EQUAL PAY FOR
EQUAL WORK
FOR WOMEN

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

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

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

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

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

Application for entry as second-class matter is pending.



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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Wallace Speaks On Post-War World

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

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

"I believe in our democratic, capitalist system," said Wallace, "but it must be a capitalism of abundance and full employment. If we return to a capitalism of scarcity such as that which produced both 1929 and 1932, we must anticipate that the returning soldiers and displaced war workers will speak in no uncertain terms."

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

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

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

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

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

Pro-Labor Sentiment Among Negro People

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

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

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

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

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

Ickes' Admission

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

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

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

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

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

AFL-CIO Bureaucrats Continue Price Farce

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

PART OF WAR MACHINE

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

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

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

AN EMPTY PROMISE

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

OPA Administrator Brown publicly admitted on July 15 that OPA plans did not include a rollback of any new food prices. The present subsidy program is limited to \$450,000,000, an admittedly inadequate sum to subsidize any significant rollback program. Grade labeling is out, by order of Congress, which has further directed the OPA to cut down even its present inadequate staff. Taking the most optimistic point of view, Brown hopes that the price rollback will reduce the cost of living by one percent. Green admitted at the convention of the Maintenance of Way Railroad



Workers that food prices have risen from 50 to 200%.

HOLDS LID ON WAGES

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

The War Labor Board announced the very next day in connection with its decision on the Los Angeles street car men's case, that it would "hold the lid on wages." The board reached a

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

Roosevelt himself was very genial about the whole thing. In his press interview of the same day, he said that "rollback" was an awful word, and he wished that someone would invent a new one.

Cannon Book A 'Must' For Every Militant

By Art Preis

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

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

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

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

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

The Struggle For A Proletarian Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

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

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Soviet Morale Differs From Italian Morale

One of the principal causes of Mussolini's downfall is the fact that the Italian workers and peasants simply refused to work, to fight, to sacrifice, or to die for his fascist regime. They rightfully saw nothing worth defending in that utterly decadent and oppressive political system.

At the other end of Europe the Soviet workers and peasants fight on against Hitler's powerful military machine. Their morale has astounded the world. After unlimited sacrifices and sufferings, the Soviet masses score new victories at the very hour that Italian fascism crumbles to pieces. Why? Because they have something to fight for: nationalized property, the land and factories which belong to them, their planned economy. They want no return to the exploitation and blind-alley of capitalism which they abolished in the October revolution of 1917.

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

Bombing of Rome Lays Bare Some Hypocrisy

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

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

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

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

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

Giraud and De Gaulle Slander Axis Victims

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

In London on July 22 the General declared that his remarks had been badly translated. With the aid of "good" translators, he proceeded to "explain" what he really meant. When he said that from the social point of view things had been well done under Hitler, he meant that "many Germans had drawn many social advantages from the Nazi system and were likely to fight to the end to preserve them. General Giraud cited as one example the workers' quarters that he had seen in Germany and that he regarded as a great improvement over their predecessors." (*N. Y. Times*, July 23.)

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

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

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

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