

# CHURCHILL'S 'OFFER' IS A REJECTION OF INDIA'S DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

## C. P. Begins New Lynch Campaign In Cleveland

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The Stalinist frame-up artists are at work again. Their aim is to incite lynch violence against all militant workers who oppose their treacherous policies, and to create the kind of atmosphere in which they can undertake physical attacks against their working class opponents. Their method is to slander these opponents as "agents of Hitler".

The leaflet distributed by the Stalinists in Cleveland last week and reproduced on this page is a typical example of how their lynch campaign operates.

The Stalinists in that city have been infuriated for some time by the regular distribution of THE MILITANT at a large factory and the favorable response to the paper of the workers in the factory. The distribution of a paper which tells the truth about the war interferes with the attempts of the Stalinists — in the name of "national unity against Hitler" — to suppress all militant action by the workers against the bosses' attacks.

The Stalinists threatened the distributors with violence, and they urged the workers to refuse to accept the paper, to tear it up and throw it into the face of the distributors. When neither of these methods proved successful, they issued the leaflet, "We Accuse Hitler's Agents At Your Gates," an incitement to mob violence and reactionary prejudices in the tradition made famous by the Nazis.

They charge the Trotskyists in this leaflet with concentrating on "spreading seeds of confusion among the laboring people. . . for the purpose of disorganizing our fight against the Axis powers," and with trying "to sabotage the war effort, mainly by creating disunity and conflict in the labor movement." The "proof" they offer is distorted references to and quotations torn out of context from recent issues of THE MILITANT.

### THE WAY TO DEFEAT HITLER

"Here is the proof," they say:  
"In the February 7th issue of THE MILITANT — (1) A front-page editorial says that the way to defeat Hitler is to overthrow the governments of the United States and Great Britain. The destruction of the Hitlerite government is NOT urged."

The title of the editorial referred to was: "How to Destroy One of Hitler's Chief Weapons." It pointed out how Hitler kept the German people in subjection by playing on their fear of a second Versailles Treaty to crush and dismember Germany in the event of an Allied victory. The editorial said that there is "a way to destroy this weapon of Hitler. There is a way to arouse the German masses to revolutionary struggle against their fascist oppressors. That way is by the establishment of Workers' and Farmers' Governments in Britain and the United States. . .

"Hitler then would have no success in holding the threat of another Versailles over the German people, because one of the first acts of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in this country would be to renounce all policies or agreements aimed at oppressing or penalizing the German masses. . .

"One of the first acts of Workers' and Farmers' Governments in Britain and this country would be to call on — and to aid — the German masses to overthrow Hitler, establish their own government representing their own interests, and join with them in the creation of a World Socialist Federation which by abolishing the economic basis for national antagonisms would be able to build a world of security and peace for all."

The Stalinist charge that "the destruction of the Hitlerite government is NOT urged is thus a crude lie." The "proof" that the Trotskyists are "Hitler's agents" turns out on examination to be a program for overthrowing Hitlerism.

The Stalinists lie about this program because it is so sharply opposed to their own "way to defeat Hitler." They refuse to call on the German masses to make their socialist revolution; they endorse the Atlantic Charter which promises in effect another Versailles Treaty, the fear of which is Hitler's strongest weapon against the German revolution; they have no program to offer to the German masses who are in the last analysis the force which will overthrow Hitler.

The second "proof" of the Stalinists that the Trotskyists are Hitler's agents:

"Another editorial, entitled 'CIO Wage Demands', calls for the ousting of the elected leaders of CIO unions. . . In the February 14th issue of THE MILITANT there is another attack on labor unity: 'The defense of the workers' interests demands a repudiation of the present leadership and its servile policies. . .'

The editorial and article referred to endorsed the demands of the CIO for wage increases and union security. At the same time they sharply criticized the national leaders of the CIO. Why? Because they issued no program for securing these demands; because what they "mean by 'fight' is to throw the demands of the CIO workers into the lap of the War Labor Board"; because their no-strike policy, decided upon behind the backs of the rank-and-file, paralyzes the struggle of the workers against rising prices, etc.

The editorial said: "The workers can have no confidence in such officials. The union ranks want officers who will lead them in genuine struggle against the present serious threat to their rights and living standards. . . Above all, the strike weapon must not be surrendered. . . The rank-and-file owe it to themselves to elect as their leaders those who put the interests of the workers before everything else."

The charge about "ousting of elected officials" is clearly a distortion of a call to the workers to elect officials who will fight for their interests. The Stalinists don't like it because they want

(Continued on page 4)

Cleveland C. P. Leaflet

## We Accuse

## HITLER'S AGENTS AT YOUR GATES!

"Whoever is guilty of the crime of bringing about disunity, of him let it be said that it were better that a millstone were hung about his neck and that he were cast into the sea."

WINSTON CHURCHILL

At his February 17th press conference, President Roosevelt put his finger on those undermining American unity, the active appeasement center in the nation's capital—the Cliveden Set of Washington. Like the original Cliveden Set in England, the American Tories scheme and plot to weaken the war effort, to create doubt and distrust, to attack organized labor, and to promote a policy of surrender to Hitler.

In short, the Cliveden Set of Washington is part of the Fifth Column in America.

Another part of the Fifth Column, less swanky, but not less dangerous, concentrates on spreading seeds of confusion among laboring people, also for the purpose of disorganizing our fight against the Axis Powers. It is this group—the Socialist Workers Party, usually referred to as the Trotskyists—that is distributing the paper called THE MILITANT in front of your gates.

Who are the Trotskyists?

They were convicted by the Russian government at the Moscow trials for Fifth Column work in behalf of German and Japanese imperialism.

They attempted to wreck the development of unity among the Chinese people.

They made common cause with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini in the destruction of the Spanish Republic.

They helped torpedo the French Popular Front Government, thus paving the way for Hitler's bandit armies.

And now, in America, the Trotskyists are by slimy

methods trying to sabotage the war effort, mainly by creating disunity and conflict in the labor movement.

This is nothing more nor less than Fifth Column work in behalf of Hitler—and here is the proof:

In the February 7th issue of THE MILITANT—

(1) A front-page editorial says that the way to defeat Hitler is to overthrow the governments of the United States and Great Britain. The destruction of the Hitlerite government is NOT urged.

(2) Another editorial, entitled "CIO Wage Demands", calls for the ousting of the elected leaders of CIO unions.

(3) Presenting the Trotskyists' attitude toward the war, James P. Cannon, National Secretary, attempts to drive a wedge between the United Nations by falsely characterizing the war effort of the United States and Britain as imperialist in character.

In the February 14th issue of THE MILITANT, there is another attack on labor unity: "The defense of the workers' interests demands a repudiation of the present union leadership and its servile policies."

The Militant is a Nazi propaganda organ. No patriotic American worker will dirty his hands by accepting a copy of this Fifth Column sheet.

Instead, read the DAILY WORKER, the paper that has served American Labor for 18 consecutive years. The DAILY WORKER's policy is your policy: "NATIONAL UNITY FOR VICTORY OVER NAZI EN-SLAVEMENT!"

Issued by: COMMUNIST PARTY, Southeast Section, 1514 Prospect Ave.

"LET FREEDOM RING FOR EARL BROWDER"

Attend the FREE EARL BROWDER RALLY

Called by Cleveland Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder

Tuesday, March 17th - 7:30 P.M. - Public Auditorium (Ballroom)

Headed by WARREN K. BILLINGS and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Prized with Ten Dollars and (not by popular demand) For 25 Years a Champion of Political Prisoners

## Stalinists Have Revived Plea For 'Second Front'

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The Stalinists are reviving their campaign for the opening of a "second front" in Europe to engage Hitler's armies. It is not difficult to understand what this means.

The slogan for the "second front" was first raised by the Stalinists at the height of the Nazi drive into the USSR last autumn. At the time Stalin tried

to explain away the defeats of the Red Army by the failure on the part of Britain to open up such a front. In November 1941 he promised the Soviet people that the second front would materialize shortly. This campaign, however, was dropped as suddenly as it had been launched when the Red Army began scoring its first successes and beat back the German armies.

During the winter months the Soviet masses were then told that in 1942 the invaders would be driven out of the occupied territories by the unaided forces of the country itself. The previous defeats were minimized and explained away as having been entirely due to the element of surprise.

After the Germans had lost this initial advantage they would never regain it. The Red Army, it was confidently predicted, would not surrender the initiative again.

### NEW CHANGE OF TUNE

Now with the approach of spring and the threat of another offensive by Hitler, the Kremlin has changed its tune. The danger is self-evident.

Despite the heroic efforts of the Red Army, the Nazis have succeeded in retaining their positions in the Ukraine. They still hold

the approaches to Leningrad and are within striking distance of Moscow. During the winter months they have suffered heavy blows. But these are far exceeded by the losses suffered by the Soviet Union in terms of territory, resources, manpower and equipment. The official Moscow request for food shipments under the Lend-Lease provisions is a grave symptom of the strain on Soviet economy.

The reports of the last six weeks are clear indication that the Germans have succeeded in stabilizing their lines in the most important sectors of the front. This means that they have been able to proceed unhindered with preparations behind the lines. With the industrial and technological resources at his disposal, Hitler has undoubtedly been able to reorganize and replenish his military machine. The Kremlin's only answer is to plead once again for a diversion elsewhere. If that is done, boasts Moscow, Hitler can be defeated in 1942.

So far as London and Washington are concerned, they do not even dream of being able to terminate the conflict in the near future. The British imperialists rejected the plan for a "second front" last year when Churchill

was talking confidently of forcing military decision by 1943.

### AT MOST A MINOR DIVERSION

But let us assume that they will concede this time, despite the fact that their attention is fixed on the Pacific where the British colonial empire is tottering under the blows of the Japanese and the impact of the Indian crisis. Any

(Continued on page 3)

## Sends Cripps to Bargain Over Undisclosed Terms

Makes No Mention of Agrarian Revolution, the Basic Question For the Indian Masses, 70 Per Cent of Whom Live Off the Soil

Prime Minister Winston Churchill last Wednesday gave the people of India another worthless promise of "independence" to be granted "after the war." He announced that he was going to make some concrete proposal to the Indian nationalist leaders to demonstrate his "sincerity" about post-war promises. But he refused to reveal anything about the terms of this proposal.

Aside from this "offer" — simple reiteration of the one made in August, 1940 and rejected as a fraud by the Indian people — the single concrete step promised in Churchill's statement is the sending of Sir Stafford Cripps to India to try to strike a bargain with the Indian nationalist leaders.

## 1180 Votes For Carlson

Vote for Trotskyist Candidate Increases 89% Over Vote Received in 1940 Primaries

ST. PAUL, Minn., Mar. 11 — Grace Carlson, Trotskyist candidate seeking nomination as mayor of St. Paul, received 1180 votes in the primary elections yesterday. This amounted to more than 3 1-3 per cent of the total vote cast in the election, and was regarded as an encouraging response to the fighting socialist program Grace Carlson had presented in the campaign.

Shortly after the election results were released, the Carlson Campaign Committee announced that it was going to conduct a write-in campaign for Carlson as mayor in the April 28 regular election. John McDonough

and William Fallon secured the nominations for mayor, and their names will be on the ballot next month.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INCREASE

The Carlson vote of 1180 was an increase of 89% over the vote cast for the Trotskyist candidate for mayor in 1940. The increase is all the more significant because of the following factors:

This year the country is in the midst of a war, and Carlson's statement last week presenting the socialist alternative to the war made it clear to everyone that she cannot and does not support the war. In addition, Carlson has been the subject of many reactionary attacks since the campaign began because she was recently convicted of violating the Smith "Gag" Act along with 17 other Socialist Workers Party and CIO members in the Minne-

apolis "sedition" trial.

The strongest attacks against Carlson's election statement came from the Jingo Communist Party and its candidate for City Councilman, Rose Tillotson. The Stalinist candidate issued a statement last Saturday attacking Carlson and the Socialist Workers Party and declaring that their position on the war showed their "kinship" with Hitler "and other fifth column elements." She also added, of course, that she "wholeheartedly supports the war."

Grace Carlson was quick to denounce the Stalinist statement as a vicious slander, and to recall that "I and other members of the Socialist Workers Party were attacking Hitlerism all during the period when Mrs. Tillotson was defending Stalin's alliance with Hitler."

The Stalinist drive to garner

(Continued on page 2)

With its military power in India broken down by the Far East defeats, the British ruling class hopes to obtain by bargaining what it can no longer maintain by force — some kind of settlement of the Indian question which will leave the real power in the hands of British imperialism and its Indian lackeys.

Cripps, who has been played up as a "friend of India," is going to do the dirty work for British capitalism. His job will be to dicker with the Indian nationalist leaders, the representatives of the native capitalists and land-owners, and determine the lowest price they'll accept to come to terms.

But whatever "offer" Cripps may make to the nationalist leaders, it is certain to include no answer to the basic question for the Indian masses. That is the question of the agrarian revolution, the solution of the problem of the peasants who constitute 70 per cent of India's population.

Freedom for the peasants means not merely freedom from British domination but also liberation from the feudal rule of the native princes and land-owners. On this question, Churchill, Cripps, the British Labor Party, the Stalinists, the native Indian capitalists, land-owners and princes are solidly united — against the peasants.

### QUALIFICATIONS

Contrary to the impression given by the capitalist press, Churchill did not promise national independence for India, but only an undefined form of "dominion status" within the British Empire. But even the attainment of this status is hedged around with qualifications calculated to forestall fulfillment of the Churchill promise.

Churchill's "offer" was "of course, subject to the fulfillment of our obligations for the protection of minorities. . . and of our treaty obligations to the Indian States and to settlement of cer-

(Continued on page 3)

## Wilkins Describes Detroit Housing 'Riot'

DETROIT, Mich. — "One of the striking revelations resulting from the riots here, February 28, over the occupation of the Sojourner Truth housing project is that the American Negro is just about 'fed up' with talk of democracy and now demands some action."

This was the observation of Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the National Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People who came here March 4 to consult with and pledge cooperation to the Citizens' Committee on the housing fight.

