

FDR, CONGRESS SEEK TO FREEZE WAGES

MAY DAY MANIFESTO Of The Socialist Workers Party

Fellow-Workers of the United States—

Today is May Day, which for more than half a century has been the international holiday of the working class, dedicated to the world brotherhood of those who toil. It is the third May Day of World War II; and within the last three decades this is the seventh May Day which comes amid universal slaughter. That is the kind of world the capitalist rulers have made — a world in which the flower of each generation is sent to its death. May Day is dedicated to ending that world and bringing a world of peace and plenty — the world of socialism.

In the name of "national unity," the traditional May Day parades and demonstrations have been called off this year by the trade union, "socialist" and Stalinist leaders. Leaders of the same stripe did the same thing in all countries during the last war. But despite them, when the time ripened, May Day was celebrated as never before in history. Remember the trail blazed by Karl Liebknecht on May Day 1916, by Lenin and Trotsky on May Day 1917! That is our tradition. The only tradition those who call off May Day parades can point to is that of May Day 1940 in France, when the labor leaders observed "national unity" with Petain and Weygand — and a few days later the "democratic" generals and capitalists capitulated to Hitler, whom they now are serving.

No pressure will ever force us to agree to "national unity" with America's Sixty Families. For we are dedicated to destroying fascism and its capitalist roots, while Rockefeller's Standard Oil, duPonts' chemical trust and General Motors, General Electric and all the other international monopolies, are still doing business with the Nazis. Through their joint patent pool American Big Business plans at the end of the war to pay royalties to the Nazi capitalists on profits from munitions — yet Big Business and its political agents pretend to be fighting a war to destroy Nazism! They are no more fighting against fascism than a fight between two gangsters is a war against gangsterism.

At the Riom Trial, three years too late for the French workers to do anything about it, Daladier revealed how "the cartels did everything to hamstring the spreading out of defense orders among manufacturers throughout the country." Exactly the same thing is now happening here, with 56 big corporations corraling over 80 per cent of war orders, much of which they will not deliver for years to come, while tens of thousands of small plants are closing their doors. This is the kind of "national defense" provided by Big Business and the government subservient to it.

When the Senate committee investigating war production heard the facts about the Nazi-Standard Oil tieup, Senator Truman cried out that Big Business was guilty of nothing less than "Treason!" True enough. But this is merely the latest impotent whimper from the Truman Committee. The committee's reports for over two years have proved beyond refutation that war production is at the mercy of a gang of billionaire profiteers and their government agents. But neither the Truman Committee nor anybody else in the government or its supporters proposes any serious solution. At bottom the Truman Committee exposés are nothing but the complaints of small-time bosses who would like to change places with the big profiteers.

The working people of this country cannot leave their fate in the hands of any of these business and government groups. The workers must have their own program with which to conduct a serious struggle against fascism abroad and at home. As the first steps along this line we propose:

Wipe out the Nazi-Big Business patent pool — expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control!

Smash the anti-labor campaign of America's Sixty Families — down with all anti-union legislation! Demand the right to strike! Demand a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living!

The bosses' anti-labor campaign is being waged not only in civilian life but also in the army. By lying stories about fabulous wages in the war industries, blaming the workers for the lag in war production, brass-hat lectures about labor's "unwillingness to sacrifice," etc., the draftees are being incited against their fellow-workers. Unfortunately this vile campaign is meeting with some success, particularly because the trade unions have failed to take up the cudgels on behalf of the needs of the worker-soldiers. The unions must come forward for union wages for draftees, their right to hold meetings, their right to a trial by a jury of their fellows instead of by brass-hats, a moratorium on all debts owed by draftees, training camps financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, including special camps to train worker-officers. Therefore we raise the slogan:

For democratic rights for the men in the armed forces! For military training camps under control of the trade unions!

Labor with a white skin cannot be free so long as labor with a black skin is branded. The great contribution of the Negro workers to the growth of unionism — in Ford's and other auto plants, in the packing house plants, in the coal mines, in steel, etc. — is but the beginning of what can be done if the workers of all races firmly unite. That is why every white and Negro worker must speak out:

Against all forms of Jim Crowism! Equal rights for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries!

The rights of free speech, free press and free assembly must be vigilantly guarded above all in wartime. The most dangerous frameup engineered by the government so far against the labor movement is the Smith "Gag Act" conviction in Minneapolis of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO; symbolically enough they were sentenced the day war was declared. Many local unions are rallying to aid the appeal to the higher courts, but if this is not to stand as a dangerous precedent the whole labor movement must be united behind the defendants:

Free the class war prisoners and defend the Bill of Rights!

All these tasks which the workers must undertake are political tasks. Indeed, even the most elementary problems facing the workers now are political problems: wages and hours of labor and working conditions are no longer a matter between a group of workers and an individual boss but, as soon as the issue is raised, finds the government intervening through the War Production Board, War Labor Board, etc. Wage-freezing is a major political threat. "Pure and simple" trade unionism is hopelessly outdated. Moreover the major issues, including food-prices and food-rationing, require a united struggle of all the toilers, including tens of millions of workers as yet unorganized and the poor white-collar workers, against Big Business and its political agents. It is obvious that these tasks require more than the trade unions:

Organize an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions! An end to company unionism on the political field!

Far from telling the American workers to preoccupy themselves merely with so-called "American" problems, we are the first to call upon the workers here to fulfill their duties to the international working class.

Every worker loyal to his class must support the struggle of the Soviet Union against the Nazi invasion. Stalin's crimes should not blind the workers to the fact that the Soviet Union remains a Workers' State, which expropriated the Russian capitalists, nationalized the industries and the land, and thereby laid down the foundations for socialism. It is true that the USSR is today like a great trade union fallen into the hands of a degenerate bureaucracy; but that does not lessen for a moment our duty to defend the union against the bosses.

Likewise every worker must stand with the colonial and semi-colonial countries against their oppressors. China, oppressed for so long by all the imperialist powers, is now fighting a war of national liberation against Japan. We support China in spite of Chiang Kai-Shek's autocratic rule. India is now struggling for national independence against the British yoke. We support India. The struggles of the colonial peoples undermine imperialism and speed the socialist victory of the working class in the "mother" countries. Therefore:

Defend the Soviet Union against all the imperialist powers and against the Stalinist bureaucracy! Defend China and struggle for the complete independence of India and all the colonial peoples!

We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and the colonial countries on the one hand, and all the imperialist powers ("democratic" or fascist) on the other. The fact that the Soviet Union and China, which are fighting a progressive war, are allied to imperialist powers does not make the war of those imperialist powers a progressive one. When the 13 American colonies were fighting for their independence, they made an alliance with the feudal monarchy of France; but that did not make Louis XVI's fight against Britain a progressive one. To support Britain would be to betray the Indian people. To give political support to the government of America's Sixty Families would be to betray the real struggle against fascism.

