

ANTI-WAR FIGHT CONTINUES IN ITALY

UE Convention Opens In N. Y.

By Miriam Carter

NEW YORK, Sept. 14—The national convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, opened here Sunday night, Sept. 12, with a mass meeting of 15,000 workers in Madison Square Garden.

National organization director James Matles, secretary-treasurer Julius Emspak, president Albert Fitzgerald, District 4 officials Ruth Young and James McLeish, as well as Michael Quill, representing the Greater New York Industrial Council—all proclaimed their intention to continue their unqualified support of the Roosevelt administration, and its agencies.

It is the Roosevelt administration which is driving the living standards of the workers steadily downward. But the Stalinist leaders of the UE, whose main concern is not the welfare of the workers but the protection of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, advocate that labor sacrifice everything to prosecute the war and to hasten the opening of a second front in western Europe.

Not one word was said about the grievances of the workers against the War Labor Board, the Little Steel formula, wage freezing, or the administration-inspired drive to put an ever heavier burden of taxes on the workers. Only occasionally did they mouth a few phrases calling upon Congress to institute democratic and effective rationing and price control. But they tried to discourage any independent activity on the part of the workers to achieve these demands.

On the question of political action, the Stalinists voiced their support of the CIO Political Ac-

tion Committees, which have been organized to deflect the sentiment of the workers away from independent political action. Philip Murray, president of the CIO, who also advocates a policy of full support to the Roosevelt administration and strict adherence to the decisions of the War Labor Board and the no-strike pledge, spoke at the meeting. Even he appeared somewhat progressive compared to the Stalinist leadership of the UE. Murray feels the pressure of the mass of the trade union members who are seeking a way out of the vise of rising prices and frozen wages in which they are caught.

He attacked the bosses who have been making huge profits from the war; he attacked the Austin-Wadsworth bill which provides for the conscription of labor; he demanded that a program be adopted that would eliminate mass unemployment after the war; he reiterated his oft-repeated demand for a rollback in prices. However, like the Stalinists, Murray had no program to offer to achieve these aims except continued support of Roosevelt.

The individual who engendered the most mass enthusiasm at the meeting was Duke Ellington, who is a much better piano player than these union officials are workers' leaders.

The theme of the Madison Square Garden meeting was continued the first day of the convention in the officers' report read by Emspak. In reporting on the year's work of the union, he did little more than give a general resume on the progress of the war and all that the UE was doing to increase production.

Soldier Jailed For Protesting Army Jim Crow

Court-martial, four months in the guardhouse at hard labor and demotion to the rank of private—that was the punishment meted out to Sergeant Alton Levy for expressing disapproval of the Army's treatment of Negro troops stationed at the Lincoln Air Base in Nebraska.

Staff Sergeant Levy, a former organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers, was assigned to work with Negro troops and at local staff meetings he protested repeatedly against the rude and discriminatory treatment practiced against them by officers.

Levy was questioned in August by Army intelligence officers on alleged statements he had made, primarily his protests against military Jim Crow. Levy admitted that he had spoken out against race discrimination, but denied the other charges. He was then brought up for court-martial on grounds of conduct unbecoming a soldier.

Testimony at the trial included denunciations of Sergeant Levy's statements as "unpatriotic" and "reprehensible." He was found guilty, and is now doing hard labor at the Lincoln Air Base guardhouse.

Last week a number of prominent labor leaders and liberals signed a protest statement calling upon President Roosevelt and the top Army officials to conduct a thorough review of the case. The Workers Defense League announced this week that it was taking charge of a campaign to reverse the Levy conviction.

More Casualties in the Mines



The bodies of 19 miners and rescue workers killed in a double explosion which rocked the Republic Steel Corporation's Sayreton No. 2 mine at Sayreton, Ala., are shown reaching the surface of the mine. Members of the United Mine Workers, the dead included four volunteer rescue workers, trapped in second explosion. See Page 2 of this issue for a comprehensive feature article on conditions and accidents in the mines. (Federated Pictures)

Real Causes of Brewster Strike Bared by Union

The War Labor Board's open hearing on the Brewster Aeronautical case on Sept. 7 showed that the Brewster management is continuing and extending the anti-labor campaign which led to a recent four-day strike at the company's Johnsville, Pa., plant and brought about the decision by UAW Local 365, representing Brewster workers in Johnsville, Newark and L. I. City, to conduct a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act.

The WLB hearing was presented with arguments by both the management and Local 365 on a new contract under consideration and on the cause of the strike, which began last month when the company and Navy officials deliberately violated the seniority provisions affecting union members who are employed as guards at the plant and who are technically members of the

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STRONG VOTE AGAINST NO-STRIKE PLEDGE IN FLINT UAW ELECTIONS

By Jeff Thorne

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 11—Flint Auto workers demonstrated this week that they are opposed to the no-strike pledge and desire its revocation.

Members of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, voted 2240 to 1026 to revoke the no-strike pledge. Buick Local 599 voted 1104 to 811 in opposition to the no-strike pledge. Although the AC and Fisher Body locals did not vote specifically on this issue, it is common knowledge that their members have the same position as the workers of the Chevrolet and Buick shops.

The decisive vote of the Chevrolet membership to revoke the no-strike pledge reflects most accurately the feelings of the Flint auto workers. This is explained by the fact that only in the Chevrolet local was there an opportunity to fully discuss and clearly vote on this question.

At the Buick local, however, the question "Do you favor the no-strike pledge?" was tucked inconspicuously at the bottom of the long ballot containing the names of 66 candidates. Thousands of workers overlooked it in voting. The question had not been mentioned in the election announcements nor was it raised as an issue in the election of convention delegates.

The Reuther slate specifically endorsed the no-strike pledge, as did the two "independent" Stalinist delegates. The Addees slate, whose machine has exercised strong control over the Buick local, since its militant president, John McGill, has been drafted into the army, ironically enough ran exclusively on a local program of "rank and file control."

Only about one-fifth of the Buick membership voted in this election. Almost one-half of these either overlooked the no-strike question or otherwise failed to indicate a preference.

The Sept. 11 issue of The Nation prints a letter to the editors on the Postal case by James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. An article on Postal by James Rorty appears in the Sept. 11 New Leader. Next week's issue of The Militant will reprint excerpts from these articles.

Italian People Gained Nothing From Armistice

By Philip Blake

The Italian people were told again and again that the only way they could get peace was by unconditional surrender to the Allies. But as NBC correspondent Merrill Mueller radioed from Algiers on the day the surrender was announced: "The strangest armistice in history has turned into a bloody battlefield. Instead of a victorious parade, the Allied forces face a violent, long-drawn-out battle that has already been partially joined. Caught in between are the Italians, who sought peace."

Despite the obstacles which still confront them in Italy, the Allied leaders voiced great joy over the terms of the armistice, which were described at Allied headquarters in the Mediterranean theatre as "even more sweeping than those imposed on France by Germany and Italy."

NO GAIN FOR WORKERS

Thus the leaders on both sides expressed satisfaction over the outcome of the armistice. But the workers of Italy had little to be happy about. The hated Badoglio government had fled to its new ally and protector, but taking its place was the no less oppressive military rule of Hitler. Before the armistice, the Allies were bombing and pounding away at Italy; after the armistice both the German and Allied forces were making a battlefield of Italy, with the Italian masses in a position where they were sure to be the target of both sides.

And yet there would have been no armistice if it had not been for the Italian workers, whose bitter and heroic opposition to fascism doomed Mussolini and his war.

As Badoglio's diplomatic emissaries admitted to the Allies early in August, the situation within Italy had become "desperate." It was desperate for Badoglio because the workers were striking and demonstrating for an end to the war. Badoglio spoke the truth when he informed Hitler after the armistice that he had signed it because "all legitimate hope—I do not say of victory, but even of resistance—has vanished." He had no hope of continuing the war because he knew that no matter what he did, the workers and

soldiers did not intend to continue it. Hitler too placed the responsibility for the loss of Italy as an ally on the "systematic sabotage" of certain unnamed forces inside that country.

The Italian workers know that a Hitlerite victory will certainly reduce them to the slave status now held by the masses of occupied Europe—and it is unquestionably this knowledge which inspires their present resistance to the German troops, despite the severe handicaps under which they are forced to fight. But what can they expect from an Allied victory? Will it mean that they can establish a government of their own choice?

ROLE OF AMG

One provision of the armistice, signed on Sept. 3 and made public on Sept. 11, states that the Allied commander-in-chief "will establish an Allied Military Government over such parts of Italian territory as he may deem necessary in the military interests of the Allied nations."

An AP correspondent reported that Allied Military Government (AMG) officials accompanied the troops landing in Italy on Sept. 3. The first AMG official ashore stated: "I have waited for this moment a long time. I found out in Sicily the sort of job we can do, and I want to get down to doing it in Italy."