"In 11 years of travelling for the NAACP, and in 20 years of newspaper work, I have never found such bitterness on such a wide scale as I have found in Detroit," said Wilkins. Those whom he calls "the cooler heads among our people" are "trying desperately to hold the situation

in hand."

They fear that "when there is violence between Negroes and whites, Negroes always lose because the police and the soldiers always join the whites against the Negroes. That is what happened in Detroit. Although whites started the riot and were armed with every kind of weapon, the police arrested 109 persons — 2 whites and 107 Negroes."

"Despite this, the rank and file of Negroes want to fight. They are tired of talking. They are rapidly coming to the point where they do not believe or trust any white person or any government institution."

### "TORE UP DRAFT CARDS"

"The Sojourner Truth riot came in the midst of war. The disgraceful action of the Detroit police department has made this housing project fight not only a national, but an international in-

cident. Young Negroes here tore up their draft cards last Saturday — in public. One man got up in a public meeting and said he was of draft age and would probably be called to fight in Asia or Europe, 'but I will take my fighting and dying, if necessary, right here on the streets of Detroit for some democracy for my own people.'"

"Another man came up before Judge George Murphy on a disorderly conduct charge in connection with fighting at the project. He said to the judge: 'I have two boys in the U. S. Army fighting for these people (the whites) and you can sentence me to any years you want, but when I get out I am going to start fighting again just where I left off.' The charge was dismissed for lack of evidence."

### ROLE OF THE POLICE

One hour of "good police work" on the morning of Feb. 28 would

have prevented the riot, says Wilkins. "The cops let the whites form a mob, erect barricades across the street, sort moving vans containing furniture of Negro families seeking to move in, and beat and stone Negroes. But when Negroes attempted to protect themselves and to break through the barricades, the cops went into action against them."

Protests and demands for action are pouring in upon Detroit and Washington officials from hundreds of organizations and individuals throughout the country. Among these are the Wayne County CIO Council and many important trade union locals.

A picket line of hundreds has been thrown around the City Hall calling for immediate action. The Citizens' Committee co-ordinating the fight includes labor unions, the local branch of the NAACP, and dozens of other organizations.



# Officials Fail To Act In Tobin Gunmen Case

MINNEAPOLIS — It has become clear that the city and county authorities here intend to take no action to apprehend the trio of gunmen who recently made an armed attack on three Local 544-CIO organizers. A public statement issued by the 544-CIO executives board charged that the gunmen acted for Daniel Tobin, AFL Teamsters head. Local officials are carrying out the policy initiated by federal and state authorities of aiding Tobin in his attempt to smash the CIO union.

The gangsters invaded the 544-CIO headquarters, lined up organizers Harry DeBoer, Kelly Postal and Ray Rainbolt at revolver point, and severely beat DeBoer with a base-ball bat.

Tobin's local sheet, the *Minnesota Teamster*, responded to the charge of his machine's responsibility for the assault in a front page editorial in the Feb. 26 issue, calling the 544-CIO charge "criminally libelous."

But the Tobin machine doesn't dare sue Local 544-CIO for libel!

## WHY TOBIN WON'T SUE

For Tobin and his local satrap, O'Loughlin, fear the proof in Local 544-CIO's possession concerning the gangster activities of the Tobin plug-uglies: the sworn testimony of hundreds of Minneapolis drivers in the Blair hearing last summer concerning the ball-bat tactics of Tobin's goons; the threats uttered by a prominent local Tobin official just four days before the recent attack that

the demands the offenders be prosecuted."

The local public officials no doubt feel they are doing enough for "justice" and Tobin by refusing to take action against his gunmen, without sticking their necks out further through a criminal libel action which would bring the truth to the light of day.

The information given the police and County Attorney by Local 544-CIO was the truth, and they know it. So does Tobin and his stooge O'Loughlin.

If the Minneapolis officials were interested in upholding the law, they would have taken action long ago against Tobin's gunmen, who have been running wild here since last June — assaulting nurses in hotel bedrooms, slugging aldermen in night clubs, transporting dope, trying to kill farmers, having gun fights outside night clubs, using ball-bats and blackjacks on drivers and warehousemen and brewery workers.

Fortunately, Harry DeBoer has now recovered from his ball-bat slugging. Local 544-CIO is pressing for NLRB elections in several more companies where workers have unanimously expressed themselves for their own union, 544-CIO, and against Tobin and his racketeering outfit.

# Grace Carlson's Radio Speech

Radio speech of Grace Carlson, member of the Socialist Workers Party and Candidate for Mayor of St. Paul, Monday, March 9th, 1942, 8:45 P. M.

The second World War constitutes the background of this election campaign and every social, political and economic issue of the campaign must be studied in relationship to it. All of the other mayoralty candidates agree that the war question overshadows all other local issues in this campaign, but all of these candidates unite in their support of the war.

I cannot and do not support this war. I have the same position today as I had in November, 1940 when I was the candidate for United States senator from Minnesota on the Trotskyist Anti-War ticket. (This was the campaign name of the Socialist Workers Party.)

The first plank of my 1940 platform stated, "The imperialist government of the United States cannot fail to drag this country into war. This will not be a war of defense or a war for democracy or liberation; it can only be a war for markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war and not ours."

Events since then have proved that this statement was 100 per cent correct. Today I stand more firmly than ever on this position. This war is an imperialist war. Its character is not determined by who struck the first blow. It is not determined by the good or bad will of the heads of the belligerent powers. It was rendered inevitable by the economic rivalries inherent in the decaying capitalist system.

## Against the Treacherous Politicians

There were many St. Paul labor leaders and liberals so-called, who were opposed to imperialist war before the entry of the United States into World War II. A. F. Lockhart, editor of the *Union Advocate*, published an editorial in the February 8th, 1940 edition of the paper, in which he warned of the nearness of war. He compared the war-like measures taken by Roosevelt at that time with those taken by Wilson in 1916 and ended up by criticizing Roosevelt and both old parties in Congress for cutting down WPA appropriations and increasing war appropriations.

But today Lockhart is a staunch supporter of the war. So also are ex-socialists, William Mahoney and C. R. Carlgren, as well as scores of other Labor-Progressives.

The support given the war by the so-called labor representatives, the candidates of the Labor-Progressive Association, as well as by Fallon and the other reactionary candidates, renders them incapable of defending the interests of the St. Paul workers.

## New Attacks On Workers' Conditions

The huge monopolies and their owners are the only ones who benefit from this war. While over 80% of the war contracts are awarded to about a dozen giant corporations, small businessmen are squeezed out of existence. The reports of the Truman and Tolan Congressional Investigating committees have revealed flagrant profiteering in war industries. They have shown, furthermore, that Big Business has deliberately refused to utilize its full productive capacity for "national defense" in order to safeguard profits and monopolistic positions.

I believe that legislation should be passed in order to confiscate all war profits. I also believe that the government should take over the basic industries and operate them under workers' control.

The steep rise in the cost of living has already wiped out wage increases gained in the past year. Every housewife who shops for food, clothing and other necessities for her family knows that this is true. It is necessary for the workers to be protected against the further inevitable rise in the cost of living. The Socialist Workers Party recommends the principle of a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living and we urge that all trade unions incorporate this principle in their contracts.

The Socialist Workers Party,



recognizing the militarized character of our times, demands that every worker be given military training. We propose that the trade unions undertake to provide such training for their members under their own supervision and control. Workers-soldiers should be led by their own elected and trusted officers. We propose that the federal government appropriate the necessary funds for the establishment and equipment of camps for military training of workers under the control of the trade unions.

## For Full Equality!

We are opposed to all discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces as well as in industry. We believe that the Negro people should have full social, economic and political equality.

One of the Labor-Progressive candidates for the City Council, John Mauer, operates a tavern in which he practices racial segregation. And yet candidate Mauer talks about a war for democracy! I believe that Jim Crowism should be wiped out at home in St. Paul as well as in the rest of the country, and that a candidate who discriminates against Negro citizens should be repudiated at the polls.

The workers of St. Paul, together with all of the workers and farmers in the United States, are today in a desperate struggle to maintain the social gains and the standard of living which they have won through their trade unions and other working class organizations. The employing class is attempting to place the full burden of the war upon the working masses. They are attacking wage and hour laws, the right to strike, unemployment insurance, old age pensions and other Social Security measures, public health and public education programs.

Unless the workers offer organized and militant resistance to these reactionary moves, they alone will be compelled to make all the sacrifices demanded by the war.

I believe that the present Social Security measures should not only be maintained, despite the demands of the war budget, but that they should be extended. I promise, if elected, to work for better relief standards, higher pensions for the aged and increased aid for dependent children. I believe that the salaries of the teachers, firefighters and other public service employees should be increased in order to meet the rising cost of living.

A better public health program should be given the St. Paul workers. Despite the tireless efforts of the overworked and underpaid doctors, nurses and hospital employees at Ancker Hospital, the poor location of the hospital, the age of the building, the over-crowded conditions, the limited budget under which it operates—all make it impossible for the workers of St. Paul to obtain proper care in that institution. The city should build a new hospital, equipped with all of the latest devices of modern medical science to serve St. Paul citizens.

I believe that all St. Paul citizens should have an opportunity to live in decent homes. I am in favor of an extensive public housing program for St. Paul—a program financed by the Federal Government.

I am opposed to placing the burden of the war upon the "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed one-third of the nation." Let the rich pay for their own war! But a permanent solution to the terrible problems of war and fascism can be obtained only by the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the

United States and the replacement of the worn-out capitalist system by a socialist economy. Fascism is a product of the capitalist system in decay. The sharpest attacks on working class leaders and the most savage persecution of minority groups occur in the totalitarian countries. Hitler and Mussolini are hated by the working masses of the entire world—most of all by the terribly oppressed German and Italian workers. But the German and Italian workers still support these fascist tyrants in the war because they see no other way out for them. The German workers, in particular, fear another Versailles Treaty and another decade of starvation and suffering at the hands of the victorious Allies.

In order to organize a successful struggle against the forces of fascism, it is necessary to extend the hand of solidarity to the workers of Germany, Italy and Japan. Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States can do this. Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government can show the way by calling for a joint struggle of the workers of all countries against the capitalist system—the source of all of their ills. The failure of Stalin to utilize this weapon of internationalist working class solidarity in his struggle against Nazism has mortally endangered the Soviet Union.

And yet, the heroic resistance of the Russian workers against Hitler's war machine has demonstrated that the masses will fight to the death under the banner of a workers' state for industries and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and landlords. In no other country which has been invaded by the Nazis have the workers been inspired to such a magnificent struggle against the forces of Hitler.

## Defend the Soviet Union

We defend the Soviet Union unconditionally, but we oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy because it has deprived the Russian masses of all their democratic rights and, by its policies, has placed the workers' state in jeopardy. Stalin long ago left the path of international socialism—the path marked out by Lenin and Trotsky in the early days of the Soviet Union. He sells out the world's workers and colonial peoples for the sake of temporary alliances, one time with Hitler, now with Churchill and Roosevelt. These betrayals have alienated the sympathies of millions of working men and women and dealt the heaviest blow of all to the Soviet Union itself.

Only a program of international socialism—a program based on the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky—can save the world's workers from capitalist slaughter and anarchy. I am proud to say that I am an international socialist and that the Socialist Workers Party, which I represent is internationalist to the core. But because I have put forth this socialist solution to the problems of war and fascism and because I have opposed imperialist war, I and seventeen others have been convicted by the Federal Government. But I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism. This is the only road to a system of enduring peace, freedom and plenty for all. I ask your support in this campaign on that basis.

Thousands of St. Paul workers will remember that Eugene V. Debs raised the slogan of international working class solidarity in World War I. Although he was imprisoned because of his position, a million workers cast their vote for him for President of the United States while he was in prison.

Copies of our platform or of this radio address may be obtained at our campaign headquarters, 138 E. 6th Street in St. Paul. There you may also obtain a copy of the testimony of James P. Cannon, leading defendant in the "Seditious conspiracy" case and the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. His testimony has been gathered into a booklet under the title "Socialism on Trial," and gives a complete account of our party's program. As the only candidate pledged to a program of international socialism, I ask the support of St. Paul workers. Your vote for Grace Carlson will indicate your desire to build a socialist United States of America and a socialist world.

# Grace Carlson Gets 1180 Votes

(Continued from page 1)

votes by shouting patriotic slogans and attacking the true anti-fascists as "Hitler's agents" did not meet with much success at the polls. Tillotson received a total of 2074 votes, but it must be understood that every voter had the right to vote for 6 Councilmanic candidates, unlike the voting for the mayoralty nomination, where the voters could cast their ballot for only one candidate; undoubtedly, Tillotson's vote would have been much lower if there was only one Councilmanic nomination to be filled.

But even so, her vote was a 23% decrease under the vote cast for the Stalinist candidate for Councilman in the primaries two years ago — when the Stalinists were still denouncing the war as an imperialist war!

Carlson's campaign had been spirited from beginning to end. She had utilized every opportunity to present her program to the workers, and had aroused more discussion in labor circles than any other mayoralty candidate.

## SPIRITED CAMPAIGN

The primary campaign closed Monday night with a militant radio address by Grace Carlson, presenting the basic issues in the campaign which were largely ignored by the other candidates.

Last Friday night one of the most successful election rallies of the campaign was held by the Campaign Committee. At this meeting the candidate spoke on the Socialist Program "To Defeat World Fascism and Achieve a Lasting Peace, Freedom and Plenty for All" to many people who had never heard of the Trotskyists before and first learned about them in the course of this campaign.

Over the week-end Socialist Workers Party members and sym-

pathizers distributed 5,000 copies of a special St. Paul election edition of THE MILITANT. The paper was well received by the workers, many of whom asked for extra copies to give to their friends at work and in other parts of the city.

## Decide On Write-In Drive For Carlson

The nomination of William Fallon and John McDonough for mayor of St. Paul in yesterday's primary election leaves St. Paul workers with no one to represent their interests in the final election on April 28.