Hitler's chief weapon today is not his army but the fear of the German masses that a defeat for Germany would repeat 1918: another and even worse Versailles Treaty, the post-war blockade and starving of Germany, the French occupation of the Ruhr, the economic strangulation of Germany, Anglo-French threats against the German labor movement if it moved toward socialism. In 1933 British and American Big Business, infinitely preferring Hitler to a workers' revolution in Germany, hailed Hitler as Germany's savior, gave him financial assistance to "stabilize" Germany; today their "democratic" threats of post-war "reconstruction" of Germany are even more valuable to Hitler than their previous financial aid. Day in day out Goebbels raises before the German people the spectre of the consequences of defeat. Nor would that situation change if the Anglo-American bloc now adopted a different set of war aims on paper. No matter what the "democratic" imperialists may say, what they have in store for a defeated Germany (not for Big Business, Nazi patent-partners but for the masses) is well understood by the German people. Hence if the "democratic" imperialists remain at the helm, Hitler has little fear of being overthrown so long as German defeat is not certain. That means that the war will last many more years — and its outcome not at all certain — if Britain and the United States remain under capitalist rule.

On the other hand, the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States would spell the end of Hitler. Such a government would provide a progressive way out for the German workers whom it would offer full equality in the Socialist United States of Europe and

Carlson Runs For Mayor On A Fighting Socialist Program

Opposes The Boss-O. K.'d Politicians

ST. PAUL, Minn. — When the voters of St. Paul go to the polls on April 28, the only candidate who will offer them a Socialist solution to the terrible problems which capitalism has placed before them is Grace Holmes Carlson, mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Carlson received a substantial vote in the March 10 primary election, increasing the Trotskyist vote over that obtained in the 1940 mayoralty race by 89 per cent.

This increase in Trotskyist support was obtained despite a 40 per cent DECREASE in the total vote cast. The primary vote this year was the lightest in the city's history, only 23 per cent of the registered voters going to the polls.

A heavier vote is anticipated in the April 28 final elections, and the Socialist Workers Party is asking the voters of St. Paul to write in the name of Grace Carlson for mayor. Comrade Carlson is well known in St. Paul as a militant socialist, especially since last autumn when as one of the Socialist Workers Party and CIO defendants in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, she was sentenced to 16 months in jail for advocating her ideas in violation of the notorious Smith "Gag Act." She is now out on bail, pending appeal.

Carlson is the only candidate in the campaign who has a program to protect the interests of the workers in the war, and to show

(Continued on page 6)



GRACE CARLSON, WHO SAYS:

"Because I have opposed imperialist war and because I have put forth the socialist solution to the problems of war and fascism, I and 17 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 world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

"I stand for international socialism; I am firmly pledged to the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

"The union of the workers will make the peace of the world. Workers of the world, unite!"

Labor Faces 'Voluntary' Pay Slashes

Union Leaders Show
Readiness to Make
Another Surrender

A Congressional Administration squeeze play to compel acceptance by organized labor of a "voluntary" wage-freezing agreement was put into motion this week.

The employers and their political agents are hotly pursuing the advantage they recently won through the week-end and holiday pay concession wrested from the trade union leaders.

Their main strategy of attack on wage standards is following the tested routine used in sending the union leaders into retreat on the right to strike, holiday pay, speedup, etc.

For weeks, Congress and the capitalist press have been paving the way for imposition of a wage-freezing agreement by threats of an all-out anti-labor legislative drive, scheduled to begin April 20.

As was to be expected, at the last moment President Roosevelt summoned his "war labor cabinet" of top AFL and CIO leaders and told them that if they would agree to "voluntary" wage-freezing through War Labor Board action, he would "persuade" Congress to withhold compulsory wage "stabilization" by law.

Then Roosevelt called in Senator Connally, sponsor of the Senate wage-freezing measure, and other Congressional leaders, and secured from them postponement of the anti-labor bills debate pending his message next Monday covering recommendations for wages, prices and profits.

So far as wages are concerned, (Continued on page 2)

the World. With the threat of another Versailles removed, and with the aid of an American revolutionary army, the German workers would soon put an end to Hitler and to the capitalist class which backed him.

Remember that, just before the "democrat" Hindenburg handed over the power to the Nazis, there were 13 million German workers who voted socialist and communist — that is the real tradition of the German masses!

A Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States would go all-out on behalf of its sister Soviet Union instead of secretly planning and hoping, as the "democratic" capitalists are, that the Soviet Union and Germany will mutually exhaust and leave each other helpless.

A Workers' and Farmers' Government would not only treat China as a real equal, but by its direct backing of independence for India would help transform the 400 millions of India from sullen slaves into a powerful ally against fascism and imperialism. These are the reasons why we appeal to the American workers:

For the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, which will put an end to fascism at home and abroad!

Our program is the only way out of this capitalist madhouse of unending slaughter. Our program is not a new one. It is the program of Lenin and Trotsky. They showed the way. Their program of peace through socialism worked in Russia and hastened the end of the first World War as the fearful capitalist classes dropped their own quarrels to band together against the first Workers' State. Against the whole capitalist world and the Russian White Guards subsidized by Winston Churchill, the young Soviet republic fought and survived but, exhausted and isolated, fell under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

A workers' revolution in Western Europe would have revived the Soviets in Russia and led to world socialism, but the treacherous policies of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists undermined the revolutionary possibilities. This terrible war is the price that the working class is paying for the failure to spread the socialist revolution from the Soviet Union to the rest of Europe. And a third, and a fourth war, and others until civilization is destroyed, will follow unless the workers put an end to capitalism.

We can, we must take the road out.

Against imperialist war! For peace through international socialism! For the international solidarity of all workers! For the Socialist United States of the World!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

MARITIME COMMISSION AIMS BLOW AT UNIONS

The shipowners-government offensive against the maritime unions made a giant sweep forward this week when the Maritime Commission chartered the entire American merchant fleet and announced that it will henceforth "direct every phase of its operation."

No longer will the unions be able to negotiate with the shipowners directly; instead they will face the situation where any defense of their union conditions will be denounced as a fight against the government. The shipowners will now nominally function as managing-agents for the government, although they will continue to receive the profits from the operations of their fleets. By turning the authority for the loading and dispatching of their ships over to the Maritime Commission, the operators have passed to the government their end of a running fight with the maritime unions.

This is the latest in the series of union-busting maneuvers carried out by the shipowners and government for the past year. Since Pearl Harbor, this campaign has been intensified, flaring into the open last week when Washington threatened the union seamen with the loss of their union hiring halls, abrogation of their union contracts and even mass induction into the Navy, where they would be deprived of all union rights and conditions.

These threats were embodied in a set of proposals put forth both by the Maritime Commission and by the Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union, CIO, who have been conducting secret negotiations to impose govern-

ment dictatorship over the maritime unions.

A UNITED FRONT

Faced with an imminent threat to their very existence, all the seafaring unions except the NMU, last week jointly mobilized their forces in Washington to oppose the operators' union-busting drive.

United against the shipowner-government-Stalinist proposals are the Atlantic Gulf District of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, and West Coast affiliate, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, AFL; the Marine Cooks & Stewards, CIO; Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders & Wipers, Independent; and the Masters, Mates & Pilots, AFL.

When their prompt and united opposition had apparently blocked the NMU-Maritime Commission proposals, the union representatives left Washington. The government then hastily announced the move it had been holding in reserve, the taking over of the merchant fleets.