The "sort of job" they can do has already been made perfectly clear by dispatches from Sicily. It includes the suppression of all political activity; the retention of all but the most notorious fascist officials in the posts they held under Mussolini; and the political preparation for the establishment, in that far off day when elections will finally be permitted, of a government, which will be reactionary to the core.

Liberals, hoping against hope

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Workers Fight On For Peace In The Face Of Crushing Odds

By Anthony Massini

The Badoglio government, which sent out its first peace bid to the Allies early in August, fled toward the Allied forces in southern Italy after surrendering to them last week.

During this month—when the surrender negotiations were already secretly under way—Badoglio had occupied himself with disarming the workers and mutinous troops, suppressing the demonstrations and strikes, re-arresting many of the workers' leaders. In every other possible way he sought to destroy the self-confidence and initiative of the masses and to club them into a state of fear and despair.

The workers could not retreat as Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel did, and they were left behind last week, unprepared and disorganized, to face the fury of Nazis bent on teaching an object lesson to the rebellious people of the occupied countries.

Why did Badoglio deliberately refuse to prepare the masses for the inevitable outcome of his surrender to the Allies? Why was it, for example, when the workers volunteered to fight against the German forces attacking Bergamo that they were told by Badoglio's military commander "that only a few outmoded rifles were available?" (N. Y. Times, Sept. 13). It certainly was not because the masses were unwilling to fight, as they have heroically demonstrated in scores of towns since Badoglio fled.

The only answer to these questions is that Badoglio and the

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It's A Strange War

An Editorial

What a strange "war of democracy against fascism" this has turned out to be!

France entered the war as a "democracy," on the side of the Allies, and in the name of defending the fatherland. Yet when it served their interests in 1940, the French ruling class did not hesitate to abandon their democratic trappings, to capitulate to the Nazis and to take a place—subordinate though it was—in the building of Hitler's "new order."

Italy entered the war under a fascist government, on the side of the Axis, and likewise in the name of defending the fatherland. Yet now when it serves their interests, the Italian ruling class does not hesitate to dismiss Mussolini and outlaw the fascist party, to capitulate to the Allies and to become a virtual ally of Roosevelt and Churchill.

To attribute these shifts to the military events of the war alone would be superficial and foolish. If the French capitalists were really fighting for democracy, why did they seize the first opportunity to wipe out all democratic rights at home? Why did they agree to collaborate with the Nazi? If the American and British capitalists are really fighting for democracy, how can they collaborate with the same Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio who helped Mussolini to destroy democracy in Italy?

These shifts were accompanied in each case by the institution of new governments, but these new governments represented and served the same ruling classes as their predecessors.

Minnesota Pardon Board Is Urged To Free Kelly Postal

A recent membership meeting of Fleetwood Local 15 UAW-CIO, Detroit, Mich., unanimously adopted a resolution asking the Governor and the State Pardon Board of Minnesota to free Kelly Postal, former secretary-treasurer of Local 544-CIO, who is now serving up to five years in Stillwater State Penitentiary on trumped-up charges of "embezzlement."

The Local 15 resolution was in accord with the Michigan CIO Council resolution condemning the conviction of Postal and urging local affiliates to give the Civil Rights Defense Committee all possible material and moral aid in the campaign to free Postal. Local 15 had previously sent the CRDC a financial contribution toward Postal's defense.

In a letter to the Governor of Minnesota, Mr. George Olshausen, San Francisco attorney, points out that "in an earlier trial before Judge Hall, the judge directed a verdict of acquittal on the ground that when the treasurer of the union obeyed the vote of the membership, he was not guilty of embezzlement," since Postal was never accused of personally misusing the funds.

"Where you have a legal question on which judges disagree," the letter continues, "it is going pretty far to say that a layman must decide it correctly at the peril of serving five years in the penitentiary... Even after all forms of law have been observed and after all legal remedies have been exhausted, there are still some instances of unjust convictions. It is to take care of these cases that the pardoning power exists... I respectfully ask that the petition of this man for a pardon be granted."

Another attorney, Mr. Harry

More Labor Aid For Kelly Postal

The Civil Rights Defense Committee reports that contributions to the Kelly Postal Pardon Fund were received last week from the following labor organizations:

The Detroit Joint Board of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America, CIO.

Local 17 of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, AFL, New York City.

Local 3 of the Journeymen Tailors Union of America, CIO, Denver, Col.

Proletarian Club, Rochester, N. Y.

What to Do With Italy

by SALVEMINI & LA PIANA

reviewed by JOHN ADAMSON

on page 3 of this issue

Why Casualties Are Mounting In Coal Fields

By Larissa Reed

"19 Killed, 26 Injured in Two Blasts in Mine," announced the newspaper headlines in a dispatch from Birmingham, Ala. last month. Year after year fresh victims are added to the unending list of mine casualties. Accounts of these accidents differ only in the number of dead and disabled miners. Familiar are the pictures of the dead and injured being carried out of the pits on stretchers, or tragic groups of sobbing women and children waiting at the mineheads to receive the bodies of their loved ones. Once again the final blow has been delivered to members of that section of the working class which, even before the disaster, was condemned by capitalism to bleak, hungry, shabby and miserable lives. The deaths and injuries in the mining industry since Pearl Harbor exceed all casualties in the military forces of the United States for the same period, a recent government report admitted. Every day of their lives miners display valor as great as that of soldiers on the fighting fronts. But miners get no medals for their hard and hazardous work. Neither do they get the necessary safeguards to protect them from ever-present danger.

Casualties Increase

Since 1940 the mine owners, in their mad scramble for war profits, have speeded up operations and neglected even the former inadequate safety precautions. This has resulted in the sharpest rise of mine casualties in two decades.

In 1940 there were 1,308 fatalities and 59,781 non-fatal accidents involving 61,098 miners. Totally and permanently disabled miners numbered 2,151. In the following year, 1941, losses rose higher, with 1,266 killed, 63,465 non-fatal, involving 64,731

miners, disabling 2,181 for life. In 1942 (with figures still incomplete) the losses were higher still: 1,482 killed, 72,000 non-fatal, totalling 73,482. Thus, in the past three years 21 major disasters and a far greater number of lesser disasters resulted either in injury or death of tens of thousands of miners.

For the destitute family of a dead miner, to whom no amount of money can compensate for the loss of their loved one, the profit-swollen bosses pay the sum of \$250. Even this paltry sum was only recently raised from \$150 through the efforts of the United Mine Workers.

What are the causes of this terrible slaughter of men in the coal mines, and who is responsible? Edward A. Wieck, a coal miner of 25 years experience, made a study last year for the Russell Sage Foundation of the six major disasters of 1940.

From his findings it first of all becomes clear that coal mine disasters can be foreseen and prevented. They cannot be dismissed—as the operators always try to do—in the "legal category of an Act of God."

Unsafe Working Conditions

"None of the mines in which major explosions occurred in 1940 were found to be adequately ventilated," stated Mr. Wieck. Since most deaths are caused by "after-damp," the poisonous fumes which rise after an explosion, it can be seen that adequate ventilation is of first importance. But the owners, "fearful of a small expense for proper ventilation, resort to short-cuts of temporary and inadequate ventilation," so that fresh air never reaches the places where it is needed most and many miners are suffocated before they can be rescued.

Rock-dusting, which is a means of controlling the spread of explosions, was ap-

plied in "inadequate or hit-or-miss fashion." Out of 6,000 bituminous coal mines in the country, only 481 claimed to use rock dust and of these only 10% were rock-dusted adequately. This precaution is even more necessary today in mechanized mining, where three-shift operations and the speed-up increase the potential menace of igniting coal dust. This can be done if the operators are "willing to sacrifice some minutes of production at the end of each shift for this necessary precaution." But most bosses prefer to jeopardize miners' lives rather than sacrifice a moment of their profit-making.

Sub-standard Equipment

Faulty electrical equipment is the greatest single cause of explosions. Yet substandard, non-permissible or neglected permissible electrical equipment in the mines were responsible for many of the disasters. "Few mines in the United States could meet the specifications of the most liberal code of standards for electrical installation and equipment," reports Mr. Wieck.

The miners' electric cap lamp was the only item in electrical equipment that was completely eliminated as a source of ignition. The reason for this is that the cost is borne not by the operators but by the mine worker. "The miners' electrical cap lamp is a safety device that costs the company nothing; on the contrary, the management checks off the miners' pay a stipulated sum each day for its use, which in most instances yields the company a handsome profit."

Although no mine should be without methane and carbon monoxide detectors, very few mines in this country have installed exact gas-detecting devices. Today there has even been developed a methane detector which automatically sounds an

alarm in the presence of a given quantity of gas. But the boss can't make a profit on a gas detector, and far too often, after a disaster, the coroner's report reads: "Due to failure to make proper gas inspection. . ."