Both of these candidates represent the old capitalist parties—despite the fact that McDonough has received the endorsement of the Labor-Progressive Association. In an editorial in its March 9 issue, the reactionary *St. Paul Pioneer Press* also endorsed McDonough, as well as the three incumbent Labor-Progressive Councilmen. "This newspaper believes that there is every reason to give a vote of confidence in the present administration," the editorial asserted flatly, although the *Pioneer Press* has supported Fallon against McDonough in the past two mayoralty campaigns.

Both of these candidates support the war and are thereby rendered incapable of defending the interests of St. Paul workers.

We have therefore decided to run a write-in campaign for Grace Carlson for Mayor for the final election.

Headquarters will be maintained at 128 E. 6th St. and election literature and information about the campaign may be obtained there.

## WORKERS FORUM

### No Appreciation By War Department

Editor: Emanuel Fried, prominent Stalinist and self-appointed speed-up artist working as engineer at the Curtiss-Wright Aircraftplant here in Buffalo was fired two weeks ago by orders of the U. S. War Dept. because his "services are inimicable to National Defense." Fried, a leading figure in the present drive to organize this plant into the CIO, is noted for having wasted much valuable time of the local's meetings by giving endless speeches on how the wage-slaves can increase production, push Defense Bond sales, contribute to the Jim-Crow Red Cross, USO and other "forced collection" outfit.

The irony of the situation is that only on Jan. 13 he had received a letter of thanks from the War Dept. in appreciation for the speed-up plans he had submitted to it. The letter says in part: "You have offered a number of valuable suggestions and it will interest you to know that several of them are already under consideration by the Bureau. As you are apparently aware, the War Department is making every effort to explain to the workers the need for ever-increased production. I have no doubt that with your excellent appreciation of our problem you

will help us to spread this message." In addition to contacting the War Dept. this Stalinist has spent sleepless nights thinking up other plans of speed-up that he has already submitted to the labor-hating Curtiss outfit.

This case must serve as a bitter lesson to all militant and honest workers who are duped by Stalinism. Their capitalist masters aren't being kidded one second by all the protestations of patriotism springing from the cesspool of Stalinism. The bosses are using them only to police the workers and keep them in line. When the lemon is squeezed dry, they are given the gate.

L. T.,  
Buffalo, N. Y.

## New Haven Local Contributes

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Local 1486 of New Haven, at a regular meeting last week voted a contribution of \$10 to the New Haven Civil Rights Defense Committee.

The local also passed a resolution condemning the convictions in the Minneapolis case. The union's secretary was appointed to serve as the local's representative on the New Haven branch of the CRDC.

# V. R. Dunne Honored At New York CRDC Dinner

## CIO Leader and Anti-Fascist Editor Speak On Behalf of 18 Convicted in Minneapolis

NEW YORK — Over 250 people attended a Defense Dinner on March 3, in honor of V. R. Dunne, one of those convicted in the Minnesota labor trials, and leader of Local 544-CIO. The dinner, sponsored by the New York Civil Rights Defense Committee, and held at Werderman's Hall, was one of the most spirited labor gatherings in recent years.

The overflow crowd that turned out to hear V. R. Dunne and Carlo Tresca, Vice Chairman of the CRDC, was proof of the widespread sympathy among advanced workers for the cause of the Minnesota defendants.

V. R. Dunne's speech was an inspiring call to all labor to defend its rights by rallying to the defense of the 18 convicted Minneapolis defendants. He explained how the Smith "Gag" Law placed in jeopardy all the hard-won liberties of labor. Dunne thanked the Civil Rights Defense Committee for its work in defending the convicted leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party, and called on all workers to "pitch in now to fight this case through in a last ditch fight to the Supreme Court."

"We are fighting to protect civil

liberties in the labor movement, and the right to build a movement to fight for a better world," he said.

In his speech Dunne told of the latest acts of brutality and intimidation on the part of the Tobin gunmen, who recently attacked Harry DeBoer, 544-CIO official, and one of the workers convicted in the Minneapolis case. He also pointed out that the union leaders in Minneapolis faced other charges in addition to the Federal prosecution. Kelly Postal is faced with embezzlement charges for turning the Local 544 funds over to the CIO when the union disaffiliated with the AFL and joined the CIO. "The bosses and Tobin are out to get Kelly Postal one way or another," Dunne said. Postal is Secretary Treasurer of Local 544-CIO.

Carlo Tresca, a veteran fighter in the ranks of labor, thrilled the audience with his stirring account of his experiences in the miners' strikes on the Mesabi range of Northern Minnesota.

## TRESCA PLEDGES SOLIDARITY

Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*, an anti-fascist newspaper, pointed out that he was persecuted in Minnesota for taking part in the miners' strike, accused of "sedition" more than a score of years ago, just as the Minneapolis leaders are being persecuted now. He pledged his solidarity to V. R. Dunne, and spoke with great affection for all the defendants who represented "the militant self-sacrificing leaders who fight for the cause of labor's emancipation."

George Novack, Secretary of the CRDC, served as chairman. His plea for funds to help pay for the immediate legal steps in the appeal of the Minnesota case to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act and to free the 18 defendants, brought an enthusiastic response from those present. Over \$530 was donated in the collection.

After the dinner and speeches, there was music and dancing.

## JUST OUT

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By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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# Atlantic Charter Not Intended For Colonies

## Colonial People Are Told To Have No Illusions

By GEORGE PADMORE

When, in August last, Mr. Churchill's deputy in the House of Commons, Major Attlee, announced to the world the eight points of that so-called international "Magna Charter," known as the Atlantic Charter, the subject peoples of the Empire began hopefully to think that perhaps, after all, this really was a war for democracy.

In order that there might be no doubt upon the matter, the West African University Students' Union in London invited the gallant Major to come and tell them that the Anti-Axis New Order would extend to them. The erstwhile leader of the now extinct Labor Opposition assured these Africans that there would be no racial discrimination in the application of the principles enunciated by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. He affirmed that:

"You will not find, in the declarations which have been made on behalf of the Government in this country on the war any suggestion that the freedom and social security for which we are fighting should be denied to any of the races of mankind. We are fighting this war not just for ourselves but for all peoples."

There was nothing equivocal about this statement, and the Daily Herald, like the Africans, believed that Major Attlee was speaking in the name of the War Cabinet, for, reporting his speech in the issue for August 16, 1941, they gave it a splash headline on the front page:

"The Atlantic Charter — It Means Darker Races" and told their readers that "colored peoples, as well as white, will share the benefits of the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter."

This, for the colonies, was the best piece of news since the war, and aroused tremendous enthusiasm among the 500 million colored peoples in the Empire. At long last Britain had accepted the equality of races as a fundamental principle of her New Order.

### CHURCHILL'S REPUDIATION

It was, however, too good to be true. Mr. Churchill very quickly after his return from the Atlantic meeting made the position absolutely clear. Addressing the House of Commons on September 9th, he let it be known that point three of the Atlantic Charter—"the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live"—applied only to the white peoples of Europe living under Nazi rule.

"At the Atlantic meeting," he said, "we had in mind, primarily, the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke . . . so that it is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown."

Stripped of its verbiage, this statement made it obvious that the Tories envisaged a perpetuation of imperialism and a continuation of their domination of colonial peoples after they had got rid of their German imperial rival.

Thus the hopes of the colonial peoples were quickly dashed, and their resentment and sense of political frustration rose once more to the fore, now in proportion to the hopes which had been so falsely raised in them.

The African Pilot (Nov. 5, 1941), leading West African nationalist organ, commenting upon the above statement of Mr. Churchill's found it difficult to conceive:

"That a British Prime Minister could utter such a statement during an unparalleled destructive war which has cost colonial peoples their material resources and manpower is, indeed, a revelation. What, now, must we expect to be our fate after the war? Must we believe in platitudes? . . . Indeed, the 'Four Freedoms' may be said to be good enough for 'the States and nations of Europe,' but when the interpretations are applied to us, 'that is quite a separate problem.' Good God! And the words are straight from the lips of our Prime Minister."

### BURMA TURNED DOWN

The 21 million natives of Nigeria are not alone in the despondency and alarm which Mr. Churchill, more than any other individual, has engendered throughout the colored communities of the British Empire. The 17 million natives of Burma have made their feelings public through the medium of their

Prime Minister, U. S. A. W. His claim for dominion status for Burma was categorically rejected by Mr. Churchill and his understudy, Mr. Amery, Secretary for India and Burma.

"Burma," U. S. A. W. declared, "was brought into the war by an edict of the Governor. The elected representatives of the people were not consulted . . . If Burmese people were convinced that they were fighting for their own freedom as well as for that of the rest of the world, then there can be no question about it—Burma's war effort would be increased fourfold." He made it plain that "There is a small section of

Burmese opinion which believes that to aid Britain win the war means to aid Britain to keep us in subjection . . . There is another section, which, while it cherishes no love for the Japanese, feels that if it is Burma's destiny to remain a subject nation, then it might be better to be governed by a nation that is of the same blood and of the same religion."

The position is the same with India. Even moderates like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru have been compelled to identify themselves with the popular demand for immediate self-determination.

### COLONIAL PEOPLES SEE

Everywhere feeling is the same. The colonial people, even the most backward, unlike many sophisticated people in Britain who call themselves Socialist, are not deceived by all the talk about



George Padmore democracy and freedom. They feel instinctively that this conflict is fundamentally a quarrel

between imperialist bandits for a re-division of their countries; that they are merely pawns in the international game of power politics.

Consequently, they want to see the end not only of aggressive fascist imperialism but quite as much of the old-established democratic "peace-loving" imperialism which, in the words of the resolution of the Indian National Congress, is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism."

### THEY DESPISE BOTH

The colored races wish to get all *Heavenly* white as well as yellow—off their backs. While their sympathies are with the Chinese people in their heroic fight for national liberation from Japanese imperialism, it does not necessarily follow that they are spurred to support the Anglo-American powers. On the contrary, they despise them as much as they do the Japanese.

Even the threat from Japan in Asia has not altered the narrow "prestige" outlook of the British pukka sahibs. Like their French allies of yesterday, they would rather be (temporarily) stripped of their colonies than make the smallest political concession to their colored slaves. Had the British Government supported a move for their independence when the "Men of Vichy" sold their country to Hitler, the natives of Indo-China could have been linked up with China proper and Siam in an anti-Japanese alliance, and Japan would not have been able to use Indo-China as a jumping-off ground for the attack on Malaya.

### PREFERRED JAPANESE

The situation, however, might have been retrieved even after the Japanese had invaded Malaya if the British Government had offered to extend the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the natives of this region. But to do this they would have had to hand back the lands which they have expropriated from the natives for plantation and mining purposes. Instead, they preferred the Japanese to take them over and continue their exploitation, as they always hope to come back and resume where their yellow rivals forced them to leave off.

This attitude was made quite clear in Lord Moyne's telegram to Sir Mark Young after the capitulation of Hong Kong. The Colonial Secretary's message indicated that the British hoped to return after an enforced temporary absence. There was no mention of handing back the island to the Chinese, even though Chiang-Kai-Shek is Britain's ally, and Hong Kong is not a part of the British Isles!

### SOCIALISM WAY OUT

It is this die-hard imperialist attitude which is responsible for the chaos in British affairs in the Far East. "Scorched earth" policy for these people is just a bombastic figure of speech. The owners of the tin mines and rubber plantations, as the city journalists have unambiguously described, are more concerned that their property should remain intact than that Japan should be deprived of the use of their products. They look hopefully towards restitution when the Japanese have been ousted from their present (temporary) occupation.

Imperialism is incapable of offering freedom to its subject peoples. To do so would be to commit *kara-kiri*. Only the Social Revolution can bring liberation to these people; only a Socialist Europe can offer to these millions of brown, yellow and black races the possibility of freedom, in order that, as free peoples, they may voluntarily take their place as equals in the community of the World Federation of Socialist countries.

(Reprinted from the British New Leader, Jan. 24, 1942).

## Soviet Union Renews Cry for Second Front

(Continued from page 1)

move on their part would be in the nature of a minor diversion. The main brunt of the Nazi offensive would still fall on the USSR. Meanwhile Japan's hands are completely free. The Japanese imperialists can strike at the Soviet Far East whenever they choose.

With Stalin's policies the only perspective for the Soviet Union is to continue waging a defensive struggle against great odds since it cannot gain decisive victory with its own unaided forces. How long can the USSR withstand such a terrific strain? What will happen even if after many years of bitter warfare, it does emerge in the camp of the victors?

Stalin with his hand to mouth policies foresees nothing. The fact is that the fate of the Soviet Union is by no means safeguarded in the event of the most favorable military outcome of the war

# Indian Masses Must Call For Constituent Assembly

## Independence Can Be Gained and Safeguarded Through Action Of Workers, Peasants, City Poor Organized Into Councils

The eyes of war-stricken mankind are turning more and more toward India. For the time being, diplomats and negotiators occupy the spotlight and appear to play a decisive role. But this is only an illusion. The fate of India is now in the hands of the Indian masses.

The scurrying of nervous gentlemen at the top is to be observed invariably on the eve of titanic social convulsions. Politicians, editors and soothsayers are pondering, elaborating and debating magic formulas in Washington, London, Berlin, Tokio, Moscow, Chungking. The aim of all this frantic activity is to mobilize the millions of Indian workers, peasants and pariahs in one of the rival war camps. Everything is being taken into account in the world's chancelleries. Everything, except the needs and desires of the Indian masses themselves.

### Beginning to Awaken

Meanwhile the unfolding events are impelling precisely these masses to awaken and to begin leading a political life for the first time in history. Once set in motion these millions cannot be removed from the arena by means of abstract slogans and promises of freedom.

The Indian peasants groaning under feudal and semi-feudal tyranny will not listen long to chatter about India's independence which is not accompanied by action giving them land and freeing them from foreign and native oppressors. Who will give land to the landless? Who will shatter the imperialist and agrarian bondage? Only the peasants themselves in an alliance with the Indian workers and the city poor.

Naturally, no amount of discussion or theory will convince the Indian peasants of this. Through propaganda one can convince and win over thousands, perhaps even hundreds of thousands. But the many-millioned masses can arrive at the correct conclusions only through their own experience. They must test in action the various parties and programs. The task of the Indian vanguard is to assist and guide the Indian peasants and workers through this experience.