This will place the unions in a position where the government will be able to crack down whenever it feels the time to be ripe. The move to rob the unions of their hiring halls and contracts is not being pressed at the moment, but reports from Washington indicate that the government is contemplating doing away with overtime pay and "excessive" bonuses, and plans to disregard the union contract provisions in determining labor conditions.

THE SQUEEZE PLAY

A triple squeeze play was used against the maritime unions: (1) Secretary of the Navy Knox (Continued on page 2)

Laval Returns To Power To Help The German War

Hitler Wants French Manpower, Resources And Fleet to Aid In His Spring Offensive

The most important political event since Petain took office in June 1940 has just taken place in France. Pierre Laval's return to power marks the beginning of a new period.

For several months all the world has known that "collaboration" was dead. Petain's interview with Goering at Saint Florentin last December accomplished nothing. In France people were saying: "Petain is the barometer of German successes." The German difficulties in the USSR gave Petain, within very narrow limits, a certain freedom of action. This freedom was reduced, in the final analysis, to doing nothing, that is, to taking an attitude of waiting instead of actively working for the building of Hitler's "new order."

But if the German difficulties permitted Petain to play for time, they at the same time drove Hitler to increase his demands. From these two contradictory tendencies come the present crisis and the return of Laval.

Hitler's position, although still strong, has become noticeably aggravated during the winter. Under existing conditions, how can he help but draw upon France's resources, her fleet, her colonies? The future forces him to try a grab for all this. When and at what tempo? That depends above all, on military events. But development in this direction is inevitable.

FRENCH WORKERS IN GERMANY

Information from Vichy and Berlin is confused and incomplete. It does seem, however, that the immediate cause of the crisis was the problem of the employment of French workers in Germany. The Petain government is reported to have refused to carry out a virtual mobilization of man power that would have placed 500,000 of France's best mechanics in German war industries. A German spokesman is reported to have mentioned, as the main consequence of the change: "German soldiers are fighting for civilization on the Eastern front; their comrades, the French workers,

in charge of German defenses along the whole Atlantic coast. The two events are not unrelated. Laval's return to power is clearly one of the German preparations for the spring offensive. The German demands will become more precise and will take shape according to military needs. From now on, Laval will undertake to purge and reinforce Petain's wavering administrative apparatus, and to increase the police terror which is forced upon the country. But the wave of violence which greeted the arrival of Laval shows another consequence, a new acceleration of the opposition to the regime of misery and oppression.

will now support their efforts on the home industrial front." When one sees Berlin's desperate attempts to find manual labor in all the European countries, this explanation is very plausible. But, of course, Laval's return has other objectives. One of the first consequences was the interruption of the Riom trial, which had been revealing the weakness of Vichy and which Hitler himself was forced to denounce in his March 15 speech. Military considerations seem to have played an equally important part. The possibility of a second front in western Europe, while the German armies are occupied in the East, visibly disturbs Berlin.

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They Still Do Business With Hitler

General Electric-Nazi Tieup Bared In Senate

General Electric, one of the biggest of the 56 monopolies which hold 80 per cent of the government's war contracts, has blocked the production of tungsten carbide in conformity with its patent-pooling agreement with the Krupp steel interests of Germany.

The facts about GE's cartel arrangement with the Nazi steel trust were disclosed last week to the Senate Patent Committee by John H. Lewin, special assistant to the Attorney General. Hardest metal known, tungsten carbide used as a cutting edge instead of steel would increase production in some instances as much as five times. Although last week scheduled to face anti-trust prosecution for the tungsten carbide situation, GE was able to secure a last-minute postponement of the trial through the intervention of the War and Navy Departments.

Co. and others would interfere with war production." According to the documentary evidence secured by the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, GE maintained prohibitive monopoly prices on tungsten carbide and held down its production in this country to an amount equal to five per cent of the German production. Carboly, a GE subsidiary, fixed the price as high as \$453 a lb., although it cost only \$25 a pound to produce. Tungsten carbide had been sold to this country by Germany, prior to the original 1928 agreement between GE and Krupp, for \$48 a pound. In the 12 years, after 1928, however, the price had not been below \$200. A further agreement was made between Krupp and GE in 1936. Krupp agreed not to sell to the American market, and GE not to export tungsten carbide. Through its patent monopoly, GE was then able to fix the price at a "figure

about one and a half times the value of a pound of gold," Lewin testified.

"Documentary evidence shows," Lewin also revealed, "that as late as December 1939, after the outbreak of the present war, the American companies were making plans to extend their agreement with Krupp's until after 1950." He further disclosed that GE's agreement to return patents to Krupp still "remains unimpaired."

A GE executive, Dr. Zay Jeffries, testified later and indignantly defended his company against charges of "unpatriotism" by pointing out that relations with Krupp were broken off "right after Pearl Harbor."

The First Sterling Steel Co. in 1940 was forced because of GE's patent license restrictions to charge the War Department \$8750 for a tungsten carbide order which it could have, filled for \$3375 at a "reasonable profit."

When GE was indicted a number of months ago for anti-trust law violations, its tungsten carbide prices dropped from \$205 to \$48 a pound.

Exposure of GE adds another to the long list of "patriotic" American trusts which have found it to their advantage to "do business with Hitler" while also profiting from the "war for democracy."

But these "patriots" run the war program. For instance, Philip Reed, chairman of GE's board, holds the key WFB post of head of the Bureau of Industry Branches in the Division of Industry operations.

DuPont Firm Agreed To Pay Nazi Royalties On U. S. Government's Ammunition

Remington Arms, subsidiary of E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., was revealed last week to have a patent pooling agreement with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie which includes an arrangement for paying royalties to the Nazi interests on ammunition sold the American government even in time of war.

As explained to the Senate Patent Committee by Allen Dobby special assistant to the Attorney General, Remington obtained the patents on tetracene from I. G. Farbenindustrie, on condition that it would not license the U.S. government to make this best type of ammunition priming without the consent of the German company.

Acting in accord with the demands of the British Imperial Chemicals company, which was in on the cartel deal, Remington also agreed not to sell tetracene to the British government, and would not permit its sale to the British Purchasing Commission seeking lend-lease aid.

Seventeen months after the war began, A. J. Greene, patent attorney for Remington, warned the A. C. Spark Plug Co., which wanted to use tetracene for machine gun priming, that it could not be used in "ammunition sold to the British Government or to any of the countries of the British Empire" because of Remington's agreement with I.G. Farbenindustrie.

Through their chemical trust and control of such corporations as General Motors, the duPont interests hold probably the largest share of the government war orders. They have a score of dollar-a-year agents connected with the War Production Board.

ATTENTION! ST. PAUL VOTERS

See Page 6 of this issue for the election platform of the St. Paul Socialist Workers Party; the text of Albert Goldman's radio speech of April 24 on behalf of Grace Carlson; a short biography of the Trotskyist candidate; and DIRECTIONS FOR VOTING.

FDR-Congress Aim To Freeze Wages--

(Continued from page 1) The New York Herald-Tribune, April 21, revealed that "the President is expected to issue a directive to the War Labor Board to grant no further wage increases unless the cost of living goes considerably higher."