Perfunctory Inspection

The United Mine Workers has spent years urging Congress to recognize the need for Federal mine-inspection laws, as one safeguard against a death list which has taken a toll of 82,000 dead and hundreds of thousands injured in the past 40 years. The mine bosses, of course, bitterly opposed such legislation. To prevent its adoption, they brought pressure to bear on congressmen, claiming that federal inspection "was not needed," despite the grim facts and figures presented by the United Mine Workers. It was only last year that such a law was finally passed. Even then, it gave the Federal Bureau of Mines only the right of entry into the mines, but still withheld the power to require compliance with its orders!

Almost as soon as the law had gone into effect, federal reports of disasters pointed to inexcusable safety negligence. The Federal Mine Inspector's report of last year's Osage explosion, which killed 66 mine workers, "reveals a toll of life resulting from hurried makeshift, inefficient repairs of machine parts," the United Mine Workers Journal reports. "It is the age-old story that electric sparks and methane in combustible quantities mean certain death." As for state safety laws, where officials are even more under the thumb of powerful capitalists, these are virtually ineffective. The boss points to his own "inspectors"—in most cases a hurried, harassed section boss in charge of production. Every miner knows that such an inspector is primarily concerned with getting out and speeding

up production rather than protecting the welfare of the miners.

Effect of the Speedup

The chief underlying factor in the mounting list of mine casualties today is the speedup in the mechanized mines, which produce one-third of the bituminous coal of the country. These mines are responsible for more than their share of major explosions. Mechanization has introduced new dangers, while the old safeguards have been sacrificed to the greater speeds demanded by uninterrupted operation. Three-shift operations, the speedup, the lengthened work-day and work-week multiply hazards in the mechanized mines. The men become weary, their energy is burned up, nervous reactions become less keen, and their bodies are permeated with the dusts and poisons of the mine atmosphere. They cannot keep their safety measures abreast of the speed of operations. The result is a sharp increase in catastrophes.

The bonus speedup system was denounced as the probable primary cause in the Nelsms, Ohio explosion of 1942 which took 31 miners' lives. Although the bosses claimed that the bonus speedup system had been abolished for some time, a miner told the real story. He explained that the bonus system had been abolished as soon as they "got the men working" so fast they couldn't work any faster. Now the straw bosses keep 'em up to that speed." The miners got nothing from this "incentive wage" plan except added risks to their lives and health.

Three-shift operation is unnecessary and dangerous, because no time is left to prepare proper safety precautions. Its only purpose is to get a greater return on investment in machinery. One prominent operator publicly stated that the third shift "is where we'll

get the last squeal out of our investment on equipment. . . Today this greed for profits is masked behind the pretense that the speedup is needed for war production. But, as the United Mine Workers Journal points out, "there is no national need for coal that demands excessive speedups at the sacrifice of the life of the men who dig the coal."

Bosses Want More Speed

Despite the already dangerous conditions existing in the mines, the greedy bosses keep urging a longer work-day, a longer work-week, greater speed in operations. To September 4 of this year, bituminous coal output reached about 397,442,000 tons, a gain of 6,615,000 tons compared with the 390,827,000 tons for the same 1942 period. There's a lot of profit for the bosses in these additional millions of tons of coal, but their hunger for profits can never be satisfied.

A few days ago Harry M. Vawter, director of the Bituminous Coal Institute, and hiring of the mine bosses, declared that one extra day's work a week for six weeks would produce 12,000,000 more tons! He fails, of course, to point out the appalling list of dead and crippled miners that, under present conditions of callous indifference to safety, would certainly result from such a tremendous speedup.

The miners know through decades of bitter experience that the mine owners will never voluntarily give them safe working conditions, or proper mine safety equipment, any more than they will give them decent wages to maintain themselves and their families. The miners know they can rely only upon their own organized strength, solidarity and fighting spirit to put an end to the daily threat of sudden death.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

New York City's first strike under the Smith-Connelly Act began Sept. 7 when 18 workers struck against the X-L Brass Corporation's refusal to sign a contract with the United Construction Workers Union, District 50, UMW. The union demands included a closed shop and a provision for reopening wage negotiations every six months.

The power-drunk regional War Labor Board rushed out an order to the union to "show cause" why the strikers should not return to work at once. A truce has been negotiated under which the main union demands are to be referred to a WLB "fact finding" panel.

Like any other policeman, the WLB "impartial arbitrator" stand ready to club down the workers who break through the barriers of the vicious Smith-Connelly law.

The General Motors Corporation is moving heaven and earth to put over the speedup system among its third of a million workers. The UAW-CIO, which bargains for the overwhelming majority of the GM workers has flatly rejected this anti-labor proposal.

The Stalinist fink leadership of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, who bargain for a maximum of 30,000 GM workers, have broken the solid union front and accepted the proposal to introduce the speedup. The Stalinist fink leaders should be offered honorary memberships in the National Association of Manufacturers.

F. Hall, international vice-president of the AFL Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, announced from Montreal on Sept. 10 that a strike was in effect involving all freight

handlers of the Canadian Steamship Lines on the St. Lawrence waterways. The strike was called in protest over the long delay by the Canadian War Labor Board in hearing the wage demands presented by the union in early June. Hall said that "within twenty-four hours all freight will be stopped from Quebec to the lakehead."

Another strike ballot under the terms of the Smith-Connelly Act gave the following results: The workers at the McMillan Company plant in Brooklyn voted 49 to 10 to strike in protest against a WLB decision denying them a wage increase.

The Colorado state court threw out certain sections of the anti-union laws that were recently passed by the Colorado state legislature. Judge Sackman, who handed down the decision, invalidated the section of the law which called for the incorporation of unions. He upheld the other sections of the law, however, which prohibited strikes and secondary boycotts. Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel, who argued the case before the Colorado state court, announced that the CIO plans to make a further appeal to the State Supreme Court.

The United Auto Workers Union have won the run-off NLRB election at the huge Baltimore plant of the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Corporation by a vote of 11,805 to 10,901. As the figures show, the UAW managed to win only by the skin of its teeth, although it was the only union on the ballot. Roosevelt's wage-freeze is not a very attractive program with which to win the aircraft workers to unionism.

Anti-War Struggle In Italy

Italian People Gained Nothing From Armistice

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that AMG policies will be different on the Italian mainland, point to the fact that the armistice does not commit the Allied leaders to political support of Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel. But not all the terms in a Darlan deal are written out on paper. Badoglio did not flee toward the protection of the Allies by accident, but because he expects them to recognize him as the official Italian government, even though it is temporarily subordinated to the jurisdiction of AMG.

This was indicated first of all in a Sept. 4 dispatch from Sicily by Herbert L. Matthews, who has done broadcasting work for the Allies and is able to give a close reflection of the views of AMG. In this dispatch written the day after the signing of the armistice, he said:

"The AMG experience in Sicily would seem to strengthen Marshal Badoglio's chances of continuing in power after the Allies enter Rome. He could

prove highly useful and that was the criterion in the case of Admiral Jean Francois Darlan. Marshal Badoglio does not have Darlan's record of treachery. . . Etc., etc. (N. Y. Times, Sept. 6.)

James B. Reston, London correspondent, called attention to the Sept. 10 N. Y. Times to the fact that the Allied leaders were not obligated to maintain the Badoglio government. But the very next day he hastened to list various "reasons" in favor of maintaining Badoglio "as the head of a legally constituted government"—"reasons" which, he indicated, weighed a good deal with the Allied authorities.

INSPIRING PROSPECT

The Italian workers fought against the Badoglio-Victor Emmanuel government during every day of its rule and never for a moment recognized it as a "legally constituted government." Yet they are being asked to give up their lives—to "take every chance you can," as Roosevelt and Churchill put it—so that they can have the privilege of being oppressed by this same government or some equally reactionary substitute. Truly an inspiring prospect!

The Italian workers will achieve neither a government representing their own interests nor find the road to a lasting peace until they create a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Brewster Strike Causes Are Bared By Local 365

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Coast Guard Reserve. A number of the guards were placed under military arrest by the Coast Guard for refusing to work in violation of the contract; two of the guards, according to one report, have since the strike been court-martialed on the charge of refusing to obey orders of Coast Guard officers, and their case is now under review by Secretary of the Navy Knox's office.

COMPANY'S AIM

The union charges that Frederick Riebel, Brewster president, has "attacked the union security clause, he attacked the seniority clause, he attacked the firing clause, he attacked the transfer clause—in short, he attacked everything in the contract which means the difference between a union and non-union shop. And he implied strongly that the clauses mentioned were responsible for the lag in Brewster production." (Aero-Notes, organ of Local 365, Aug. 31).