### The Constituent Assembly

In a country confronted with the solution of revolutionary democratic tasks the freest, clearest and swiftest test of the contending class forces and political parties is afforded either on the

arena of the Constituent Assembly, or in the struggle for the convocation of the latter.

Under the conditions of mass upsurge, the Constituent Assembly is directly subject to pressure from below. Its convocation makes it impossible to postpone the solution of the agrarian problem and other burning democratic tasks; each party is compelled to reveal its genuine program; the camouflage of radical phrases is stripped from reactionaries and their allies in the full view of the masses.

This is why the Russian bourgeoisie and its accomplices — the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists — kept putting off the Constituent Assembly in 1917, while the Bolsheviks, on the contrary, kept agitating for it. In 1925-1927 the Chinese bourgeoisie under Chiang-Kai-shek defeated the revolution because among other things they succeeded with the help of the Stalinists in stifling the movement for the Constituent Assembly. This made it all the easier for Chiang to massacre the Chinese proletariat. It is indeed welcome news that the Indian Trotskyists have correctly raised the slogan for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly as one of their central slogans.

### For Workers' and Peasants' Councils

The slogan of the Constituent Assembly immediately raises the problem: Who will convocate it and with what program? It is by no means excluded that the Indian bourgeoisie itself, or a section of it may also raise this slogan. In the hands of reaction it can become a terrible trap for the masses.

The sole guarantee against this is the quickest possible organization of the population into genuinely representative bodies embracing all the oppressed including the pariahs in the villages and in the cities. They will constitute in essence Workers' and Peasants' Councils. They must convince the Constituent Assembly. Agitation for the immediate formation of these Councils is an integral part of a revolutionary campaign for the Constituent Assembly.

These lessons, drawn from the experience of the revolution in China — a semi-colonial country with feudal vestiges — apply with all the greater force to India, a colonial country whose feudal structure has been reinforced by British imperialism.

# Churchill's 'Offer' Denies Independence To India

(Continued from page 1)

tain lesser matters arising out of our long association with the fortunes of the Indian sub-continent."

The significance of Churchill's reference to "our obligations for the protection of minorities" is made clear by a British-inspired statement of the reactionary property-class Moslem League earlier in the week, threatening "revolt" if the British government granted independence to India without partitioning the country to permit separate Moslem rule over large sections.

Churchill was very cagey about offering a specific solution to the minorities issue he raised. He stated that the "War Cabinet have agreed unitedly upon conclusions for present and future action" to resolve the alleged Hindu-Moslem conflict, but they are "apprehensive" about making the details public until "our scheme had a reasonable and practical measure of acceptance."

Churchill knows that his "scheme" for resolving the minorities problems of India would raise such a storm among the Indian masses that to reveal it now would destroy Cripps' chance of

sneaking over a deal behind the backs of the Indian people.

The "treaty obligations to the Indian States," to which the question of India's national independence is subject according to Churchill, refers to the agreements made with the 500 native land-owning princes who rule as absolute monarchs over their principalities. These princes will never agree to complete Indian independence, because they know that once the British are out of India, the peasants they have exploited so long will sweep them away in short order.

The "lesser matters arising out of our long association with the fortunes of the Indian sub-continent" which Churchill claims must be disposed of before his promise of "independence" can be fulfilled, refers to British control of India's resources, production facilities and markets. Churchill

proposes to give "independence" to India on condition that the British ruling class be guaranteed the right to continue its exploitation of the Indian masses and its economic domination of the country.

The very fact that Churchill has been forced to make his latest promises, meaningless as they are, and to devise elaborate maneuvers and stratagems in an effort to win over the Indian people, indicates how helpless the British ruling class is to prevent the Indian masses from seizing their national independence right now.

Churchill may make his empty promises; Cripps may try to sell these promises; the Indian nationalist leaders may even agree to accept them. But this will not postpone for long the final settlement of the issue which now lies in the hands of the Indian workers and peasants.

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by GEORGE E. NOVACK

foreword by JAMES T. FARRELL

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# Black Market Diverts Rations From Workers

## Masses Suffer, While Rich Live in Usual Luxury When Capitalists Control Rationing

By DON DORE

American workers will get their first taste of government rationing when sugar rationing goes into effect within the next few weeks. This is the beginning of a policy which will certainly be extended to other necessities as the war goes on.

Ostensibly, this rationing will be undertaken to insure an equitable distribution of scarce commodities and to prevent price extortion. The lesson of Britain shows, however, that rationing under government and capitalist control limits the amount of goods which the masses may secure, but does not prevent those with large incomes from obtaining all they want of both necessities and luxuries.

In that country, where rationing has been in effect since the start of the war, the illegal, underground Black Market supplies the wants of the rich. So extensive are these Black Market operations, and so luxuriously do the rich continue to live in contrast to the workers, that a storm of protest last week compelled a formal recognition and denunciation of the Black Market in the House of Commons and from various government officials.

### HOW THE BLACK MARKET OPERATES FOR RICH

Some details of the operation of the Black Market in England are contained in a London report of Craig Thompson to the New York Times, March 5. He cites an official report showing that Black Market operators are doing a yearly business estimated conservatively at 156,000,000 pounds — \$824,000,000. They deal mainly in rationed commodities, food, clothing, textiles, gasoline, etc.

One of the chief reasons that rationed commodities prove insufficient is that a great amount of them are shunted off into the Black Market, where they are easily obtainable — at greatly inflated prices. Thus, as Raymond Daniell reported in the New York Times, March 4:

"Housewives stand daily in long lines before butcher shops, sometimes going home empty handed. Formerly it was possible to eke out the ration of a shilling tuppence worth of rationed meat with poultry or rabbit or canned stuff, but even that is well nigh impossible now without recourse to the 'black market.'"

Because of the astronomical prices on the Black Market, however, only the well-to-do actually have such "recourse."

Craig Thompson tells how many merchants obtain extra supplies of rationing coupons through fraudulent means, and then sell them at a handsome profit to certain selected customers with financial resources. Thus, the wealthy obtain more coupons and more rations.

There has been a tremendous increase in so-called "robberies" of warehouses and stores, and the supplies thus obtained later appear on the Black Market. Thompson states that: "Thievery has become the sort of thing in which an owner — even if only partially covered by insurance — often finds the profits of conspiring in the theft of his own goods more alluring than the danger of being caught."

### "FAVORED CUSTOMERS"

He reports further that: "Big and small stores alike often supply favored customers — the best way to become a favored customer is to buy lots of unrationed goods at fancy prices — and rely on the provisioner to provide more rationed stuff than is legally al-

lowed. This sort of thing often results in inequality of distribution, and therein lies some of the cause of complaints."

That "respectable" business men are engaging in the Black Market operations is affirmed by Admiral Sir William James, who posted an order calling on the people to report instances of "parasites living in sleek comfort on the proceeds of illicit dealings," and made the painful admission that "one of the saddest features is that some of our men with untarnished records for thirty and forty years have succumbed to the infection. . . ." (New York Times, March 4).

Up to the present, those apprehended for Black Market trading have been penalized only to the extent of paying a fine equal to triple the amount of the sale price of the illegal goods they were caught selling. This has been considered only a small overhead expense in terms of the profits they have been making.

### GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN

In the past week, there has been some blustering in Commons and in the British capital-ist press about invoking the death penalty and flogging for Black Market dealers. This is gener-

ally regarded as mere talk, since the rich and influential are too greatly benefited by the Black Market.

The government's "concern" over the situation is in reality an attempt to head off repercussions among the workers by an official show of "doing something" and to prepare the masses for another threatened cut in rations. Thompson writes that "tightened regulations and far heavier sentences than hitherto have been possible are foreshadowed" because "it is recognized that their illegal traffic is a threat to national morale through the creation of bitter class feeling."

The situation in England should serve as a warning to the American workers about the likely results of rationing under capitalist control in this country.

The interests of the masses under a system of rationing can be protected only if rationing is conducted under the control of the masses themselves. Consumers committees of labor, farmer and lower-middle class organizations must be established which will have full control of all consumers supplies and complete power to regulate their distribution and prices. This is the only means of insuring against the rise of the Black Market in this country and of guaranteeing that the masses obtain their share of available living necessities.

## Worried Taxpayer Gets Cave Ready

Dear Editor:—

I am worried. The other night when I come home from work what do you think my wife told me? She told me about an article written by a scientist in the newspaper about how the entire population of the United States could live off weeds if the war lasted long enough to exhaust the present food sources. And right alongside this article is a story by some brain in the War Department which claims the war may last for twenty-five years.

A couple of days later my wife has another one. This is a full-page spread of pictures from the same paper showing how to dig yourself a hole in the ground to hide from bombs. One picture shows a whole family in front of a cave which they dug out of a hillside. The old man is sharpening a small axe while his woman is cooking a chunk of meat over an open fire. The kids are playing with small baseball bats by hitting each other over the conk. Underneath the picture it says: "The Jones family is safe."

Yesterday was another one. "The Horses Are Coming Back." I feel sorry for them. I feel sorry because right in the same paper on page sixteen is an item about camels. It seems the government of Egypt is anxious to relieve the meat shortage and improve trade relations with Sudan, which has a surplus of camels. I never once ate horse meat, did you, Editor? Maybe it would balance the weeds in our future diet, however.

Tonight is what made me write this letter. When I come in my wife is listening to the radio. Some skin-head in Washington with a voice like the Shadow is beating his guns about how the whole country is full of "saboteurs" and "enemy-aliens" and "fifth-columnists" who are asking for higher wages and union recognition. It seems some of these subversive elements borrowed enough dough on their small farms and future crops to pay up their poll-tax so as to vote against him. He sure was mad. He said the future was dark for humanity when dirty tricks like that could be played on him. He also said that the F.B.I. was going to throw everyone in jail unless things changed. Everyone except him and his friends.

So here is what we did. First my wife looked over some pretty good weed spots about sixteen miles from town. We intend to file a claim on the quiet so as not to attract too much attention and cause a weed-rush. Next Sunday we are going out and prospect around for a good cave with southern exposure and running water. Without much trouble we have put aside the following: 1 double bitted falling axe, 1 figure-four rabbit snare, 2 small shovels (one round point, one square), 1 lantern and ten gallons of kerosene, 1 spinning wheel in good condition, 50 fathom of rope, 1 set of flint and steel and 12 bound volumes of National Geographic magazine. Besides these my wife got out the picture of Grandpa at the Battle of San Juan Hill. It shows how to ride a horse if we catch one.

The Morgan family is ready. What about you and your readers? Perhaps this letter will serve to arouse people to the serious situation confronting the nation. It's time to act.

Yours truly,

BILL MORGAN

San Pedro, Calif.



# Background Of The French Trials

## Shaky Vichy Regime Stages Its Juridical Farce to Give a False Show of Strength

By MARC LORIS

The Riom trials have finally begun after a long delay. The chief defendants are former Premier Leon Blum, former Premier Daladier and the former Commander in Chief of the French Armies, General Maurice Gamelin. They are accused of responsibility for the defeat of France by Germany. Blum is accused of having neglected the military preparation of his country. Daladier is accused of having

thrown his country into a war for which he knew it was not prepared, and Gamelin is accused of responsibility for the military weakness of the army of France in 1939.

The accused are being tried under the provisions of a special decree issued by the government of Vichy. The tribunal itself is not a regular one, but is a court of justice established especially for this purpose by the government. Moreover, three months ago the Vichy government, in a special decree officially declared that the accused were already guilty.

The trials are taking place in a small town of an old French province, practically cut off from the outside world. During the period of the trials, strangers are not being admitted to the town. Although the trials are declared open to the public, this can be judged by what an American journalist cables: "Ten seats in the court will be reserved for the public, but it is understood that the occupants will be appointed in rotation from a group of officials."

The Vichy government has also taken care of the press. Daily instructions are given out by the Bureau of Censorship to French newspaper men, indicating even the "commentaries" which are to accompany the reports of the trial. Our epoch has seen not a few such mockeries of justice, and today the senile Vichy tries in

this way as well as others, to imitate the dictators.

### REASONS FOR THE TRIALS

What are the reasons for these trials? Above all, it is to give the appearance of authority to the Vichy government which is sadly in need of it. Immediately after the military debacle the team of Pétain-Weygand-Laval, directly representing the most serious section of the French bourgeoisie, hushed aside the entire republican and democratic apparatus, and took the power into their own hands, with absolute disregard of the constitutionality of their action.

Since then, the history of the Vichy government has been one of impotence. Its earlier vague prestige disappeared before mass oppression and poverty. Even the functionaries of the administration do not always execute their orders with good grace. There is grumbling even in the ranks of the police. In the schools the students tear down the pictures of Marshal Pétain.

Unable to enforce his authority in a positive way, Pétain has decided to give himself prestige by means of contrast, through debasing and defaming his predecessors.

### MILITARY PREPARATION OF FRANCE

The task of the judges in Riom is not to deal with technical faults in the military preparations of France. The trials are above all political. In essence, they represent the revenge of the bourgeoisie

for their terrible fear in June 1936.

Thus, the indictment accuses Blum and Daladier of having given planes to Republican Spain. If we permit ourselves for a moment to consider the military interests of France, this accusation is absurd. The French government gave Spain at most a few dozen planes, and these were the most outdated types. Germany gave France between 20 to 50 times more arms than France gave to the Republicans. Nevertheless this did not prevent Germany from defeating France! In fact, the Spanish war was for the German high command a marvelous field for war experience and excellent preparation for the approaching world war.

As for the strikes of 1936, the time lost represented a negligible fraction of the total labor time in the five years before the World War, certainly much less than one-thousandth. As for the influence of the "reforms"—the 40-hour week, the wage increases, etc.—production figures which have been published leave no doubt: war production, far from being retarded, increased—the bosses had to modernize their machinery, as a result of which production speeded up in 1937. Thus, even if we judge from the standpoint of the defense of France, the "technical" accusations of the Riom prosecutors are absolutely absurd.

### THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HIGH COMMAND

Among the numerous causes which have contributed to the defeat of France, the incapacity of the military chiefs does not occupy the last place. And Marshal Pétain did not occupy the last place among these chiefs. Pétain was Commander-in-Chief of the Army from 1923 to 1931. Then he was inspector of defense from 1931 to 1934. He was Minister of War for most of 1934. Finally, the Marshal was president of the Commission of National Defense

from the end of 1934 to February, 1939, six months before the war started.

During all that period, he made very precise and well known declarations against a too great militarization of the army, against the organization of aviation as an independent arm of the military machine, against the use of tanks as the main offensive force, against the fortification of the Sedan breach. He was sure that neither Blum nor Daladier ever dared to make any decision on these military problems, and that all the decisive powers were entirely and absolutely in the hands of the French high command, where the influence of Pétain was dominant.

The attitude of General Gamelin at the trial throws abundant light upon this question. The General, Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies, should know something about the causes of the defeat. At the very first session of the trial, he declared that he would remain silent during all the debates, since he could not permit that the army be judged!

But that is not all. The plot thickens when we learn that the decree by which the special court was created had been altered a short time before the trial, in order to enable the court to prevent the discussion of military operations. In other words, the Vichy government directly permitted, if not ordered, Gamelin to shut up.

Here is the most positive proof of an agreement between Pétain and Gamelin in order to prevent the responsibility of the high command from being exposed. Pétain and Gamelin are covered by a pledge of mutual amnesty. Gamelin did not even blush when he invoked "honor" to justify his silence.

### A GOOD OBJECT LESSON

This hypocritical agreement between Pétain and Gamelin teaches us another lesson; the real structure of the bourgeois state. The Riom judges will condemn democracy, vilify the Republic; they will drag through the mud all the ideals which the bourgeoisie for 50 years have tried to impose upon the masses, in the name of which they have always paralyzed their social struggles. But not a single word will be said against the army—the high command.

Here is an excellent object lesson. The bourgeoisie reveals the real source of its power, the core of its state, that is, the armed forces. As for "democracy" and the "Republic," they are nothing but ornamental draperies which conceal the real machine of power in order to deceive the masses. When the draperies have become faded and tattered, they are simply thrown into the garbage can by the bourgeoisie, but the military machine remains. "Do not Touch!" Such is, in a few words, the excellent lesson that the Riom trials teach the workers not only in France but throughout the world.

### COWARDICE OF THE FRENCH CAPITALISTS

The Riom trials teach us still another thing: the extreme cow-



LEON BLUM

ardice of the French bourgeoisie. Blum is accused of having consented to the social reforms of June 1936. But what did the French bourgeoisie do at that period?

They "played dead." When the workers occupied the factories, the bosses promptly signed anything the workers demanded. In the days of revolutionary tension during June 1936, the bourgeoisie quietly drove out into the countryside. They felt the burning breath of the revolution pass over Paris, and did not move even their little fingers. They demonstrated excellent bourgeois political judgment. The slightest resistance on their part would have provoked a political explosion. Instead the movement was vanquished by the conciliatory policy of Leon Blum.

Without conciliation it would have been an open and armed struggle. In the direct sense of the term, Blum saved the bourgeois structure from the workers' assault. The most responsible organs of the bourgeoisie quickly recognized this fact. In the interest of truth, however, we must add that Blum could not have accomplished his task without the active collaboration of the Stalinists.

### "AS WELL AS THEY COULD"

Later, the bourgeoisie took back, piece by piece, what they had been obliged to grant under pressure. Discouraged and deceived, the workers retreated, and finally were precipitated into the World War. Now the conciliators, having achieved the collapse of the revolution, have, in their turn, fallen under the blows of the revolution. This is a very well-known phenomenon in the mechanics of class struggle. The Riom trials write "finis" to this story.

The bourgeoisie has nothing for which to reproach Daladier or Blum. They have defended the capitalist system as well as they could, when all other methods were made impossible. If the conciliators are responsible for defeat, it is for the defeat of the revolution.

To draw the lessons of this defeat, to explain them patiently to the working masses, such is the fundamental task of the revolutionists in France now. If they learn how to solve this task, after the dreadful ordeals of the present reaction, the revolt of the oppressed people will be so deep and so terrible that there will be no Daladier, no Blum or no Thorez capable of thwarting it.

# GPU Lynch Campaign Is On International Scale

## Seeks to Destroy Anti-Fascist Opponents Of Stalinism by Incitations to Violence

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

The Stalinist GPU through its various national sections and sympathetic agencies has launched a new campaign of slander and violence against its opponents within the labor movement. In Mexico the Communist press has singled out for attack Grandizo Muniz, Marceau Pivert, Victor Serge, Julian Gorkin and Gustav Regler, and demanded their "suppression" as "fifth

"gangsters," "spies" and "saboteurs." A group of deputies, hypocritically claiming to be "democratic" but in reality agents of the Communist Party, has introduced a resolution into the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, demanding the expulsion or imprisonment of these refugees.

The Communist press has published open incitements to assassination by calling for the formation of "Vigilante Committees" to deal with these individuals. This campaign of provocations is identical with that preceding the May 24, 1940 machine-gun raid on Trotsky's house by a Vigilante gang led by the Mexican Communist, David Siquieros, which resulted in the murder of Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's bodyguard, and afterwards in the assassination of Trotsky himself by an agent of the GPU.

All five of these anti-fascist refugees have long records of service in the international labor movement; several fought arms in hand against the fascists in Spain; all have places placed on their heads by Hitler, Franco or Pétain. We solidarize ourselves with the protest sent to President Camacho of Mexico last month by more than 225 noted American labor and liberal leaders, on behalf of these victims of the Stalinist campaign of character assassination.

### CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

In England the Communist Party has ordered its members "to treat the Trotskyists as you would a Nazi." They have used physical violence against salesmen of the Trotskyist and labor papers. The *Sunday Dispatch*, owned by fascist-minded Lord Rothermere, the British equivalent of Hearst, has repeated the Stalinist slanders against the Trotskyists to justify its campaign for the repression of all militant workers.

Now the Stalinists, under cover of jingo prejudices inflamed by the war, are extending their poisonous activities to the United States. The sole editorial in the *Daily Worker* of Mar. 2 viciously attacked Serge, Muniz and their defenders and recommended "stern measures" against them. The Stalinist leaders seek to take advantage of the heroic resistance of the Red Army to vilify, terrorize, and get rid of their political opponents. High government authorities not only look with indulgence upon these attempts but even lend "ideological" assistance by approving the publication of such whitewashes of Stalin's infamous Moscow

pose and condemn the domestic and foreign policies of Stalin which serve to undermine that defense. We call for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States which can institute socialism in place of capitalist anarchy and we fight all forms of fascism to the death.

### THE MAIN TARGETS

The Trotskyists, now as always, are the main targets of these attacks. Opponents of Stalinist policies in the labor movement whose ideas differ from ours are designated by the Stalinist press as "Trotskyists." The Stalinist lynch campaign against us has been rendered difficult by the government trial and conviction of the Trotskyist leaders in Minneapolis as revolutionary socialists, as "followers of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky" who "accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917."

But the leaders of the Communist Party in this country, as in others, are obliged to undertake this slander campaign under supervision of the GPU and in compliance with the reactionary policies of Stalin's regime. In exchange for proffered material support and political flattery, Stalin has sold the services of the Communist International to his capitalist allies. During the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Communist parties, following Stalin's instructions, opposed Roosevelt and Churchill's policies while they remained silent about Hitler's crimes. In Nazi-occupied countries names and addresses of revolutionary opponents to Communist Party policies were handed over to the Gestapo.

Today the Communist Parties, again following Stalin's orders are performing similar chores for the Allied governments. They act as strikebreakers and agents of the bosses in the trade-unions. They do not—and will not—hesitate to act as finger-men against militant workers. Their slander campaigns against the Trotskyists are designed to create a favorable atmosphere to enable them to carry out these assignments with impunity.

### THEY HATE OUR POLICIES

The Stalinists persecute us Trotskyists with such savage hatred because we are the most relentless and uncompromising opponents of their reactionary and treacherous policies in the labor movement. We alone among the working class parties carry forward the struggle for the interests of the working masses in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. We unconditionally defend the Soviet Union. At the same time we ex-

pose and condemn the domestic and foreign policies of Stalin which serve to undermine that defense. We call for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States which can institute socialism in place of capitalist anarchy and we fight all forms of fascism to the death.

These Trotskyist ideas are penetrating the ranks of the Communist Party. The Stalinist slanders and falsifications are calculated to prevent their duped followers from learning the truth about Trotskyism.

The poisonous propaganda spread by the Stalinists against us repeats the lies used against revolutionary socialists by the imperialists and their agents in the last war. In the days of the Russian Revolution Lenin and Trotsky were indicted by Kerensky as "agents of the German General Staff." Karl Liebknecht was denounced in Germany as a "paid agent of the Entente." Eugene V. Debs was branded as an agent of the Kaiser for opposing the war in this country. Today every militant worker who stands up for the rights of labor is liable to be accused by capitalist reactionaries and Stalinists of "sabotage" and "aiding the Axis."

### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The Trotskyist record of struggle against fascism is unimpeachable. The German Trotskyists now imprisoned in Hitler's jails and concentration camps testify to our undying opposition to fascism. So do the Trotskyists who died fighting in the front lines against Franco in the Spanish Civil War. So does Jean Meichler, French Trotskyist recently shot as a hostage by the Germans in occupied Paris.

No one has assisted the fascists in the past decade more than the Stalinists. While Trotsky was urging a genuine fighting united front of labor to beat down the Nazis before Hitler came to power, the Stalinist leaders were preparing to surrender without a battle and boasting that: "After Hitler will come our turn." While the Trotskyists warned the Spanish and French workers against coalition with the capitalist parties, the Stalinists were promoting the Popular Front policies which doomed both "democracy" and the labor movement to destruction by fascism. Stalin's pact enabled Hitler to overrun Europe, to demoralize the working masses, and to take the Soviet Union by surprise with his attack.

Now the Stalinists crown their crimes against the working class by giving "all-out" support to the policies of Roosevelt and Churchill—and attacking those who remain true to the revolutionary socialism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Trotsky.

No lies, persecutions or murders by the Stalinist gang will prevent us from carrying on our struggle for socialism.

# Murray Opposes Strikes As Bosses Hit At Labor

## Radio Talk Emphasizes No-Strike Policy In Midst of Intensified Anti-Labor Drive

CIO President Philip Murray's radio address on March 6 was an assurance to the employers and the administration that the top CIO leadership is prepared to submit to the dictates of the employers and War Labor Board regardless of the consequences for the workers, and to aid in curbing any militant rank and file struggles in defense of the workers' interests.

His speech was particularly significant because it came in the midst of the crucial War Labor Board discussions of the CIO's demands for general wage increases and the union shop, and as the employing class offensive against labor gathered momentum.

Murray called on the workers to "Work, Work, Work! Produce, Produce!" and renewed the "solemn agreement" to uphold a no-strike policy which the union leadership has made with the employers and government behind the backs of the union membership, without their consultation or consent.

The speech largely ignored the current open shop drive of the bosses, emphasizing instead labor's responsibility for keeping production going without loss of production-time "from any cause." Its chief effect will be to encourage the employers' campaign to raise war production and war profits at the expense of the workers' rights and living standards.

### REPUUDIATES STRUGGLES OF OWN RANK AND FILE

Murray complained that the "profiteers, reactionaries and appeasers" are spreading a "fog of propaganda" about strikes; but at the same time he gave ammunition to the employers by repudiating his own members, who have been forced to strike in increasing thousands in the past few weeks in an effort to maintain their union conditions.

He declared that "there has not been a single authorized strike in a war industry and all the efforts of the CIO and its unions have been directed to ending at once such minor incidents as have occurred."

Instead of placing the responsibility for strikes on the shoulders of the employers who have been using the war program as a pretext for smashing down on the workers, Murray attacked the workers for conducting "unauthorized" strikes. He sought to ingratiate himself and the union leadership with the Administration by pointing to the effective manner in which the union leaders have ended "minor incidents," that is, policed the unions for the employers.

To the reactionaries' attempt to blame the workers for holding back production, Murray should have answered—but didn't—by

turning both barrels on the monopolists and war profiteers, who have caused the break-down of whole industries for months on end.

The policy of the top CIO leaders, as stated by Murray, would leave the workers defenseless before the open shop corporations. It would deprive the workers of effective means of protecting their living standards in the face of rising prices and the open shop offensive. The workers would be forced to rely on the "good will" of a War Labor Board stacked in advance against them as their only "hope" of gaining their justified demands.

### WORKERS' FINAL SAY

The "minor incidents" to which Murray referred, however, indicate that the militant union ranks still want to put up a fight. These "minor incidents" are a sign that the union members have not as yet said their final word

## For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Prices

# WHY we Defend The Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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# C.P. Begins Lynch Campaign In Cleveland

(Continued from page 1)

the union leaders to place the interests of the war machine above everything else. What the Stalinists mean by "labor unity" today is unquestioning acceptance of every proposal advanced by the union leaders, even when those policies are contrary to the workers' interests and decided on bureaucratically behind the back of the workers.

The Trotskyist trade union policy is the opposite of the Stalinist policy, as expounded by Roy Hudson, their trade union expert, in the *Daily Worker*, March 3: "Strikes Help Hitler," he said, "because they hinder the war." The Stalinists say that the Trotskyists' support of the right to strike makes them "Hitler's agents." Well, that's exactly what the die-hard open shoppers of Little Steel and the poll-tax congressmen like Smith of Virginia say not only of the Trotskyists, but of every worker who tries to make trade unionism something more than a rubber stamp for the bosses.

The third "proof" of the Stalinists: "Presenting the Trotskyists' attitude toward the war, James P. Cannon, National Secretary, attempts to drive a wedge between the United Nations by falsely characterizing the war effort of the United States and Britain as imperialist in character."