The workers have already taken a 25 per cent indirect wage cut through war-induced price rises. Under Roosevelt's policy, the workers would be unable to get an adjustment for reductions already suffered. In addition, Roosevelt does not say how much higher prices would have to go before he would agree to pay increases, or whether the increases, if finally granted, would compensate for the total rise in the cost of living.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The MAY DAY article from Argentina arrived too late for publication in this issue. It will appear in the next issue.

ANOTHER RETREAT

That the top union leaders are prepared to accept such "voluntary" wage freezing is indicated by the CIO open letter sent April 21 to Roosevelt, in which Philip Murray and seven other leading CIO officials attack the idea of legislative wage-freezing and contend that wage increases are needed to counteract "spiraling living costs," but end up assuring Roosevelt that they are ready to leave the "matters of wages and other labor-management issues" up to "voluntary collective bargaining, to the War Labor Board and other existing agencies and processes."

Since the most decisive wage issues have been or are being dumped into the lap of the WLB, and since the Administration's program is authoritatively re-

ported to be wage-freezing by the WLB, the CIO statement adds up to just one thing: "voluntary" agreement to wage-freezing.

The latest issue of the AFL Weekly News Service, dated April 14, indicates that the AFL leaders are going to go down the line with Roosevelt's "stabilization" plan, and reveals its true character by stating that it "is not a 'freezing' plan which would make injustices permanent."

RECORD OF SURRENDER

The idea that another retreat by the union leaders, this time on the wage-freezing issue, will halt the present anti-labor drive, is a snare and a delusion.

Last December, the union leaders agreed to surrender the right to strike after Roosevelt had openly threatened anti-strike legislation and the House of Representatives had passed the notorious Smith "Save Labor" Bill.

No sooner was the no-strike agreement made than the clamor arose for legislation against the forty hour week and overtime pay. Roosevelt urged the union leaders to give up the established week-end and holiday double-time pay. Donald Nelson, WPB head, issued an ultimatum to labor to accept this demand within 30 days. The union leaders agreed to this.

Now the same squeeze play is being pulled again — and again the union leaders are preparing to retreat.

No argument of the union leaders can justify their course. The wage figures released this week by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are truly shocking, even to those who are familiar with the depressed wage levels in this country.

Over 25 per cent of the industrial workers in this country earned less than \$20 a week in December, 1941. Over 50 per cent earned less than \$30 a week.

At the same time, corporation profits have soared to a new high. And what Congress is contemplating doing about the astronomical war profits was shown this week, when the House abandoned its own feeble profits-limitation proposal and adopted the Senate measure which leaves the fixing of profits up to the government contracting agencies — the very agencies which have been permitting these monumental profits all along.

It must be stated and stated bluntly, that the workers are in danger of another shelling at the hands of the bosses — and right where it hurts most, the pay envelope — if the union leaders are permitted to retreat once more.

Labor is going to be cut to pieces inch by inch in the coming period if the workers do not decisively reject the surrender policy of the union leaders. The workers must reclaim the rights which the union officials have already tossed away, including the right to strike, and make a last-ditch militant stand against giving away any more of the gains they have won over so many decades of bitter struggle.

STANDARD'S PALS

"After all, Standard Oil is an international company," was the answer W. S. Farish, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, gave to the Truman Committee in justification of his company's mutually-advantageous conspiracy with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie.

There are, according to Assistant Attorney General Arnold, over 100 known similar cartel arrangements between American corporations and Nazi.

The roll-call of these "internationalists" — "internationalists" that is, when it comes to lining their own pockets — includes the following giant trusts and corporations, whose dollar-a-year man right now run the war program.

E. I. duPont de Nemours Co., munitions and chemical trust; General Motors, largest manufacturing corporation in the world; Ford Motor Co.; Anaconda Copper; Atlantic Refining Co.; International Telephone and Telegraph; U. S. Rubber; Armour and Co.; General Electric; Sun Oil Co.; Continental Can; Libby, McNeill and Libby; International Business Machines; International Harvester; etc., etc.

The government's exposure of the Standard Oil conspiracy has done nothing to halt the basic cartel arrangement with the German capitalists. The other "internationalist" corporations have not even been prosecuted by the government.

Maritime Commission Aims Blow At Unions

(Continued from page 1) first tried to intimidate the maritime workers with the threat of inducting the merchant seamen into the Navy. (2.) After the unions had geared themselves to fight this threat, the NMU-Maritime Commission proposals were sprung on them (3.) The unions then concentrated their fire against these proposals, but were slugged from behind by the government chartering of the merchant fleet, a strategic move paving the way for putting into effect the NMU-Maritime Commission plans.

STALINIST-MARITIME COMMISSION PLAN

Both these plans provide for: (1.) A government-managing board which would supplant the union hiring halls and control all hiring. (2.) A pool of all seamen for the government to draw upon in selecting crews. (3.) A government policy-making board having authority to wipe out all union contracts that could be interpreted as "interfering with the war effort."

These proposals were aimed at eliminating vital union safeguards won over many years of struggle. The pooling of marine personnel and their hiring through a government hall would make the unions easy prey to flunks and paid agents of the shipowners.

Union hiring halls, as now constituted, require a man to be in good standing with his local before he can receive a job aboard ship. The union hiring hall is thus the instrument for maintaining a maritime union shop. The substitution of the government hiring halls would be, in effect,

the imposition of an open shop and pave the way for the return of the "black-ball" system used by the shipowners to keep union militants off their ships.

The proposed government policy-making board, intended ostensibly for speeding shipments to the war fronts, in reality is an instrument for whittling away union contract conditions and wages. Since this pro-employer board would be empowered to revoke any contract, it is easy to see how it could destroy overtime pay, bonuses, etc.

STALINISTS GIVE BOSSES "LABOR" COVER

It is certain that the government and shipowners would not have dared come forward at this time with their union-wrecking proposals if they had not received "labor" support, that is, the support of the Stalinist NMU leaders.

In line with the Stalinist policy of sacrificing the workers to the bosses in return for the crumbs of aid the government may send the Soviet Union, the NMU leaders have been conducting a two-pronged attack on the maritime workers.

The first prong of this attack is being aimed directly at the maritime unions with the purpose of disrupting them and softening them up for the shipowners' blows. The Stalinists have launched a campaign of slander and vilification against the leadership of the SUP and other maritime unions.

Through their stooges planted in the SUP, the Stalinists slapped a civil suit two months ago against Harry Lundberg, SUP Secretary-Treasurer. The Stalinist agents in the SUP filed a fantastic suit charging Lundberg with misappropriating the sum of \$150,000. The SUP leaders were also accused of "sabotaging the war effort" by not cooperating more fully with the shipowners and their Stalinist allies in shackling the unions and robbing maritime labor of its rights and gains.

The Stalinist agents within the SUP, Tom Hampson and "Blackie" Prevost, together with two fish cannery workers whom they induced to initiate the suit, were expelled from their unions for this treachery. Hampson and Prevost then launched a paper called the Rank and File West Coast Sailors in imitation of the name of the official SUP organ, the West Coast Sailors.

The line, tone and phrases of this "rank and file" sheet show the obvious imprint of the Communist Party. Its sole function is to vilify the SUP leaders. It calls the union's resistance to the shipowners' chiseling on contracts "subversive activities" and denounces the workers' opposition to government Czars attempting to impose a speedup as "sabotage." The Communist Party is follow-

preserving a monopoly.