At the WLB hearing Riebel's testimony confirmed the charge that his aim is to undermine the union and destroy union gains. Riebel waved what he called a stenotype record of a union-management meeting and attacked Local 365's president, Thomas De Lorenzo, for having said, "the policy of the union is not to win the war at any cost. . . We do not propose to give anything up that we have at the present time under the contract. We propose

Workers Fight On For Peace Despite Crushing Odds

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ruling class he serves fear the independent struggles of the workers above everything else. Badoglio knew that to successfully resist the Nazis meant to arm the workers. But he also knew that the armed workers would not stop at driving out the so-called German government.

And the Italian ruling class greatly prefers having northern Italy controlled by the Nazis, at least temporarily, to facing the possibility of socialist revolt against its own rule. Like Roosevelt and Hitler, Badoglio is concerned not only with the military situation, but also with the maintenance of "order" and the prevention of "chaos." This was fully confirmed on Sept. 11 by the behavior of Badoglio's appointee as commander of the Milan area, General Vittorio Ruggiero, who was sent in after Mussolini's downfall to suppress the workers' demonstrations.

TERMS OF SURRENDER

There was fierce fighting in the Milan area during the first 36 hours after announcement of the surrender. The German forces in Milan were wiped out, but before German reinforcements had even reached the city limits, Ruggiero surrendered to Field Marshal Rommel. Rommel did not occupy Milan; instead, he waived the disarmament of the Italian garrison within the city and ordered Ruggiero to disarm the civilian population and "maintain internal order." Ruggiero accepted this task.

Ironically enough, the German regulations for Milan were no more oppressive than those which had previously been in effect under Badoglio. "Demonstrations of all types were banned, as was the assembly of more than three persons on the public highways." This reads almost word for word like the martial law provisions set down by Badoglio a few days after Mussolini's removal.

Ruggiero was unable to maintain order and the Germans had to fight their way into Milan,

were attributed to De Lorenzo "had interfered with production and had made it difficult for the workers to get their demands."

The Aug. 31 issue of Aero-Notes calls special attention to the strikebreaking articles of the Stalinist paper, pointing out that capitalist papers "sink pretty low into the muck to work their points against labor—but the Daily Worker sinks far lower than all the rest." Aero-Notes shows how the Daily Worker has been trying "like all hell to link our officials to the Nazis" in the line with the Stalinist policy of "forget about the truth, get out the paint brush and smear!"

Labor's Duty To The Soldiers

"Thousands of boys have left the bench next to ours at the call of our country. What they have to come back to are their friends and families and the opportunity to work in the plant. Despite the invectives and lies heaped upon us by a soul-sold press, it is our job to preserve for them the conditions they fought for and won in the plant."

—From Aero-Notes, organ of UAW Local 865, Aug. 31.

Turin and other cities, against what a Berlin broadcast called "rioting by communists."

AGAINST CAPITULATION

"The Italians are fighting, going on strike and carrying out sabotage and obstruction of all kinds." A London broadcast reported on Sept. 11, "In both Turin and Milan the German radio reports rioting among workers. In Rome violent street fighting preceded the establishment of German troops in the capital. The German News Agency reports 35 cases of sabotage against German communication lines and speaks of repeated attacks against military posts. It complains that Italians are refusing to repair bombed railways. . . ." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 12).

Badoglio's generals were willing to capitulate, but not the workers.

The Germans claim to have the situation in north Italy well in hand, but travelers returning to Switzerland tell a different story. According to them, resistance still continues, especially on the part of the workers and "organized guerrillas of the former Italian Army formations." The Swiss correspondent of a Swedish paper said that "Italian railway men had struck in Milan, Turin, Genoa and Bologna. The Italian transport workers in these towns are taking part in active resistance to the Germans. Fierce fighting is reported from Trieste, Turin and many small towns." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 14).

ALLIES OF THE WORKERS

From a safe distance Badoglio now tells the masses to resist, urging them: "Take every chance you can." (Joint appeal of Sept. 10). But if a large section of the Italian working class is under the heel of Hitler today, it is because both Badoglio and the Allied leaders were afraid to arouse and prepare the workers for resistance at a time when such resistance might not only have been successful but when it might also have resulted in a socialist revolution.

Once again the Italian workers are learning in bitter experience that in their struggle for freedom and peace they can place no dependence on the leaders of the "democracies." In this struggle they can rely only on their own program, strength and organizations. Their only allies will be the workers on both sides of the battle line.

SEPTEMBER 'F.I.' FEATURES ARTICLES DEVOTED TO ITALY

"The Italian Revolution," a long analytical and informational article by Felix Morrow, is the leading feature of the September issue of "Fourth International," which appeared for sale last week. The Italian article is divided into two parts, the first of which is entitled "The Anglo-U. S. Policy of Counter-Revolution." Morrow begins by showing the fundamental character of the revolution in Italy and the coming revolutions in Europe to be socialist, with the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe, the only way out for the masses. Against this background he examines Anglo-U. S. policy in Italy, which is motivated by fear of the revolution and is based on attempts to maintain the rule of the capitalists. This was the Allied leaders' policy before Mussolini fell, and it remains their policy since, as is demonstrated by their refusal to call for the overthrow of the Italian monarchy, the contrast between their bombings of Rome and Milan, the operation and perspective of AMGOT, etc.

The second part of the article, "The Anti-Fascist Movements In Italy," provides extremely valuable information for all those who want to understand what is going on in that country today, giving a comprehensive review of the history, background, policies and inter-relationships of the Socialist Party, the Action Party, Justice and Liberty and the Communist Party.

THE COMING DEPRESSIONS Another valuable and timely article—now that more and more people's attention is being drawn to post-war problems—is C. Charles' "Post-War Plan-

ning: New Deal vs. Old Guard." Here the author examines, in the lucid and popular style which readers of the Trotskyist press have come to expect of him, the prospects of American economy and employment after the war and shows the fraudulence and impotence of the various capitalist plans for preventing new catastrophic depressions. As Charles points out, most workers do not have many illusions about post-war "prosperity"; this article will not only confirm their skepticism on this score, but it will also educate them as to the basic nature of capitalist crises.

Other articles in the current F. I. include: "A report on The Communist International," the second and concluding section of a speech on the prospects for world revolution made by Leon Trotsky in Moscow a few weeks after Mussolini came to power in 1922. PICTURE OF YCL "The Stalinist Youth Movement Today," an illuminating picture of the composition and trends within the Young Communist League, written by David Jeffries who recently resigned from the YCL to join the Socialist Workers Party.

"The Month In Review," containing editorial comment on the new developments and the fundamental meaning of the conflict between Stalin and his capitalist allies; on Rickenbacker's report on the USSR; on the Canadian labor election victories, etc.

Single copies of the F.I. set for 20 cents; a yearly subscription costs \$2. Order from Business Manager, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Los Angeles Branch Holds Meeting On Italy

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 12—The Los Angeles Branch of the Socialist Workers Party held a public rally in connection with the surrender of Badoglio's government to the Allies. Thirty workers attended the meeting held at 232 South Hill Street. Janet Bowers and C. Thomas were the speakers.

Both speakers stressed the dire plight of the Italian masses in their struggle for peace and freedom. Janet Bowers warned that the experience in Sicily under the AMGOT was a preview to the Italian workers of "what is in store for them when Italy is occupied by the Allies." She concluded by pointing out that only the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe could bring peace to the Italian people and to the rest of Europe.

C. Thomas dwelt on the urgent need of building the proletarian party as an indispensable precondition for the success of the Italian and European struggle. He pointed out that the existence of such a party in Czarist Russia in 1917 and its absence in the rest of Europe and Asia spelled the difference between the victorious October revolution and the long train of defeats suffered

by the working class in similar and objectively even more favorable situations in other countries.

The Trotskyist movement, he pointed out, alone embodies "all the lessons of the victorious October revolution as well as the lessons of the subsequent defeats of the working class outside of Russia." He predicted that the Italian masses together with all the oppressed will rally to this program, the only one that offers a way out of the blind alley of imperialist wars, decay and reaction.

The collection amounted to \$26.55. The meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale.

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

The Four Freedoms At Home

The Four Freedoms have been taking a terrible battering abroad—in India, North Africa, Sicily, etc. How are these freedoms making out at home? The following items culled from the Negro press will supply a general idea of the situation!

In fascist Germany the Jewish oppressed minority was made to wear a yellow star so they could more effectively be singled out for discrimination. It used to be said that Negroes were able to escape this degradation in the United States because most of them were recognizable by their darker color as Negroes.

But now in Sandersville, Ga., the chief of police has announced that all Negro men and women over the age of 16 must carry identification badges indicating the name of their employer and their work schedule—or else face arrest and prosecution. The order does not apply to whites.