Cannon's "Statement On the War" was a Marxist analysis of the causes of the second world war, reprinted by THE MILITANT from the January, 1942 issue of *Fourth International*. The statement declared that "Following Lenin, it made no difference to us which imperialist bandit fired the first shot." The characterization of the war of the capitalist countries "as an imperialist war" was "determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist—oppressing other nations or peoples—or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan change nothing in this basic analysis."

But Cannon's statement drew a sharp distinction between its characterization of the war conducted by the capitalist states and the war conducted by the Soviet Union and China!

"We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a progressive war."

The statement also characterized China's war against Japan as progressive because it is "a colonial country, battling for national independence against an imperialist power. A victory for China would be a tremendous blow against all imperialism, inspiring all colonial peoples to throw off the imperialist yoke."

This analysis of the difference between the Soviet Union and China on the one hand and the capitalist countries on the other is what the Stalinists call driving "a wedge between the United Nations." They do not dare to discuss Cannon's analysis of these differences; they do not want the workers to think about these differences; they attack all those who remind the workers that the Soviet system is different from the capitalist system.

The Stalinists only last June themselves were loudly characterizing the war as imperialist. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, they say, the character of the war "changed"; "the imperialist war of Britain", for example, was changed into "a just war". This is like saying that the British ruling class was fighting a war for markets and raw materials and the right to exploit the colonies on June 21, and then because of Hitler's invasion it suddenly began on June 23 to fight for something entirely different. When it comes to "spreading seeds of confusion," the Stalinists have no competitors.

Realizing that their "proof" will be rejected as slanders by anyone who has read the articles they refer to, the Stalinists seek to strengthen their charges by repeating old Stalinist slanders against the Trotskyists in other countries. But here again the falsity of their charges is apparent to anyone who knows even a little about Trotskyism and Stalinism.

"The Trotskyists" says the leaflet, "...were convicted by the Russian government at the Moscow trials for Fifth Column work in behalf of German and Japanese imperialism."

In 1936-37 the Stalinists were trying to get an alliance with Britain and the United States. Everyone in the labor movement who opposed their policies was labelled by them as an "agent of German and Japanese imperialism."

In the Moscow trials and the purges which followed them in this period, Stalin murdered the Old Bolsheviks who helped to found the Soviet Union and whose only crime was that they criticized the totalitarian dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucracy which Stalin heads and asked for a return to the workers' democracy which had been established under Lenin. The Moscow trials were rejected by world public opinion at that time as frame-ups.

In 1939 Stalin made his pact with Hitler and gave him a free hand to go ahead in Europe. The slanders of the Stalinists against the Trotskyists underwent an abrupt change. Now instead of accusing the Trotskyists of being German and Japanese agents, they called them "agents of Anglo-American imperialism." The Trotskyists had not changed; only Stalin's alliance had changed.

When Hitler broke the pact last summer, the Stalinists lied about the Trotskyists changed once again. Again they become "agents of German and Japanese imperialism," although the Trotskyists remained what they always were, uncompromising defenders of the first workers' state in spite of the Stalinist regime, and opponents

of the Stalinist regime because its policies have helped to undermine the defense of the Soviet Union.

"They attempted to wreck the development of unity among the Chinese people," the leaflet continues.

In fact, the Chinese Trotskyists have bravely fought and died in the struggle against the Japanese invaders, have urged the Chinese masses to adopt the revolutionary policy which would drive Japanese imperialism out of their country.

These charges against them come furthermore from the Stalinists who signed a non-aggression pact with Japan less than a year ago, recognizing Japan's conquest of Manchukuo, and virtually giving the go-ahead signal to Japan in China.

"They made common cause with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini in the destruction of the Spanish Republic. They helped torpedo the French Popular Front Government, thus paving the way for Hitler's bandit armies."

This lie about "paving the way" for Hitler comes from the Stalinists who supported the People's Front that suppressed and demoralized the French working class and destroyed the workers' power that could have defeated Hitler; from the Stalinists whose GPU agents murdered the Spanish revolutionists, collaborated with the Spanish capitalists to put down the revolution in blood and made easier the victory of Franco.

Stalinism fears free discussion in the labor movement just as it fears democracy in the Soviet Union, and it is ever on the lookout for opportunities to destroy its working class opponents by slander, incitations to mob violence and outright assassination.

The Stalinist lynch campaign is not confined to the Trotskyists alone. They have accused Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party of wanting "the defeat of the United States in the fight against Hitler"; they have accused Louis Nelson, manager of Knitgoods Local 155 of the I.L.G.W.U., of carrying on "fifth column activities" and following an "anti-U. S." line; they have charged Harry Lundeberg, leader of the AFL seamen's union, with being "anti-democratic" and of sabotaging the war program. And by their declaration that "strikes help Hitler," it is easy to see that they are prepared to extend these slanders to every force in the working class that wants to protect the interests of the workers in the war.

Stalinism is the syphilis of the labor movement. Just as the spread of syphilis is not checked by "not speaking about it," so will Stalinist lynch campaigns not be checked by an ostrich policy, which makes them bolder and gives them the opportunity to finish off their opponents one by one. The labor movement—to protest its independent existence, its struggle for better conditions, its freedom of speech, its right to differ with the policies of the Communist Party—must speak up now and conduct an all-out fight against the lynch provocations of the Stalinists.



## The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

An Associated Negro Press dispatch from Washington, D. C., reports that the people of the Virgin Islands, United States possessions west of Puerto Rico, have been "excused" from the draft. The islands are in the vicinity of recent enemy submarine action in the West Indies area, they have a total area of 133 square miles, and a population of 25,000, of whom 95% are Negroes. The A.N.P. report declares that the official policy is: "We don't want colored natives armed and able to shoot." *The Black Dispatch*, Negro paper published in Oklahoma City by Roscoe Dunjee, leading Negro Democrat, has a headline over the story which says "Army Doesn't Want Colored Natives Armed Because They May Turn Guns Around." This should settle once and for all the idea that there is some fundamental difference between the attitude of the British Empire toward its colonial subjects, and the attitude of the American government toward its colonial subjects.

From the Workers Defense League Press Service: "Governor Colgate Darden of Virginia reports that he is receiving 50 to 75 letters a day requesting a stay of execution for Odell Waller, condemned Negro sharecropper, whose case is being appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court by the Workers Defense League." Among the unions which have asked the Governor to grant a stay of execution for Waller so that his case may be heard by the Supreme Court, and which have contributed to the Waller defense fund are locals and joint boards of the International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, Hosiery Workers, American Federation of Teachers, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, etc.

Waller is scheduled to die March 20 because he defended himself against his white landlord in a dispute over his landlord's refusal to give Waller's family their share of the crop. This does not give the defense movement enough time to properly prepare its case for presentation to the Supreme Court. If you belong to a union or any other kind of organization, bring the Waller case up this week and have them pass a resolution asking Governor Darden, Roanoke, Va., to postpone the date of execution. If you want to read more about the Waller case, ask the W.D.L., 112 E. 19th St., New York, to send you a copy of its pamphlet, "All for Mr. Davis."

One of the things pretty much overlooked about the Detroit housing "riot" is the responsibility of the federal government itself. True, the city administration was partly to blame; the police force was partly to blame; the federal housing authorities, by their vacillation, and their willingness to co-operate with the Jim Crow landlords and the Ku Klux Klan, were partly to blame. But don't forget that what was behind this "riot" was the idea dear to the hearts of Jim Crow and Judge Lynch that Negroes must be segregated from whites. The official policy of the federal government as expressed in most of its departments is to uphold this system of segregation. For example, the government won't let Negro soldiers serve in the same regiment as white soldiers, it won't let Negro sailors, segregated to the kitchen, sleep in the same room with white sailors, etc. And so far as housing goes, in most cases even in the north, it won't let Negroes live in the same federal housing project as whites; it follows the policy of setting up lily-white and all-Negro projects. Is there anyone who doubts that the Ku Kluxers and their followers are encouraged by such policies?

A couple of weeks ago President Roosevelt said that he is opposed to the poll tax and always has been. Now he has the chance to prove it. A bill sponsored by Pepper of Florida would abolish the poll tax as a requirement for election of federal officials. It is not a very good bill; it would still leave the state governments in the control of the poll-taxers. But it's a bill by which we can judge whether Roosevelt meant what he said. Because when Roosevelt really is for a bill, he fights for it, he tells his congressional spokesmen he wants that bill passed, he puts pressure on congressional committees, he issues statements to the press, he delivers fireside chats. That's how he used to act before the war when he wanted a war measure or appropriation passed. Then on the other hand when he is not interested, Roosevelt can be as silent as the Sphinx — as for example, when it comes to an anti-lynching bill.

The Pepper bill is supposed to come before the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee hearings, scheduled to begin March 12. Hundreds of trade unions and Negro organizations are letting the Committee know by telegram and resolution that they want the bill brought to the floor of Congress and passed. Roosevelt will show by his action — or his silence — this week how truthful was his statement last month.

The U. S. Navy is still as strong as ever. . . in its determination not to use Negroes in any department but the kitchen. Only last week the Navy Department let a reporter know that it has not retreated an inch. . . on this question. Evidently the Navy brass hats will fight to the bitter end. . . against equality and democratic treatment for Negroes on ships.

The new Negro paper, *The People's Voice*, published in Harlem by City Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr. and Charles P. Buchanan, is a hard-hitting addition to the ranks of Negro journalism. It takes a forthright position on the trade union movement, and declares that "This is a working class paper." It promises, "We cannot be bought, we will not be sold." We reserve fuller discussion of *The People's Voice* for a future issue of THE MILITANT.

## The 59th Anniversary of The Death of Karl Marx

By HARRY FRANKEL

March 14 marks the anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. The fifty-nine years that have passed since that event have offered nothing but the most explicit confirmation of the correctness of his views. His explanation of the laws that govern the operation of the capitalist system, and his prediction of its breakdown serve to this day as the foundation for the program of the advanced workers' movement throughout the world.

Why was Marx able to build a structure so secure as to weather the storms of the fierce decades which have passed since his time? The answer is found in his scientific approach to historical questions.

Obscurantists of the bourgeois universities delight in telling us that social sciences are not really exact sciences in the same way as mathematics or physics. This assertion is interpreted in such a way as to relieve these gentlemen of all necessity to apply scientific methods to the study of history and to substitute for them every sort of witchcraft, chicanery, and idealistic hocus-pocus. But Marx and those who followed him took another path. His scientific methods enabled him to discover the basic laws of development in human history.

### ALLIED HIMSELF WITH THE WORKING CLASS

In his early years Marx rose to the summit of German bourgeois ideology. Having mastered that school, and basing himself on the lessons he learned in it, he began to see how every problem led for its solution directly to the revolutionary class of modern society, the working class.

Once he had allied himself with that class, he was able to begin the great work which resulted in the synthesis of the best conclusions of German philosophy, English classical economics, and French history.

But Marx was no mere cloistered student, content to stew all his life in his own academic juices. As he himself always pointed out, his theory was not meant to be a dogma, but a guide to action.

Frederick Engels, Marx's comrade for almost forty years, explained this as he spoke at the grave of his friend. His words are a firm answer to all those who would seek to transform him into "a harmless icon":

### WHY MARX WAS HATED. . . AND RESPECTED

"For Marx was above all a revolutionary, and his great aim in life was to co-operate in this or that fashion in the overthrow of capitalist society and the state institutions which it has created, to co-operate in the emancipation of the modern proletariat, to whom he was the first to give a consciousness of its class position and its class needs, a knowledge of the conditions necessary for its emancipation. In this struggle he was in his element, and he fought with a passion, tenacity

and success granted to few . . .

"And therefore Marx was the best-hated and most-slandered man of his age. Governments, both absolutist and republican, expelled him from their territories, whilst the bourgeois, both conservative and extreme-democratic vied with each other in a campaign of vilification against him. He brushed it all to one side like cobwebs, ignored them and answered only when compelled to do so. And he died respected, loved and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers from the Siberian mines, over Europe and America to the coasts of California, and I make bold to say that although he had many opponents he had hardly a personal enemy."

"His name will live through the centuries and so also will his work."

### THE ATTITUDE OF THE OPPORTUNISTS

Max Eastman is well-known as a man who deserted the hard life of the revolutionary movement for more lucrative employment as the lapdog and court-buffon of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This honorable gentleman remarked recently in one of his learned dissertations on socialism that Marx was a failure, and had to be supported all his life like a baby. In this smug thrust is contained the whole essence of philistine degeneracy. Political Babbitts of Eastman's variety are always concerned first of all with their own personal gain, and the safety of their worthless hides. They look with



Karl Marx

mistrust and suspicious hatred upon all those fearless revolutionists who suffer privation and persecution for the sake of their ideas.

When he was alive Marx had to put up with similar gibes and insults. There were not a few Eastmans then to whom politics was a business in which the politician's first effort must be to feather his own nest. There were those, then, as now, who judged every theory by its market value.

Marx never saw things that way. He sought, first of all, to understand society as it actually was, and having understood it, to work for its progressive transformation. There is no fortune to be earned that way, and he never earned a fortune. He earned instead, the everlasting gratitude of the millions of oppressed who have flocked to his program, and the millions more who will come to it.

For a man like Marx, this was enough!

## Why Philippine Masses Have Not Been Rallied To Support Of War

By C. CHARLES

Could the Philippine Islands have been successfully defeated against the Japanese? The military experts say no; President Roosevelt in his radio speech of Feb. 23 said no. All that could be expected, according to them, was a delaying action.

This is not true. Nothing else could have happened as long as the masses of the Philippine people were not rallied to the fight. But if the masses had been rallied, the picture in the Philippines would be entirely different today from what it is.

The news dispatches attempt to give the impression that great numbers of Filipinos are aiding the United States forces in the Philippine Islands. This is a deliberate misrepresentation. Only a very small part of the population of the islands is supporting General MacArthur.

Just as the hated British exploiters could not get any support from the Malayan people in the struggle between Great Britain and Japan, so, for the most part the United States has been unable to get real support from the great masses of the Filipinos. The reason is that they know the truth about American imperialism.

### UNDER U. S. RULE

Long before the outbreak of the war between Spain and the United States in 1898, the Filipinos were in armed revolt against Spain for their national independence. The United States, upon declaring war, offered a united front to the Filipino insurrectionaries against Spain, which was accepted.