While disclosing the facts, Dobby at the same time tried to cover up Remington by asserting that its cartel deal with the Nazis had not "operated to date as a serious impediment to the Allied war effort." That is only because both American and British military officials did not try to exploit the use of tetracene, although it is acknowledged to be the best and cheapest and most accessible ammunition priming.

No explanation has been given for this failure, and it may be assumed that the attitude of Remington and Imperial Chemicals served to discourage interest in tetracene on the part of American and British military authorities.

Thus, the duPont "Dynasty of Death" which is making hundreds of millions annually on the sale of munitions to America and England was at the same time playing both ends against the middle and "doing business with Hitler."

Through their chemical trust and control of such corporations as General Motors, the duPont interests hold probably the largest share of the government war orders. They have a score of dollar-a-year agents connected with the War Production Board.

ANTI-WRECKERS UNITY

Fortunately, this Stalinist effort to soften up the union through division and dissension has not succeeded. The SUP members have rallied to the defense of their union in a united fashion. The other unions — the NMU excepted — have resisted the Stalinist virus. And now a united front of the unions is being effected against the union-busting plans advanced by the Stalinist NMU leaders.

These plans, calling for flunk halls and the abrogation of contracts, were never presented openly, even to the NMU rank and file. They were circulated secretly among the government maritime officials and were to be sprung upon the unions when the softening-up process in the unions had made enough headway.

NO ROOM FOR RETREAT

The government officials and bosses will probably attempt to disarm and lull the unions with the promise that the merchant fleet chartering "is all." But it is certain that the anti-union offensive will be renewed.

There is no room left for the unions to retreat further and still maintain their organizations intact. They must make a determined stand or go under.

The battle must be carried to the waterfront and the rank and file seamen must be mobilized and readied for a militant struggle. It must be a united struggle of all the maritime unions against the shipowners, their political tools and their Stalinist agents in the unions.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Prices

NAZIS ORDER EXECUTION OF HENRICUS SNEEVLIET

Henricus Sneevliet, Dutch labor leader and former Trotskyist, has been given the death sentence on charges of sabotage by a Nazi tribunal in Amsterdam, an April 15 Associated Press dispatch from London reports. Eight of his comrades were also sentenced to execution.

The 60-year old Dutch revolutionist was a well-known trade unionist, a pioneer communist and one of the founders of the Communist International. He left the Third International in the middle of the 1920's in opposition to the policies of the Stalin bureaucracy.

In 1919 he was jailed by the Dutch imperialist government for his revolutionary activity on be-

half of the Dutch colonial peoples in the East Indies and elsewhere. After his release, he was elected to the Dutch parliament and continued in that post until the Nazi occupation.

From 1933 to 1936, as a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland, he belonged to the International Left Opposition (Trotskyist). He separated from the Fourth Internationalist movement because of organizational and political differences and affiliated with the London Bureau, an international association of centrist parties.

The brief report of Sneevliet's fate at the hands of the Gestapo is the first news of him to be received here since the Nazi invasion of Holland.

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Workers Democracy Or Vigilante Assault--

WHICH SHALL PREVAIL?

Under the above title, the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party has issued the following leaflet, addressed to the members of the CIO and asking for their support against recent hoodlum attacks carried out under the direction and leadership of the Communist Party:

On March 31st, Tuesday night at 8 o'clock a squad of twenty men emerged from the CIO Building and proceeded to beat two young men and man-handle two girls who were distributing two working class newspapers, the MILITANT and LABOR ACTION, near the CIO Building. One of the men was beaten severely and the girls were injured when their papers were seized by the hoodlums.

Who were these twenty men? Who was behind their cowardly attack?

Every member of the CIO must demand an honest answer to these questions. If democracy and workers rights are not simply empty phrases, but rights the CIO workers fought and shed their blood to obtain and preserve, then you will reject any proposal to hush up this outrage. If workers democracy, achieved by years of painstaking struggle, is to be defended seriously and conscientiously, then the perpetrators of this outrageous attack must be called to account.

We charge that the attack on March 31st, near the CIO Building, was engineered by the Communist Party clique, who are abusing their positions of responsibility and trust within the CIO.

We charge that this attack is part of a national and international lynch campaign of the Stalinists against all those in the labor movement who dare to oppose their policy of completely subjugating the unions to Wall Street, Standard Oil and the industrial profiteers. The same profiteers who mouth phrases of patriotism while crippling war production in order to stuff their bulging purses with new "sky's the limit" profits. The Stalinists are not only anxious to appease these profiteers who are conducting an anti-union drive, but have become the foremost leaders of a "witch hunt" against all militants who want to preserve union gains and union rights.

We charge that this lynch campaign of slander, terror and physical assault against workers who oppose the Stalinist policy, is a betrayal of the principles and ideals upon which the CIO was built. If the unions are to continue to express the interests of the workers and not the interests of the bosses, the Stalinist lynch campaign must be stopped!

EXAMINE THE FACTS:

Harry Bridges, who a short time ago was the object of a concerted reactionary attack because he then opposed America's entrance into the war, is today singing a different tune. A tune very similar to the one chorused by the anti-labor reactionaries who attacked him.

Here's what Bridges had to say in a recent speech to the San Francisco Industrial Union Council about those who oppose his new program to speed up the workers in

violation of all union contracts and "appease" the bosses' anti-labor drive: "Those who don't see this are not Americans—are not loyal. We've got to finger them. We can't take time to explain—we've got to go around 'em or roll over 'em." This is the keynote of the Stalinist drive. Don't try to "explain" to those who stand for the preservation of militant industrial unionism. . . "Roll over 'em," slander them, slug them, frame them!

Here's how they carried out this line in Los Angeles. On Friday, March 27th, at the Los Angeles CIO Industrial Union Council meeting, the Communist Party clique, utilizing their machine control over a section of the CIO, and in the absence of many delegates, pushed through a resolution "to take steps to discourage distribution of the MILITANT, LABOR ACTION and the SOCIALIST CALL in front of the CIO Building." The motion also repeated the infamous slander that these publications are fascist and subversive.

On the following Monday, March 30th, the PEOPLES WORLD, which was naturally excluded from the 'ban', carried a smear article on the front page attempting to whip up a hysterical frenzy against the above named publications and lauding the action which the Stalinist machine foisted on the CIO Council.

The day after this article appeared the vicious attack of twenty goons against peaceful distributors of the workers press took place. Here you have the GPU-directed Stalinist machine operating with clock-

work precision. First, push through a resolution in the CIO Council to give a union covering to the despicable plans; second, a smear campaign in the Stalinist press; third, cowardly vigilante assault.

The Tuesday attack was a feeler. Can they get away with it? How much can they rely upon terrorizing all those who dare to protest? These are the questions troubling the Stalinist gangsters.

WORKERS OF THE CIO! Many of you do not agree with our program. But all we ask is the freedom to present that program. Isn't this the essence of democracy?

But the Stalinist will say: "These people are fascists, agents of the Nazis—you must treat them as such."

How easy it will become to frame-up any worker who disagrees with the Stalinist policy if they are allowed to get away with this contemptible slander. Call a worker a Nazi agent—and he's finished; this is the democracy practiced by the Stalinists. How about proof? Where is the evidence which permits them to commit an official body of the CIO to such a charge?