When a Workers' and Farmers' Government is established in this country, we will probably have our first opportunity to learn the full story of how the Negro soldiers were Jim Crowed in World War II and how the soldiers fought back against it. There is good reason to believe that the full account is much longer (and bloodier) than most people suspect. Meanwhile, however, we have to depend primarily on what the Negro press is able to discover, of which the following is a typical example:

Six Southern Negro soldiers from Camp Mc Cain, Miss., have been found guilty of firing shots from Garand rifles at the town of Duck Hill on July 5. They have already been sent to federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, to serve sentences from 10 to 15 years at hard labor. Court-martial of seven other soldiers facing the same charges were scheduled to be held last week.

The basic cause? The resentment of the soldiers against the Jim Crow treatment of the local civilians and the segregated set-up in the army.

But the War Department stands pat on army segregation. Acting War Secretary John J. McCloy informed the NAACP last week that the oft-made request for the formation of a mixed unit in the Army has again been rejected as "inadvisable."

And the WAC, despite repeated protests by Negro and labor organizations, has set up an all-Negro battalion at Fort Des Moines, Ia.

Local 629, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, of Las Vegas, Nev., has asked the Fair Employment Practices Committee to end employer-sponsored provocations designed to arouse race antagonisms at Basic Magnesium Inc.

Union officials charge that the company is resorting to all kinds of devices to divide the workers and to turn them against the union, which won an NLRB election but has still not received collective bargaining rights.

The company is accused of refusing to hire more Negroes; ordering foremen to fire Negroes at the slightest infraction of rules and to replace them with white workers; paying Negroes lower wages than whites for the same work; proposing to segregate Negroes in the plant and in the adjoining labor camp, etc.

"A colonel went to the University of Maryland recently to address the faculty and others in reference to a course of instruction for army students. When he had completed his explanation of the course to the faculty, one of its members asked the colonel if Negro army students were going to be admitted to it. The colonel replied with a leering smile, 'No. We don't have enough trees around here to hang 'em from.'"

"Then the colonel guffawed along with some of the faculty members, who thought that the high army officer had made a good and appropriate crack about Negroes . . ." (Editorial in N. Y. Amsterdam News, Sept. 11).

It is now 27 months since the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

This week that body is scheduled to begin its open hearings in Washington on discrimination against Negroes on the railroads. It was over this same issue that the FEPC was blown up a year ago. None of the Negro papers is too hopeful about the outcome of the hearings. Their attitude seems to be: Wait and see.

The mayor of Waltersboro, S.C., denied last week that the sale of Negro papers had been banned in the city and at the army air base two miles away. But a representative of one of the Negro papers insists that the town's police chief took him before the mayor who said:

"You know better than to try to sell such a damn newspaper as this around here. I've been trying to keep these white folks off you n—s' necks but the first thing you know they're gonna have you strung up on one of these trees. Since these damn Yankee soldiers have been coming down here, they've been putting hell in you. I don't want another one of these damn n— papers sold around here. I mean that too." (Afro-American, Sept. 11).

Whatever the situation is in Waltersboro, it is a fact that many army camps in the South have discouraged if not prohibited the sale of militant Negro papers.

Traditions And Heritage Of The Fourth International

By William F. Warde

This month marks the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

The Fourth International grew out of the fight led by Trotsky against the degeneration of the Third International. Its basic cadres were recruited and its principled program established through ten years of struggle for unfalsified Bolshevism within the ranks of the Communist workers in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

The main lines of division occurred over the defense of socialism against the nationalist theory of "socialism in a single country" first advanced by Stalin in 1924. These fundamental theoretical differences asserted themselves in a series of vital issues involving the development of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary struggle of the world working class against capitalism.

Most important of these issues were the struggle against bureaucratism and for workers' democracy; the struggle against the opportunist economic policy of Stalin-Bucharin and for planned industrialization and correct relations with the peasantry within the Soviet Union; and the struggle for a consistent revolutionary policy in Germany, China, and England against the opportunist and adventurist policies and actions of the predominant Stalinist clique.

The Left Opposition

From 1923 to 1933 the Trotskyist Opposition worked to reform the Comintern. It first proclaimed the need for a new International in 1933 following the capitulation to fascism by the German Communist Party, the strongest section of the Stalinized International outside the Soviet Union. Five more years of preparatory organizational work and propaganda preceded the launching of the New International. The Spanish revolution, the French events, the Moscow trials, the fight against fascism and the preparations of the imperialists for the Second World War further exposed the reactionary character of the existing international.

These five years of struggle for the ideas of revolutionary socialism also added to the movement for the Fourth International the best proletarian elements who had broken with the Second and Third Internationals or had remained independent of them. On September 3, 1938 thirty delegates met in Paris to raise the banner of the Fourth International. These delegates represented eleven countries—the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Latin America, Poland, Belgium, Holland and Greece.

Tasks of the Congress

A number of other organizations, although unable for various reasons to send delegates, were nevertheless pledged to the Fourth International: Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Chile, China, Indo-China, Union of South Africa, Australia, Spain, Norway, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Canada, Switzerland and smaller groupings in other countries.

From its first hour the Fourth International has been rooted in every continent and in almost every important country. Especially significant were the strong sections of the Fourth International in the principal colonial and semi-colonial countries: China, Indo-China, South America, and later India and Ceylon. The organization and program of the Fourth International welds together the workers in the advanced countries and in the colonies in joint struggle against imperialism.

The principal task of the Founding Congress was to adopt a program based upon the accumulated experiences of the theoretical, political and organizational struggles of the international labor movement. This program, entitled "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," summarized the driving forces of the imperialist epoch; called for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack; and presented a system of transitional demands which could mobilize the masses in a revolutionary struggle for Socialism.

The Fourth International proceeded from the outset upon the basis of a rounded program of international strategy to guide the activities of its national sections. It was able to do so, only because it stood upon the shoulders and profited by the achievements of its forerunners.

Democratic Centralism

The Congress also adopted organizational statutes and a structure in accordance with its revolutionary Marxist program and the principles of democratic centralism. It accepted two theses, one on "The War in the Far East" and the other on "The World Role of American Imperialism," which have the most vital bearing upon present-day developments.

"Proletarians of both hemispheres! The First International gave you a program and a banner. The Second International raised the widest masses to their feet. The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action. The Fourth International will bring final victory!"

—From "An Appeal of the International Communists to the Workers of the World," the call for the Fourth International issued by the International Secretariat, League of Communist-Internationals, Geneva, March, 1934.

Spain, in China, Switzerland and France. On the eve of the Founding Congress Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, and Rudolf Klement, secretary of the International Bureau, had been murdered in Paris by Stalin's GPU.

Trotsky the Founder

The Congress sent greetings to Leon Trotsky, organizer of the October insurrection, founder of the Red Army, foremost continuer of Marxism since Lenin's death and founder of the Fourth International. Trotsky was to fall victim to the Stalinist assassin two years later. These hero-martyrs are exemplars of the unbreakable will and devotion to the cause of socialism animating the ranks of the Fourth International.

Wars and revolutions provide the supreme tests for organizations contending for the leadership of the working class. The Founding Congress met during

the Munich parleys which, according to Chamberlain, assured "peace in our time." The delegates issued a manifesto warning the workers, exploited and colonial peoples of the inevitable new world slaughter and summoning them to struggle against imperialism, its wars and its agents.

Second World War

When the war broke out a year later, all the sections of the Fourth International unwaveringly pursued the same policy of irreconcilable opposition to imperialism and its war and continued to educate the working class in the spirit of international solidarity and revolutionary class struggle. The Second and Third Internationals, converted into cynical agencies of imperialism in the labor movement, completely collapsed in the face of these great events. The imperialist

(Continued on page 4)

The Allies And Their Real Program For Italy

WHAT TO DO WITH ITALY, by Gaetano Salvemini and George La Piana. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943. 295 pages. \$2.75.

This book has been released the same week that the Badoglio government surrendered to the Allies. The problem of "what to do with Italy" has indeed become a burning question of the day. The manuscript itself was written several months prior to the downfall of Mussolini. The sweep of events is so great, the changes on the political scene so rapid, that many parts of the book already read like a history text or last year's newspapers.

The fundamental analysis of the book, however, retains all of its interest and as a matter of fact is further verified by the unfolding of Anglo-American policy after the removal of Mussolini. The authors, both professors of history at Harvard University, are obviously well-informed men who follow the press with a great deal of care and attention.

A Scathing Indictment

This book—if one judges by the facts which it presents and not the sighs of its authors, their complaints, their hopes, homilies and lectures on democracy and justice—constitutes a scathing indictment of the policies and war aims of both the British and U. S. governments. The exposure of the diplomatic activities of the two governments is an annihilating refutation of the "democratic" pretences of the Allies. The analysis further establishes that Anglo-American policy in Italy has not been improvised at the last moment, is not based on temporary decisions made by the military commanders in the field, but is rather the cold, calculated, and prearranged policy of Roosevelt and Churchill.