When the Spaniards surrendered, the Filipinos demanded their independence, this time from the United States. In reply, the American troops turned their rifles against their former allies. After a bloody war against the Filipinos, the domination of the United States was established.

More than 40 years have passed. What have been the results of American rule?

Fifty per cent of the people cannot read or write. The death rate on the islands is twice as high as that in the United States. One cannot walk through the terrible slums of Manila without hearing tubercular coughing on all sides. Tuberculosis, a disease of malnutrition, is rife in Manila.

The wages of the industrial urban workers, the "aristocracy" of labor, are 50 cents a day.

In the rural areas the sharecropper is lucky if \$1 a week passes through his hands. They do not get enough food to nourish themselves adequately.

### CONDITIONS OF THE PEASANTS

The average tao (peasant) suffers from roundworms and hookworms that drain his strength. But these are not the only parasites he supports. He lives under a cacique (landlord) system. Half the crop goes to the cacique. The feudal status on the land has been unchanged from the days of Spanish rule.

The tao is perpetually in debt. He has to borrow from the landlord at usurious rates often run-

ning to 100% in order to exist until the harvest. He then sells the crop at low harvest prices in order to pay his debts. Soon he must inevitably go into debt again.

The landless rural worker, employed in the sugar, rice, copra, tobacco and hemp fields, earns from 15 cents to 30 cents a day. His hours are from sunrise to sunset.

The workers and peasants are in constant revolt against these conditions. Militant strikes have taken place. Workers' and peasants' organizations have spread throughout the country.

To keep down the labor and peasant movement, all the internationally known tricks, are tried, from company unions to company-controlled towns where union leaders and organizers are slugged—if a worse fate does not overtake them.

The governor of the rice and sugar raising province of Pangasinana, organized a fascist society. This province was the center of the peasant and rural worker movement, which was strongly dominated by socialist ideas. The hiredlings of the governor, working in close collaboration with the constabulary, were

unable to make the workers and peasants desert their organization.

### PROFITS FOR CAPITALISTS

Under these economic conditions it is easy to understand how huge fortunes have been built by American investors, and to a lesser extent, the Spaniards. For example, American and Spanish capital, invested in the sugar interests has been consistently earning 20 per cent profit per year.

The Philippines imported \$100,000,000 in goods from the United States in 1939. In that year the islands were the fifth most important customer of the United States.

As is usually the case in the colonies and semi-colonies, the foreign exploiters have developed racial ideas akin to Hitler's.

The great masses of the Filipinos are considered racial inferiors by the wealthy Americans and Spaniards; even the upper classes of the Filipinos are not permitted in certain clubs reserved for whites.

Imperialism means hunger, disease and insult for the Philippine masses but for the American investors and Wall Street it means super-profits. Is it any wonder these investors oppose independence for the Philippines?

The movement for Philippine independence, now more than 50 years old, met the stubborn resistance of the American government up to 1934 when independence was finally promised for 1946. Even so, certain reserva-

tions were to be maintained, such as continuing military forces on the islands.

Independence was promised only because certain interests in competition with the products of the Philippines—such as the American and Cuban sugar interest—wanted the Philippine products subject to tariffs.

So it was not the democratic right of every nation to govern itself, but the argument of dollars which won the promise of freedom for the Philippines.

In the face of such a record and such hypocrisy, is it not understandable why the Philippine masses are apathetic to the war between the United States and Japan, why they feel it is not their war?

That which a capitalist government could not and cannot do, only a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States would do. Such a government would not be interested in exploiting other peoples but in raising the standards of living not only of their own people but of all nations. Such a government would establish a fraternal alliance with the masses of the present colonies and semi-colonies against imperialism and fascism.

Such a Workers and Farmers Government would be the only guarantee for the independence for the Philippine nation, which under imperialism is destined only to subjugation by one or the other of the large imperialist powers.

### Judge Refuses To Quash Writ Of 544-CIO

MINNEAPOLIS — At the hearing on Local 544-CIO's writ of certiorari asking a review of the Blair decision, held March 7 in Ramsey County District Court Judge McNally denied a motion by Tobin's attorney to quash Local 544-CIO's writ.

Judge McNally announced that on March 26 he would hear arguments on the merits of the Blair decision. Alfred Blair is Governor Stassen's former state labor conciliator who, last fall, ruled that the Minneapolis drivers belonged to Tobin and denied their drivers their democratic right to an election. Local 544-CIO and the Minneapolis drivers are challenging the crooked Blair decision.

them. If there are any Negroes who are faced with discrimination and bow down without a fight, they are helping to weaken the struggle of labor everywhere, and hurting themselves.

Negroes had to threaten to march on Washington before the Executive Order was issued. If you want to see the order carried out, you in turn will have to lead a wholehearted march on the plants you are discriminated against in!

A FLINT AUTO WORKER

## AMERICA AFTER THE WAR -- GOLDEN FUTURE OR CHAOS?

### Professor Hansen Discusses Post War Problems in a Pamphlet of the National Resources Planning Board

By A. ROLAND

The mirage is not exclusively a desert phenomenon. A passing good imitation of the man dying of thirst in the desert who sees what looks like the saving oasis just ahead, is the capitalist economist. Past and present history present a searing experience of economic anarchy and crisis. The second World War is but the natural, inevitable consequence of capitalist anarchy of production. Yet the apologists of the present social system look ahead and dream of its golden future.

This is the vision seen by Professor Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard University. He writes the second in a series of pamphlets issued by the National Resources Planning Board, this one called "War and Post-War Aims." It strives to comfort those who fear the aftermath of the war. Hansen admits that everybody expects a post-war economic collapse. But this need not be at all, at all. "We have to make up our minds as a Nation that we will not permit a post-war depression to overwhelm us." Everything depends "upon our intelligence and capacity for cooperative action."

We shall not permit the professor to discourage us right here. It is true that one might well ask just why our intelligence and capacity for cooperative action should have grown suddenly at this stage of things when capitalism is being pounded to pieces like a wrecked ship on the rocks. The question really at issue is: what shall we do with our new-found intelligence? Hansen gives his program. We must build a "full employment" society.

The picture of this society presented by the professor is completely lacking in conviction. Nothing is to be changed, and yet everything will change! Free enterprise (otherwise called the profit system), freedom for collective bargaining between employers and employees (but without allowing wages to go too high!), freedom for this and freedom for that are all to be retained, lord be thanked. The government must not be permitted to run the whole show. We want no totalitarian state. But—"It is the responsibility of government to do its part to insure a maintained demand."

### Role of the State

This is the modern theory of the sur-realist economists. The state is to be the balance-wheel in capitalist economy. When business blows hot and threatens to overheat itself, the government must blow cold; when business gets cold and threatens to freeze up, it must supply heat. All that the "planned economy" of this timid soul comes down to, is that the government must so use its financial power as to stimulate business when depression threatens, and discourage inflation when the boom is on.

The professor might just as well have raised the slogan: Long live economic anarchy! He dare not analyze or touch the fundamental process of production under capitalism, the exploitation of the workers for the sake of profits. That is to go on unchecked except for the secondary regulation by the government. The thesis of government responsibility to act as balance-wheel is nevertheless an admission of the fundamental anarchy of this whole system. By acting as they please, pursuing their "free enterprise," the owning class produces chaos which must be straightened out by the state.

The capacity for cooperation that the professor refers to is not social cooperation. It is class cooperation of the capitalists, their cooperation with their own government in its attempts to correct the constantly-unstable situation brought about by the individual and monopoly capitalists. There is not one aspect of the future "democratic" society pictured by the National Resources Planning Board that calls on the working class to do anything but go on working docilely for wages.

But will they be able to earn wages? Will the government be able to control the situation at the end of the war? The pamphlet before us fails utterly to be reassuring. It is forced to consider the demobilization of armies, the shut-downs of defense industries, unemployment, deflation, bankruptcies, hard times. The other possibility of a short post-war boom to make up for the shortages of all kinds of consumers' goods, also carries with it the threat of a short post-war inflation later to end in depression.

The argument that the government can act to stabilize the post-war economy comes down to an analogy. "We have seen how it is possible to mobilize the productive capacities of the country for war." That same argument was used in the last war. Its value may be judged by the history of our times after the first world war. But one must analyze even this uncritical assertion. The real mobilization of industry for carrying on the most dangerous war of all

history, has been hamstrung at every turn by monopoly capitalism. The United States cannot mobilize its full productive forces under capitalism. However a certain amount of "war socialism" is mandatory in modern war. The very fact that this war socialism is confined and limited as it is, by the fear of the capitalists of government control, is the guarantee that it will be swept away the moment the war is over.

### "Full Employment for All"

Hansen sets up the aim for the war and the period after the war of full employment for all. We have had an excellent example of the government's desire and ability to follow this aim in its handling of the workers thrown out of employment due to industrial change-over from peace to war production. It was recognized that these workers would be unemployed for only a brief time, since the demand for labor would become greater with every month of speeded-up war production. Yet Congress refused to set aside the comparatively small sum requested for these unemployed.

All that Hansen's program comes down to is a pious wish, the wish that the one hundred billion dollar national income level reached during the war boom, will somehow or other be maintained after it is all over. The demand for the things of life is surely there to make this possible. There is plenty of work to do. "We need improved manufacturing equipment to produce more and better goods at lower prices. We need to carry on extensive research in the laboratories of our great private corporations, in our universities, and in Government bureaus to create new products and develop new processes. We need—to rebuild America. We need—"

If needs and demand in human terms of need translated themselves automatically into production, as is basically assumed by the rationalizing professor, then nothing else would be necessary. But the capitalist system has never produced for human needs, but for capitalist profits. These profits depend not only on the national market, but on world economy as a whole. This fact is not even mentioned in the report. It assumes that somehow planning for "full employment" is possible solely on a national scale. The imperialist war gives the lie to all forms of "autarchy." Capitalism seeks salvation from decay and from the slow but sure strangling of the productive forces, by fighting for an expansion of its markets abroad.

### The Specific Proposals

The futility of Hansen's kind of thinking for the salvation of a doomed system is shown in the final policies he proposes for bringing about a "high consumption economy." It is incredible that such third rate stuff and nonsense should be dignified by the printing, even by a subservient government. During the war, he proposes high corporate-income and excess-profits taxes, sharply progressive estate taxes, broadening of individual income-tax base, sharp increase of excise taxes on commodities competing with the war program, part payment of wages and salaries in defense bonds, qualitative shift in the components of consumption.

The real pay-off comes in his proposals for the post-war period. Here the defense of monopoly capitalism becomes obvious. The burdens of the war are to be placed on the backs of the masses. He wants the retention of graduated taxes on income and the broadened tax base, "with major emphasis on the individual income tax and less reliance on the corporate income tax," adequate plans by private enterprise for private investment projects in manufacturing plant and equipment, in railroads, public utilities and housing, a program of public-improvement projects, expansion of public welfare, and "international collaboration" for foreign investment, "to explore developmental projects in backward countries," for the promotion of world trade and effective world-wide use of productive resources.

No, professor. You and your kind are interested not in raising the living standards of the masses, but in preserving intact the system of monopoly capitalism. To preserve that system, with all its wretchedness for the masses, you are willing to lower the standards of living of the working class. But the application of your pills and plasters will do the sick system no more good than would the incantations of a tribal medicine-man. The second world war is part of the death agony of the capitalist form of society. There is no remedy for it. Civilization cannot go on unless it passes over and beyond this form to a new form of society, to socialism. Then only will human intelligence and the capacity to cooperate be given a real chance.



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### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## Trade Union Wages For The Soldiers

A bill to raise the meager pay of enlisted privates and non-commissioned officers in the armed forces was reported favorably on March 4 from the Senate Military Affairs Subcommittee.

This action in the Senate brings to the fore the whole question of the soldiers' pay—a question of vital concern to organized labor.

Army privates are now receiving \$21 and \$30 a month, wages generally recognized as scandalous, and about which there is reported dissatisfaction among the rank-and-file of the armed forces.

The employers are seeking to turn this justified dissatisfaction into hostility toward organized labor. Concealing the truth about the billions in war profits which the government is pouring into the coffers of the corporations, the reactionaries are spreading the lying propaganda that the workers, whose living standards are being sliced daily by rising prices, are living off the fat of the land at the expense of the soldiers who must do the fighting and dying.

The employers are being aided in this vicious campaign by anti-labor officers and members of native fascist organizations operating within the armed forces.

Organized labor cannot close its eyes to the sinister implications of this situation. This propaganda must be counteracted. It can only be counteracted when the unions demonstrate that they are the best defenders of the interests of the soldiers.

The program of the reactionaries is to pit the soldiers against the workers and to drag the wages of the workers down to the level of the soldiers.

Organized labor must advance the program of raising the pay of the soldiers up to the level of the trade union workers.

The trade unions must take the lead in demanding that the Senate bill to increase the pay of enlisted men be extended to include all the rank-and-file of the armed forces, who today are predominantly drafted.

The trade unions must demand, furthermore, that the pay be raised to adequate level. The proposed Senate bill would establish a base pay of \$42 a month for "rookies" and \$48 for privates first class. This is scarcely commensurate with even the lowest wage standards in this country.

Who will dare deny that the soldiers are entitled to decent pay? The slogan of organized labor, therefore, must be: Pay the soldiers trade union wages!

## Another Relief Bill Is Turned Down

Congress has voted \$145 billion for war without the blink of an eye-lash. But Congress has refused to vote one nickel for relief for hundreds of thousands of war-made unemployed.

The Deficiency Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee on March 10 rejected the administration's request for a \$100,000,000 appro-

priation to be expended through WPA for unemployment relief.

This callous treatment accorded the workers is as much the responsibility of the administration as of Congress. Two months ago President Roosevelt conceded the problem was so acute as to require up to \$600,000,000. A few days later, after a little conference with reactionary congressional leaders, he was "persuaded" to reduce his request to \$300,000,000. And when this was tossed into the waste basket, he meekly submitted a bid for \$100,000,000, a sixth of his original request, and not enough to supply even meager relief for one month.