Some of the editors of the MILITANT were arrested by the Federal government last summer and brought to trial in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" Case. They were charged with being working class revolutionists, followers of the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, supporters of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, advocates of a revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union today, organizers of antifascist defense guards. But the Federal government,

who had made an exhaustive investigation of the activities and ideas of the defendants, never dared to so much as intimate that these defendants could be linked with any foreign government or any fascist movement.

But the Communist Party doesn't bother about well established facts; they operate on the assumption that a lie repeated often and loud enough will be accepted as the truth.

The CIO movement throughout the United States was aroused to indignant protest at the indictment and frame-up of twenty-eight CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders in Minneapolis. They rallied to the support of the defendants because it was crystal clear that these men were being prosecuted for their progressive union activity and socialist ideas.

When you consider the fact that five CIO Industrial Union Councils, including the San Francisco Council, went on record supporting the Minneapolis defense and donated money for legal expenses, doesn't the charge of the Stalinist clique, unsupported by any facts, reveal itself as a vicious lie?

When you note that three locals of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, including Bridge's own Local 1-10 in San Francisco, also supported the Minneapolis defendants and donated over a hundred dollars to the defense, doesn't the Stalinist charge appear as a flimsy fabrication?

When two locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in every part of the country, including a Los Angeles Local, go

on record supporting the defendants on the labor defense issue, and donate hundreds of dollars for the work of defense, doesn't the Stalinist charge appear as so much malicious slander?

Twenty-seven locals of the Auto Workers in seventeen cities; four locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, including Local 9 in Los Angeles; three locals of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America; the Marine Firemen in San Pedro and New York and scores of other unions have taken the same action. They have donated money, rendered moral support and passed resolutions of protest.

In the face of this, how does the Stalinist clique dare to hurl the charge of Nazi agents at these defendants who at this very moment are being prosecuted as militant unionists and socialists? Don't the Stalinists have enough respect for the CIO to back up their charges with evidence—facts—proof?

Facts—evidence—proof—a fair hearing—this is not their method. Theirs is the method of malicious slanders and cowardly assaults!

WORKERS OF THE CIO! It is in your power to call a halt to the Stalinist lynch campaign. Your action can stop the frame-up machine. The CIO is the banner bearer of democratic rights for the workers. Don't allow anyone to change that.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, Los Angeles Local.

War Intensifies Women's Role

Transfer from Kitchen Sinks to Factories Will Develop Militant Armies of Class-Conscious Proletarian Women

World War II is tearing women away from the kitchen sink to put them side by side with men and each other before machines in factories. Unimportant as that may seem to the single individual, it is actually an historic move with a train of consequences which will finally create a new world — new

in the sense of ceasing to be a man's world, but in the sense of ceasing to be a class world. A female section of the working class, large and more greatly exploited than the male, is being molded by a desperate capitalism, so sick that everything it does hastens its own end. For the creation of a class-conscious female section of the working class means the release of a new fighting force which decrepitate capital-

ROLE OF THE WOMAN

Karl Marx once remarked that

"tradition weighs like an Alp upon the mind of the present." If ever a philosophic statement had meaning in every-day life, this one does in relation to the problem of women.

Woman has always been looked upon by man as a domestic animal. She cleans the house, cooks the food, bears the children — whose noses she wipes and diapers she washes — and lays out her man's clothes where he can find them without bother. She worries about the cost of living and scrumps to pay the rent. And no matter how "enlightened" a male may consider himself nor how demonstratively some females of the upper classes have "emancipated" themselves, the woman in a working class home is the one responsible for the endless, monotonous and dirty domestic work.

EFFECT OF THE WAR

Now come a war and a draft to pull the male head of the working-class house out of his job and into the army; and the wife goes into the factory to earn enough to keep herself and the kids alive till he returns (if he does). Whatever the job she gets, the routine is new, the physical strain great, and the pay not so good. Her first tendency is to work herself to a frazzle in the shop trying to hold

on to the job and get as good a pay envelope as possible.

But the responsibilities of her home continue. Dust gathers and food spoils. The kids run the streets and their clothes wear out. Food prices rise, commodities are rationed, and she has to learn to keep the family nourished on substitute products. The old division of labor under which the man brought home the pay and the woman devoted herself full-time to the task of worrying through on its meager size is gone. Now the woman alone is expected to do both jobs, send her man off to war and give up time-and-a-half for overtime!

EXPERIENCES OF THE GERMAN WOMEN

Germany has drawn nine and a half million women into its war industry. This took place in accordance with a logic of capitalism which paid no attention to Hitler's theory about the province of women, based upon the three-K concept of the late Kaiser: "Kueche (kitchen), Kinder (children), Kirche (church)." These millions of German proletarian women are now allowed one day's vacation in every fourteen "to do their laundry." The hours they don't spend at work are consumed, according to the complaints of Dr. Robert Ley, head of the Labor Ministry, in running "like a swarm of hungry bees" from store to store to get provisions.

But capitalism and its politicians are relentless. As if the double responsibility of the job

and the home were not enough to keep a woman occupied every waking moment, her function as an incubator of the population is consciously brought to the fore. This is especially noticeable again in those "have-not" countries where the capitalists have resorted to fascism and done everything they can to implant a belligerent war psychology among the masses.

"REWARDS"

Both Mussolini and Hitler have paid careful attention to the job of assuring themselves a new crop of soldiers when the present one is wiped out. They have paid almost embarrassing attention to the business of increasing the productivity of the females of their countries, offering rewards in medals, money and furniture (Mussolini offered a set of beds for each set of twins) to the families that could run up the biggest total in the shortest time.

German women, beside diligently manufacturing ammunition and small arms for the conduct of the war, and squeezing their household into the one-day-in-fourteen which the Labor Ministry allows them, in the first 8 months of 1940 delivered 1,131,900 babies to the Reich.

The not-so-distant future will show how much the women of the working class will put up with and how well they have learned the lessons of class struggle from their men. We have our bets on them.

Communist Party Betrays Indian People's Struggle

Makes No Objection to Cripps' Plan; Aims Their Chief Criticism at Indian Leaders

By FELIX MORROW

Lenin and the Communist International of the pre-Stalinist years considered it the elementary duty of every class-conscious worker to demand complete independence for all the colonial countries and to fight irreconcilably against the imperialist powers which refused to grant the colonies their independence.

Apply these principles to the Communist Party's attitude toward India's fight for independence, and the Stalinists stand unmasked as enemies of colonial independence.

To prove this, we need only analyze the record of the Stalinist *Daily Worker* on India during the last month.

When Cripps went to India, it was the duty of every political tendency in the labor movement to state its attitude toward the negotiations. We did; we solidarily organized ourselves with the Indian people's demand for immediate, complete and unconditional independence.

But the Stalinists instead solidarily themselves with Cripps, the emissary of British imperialism. The *Daily Worker* during the negotiations "covered" them by publishing only the pro-British United Press dispatches. With their tremendous resources the Stalinists have their own "Inter-Continental News" cable service thrusting the world; they spend millions on their own cables. But the most important event of the year, the crisis over India, the Stalinists "reported" through the eyes of the pro-British United Press!