Before dealing with this aspect of the book, however, it is necessary to describe how international capitalism hailed the rise of Mussolini to power and did everything it could to bolster his regime. The book tells how in England and the U. S., bankers, business men, lawyers, judges, professors, politicians, Catholic Church leaders, etc., etc., all joined in one tremendous chorus to laud to the skies the man who smashed "communism."

Kahn And Mussolini

Otto H. Kahn, head of the great Wall Street banking house of Kuhn, Loeb and Co, stated in 1923: "The credit for having brought this great change in Italy and without bloodshed belongs to a great man, beloved and revered in his own

country. . . He is no enemy of liberty. He is no dictator in the generally understood sense of the word. . . I feel certain that American capital invested in Italy will find safety, encouragement, opportunity and reward."

Side by side with Kahn went Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and a winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace. Dr. Butler, who boasted of his friendship for Mussolini announced that "it was safe to predict that just as Cromwell made modern England, so Mussolini would make modern Italy" and that "fascism is a form of government of the very first order of excellence."

Matteotti's Murder

The American Catholic hierarchy was from the first lavish in its praise of Mussolini and the fascist regime. The statement of Cardinal O'Connell is typical of hundreds made by all sorts of dignitaries of the Catholic Church. In accepting a fascist decoration in 1926, Cardinal O'Connell stated: "Mussolini is a genius in the field of government, given to Italy By God."

The praise of Mussolini and the support of his bloody regime was, if anything, even more ecstatic in England. The authors relate that: "At the time of the crisis brought about by the Matteotti murder, while Italy was seething with indignation and Fascism was on the verge of ruin, the English foreign minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain in December 1924, made the move of paying an official visit to the Duce. It was the first time that such a dignitary of the English government had ever condescended to pay such a compliment to Italy. The English minister rushed ostentatiously to shake the hand of the Duce which was at that moment, in the opinion of the Italians, wet with Matteotti's blood."

Morgan And Mussolini

The authors omit another incident: One year later the Mussolini regime faced another crisis brought on by the desperate financial situation. Thereupon a consortium of American bankers headed by J. P. Morgan, on behalf of the Italian government, floated a loan of \$100,000,000 which enabled Mussolini to stabilize the lira and to weather the crisis.

Churchill, proclaimed in an interview granted in January 1927 that "If I were an Italian, I would don the fascist black shirt." In 1931, he again voiced his admiration for "the monumental work of Mussolini." Still later in September 1938 Churchill extolled Mussolini as standing far above Washington and Cromwell. He praised the Italian King for having recognized and accepted Fascism.

It is well to remember these facts when capitalist politicians talk about the criminals responsible for fascism.

Writing in the early part of 1943, the authors find that: "As far as the American public can judge from what has leaked out about the plans being secretly and discreetly concocted in high circles, our diplomats in Washington are determined to supplant Mussolini with an Italian Darlan or Petain. . . If such a plan is carried out, the Savoy monarchy will remain as a guarantee against any radical revolution. A coalition of former leaders, the big business men and clericals supported by the Vatican, would take up the government of the country under the protection of the American and English armies of occupation. Some of the extreme fascist laws would be abolished, some concessions would be made to save the face of the democracies, and the new regime would, to all appearances, be hailed as a

(Continued on page 4)

Support Of Zionism Leads Only Into A Blind Alley

By M. Morrison

The extermination by the Nazis of three million Jews in Europe, by starvation, forced labor under the most adverse conditions, shooting and by gas in lethal chambers (I accept the reports of these atrocities, although they seem incredible), has stirred the Jews throughout the world as they have never been stirred before. There are about three million Jews still left in Nazi-controlled Europe and to save them the American and English Jews are making frantic appeals to their governments.

For the immediate relief of the tortured Jews under Nazi domination it is proposed that they be permitted to enter the United States, England and Palestine. For the ultimate solution of the Jewish problem the Zionist hope of a Jewish state in Palestine is being accepted by an ever greater number of Jews. For the first time in the history of American Jewry an American Jewish Conference, recently held in New York, officially adopted a Zionist resolution. It is obvious that Hitler has become the greatest recruiter for the cause of Zionism.

As far as the campaign for asylum is concerned, revolutionary Marxists will support it whole-heartedly. I must admit that I see no great hope in this campaign for the desperate European Jews. The democratic capitalist governments are prepared to offer resolutions of sympathy and to arrange conferences to discuss the situation but are not at all ready to open their doors. The pressure of powerful anti-Semitic and anti-immigration groups is too great for those leaders in the capitalist democracies who might approve granting asylum to all those who are persecuted by the Nazis for religious or political reasons. These leaders are after all politicians and not humanitarians.

The swing towards political Zionism is in itself an indication that the Jewish people do not have great confidence that a victory of the capitalist democracies will solve the Jewish problem. If they had such confidence they would hardly look to Zionism for a solution because the vast majority are not at all imbued with a desire to create a Hebrew culture. If permitted, they would be perfectly willing to live and work in the countries where they now find themselves.

The truth is that the Jews, with the exception of a few wealthy die-hards, feel that capitalist democracy does not assure them any degree of safety and almost instinctively they grasp at the idea of creating a state of their own in Palestine as a safeguard against a repetition of what has happened to them under Hitler. In this lack of confidence in the ability of a victory of the capitalist democracies to solve the Jewish problem, the Jewish masses are completely justified. They do not understand that capitalist democracy itself has entered into a period of decay without hope of being revived for any considerable length of time; they do not understand the theoretical reasons for their plight. But they see sufficient evidence around them to become convinced that their future is indeed dark.

For in the United States and in Great Britain, the two most powerful capitalist democracies, anti-Semitism is constantly growing and becoming more virulent. This is the considered judgment of all observers. In spite of the fact that the Jews as a whole constitute one of the most patriotic sections of the population of these countries, anti-Semitism is growing. And it is ascertain as anything can be certain that with a victory of the capitalist democracies, the hatred and fear of the Jew will spread. Under the impact of adverse economic conditions the demagogues will have their hey-day and the feeling of animosity toward the Jew will be whipped into a frenzy. The very fact that the Jews supported the war so loyally will be used against them. The demagogues will do their mightiest to place the blame for the war on them.

The task of revolutionary Marxists is to explain to the Jewish people that political Zionism can lead only into a blind alley. Let us assume the correctness of the estimate of the most optimistic Zionists to the effect that Palestine can be developed to a point where it can furnish a home for seven or eight million Jews. Necessarily this will take decades if not several generations. The question that the Zionists fail to consider is: what will happen to the capitalist world during this lengthy period?

Either capitalist democracy will be able to solve the problems of mankind and with them, the problem of the Jew, in which case only a handful of Jews will be willing to leave the countries where they are residing; or capitalist democracy will be unable to solve any of the problems confronting humanity and consequently (leaving out for the moment the variant of successful socialist revolutions) economic dislocation, fascism, war and anti-Semitism are inevitable and the possibility of building up Palestine under such conditions is excluded. A long period of peace and prosperity is required for the economic development of Palestine and it is just this that capitalism, in its period of decay, can no longer furnish. Whereas the tendency of the Jewish people to accept Palestine as a solution for its problem is largely predicated on the feeling that capitalist democracy is unable to solve the Jewish problem, the Zionist hope can be fulfilled only on the hypothesis that capitalist democracy is still capable of bringing peace and progress to mankind.

A far more serious objection to political Zionism from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism is that it relies on the imperialist nations for the fulfillment of its program and consequently it serves imperialism as a tool, arousing antagonism among the Arab colonial peoples.

It may be argued that the extreme Zionists are willing to fight British imperialism for the right to establish Palestine as a Jewish state. The case of the two Jews now being tried in Palestine by the British authorities for gun-running can be cited as evidence that many Zionists are willing to take up arms not only against the Arabs but even against the British. At the present moment British imperialism is more cool to Zionism and hence the extreme Zionists have been placed in a position where they must struggle against British imperialism, hoping for the support of American imperialism. Essentially, however, the struggle of the Zionists against British imperialism is not the struggle of a colonial people against an imperialist master but of a group demanding the right to be the exclusive tool of that imperialism.

It goes without saying that we would fight for the right of persecuted Jews to migrate to Palestine. Above all must Arab revolutionists fight for that right. But that is a different question from that of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. The Jewish people must accept the fact that there is an Arab colonial world and that the Arabs constitute the majority of the population in Palestine. The appeal of the Jewish people to be permitted to migrate to Palestine must be made to the Arabs on such a basis that the latter will clearly understand that permitting Jews in Palestine will bring not a tool of imperialism but an ally in the struggle against imperialism. So long as the Jews depend on the Balfour declaration and not on winning the Arabs to their side, so long will Zionism have the character of a tool of British imperialism.

I do not claim that an appeal to the Arabs will immediately bring results. But it will orientate in the right direction those Jews who are anxious to establish a center in Palestine.