Where is the compelling voice of Roosevelt blasting the "Tories" on this issue? Where is the wrath of the "New Deal" to pillory the "economic royalists" who today would condemn the jobless to starvation? That voice is a timid whisper; there is no longer enough political capital to be made from "New Deal" demagoguery.

And where is the demanding voice of the union leaders? CIO President Philip Murray told the Deficiency Subcommittee that there are already between 750,000 and 1,000,000 workers laid-off due to "unplanned conversion of war production"—that is, due to the complicity and greed of the monopolies. Yet he issues no call to union action. He merely whines for crumbs before the political representatives of the monopoly interests responsible for the war-made unemployment.

The union ranks, who are feeling the pinch more acutely each day, must make a holler loud enough to shake the roof of the Capitol. They must put a red-hot prod to Murray and the other union leaders and compel them to stop wringing their hands piteously before Congress and lead a campaign for adequate relief that will get results—and pronto!

## Military Training

Local union groups, notably the CIO in Harris County, Texas, are reported to be seeking the establishment of organizations of workers "along military lines," according to a Washington dispatch in the *New York Times*, March 8, and have asked the Office of Civilian Defense to assist them in securing military equipment and training.

Regardless of the immediate motivations for these moves—the workers give various objectives in which we are not interested—we support the efforts of union workers to secure military training. We believe that every worker able to bear arms should receive such training.

In a period such as this, when all great issues are being decided arms in hand, the workers should be prepared to defend themselves on every plane, including the military. Fascism, of the home-grown as well as the imported variety, talks only the language of force. The workers must be ready and able to answer that language or pay the consequences in slavery.

To be sure, the bosses will not favor the idea of military training for the workers. The *Times* story reports that at a recent meeting of union officials with Director of Civilian Defense Landis, it was pointed out by a union spokesman that bosses have opposed the organization of workers even into plant air-raid precaution corps because "management was afraid that in some cases the workers would get too much power."

Bosses who are less fearful of fascism than of the workers getting "too much power", and boss-minded officers who hold similar views, are certainly not the ones to control military training of the workers. They would control it not in the workers' interests, but in the interests of reaction.

Therefore, if the workers demand military training, as they should, they must at the same time demand that it be under the control of their own organizations, the trade unions.

These local demands for military training for the workers reflect a sentiment which organized labor generally should support and encourage. These demands must be adopted as part of the program of the entire union movement and should include the program advocated by THE MILITANT, that the government provide funds and equipment for military training of the workers under trade union control.

## Taxes and Profits

The new tax bill proposed by Morgenthau on behalf of the administration asks an average overall increase in income taxes of 60 per cent. He wants the lower income brackets—the workers earning from \$750 to \$2500 a year—to pay a 100 per cent increase in their taxes. This means that the rich, the corporation heads, the war profiteers, etc., will be asked to pay far less than a 100 per cent increase in theirs.

A few days after he made this proposal, the Department of Commerce came out with a report that showed that from 1940 to 1941 "net income of incorporated business... increased by as much as 31 per cent, from \$5,500,000,000 to \$7,200,000,000, even after the payment of a substantially augmented tax bill."

During the period from 1940 to 1941, rising prices ate away the small wage increases that the labor movement was able to secure in some cases, and sharply reduced the standard of living of most unorganized workers.

The reply of the workers to Morgenthau and the administration must be: The workers' living standards are too low now. Let the corporations and the capitalists who are making profits out of the war such as they never made before, pay for the war!

## Workers Will Honor Tom Mooney As A Great Labor Martyr

Tom Mooney, one of American labor's greatest martyrs, died on March 6 in San Francisco from the effects of 22 years of prison hell at San Quentin Penitentiary, where American capitalism had sent him on framed-up charges of participating in the 1916 San Francisco Preparedness Day Parade bombing.

As a result of more than two decades of world-wide working class struggle to win his release, Mooney was permitted to enjoy three years of freedom before his death. He was released on Jan. 7, 1939 by a pardon from Governor Olson of California. But his body was broken by his long prison torture, and most of his last free years were spent on a hospital bed.

The frame-up and persecution of Tom Mooney was the direct outgrowth of the pro-war anti-labor drive of the West Coast employers prior to America's entry into the last war and was the opening gun of a brutal offensive against organized labor which spread throughout the country.

During the years of his imprisonment, Mooney came to symbolize to the class-conscious workers of America and the world not just an isolated instance of a miscarriage of justice, but a living embodiment of the cruelty and injustice of American capitalism.

### HOW MOONEY WAS FREED

Mooney's innocence had been clearly established from the moment of his arrest. Every piece of "evidence" used to convict him was proved to be framed and manufactured. Those who testified against him were perjurers, as they themselves later confessed.

President Wilson was forced to commute his original sentence of death to life imprisonment in 1918 as a result both of world working class protest—including demonstrations of the revolutionary Russian workers—and the timsy character of the case against him.

The American labor movement tried every legal means to obtain his freedom. But though even a U. S. Supreme Court decision, while denying jurisdiction in the case, admitted the shady character of Mooney's prosecution, the powerful American capitalist class, through its courts and legal devices, continued to keep the prison doors closed and held his fate up as a grim threat to the working class. Had Tom Mooney been some capitalist swindler, the courts would have found a thousand legal loopholes to effect his release.

He was finally granted his freedom not from good-will, but because of the growing power of the American labor movement and the recognition by certain capitalist politicians that Mooney in jail would be a greater rallying figure for militant labor than Mooney out of jail. Moreover Governor Olson, who used the promise of Mooney's pardon as a campaign pledge, shrewdly made political capital out of the overwhelming sentiment for Mooney's freedom.

Mooney conducted himself before his capitalist persecutors with exemplary courage and fortitude. Not for a moment in the years of his imprisonment did he renounce his loyalty to the working class. He continued to defy his oppressors, refusing to accept his freedom on a parole which might have been interpreted as an admission of his own guilt and as an acquittal of guilt for his persecutors.

### SUCCUMBED TO STALINISTS

It must be stated as a sad fact however, that during the three years of his freedom Mooney failed to serve the working class



Tom Mooney

as he had in the past. He succumbed to the reactionary virus of Stalinism, and permitted his deserved prestige among the workers to be exploited by this greatest scourge of the world labor movement. Under the guidance of the Stalinists, he ended up by calling for unity with those same reactionary capitalist forces which had framed him, broken his body and condemned him to 22 years of living hell.

Nevertheless, the American workers, considering his long years of martyrdom and loyal devotion to labor, will honor Mooney, the symbol of capitalist injustice, and forgive Mooney, the sick individual who in his declining days became a tool of Stalinism.

With characteristic hypocrisy the capitalist press which for years supported the conviction of Mooney, now freely admits his innocence. A *New York Times* editorial, March 7, smugly concedes that "he was kept long years in prison not because many people believed him guilty, but because he had become a political issue."

### THE TIMES' SLURS

Now, the ruling class would like the American workers to forget the Mooney case. The *Times* seeks to denigrate the memory of Tom Mooney by attacking his personality—"He had no great or engaging qualities. He just happened to be innocent"—and proclaims: "Tom Mooney: Case Dismissed."

But the working class will not dismiss the Mooney case. It will remember how Tom Mooney for 22 years demonstrated that greatest and most engaging of qualities—uncompromising loyalty to labor and unyielding defiance to the exploiters of labor. The working class will engrave the name Tom Mooney imperishably in its memory, along with the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, and all the long list of those whose suffering has epitomized the innate viciousness of capitalism.

No, the Mooney case is not closed so far as the working class is concerned. That case will not be dismissed until the capitalist system itself, which continues to breed its Mooney cases, has been dismissed forever by the final judgment of the proletariat.

## New York School Presents Cannon In Trotskyism Series

The second half of the winter term of the New York School of Social Science begins on Wednesday, March 18. It is featured by a series of six lectures on the History of Trotskyism in America, to be delivered by James P. Cannon, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the founders of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

The first lecture in the series will deal with the background of the Trotskyist movement in the Communist Party, the expulsion of the followers of Trotskyism and the founding of the Left Opposition and the Communist League of America.

The value of these lectures, delivered as they are by one of the leading participants in the events to be treated, cannot be overestimated by students of Marxian politics in this country. The lectures will begin promptly at 7:45 P.M. and will be held at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, New York. The fee will be \$1 for the series of six, or 25c for each individual lecture.

Following the Cannon series, on the same evening, will be a series on Modern American Capitalism conducted by C. Charles.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

By LEON TROTSKY

10 CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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## THE NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

Good-Bye, Tom Mooney!

Poor Tom Mooney is dead, the long crucifixion is ended and the martyr is taken down from the cross and laid away in his grave. "The case is closed," said the *New York Times*, in an editorial that was brief and neat and snug and smug. They are through with Tom Mooney and they are glad of it. Ah, yes, indeed, the case is closed, and well it is, for it had dragged out an unseemly time, the thread of the story had been lost and the grandeur of the long drama was bogged down in a soggy and pathetic anti-climax.

The Mooney case is closed! The case which mirrored American Justice as it really is; the case that broke from the grip of the frame-up gang and shot like a bolt of lightning from San Francisco to Red Petrograd in 1917, and then flashed around the world; the case that moved the hearts of millions; the Mooney case, with all its noble heroism, its unutterable tragedy and its shabby epilogue, is ended now. They buried Tom the other day in San Francisco where, if you stand on a high hill on a clear afternoon, you can see the sun go down to the sea in blazing glory behind San Quentin across the bay.

### The Funeral Was a

### Frame-up, Too

Even Tom Mooney's funeral was a frame-up and a tragedy. The dead body of the man who was buried alive because of his opposition to the first world war was held up as a sacrificial offering to the second. The "united" labor fakers officiated, and the services were patriotically dedicated to "unity for democracy." There was an ironic twist to this dedication which could not have been noticed by the dull-witted authors. God knows Tom Mooney's share of democracy was nothing to brag about. The services were concluded, reports the *Times*, with the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner"—a tribute, so to speak, to the flag which floated so proudly for 22 years over the prison which confined the rebel who was put there in the first place because he sang another song.

Mooney, in his pamphlet, "Tom Mooney Betrayed by Labor Leaders," referred to himself and Billings as "symbols of American class justice via the frame-up." And he was 100% correct. "Organized capital framed us," he said, and he accused "all major labor leaders with a few notable exceptions" of conspiring with his persecutors to keep him in jail. They imprisoned Mooney—as they imprisoned Debs and Haywood and hundreds of others—in order to clear the road of militant labor opposition to the first world war, and they kept him in prison for revenge and for a warning to others.

They are scheming to do the same thing over again, to other militants, in view of the present war, but there was no hint of this, to say nothing of a protest against it, at Mooney's funeral. That funeral service was a sacrilegious defilement of the cause for which Mooney fought and suffered; and a treacherous and hypocritical pretense that everything is rosy now. It was a field day for repudiation of the class struggle, and dedication to "unity" of the labor fakers with the oppressors and exploiters of labor.

### Everything Was Nice and Tame

Naturally, the tone and spirit of the old, long, militant fight of the workers for Mooney's freedom was absent from this macabre ceremony. An unruly "red mob," demonstrating before the American Embassy in Petrograd in 1917, saved Tom Mooney's life. The "labor leaders" deserted and betrayed him, but the

"Reds" remained his friends. They kept his cause alive and wrote his name on banners carried on every fighting picket line.

The funeral was a repudiation of all this rowdy stuff. "Unity" was the watchword there, says the dispatch of the *New York Times*, "instead of the vitriolic tirades which had marked many Mooney meetings in the past." Everything was nice and tame and circum-spect. Russian Bolsheviks shouting, "Mun! Mun!" before the American Embassy, and American militants denouncing "class justice" in turbulent demonstrations, would have been as much out of place on the platform at Mooney's funeral as the unkempt fishermen apostles of Christ at a Christian church service on Fifth Ave.

The *Times* beams complacently over the happy conclusion of the unpleasant business of the Mooney case. Trouble of this kind belongs to the past. Nobody was to blame. "In twenty-six years much water has gone over the dam. Labor and the employer are closer to understanding each other." The Mooney case was just one of those things.

It was all a misunderstanding, it seems; perhaps a tragic misunderstanding. Anyway, it was a bit tragic for Mooney, you will have to admit, if you remember back. Twenty-two years are quite a stretch. In fact, when you take them out of a man's life you don't leave him much. And that is the saddest, the most heart-rending part of the case of Tom Mooney. When they finally got around to pardoning him three years ago it soon became apparent that they hadn't left him anything of his old self.

### Wasn't His Old-Self Any More

The fine strong body of the young iron molder which they locked up in 1916 was shot to pieces when they finally turned him loose in 1939. All but six months of his three years of freedom were spent, flat on his back, in a hospital bed. Also, his mind, under all the batterings and shocks and disappointments it had suffered, had lost its razor edge and its fine sense of discrimination.

In his confusion he mixed himself up with the Stalinists. From such an association no man, not even Tom Mooney, could emerge wholly clean, for it is written that "he that toucheth pitch shall be defiled therewith." He played ball with the Stalinists and they used him for their purposes. Thus, the magnificent book of Tom Mooney's life closed with a dirty and ugly chapter.

Let us try to forget that, and remember the lion-hearted fighter in his prime; remember him as he so often, and so proudly and so truly described himself, as "a symbol of militant labor." That he was, in fact, throughout the endless years of his martyrdom.

Good bye, Tom. Rest easy. You are entitled to it. In due time everything will be made right. Those who crucified you still sit in the seats of power, more arrogant than ever. They are gaily organizing another slaughter for profit and pelf, and their dirty labor agents at your own funeral mocked the cause for which you suffered. But the day of reckoning will come. The young generation of revolutionary militants, inspired by the memory of Tom Mooney—the rebel Tom Mooney, the real Tom Mooney—who turned away from this ghastly spectacle with a bitter curse, will avenge your long martyrdom, nobly borne. And they will avenge your funeral, too. They will yet dig up your bones and bury them over again properly, with a ceremony—and a song—they deserve.

J. P. C.

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