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

Like the big bourgeois press the Stalinists concealed the facts about the Churchill-Cripps plan. They did not publish a word about the fact that the plan meant continuation of the autocratic rule of the "native" princes, Britain's puppets, over 93 million Indians; that Britain would maintain armies in the "native" states and thus keep the rest of India under continued subjection; that the plan's election-method of choosing the delegates to the post-war "constitution-making body" was one which prevents 75 per cent of the population from voting. All this the *Daily Worker* concealed from its readers.

On Friday, April 10, the Indian National Congress rejected the British "offer," and that afternoon and the next morning the world press carried the news and editorial comment on it. But not the *Daily Worker*. It remained silent — Saturday, Sunday, Monday — waiting for the line to be handed down. Finally on Tuesday, April 14, came a short editorial in the *Daily Worker*.

AN ANTI-INDIA LINE

Every worker who still has any illusions about the Communist Party should read that editorial carefully.

The editorial does not attack the Churchill-Cripps plan. Its complaint is that the plan should have been offered earlier! It says: "The fact that the proposals were not presented until the last minute made them subject to

fact, so embarrassing to its whitewash of British imperialism.

ERSATZ INDEPENDENCE

The Stalinist editorial does not tell the Indian people to wrest their independence from Britain's unwilling hands. How, then, is India to gain her independence? "The United States, China, India and Britain together" should "work out a settlement."

But it is very clear that Britain will not agree to a settlement on the basis of India's independence. In reality, then, the Stalinists are advising India to yield to a rotten compromise acceptable to Churchill and the British Tories.

The Stalinists know very well that India's independence would mean the end of British capitalism, which has as its very foundation-stone its blood-sucking exploitation of the great masses of India. That is precisely why Churchill & Co. will never agree to India's independence. In pretending that the agreement of British imperialism is a possibility, the Stalinists are deliberately concealing the real character of imperialism.

THE REAL ANTI-FASCISTS

By these services to British imperialism the Stalinists are striking treacherous blows against the only forces in the world that can really defeat fascism and save the Soviet Union. Those forces are the international working class and the colonial peoples, whose future depends on destroying fascism — and its capitalist roots. The road to wiping out fascism is Lenin's road — the establishment of Workers' and Farmers' Governments in the United States and Britain, which would free the colonial peoples, and join hands with the German masses to crush fascism forever.

But Lenin's road is not that of Stalin and his agents. Stalin's road is class-collaboration with the "democratic" capitalists. That road is as alien to Lenin's as was the class-collaboration of the pro-war socialists with their "own" capitalist governments during the first imperialist war.

Fortunately the great masses of India did not listen to the Stalinists. They said "No!" to Cripps so loud that even the spineless Nehru had to repeat it. And that "No!" struck the greatest blow so far during this war against imperialist oppression, both fascist and "democratic."

Attacks On Negro Troops Continue Uninterrupted

Mob Assaults Two Soldiers In Tuskegee; Jim Crow Conditions In Camps Revealed

Further details about the violent attack on Negro soldiers in Tuskegee, Alabama, early this month are contained in the April 18 issue of *The People's Voice*.

Despite the censorship imposed by the Army, the *Voice* was able to print the following information:

"The incident started in Tuskegee, when a white policeman attempted to arrest a Negro student pilot attached to the aviation training base at Tuskegee Institute. A Negro M. P. on the scene, having seen no reason for the arrest attempt, took the student flier into custody, led him to a car for return to the airport. Then things started popping.

"First there was a shot, which struck the soldier in the back. It didn't kill him, and whites suddenly converging on the scene decided to finish the job. They rushed the M. P. and his charge, tied them to a tree, prepared them for an old-fashioned lynching bee. Everything was made ready for a burning at a stake, true Indian fashion.

"But someone in Tuskegee had telephoned the air base, and before the fires could be started truckloads of soldiers, armed with lead pipes, wooden clubs, anything formidable enough to show

firmly, forced to wait from 7 A. M. to 1 P. M. before admitted for medical attention.

"Latrines in camp are clearly marked 'For whites' and 'For Colored.' Negroes dare not use toilets 'For white.' Whites often use toilets set aside for Negroes.

"In War Department theatre in camp on post, Negroes assigned to small section, dare not sit anywhere else. One Negro soldier presumed to forget his 'place.' Large numbers of M. Ps. were ordered out to make sure Negroes understood whites would brook no 'smartness' . . .

"Officers treat soldiers 'like dogs.' A Lieutenant Ross often threatens Negroes with physical violence. Said Ross once made move to hit Negro soldier, was immediately surrounded by angry threatening group of soldier's comrades."

It is things like these — all part of the deliberate and studied policy of discrimination and segregation ordered by administration officials in Washington — which are the real cause of the so called "race riots" and "brawls" which have taken the lives of at least 5 Negro soldiers in the last month, and which the brass-hats have set up many different committees to "investigate."

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How Spirit Of May Day Flamed In World War I

By ART PREIS

How happy the rulers of every capitalist nation would be on this First of May, if they could only forget the imperishable history of the May Days during World War I.

Darkest reaction holds sway throughout the world, just as in the first years of the last war. Working-class internationalism, the very essence of May Day, seems almost dead.

But it still lives. It lives on in the concentration camps and dungeons and bloody terror of the fascist countries. The tiny flame is kept alive by their predecessors of the last war, must meet furtively behind closed doors.

It survives among the Trotskyist adherents of Leninism in the bourgeois-democratic countries, despite the efforts of the bosses and the Social-Democratic and Stalinist betrayers to stifle all manifestations of internationalism and class struggle on this May Day.

It lives in the hearts of the heroic Red Army soldiers and the Soviet workers and peasants, whose revolution was saved from imperialist intervention in 1918-20 by a policy of revolutionary internationalism.

May Day cannot be destroyed. That is the lesson of May Day in World War I. And that is why the capitalists of the world will not rejoice nor sleep easy at night on this May 1, 1942.

The First Blow

The very day, the very hour can be named when the blow was struck which first began to undermine the ruling class war machines in the last war. It was May Day, 1916, in Berlin, Germany.

Less than two years before, in August 1914, German imperialism seemed to have swept everything before it. The great German Social-Democratic Party,

which up to the last moment had been pledged to oppose the war, folded up like a wet rag, and joined with the capitalists and Junkers in voting support for the war.

On August 3, 1914, three days after the Kaiser's declaration of war on Russia, the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag met and voted 78 to 14 to support the war appropriations. And on the next day, when the majority declaration was read amidst wild cheers in the Reichstag, even the 14 who opposed the declaration maintained party discipline and remained silent.

Among the 14 was Karl Liebknecht, the most outspoken and courageous of the German socialist anti-war fighters. He, too, was momentarily unable to stand up to the wave of chauvinism that spread throughout the Second (Socialist) International parties of the warring countries.

When May Day 1915 came, the streets of the capitals of Europe, were silent and deserted. In former years they had rung to the tread of marching millions threatening the war-lords if they should go through with their known war plans. Never, it seemed, would the spirit of socialist internationalism rise again.