For the millions of Jews who live and toil in the capitalist countries and will in all probability not even see Palestine the problem is not to build a Jewish state but a new society in the countries where they find themselves at present. A Jewish problem exists only because the problem of satisfying the needs of the masses has not been solved. History has made the Jew the best possible scapegoat for the failure of capitalism to solve the problems of security and peace. If the Jew took a leading part in the building of capitalism and thus helped to emancipate himself from the yellow badge of the feudal ages, he must now take a leading part in the struggle for a socialist order, thus avoiding his own degradation and the degradation of mankind.

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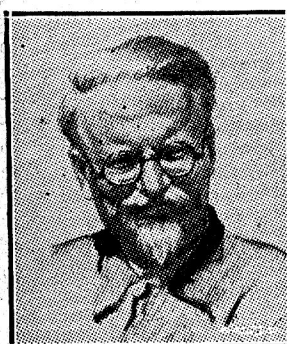
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— LEON TROTSKY

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Five Years Of The 4th International

Revolutionary internationalists on both sides of the far-flung battle fronts are celebrating this month the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International. Amid the holocaust of the Second World War they are inspired by the knowledge that the Marxist thread remains unbroken 95 years after Marx and Engels first raised the revolutionary slogan "Working men of all countries, unite." They know that the traditions of the great October Revolution live on in the program and activity of the Fourth International.

The Second International in its early years united broad sections of the European workers in the struggle for socialism. But it died a shameful death August 4, 1914 when its leaders broke with Marxism and betrayed the workers into the hands of the warring imperialists. Today only its stinking corpse remains to befoul the air of the working class movement.

Lenin and Trotsky defended the Marxist program against the betrayers of the Second International. Together, they led the Russian masses in 1917 to a revolutionary triumph which set into motion powerful forces that brought about the end of the first world blood-bath. Together, they created the Third International to extend the program of the October revolution throughout the world.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalinism came to power in the Soviet Union, and under Stalin the Third International degenerated into a counter-revolutionary tool of the Kremlin clique. Now the Comintern has been formally dissolved by Cain-Stalin at the very hour when there is the greatest need for revolutionary internationalism.

Trotsky rescued many of the best militants from the slimy swamp of Stalinism. Working against time he rearmed them with the Marxist-Leninist program and taught them how to fight Stalinism without losing sight of their revolutionary duty to defend the Soviet Union against its capitalist enemies. Before Stalin could drive the murderer's axe into his brain, Trotsky had founded the Fourth International to lead the revolutionary workers to victory in the struggle for socialism.

Today new October revolutions loom on the horizon. The Italian workers are in motion. Europe is seething with revolt. The colonial masses

are pressing forward. Momentous decisions hang in the balance as history moves with lightning speed. Nothing less is at stake than the future of humanity. Trotsky told us how to meet these events:

"To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses — no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives — these are the rules of the Fourth International."

The UAW Convention

All signs point to a sharp faction fight at the coming Buffalo convention of the United Auto Workers. Reuther and Addes are both working to divert the present faction struggle into a scramble for posts and jobs, just as they did at the Buffalo convention of 1941.

People are being lined up, not on the basis of their attitude to the no-strike pledge, the labor party or even incentive pay, but on the question of whether they favor Addes or Leonard for the post of secretary-treasurer. In this way the whole faction struggle, which at bottom reflects the demands of the rank and file for a militant and independent union policy, is debased into a clique fight for posts and control.

We do not mean to imply that the question of union leadership is of no importance or that the convention should not devote a good deal of attention to it. We are saying that the only way this question can be dealt with intelligently is for the convention first to hammer out the program of the union. Only then can the delegates properly proceed to deal with the question of slates and leaders.

A clear presentation at the convention of two opposing union programs followed by a democratic discussion could only be welcomed by the auto delegates. It would serve to clear the atmosphere. The convention would clarify the issues in dispute and authoritatively establish the will of the auto membership and the program of the union for the coming year.

Unfortunately, the Reuther caucus leaders do not have a basically different program from Addes. Nor are they building their faction primarily on the basis of a program. As a matter of fact, Reuther proposes to the auto workers that they continue to tie their fate to Roosevelt and to accept the labor policies and leadership of Philip Murray. In this he is in complete agreement with Addes.

The men and women back in the shops want the auto convention to give an answer to the burning problems that confront the labor movement today. They want labor to regain its economic and political independence. That is the first job that needs to be done at the Buffalo convention.

Roosevelt And Pearson

By its conduct in the case of columnist Drew Pearson, the Roosevelt administration has added several ominous pages to its already ominous record of infringements upon and violations of the freedom of the press.

Pearson, it will be recalled, had commented in his column upon the anti-Soviet bias of the State Department. He was thereupon publicly denounced by Roosevelt as a "chronic liar." Now it appears that Pearson has been denied the right to answer this unprecedented attack.

The censorship imposed on Pearson in this instance is of the "invisible" variety. The ban comes not directly from Washington itself but from Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press and of the latter's subsidiary, the United Features Syndicate which distributes Pearson's column to some 600 newspapers. Not a single one of these papers has carried Pearson's answer. It is reported that Pearson has attempted to answer Roosevelt several times, but that on each occasion his column has been suppressed, and that Hugh Baillie's orders are that Pearson cannot "reply in any way to the Roosevelt-Hull charges." (PM, Sept. 12.)

But that is not all. The authorities in Washington have moved against Pearson in a far more forthright manner. His telephone has been tapped, and his movements are under the supervision of the secret police.

To substantiate his charges of wire-tapping, Pearson cites the fact that "several officials who had talked to him on the telephone last week had been confronted with transcripts of the conversations by their superiors." (N. Y. Post, Sept. 13.) The agents who have been shadowing him and hanging around his house, are identified by Pearson as members of Naval Intelligence.

The hypocrites in Washington are resorting to methods which are not so very different from those used by Hitler's Gestapo.

Pearson's case is not that of an individual at all. It poses the issue of the freedom of the press, and of the administration's entire record in this connection. What does this record show?

It shows that there is a real rollback campaign on in Washington. It has to do not with prices, which keep rising, but with one of the elementary rights of the American people won by them after decades of struggle. Just how far does the Roosevelt administration intend to roll back the freedom of the Press?

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

The Allies And Their Real Program For Italy

(Continued from page 3)

fulfillment of the terms of the Atlantic Charter. . . .

Whitewashing The King

The authors go on to describe the studied campaign in the authoritative newspapers of both England and the U. S. since 1940 to create the impression that the Italian Royal House was not responsible for Mussolini's war policy or for the fascist regime. This campaign reached a high point when Churchill, in December 1940, six months after Italy's entrance into the war, told the Italian people in a radio address that "one man and one man alone, against the Crown and the Royal Family of Italy, against the Pope and all the authority of the Vatican" had ranged Italy against the British Empire.

The authors then reach this conclusion: "Every road leads to Rome, they say in Italy. And everything we gather about British and American plans concerning Italy leads us to the same conclusion. What the British foreign office and the American State Department want to set up in Italy is a fascist regime without Mussolini. . . ."

Allies Need The Monarchy

The British and American governments are convinced that the monarchy is an indispensable cog in the setting up of such a regime. Hence, their campaign to shield the Italian monarchy, to whitewash its crimes and its responsibility for the fascist regime. The authors, of course, have no difficulty in annihilating all the arguments and proving, by a recitation of the facts, that the monarchy bears direct complicity for the rise of fascism and for its preservation.

The Vatican is the second indispensable force necessary for the realization of the Anglo-American program for Italy. The authors describe the role and the record of the Vatican in exhaustive detail. They establish the fact that the Vatican supported and abetted fascism from the first days of its rise.

Roosevelt And The Vatican

In December 1939, President Roosevelt opened up a new chapter in American diplomacy. He departed from the traditional American policy and established a diplomatic connection with the Holy See. In a letter to Pope Pius XII Roosevelt wrote about their "common ideals" which called for "parallel action." Two years later, the Pope in his Christmas broadcast praised Roosevelt in a roundabout fashion in discussing those people who "share with us our views with regard to the provisions for the peace and its fundamental aims."

What are these "common ideals" and "fundamental aims" shared alike by the Vatican and the White House? "According to Catholic opinion," write Salvemini and La Piana, "the model Christian state. . . is realized almost fully in the dictatorial regime of Salazar in Portugal which has been described several times by the Vatican organ, the Osservatore Romano, as fulfilling all Catholic requirements. To a lesser degree, the Franco regime in Spain represents a model government. It is only logical to assume that the Vatican will fight to the last ditch not only to preserve these two regimes unaltered, especially Franco's dictatorship, which was established at such great cost, but to have similar regimes established in all other so-called Catholic countries. . . . It would seem that our State Department shares in full the Pope's views on Spain."

Petty Bourgeois Inconsistency

The authors have thus demonstrated in irrefutable fashion that the policies of the Allies are not "democratic" but counter-revolutionary, dictatorial and reactionary. Are the authors then

hostile to Roosevelt and Churchill, and their war aims? Not at all! On the contrary, the authors are partisans of the Roosevelt government. They are supporters of the Allies and their war. How do they manage to achieve this singular feat of acrobatics? By the magic of inconsistency. Trotsky once wisely wrote that "inconsistency is not accidental, and in politics it does not appear solely as an individual symptom. Inconsistency usually serves a social function. There are social groupings which cannot be consistent." Most inconsistent are the petty bourgeois intellectuals.

Throughout the book, the authors backtrack on their own arguments, indulge in fantastic hopes and day-dreams, sigh, complain, argue against their own conclusions, controvert their own facts, deliver sermons to Roosevelt and Churchill. Each link of the whole relentless chain of events which they describe with such inexorable precision, is labelled by our authors a mistake, sometimes a tragic mistake, a misunderstanding, a blunder, a mystery. Our authors are constantly amazed, stunned, bewildered by events, although they themselves have previously explained these events and revealed their meaning. Our authors conclude their study of Roosevelt's reactionary program and its telling similarity to the program of the Vatican with this lament: "All these plans and policies of the Vatican are consistent with its principles, its interests and its traditions. But why have President Roosevelt and the State Department embraced these plans. . . ." The best explanation the authors can offer is that Roosevelt "is not personally familiar with the Italian situation" and that he is accepting "misleading reports."

Allies Plan Dictatorships

Roosevelt and Churchill, the spokesmen and leaders of the two mightiest capitalist countries in the world, understand the reality of Europe. They know that the capitalist system can survive this war only with the aid of tremendous repressive machinery and brute force. That is why their program calls for the establishment of clerical reactionary dictatorships on the model of Franco in Italy as throughout all Europe. Washington and London understand that it is not in the cards to establish stable democratic capitalist governments in Europe today. The choice from their point of view is a Franco-type government or the danger of the socialist revolution. That is why Roosevelt and Churchill must bank on the monarchy, the reactionary military leaders, the big capitalists, the Vatican as the only forces capable of crushing the inevitable revolutionary outbreaks and holding back the tide.

In his last article, written in the August 16 New Republic, Salvemini can no longer hide from himself the fact that "Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are waging in Italy two simultaneous wars. One is aimed at achieving 'unconditional surrender'; the other is aimed at preventing revolution." Salvemini still assures Roosevelt and Churchill that they are making a big mistake. He is convinced that "They can manage to embark such a revolution so as to have a democratic rather than a communist revolution." Roosevelt and Churchill, who live in the world of reality, not in the dreamland of petty-bourgeois democrats reject the perspective of a "democratic revolution" as Salvemini sorrowfully admits "are endeavoring to patch up a by-product of the fascist regime."

The proletarian revolutionist, on the other hand, has no cause for bitterness, disappointment or surprise. He has not been caught unawares. He has understood from the first the role of British and American capitalism. He is prepared for the coming revolutionary storm.

Reviewed by John Adamson

Traditions And Heritage Of The Fourth International

(Continued from page 3)

catastrophe which shattered the rotten Second International and led Stalin to bury the defunct Comintern has disclosed the inherent strength and vitality of the Fourth International. It has been built on the indestructible foundations of Marxism.

The basic position of the Fourth International on the problems and tasks of the working class have been set forth in a series of documents published during the past ten years. Beginning with the fundamental theses on "War and the Fourth International" (1934), they include the resolutions of the Foundation Congress (1938); the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of

the Fourth International on "The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution" (1940); the manifestos of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the fall of France (1940), in defense of the Soviet Union (1941), on American intervention and the defense of China (1941), to the workers and peasants of India (1942), and, most recently, on the dissolution of the Comintern (1943).

Proclaim Allegiance

This fifth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International coincides with the fifteenth anniversary of the Trotskyist movement in the U. S. We American Trotskyists are proud of the important part we have played in the formation of the Fourth International and in the fight for its ideas. Although the Socialist Workers Party found it necessary to sever all organizational connections with the Fourth International after the passage of the Voorhis Act, in 1940, we have always proclaimed our allegiance to its program and our ardent sympathy with the comrades of the Fourth International in other countries.

Five years after its birth the Fourth International stands forth as the only genuine international organization of the working class vanguard! Only under its stainless banner can the masses find the program and leadership they need to abolish capitalism, institute socialism and secure peace, security and freedom.

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by James P. Cannon

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Big Business Drives to Lift All Bars On Profits

As Congress reconvenes this week it is confronted with a determined drive by Big Business, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers, to lift all restrictions on war-profiteering. The immediate target of attack is the War Contracts Renegotiation Act which provides a few mild curbs against the most flagrant managerial practices, price-gouging, and profiteering.

Big Business wants even these curbs removed. Their coffers are bulging with billions in an unprecedented flood of profits. But they want more.

A week before Congress reconvened, the House Ways and Means Committee conducted hearings on the proposals to scrap the act. At these hearings it was brought out that in addition to billions in distributed profits, the corporations have already on hand reserves of almost a score of billions, with additional billions pouring in.

It was further revealed that under the operation of the Renegotiation Act the government and the tax payers have saved some four billion dollars in admittedly scandalous price-gouges and excessive profits. Testifying before the Committee, Maurice Karker, retiring chairman of the War Department's price adjustment board, stated "most of price reductions would not have been effected without the statute." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 10.)

Virtually every public official who appeared during the hearings—and they are all either business men or spokesmen for the corporations — opposed the abrogation of the act. The proposals for revision are too raw even for these gentlemen to swallow. The corporations seek to escape all taxes. Randolph Paul, general counsel of the treasury, stated that if successful suggested "revisions" would "nullify Congressional tax policy." Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce backed up Paul. "Both said in effect that such a procedure would amount to payment by the government of the taxes." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 11.)

All this is advocated under the cover of a plea that business be permitted to build up "adequate reserves . . . for the creation of post-war jobs." (N. Y. Times, Sept. 14.)

The Scripps-Howard press in backing these brazen demands asserts editorially with an air of injured innocence that "the law as it now operates, together with excess-profits taxation, makes it impossible for them (the corporations) to set aside enough money from earning to reconvert their plants for peacetime production, to seek new markets and to maintain post-war employment." (N. Y. World-Telegram, Sept. 10.)

Submitted to the Ways and Means Committee by the treasury was the following estimate of total corporate profits after payment of all taxes for 1941-1943:

| Year | Amount |
|-------|------------------|
| 1941 | \$7,100,000,000 |
| 1942 | 8,350,000,000 |
| 1943 | 8,750,000,000 |
| Total | \$24,200,000,000 |

These figures furthermore covered all corporations, including those losing money! This is something that the N. Y. Times for September 11 carefully omits to mention. The actual profits are far higher. But Big Business is not satisfied. It wants to get away with more. And if the past record of the Congress is any indication, Big Business will get what it wants one way or another.

Chinese Stalinists Clash With Kuomintang Troops

On the heels of revelations concerning the growing rift between Moscow and Washington-London, comes the news of recurring clashes between the Chinese Communist troops, dominated by the Kremlin, and the forces of Chiang Kai-shek.

Rumors of armed clashes have long been current. Now they have been officially confirmed by dispatches from Chungking which specified that two battles had taken place on July 23 and August 6 in Shantung province; and that the Communist troops attacked in overwhelming force and routed Chiang Kai-shek's detachments. This news was released on the second day of the plenary session of the Kuomintang's Central Committee last week, where demands were raised for the dissolution of the Chinese C.P. and the incorporation of the Communist armies into the forces of the Chinese Central Government.

The official Russian press in Moscow commented in its own manner on the sharpening relations with Chiang Kai-shek. Early in August, the publication War and the Working Class charged that new attempts backed "by direct military pressure" were being made in order to "bring about the dissolution of the Chinese Communist Party and the liquidation of the Eighth and Fourth Armies." (Daily Worker, Aug. 12.)

In reporting the armed clashes, the Daily Worker of Sept. 8 puts the blame on the "anti-Communist orientation circles within the Chinese government" and adds that "it is no surprise that clashes of this nature should ultimately result."

The last time that similar news came from China was early in 1941, before Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, when Chiang's forces caught the then newly formed Fourth Army by surprise and virtually annihilated it. The Stalinists at the time offered the same explanation as they do now.

Upon his election as China's president, Chiang declared to the Kuomintang Central Committee:

"We should maintain the policy of leniency which we have pursued. . . with the expectation that the Chinese Communist Party will be moved by our sincerity and magnanimity, no matter in what ways they may slander us or in what manner they try to create trouble." (AP dispatch, Sept. 13.)

Chiang Kai-shek is apparently not yet ready for an open break with Moscow. He still finds the lie of "national unity," supported by the Stalinists, very convenient for his purposes.