But in those darkest hours, there remained enduring and uncompromising revolutionists—a few dozen perhaps in all Europe—who kept up the battle. A Lenin, a Trotsky, a Rosa Luxemburg, a Liebknecht.

'The Main Enemy'

In early 1915, on the occasion of Italy's entrance into the war,

Today As Then, Working-Class Internationalism Will Emerge Triumphant Over Suppressions And Betrayals

when Karl Liebknecht heard that The Italian socialists had voted to continue opposition to the war, he penned his immortal appeal to the German workers:

"The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjunction with the struggle of the proletarians of other countries against their own imperialists..."

"Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, for a socialist peace!"

"The main enemy is in your own country!"

On May Day, 1916, Liebknecht spoke to a huge May Day demonstration in Berlin. Almost alone he had summoned the masses, in the very midst of the German victories. His message of the year before had been heard. Thousands turned out to voice their protest at the war. And the fear-stricken German ruling class brushing aside Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity, rushed him to jail.

But there was no stopping the rising anti-war tide. It affected all the armies, even the victorious armies of the Kaiser. One well planned offensive in 1917 might have won the war for Germany; but the generals dared not call it.

For on May Day, 1917, there were monster strike demonstrations throughout Germany, immediately inspired by an order reducing the civilian bread rations. In Berlin alone, 250,000 workers were out. 125,000 munitions workers throughout the country joined the strike; 10,000 downed tools in the chief naval yards at Kiel.

Mutiny, 1917

And just outside the Kiel harbor, a powerful section of the German navy mutinied. The crews of several ships in Squadron IV, anchored at Schillig Road, set up committees and seized control of their vessels. This mutiny was finally suppressed, but with the greatest difficulty.

And while the German workers were demonstrating against

their rulers, across the border in France, the French workers were also rising in struggle against their capitalist war leaders.

On May 1, 1917, for the first time since the war began, Paris witnessed a great demonstration. Ten thousand workers attended a mass meeting called by a "Committee for the Renewal of International Relations." The strikes that broke out on May Day, began to sweep France. By the end of the month almost all Paris was out. Of the scenes in the streets and public cafes, Michael Corday wrote in The Paris Front: "It made one think of the French Revolution, with the populace overturning the royal palaces..."

'Viva la Revolution!'

The disaffection on the home front was linked to that on the battle front. After a disastrous

attempt at an offensive in the latter part of April 1917, the French troops returning to the rear were shouting "Long Live Peace!" and "They have been assassinating us!"

On May 3, paralleling the growing strikes there began a wave of mutinies in the army, until, in the words of the then French Minister of War, Poincaré, "no more than two divisions between Soissons and Paris could be absolutely relied on."

Poincaré, the French President, wrote in his memoirs of those days: "Colonel Horbillon informs me of new mutinies... Men have refused to go into the trenches... Order is menaced everywhere... The fever is spreading. Symptoms of a breakdown of discipline in the army are multiplying... At Dorman a few days ago soldiers cried out:

"Viva la Revolution! Down with the war!"

But the greatest of all the May Day 1917 demonstrations—in fact, the mightiest the world had ever known up to then—took place in Russia, where but a year before not a single worker had dared to speak out openly against the war.

Greatest May Days

In All History

The streets of every Russian city were choked with the monster mass outpouring. It was the triumphal celebration of the overthrow of Czarism in February 1917. And it was also a gathering of forces for the final overthrow of Russian capitalism which was to come six months later.

Leon Trotsky, in his History of the Russian Revolution, recorded for all time the description of that historic May Day:

"...All the cities of Russia were drowned in meetings and demonstrations. Not only the industrial enterprises, but the state, city and rural public institutions were closed. In Moghilev, the headquarters of the General Staff, the Cavaliers of St. George marched at the head of the procession. The members of the staff—unremoved czarist generals—marched under May 1 banners. The holiday of proletarian anti-militarism blended with revolution-tinted manifestations of patriotism."

"In both capitals and in the industrial centers the workers dominated the celebration, and amid them the strong nuclei of Bolshevism stood out distinctly with banners, placards, speeches and shouts. Across the immense facade of the Mariinsky Palace, the refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: 'Long Live The Third International.' The authorities, not rid of their administrative shyness, could not make up their minds to remove this disagreeable and alarming streamer. Everybody, it seemed, was celebrating. So far as it could the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches, banners and revolutionary songs in the

trenches, and there were responses from the German side."

The Russian May Day celebration in 1918 included no Czarist generals or capitalist politicians. It was the greatest May Day of all—the first May Day to be observed in a workers' state, the Soviet Union. The titanic revolution it celebrated had ended the war for the Russian workers and peasants and speeded the end of the entire world war. The capitalist leaders in every land, frightened at the prospect of a spreading revolution, patched up their armistice. And the German masses, remembering the slogan of Karl Liebknecht, overthrew the German monarchy and made a heroic but unsuccessful attempt to establish workers' power.

May Day Lives On

Not merely in Europe, but in America the spirit of May Day survived the impact of the war. May Day 1917 was marked by tremendous anti-war demonstrations and bitter battles with the police and "patriotic" bosses' gangs.

The government then prohibited May Day demonstrations in 1918, aided in its attempts to suppress all expression of working-class internationalism by the reformist socialist and labor leaders who supported the war.

But once more, in 1919, the workers stormed the streets of the American cities in one of the largest and most militant May Day demonstrations ever held in this country.

As the revolutionary spirit and character of May Day, its flame of proletarian internationalism, burned on through the darkest days of the last war, so it will continue to burn today. This May Day may be observed in deepest secrecy in the fascist hell-holes of Europe. In the bourgeois democracies it may be perverted by the Social Democrats and Stalinists into a mere jingo rally for "national unity" with capitalist reaction. But the spirit of May Day that lived on through the last war, that broke through the ramparts of imperialism and gave birth to the Soviet Union, will yet triumph. The end of this war is certain to witness a May Day such as the world has never known—marking the victory of the struggle for world socialism.

An Unforgettable May Day--Cleveland, 1919

Bosses Taught Workers and Soldiers What Kind of 'Democracy' They Fought to Save

May 1, 1919, the first May Day after the close of World War I, echoed to the tramp of millions of feet throughout the centers of world capitalism. Disillusioned with the promises and catchwords of the ruling classes and stirred by the mighty revolutionary events in Russia, the workers and returning soldiers everywhere began to reach out toward the socialist future.

Fear and fury seized the capitalists of all nations. They mobilized their police and armed hoodlum gangs to beat down the rising tide of the masses.

Cleveland, Ohio, was the scene of one of the most memorable struggles of that historic May Day.

THE "VICTORY LOAN"

The bankers of that city had been unable to fill the quota for the government's "Victory Loan," because the masses refused to be squeezed any further to pay for the war. The war was over, and the workers were turning toward a way out of all future wars. The bankers planned an onslaught against the Socialist-led May Day parade in order to drive the militant workers to cover and whip up the necessary patriotic and "anti-red" hysteria to put over the "Victory Loan" campaign.

The Socialist and trade-union workers had been mobilizing their forces for weeks in preparation for the greatest May Day demonstration in the city's history and over 50,000 workers turned out. The bankers and bosses had been lining up their police reserves and organizing, with the aid of the American Legion, armed hoodlum gangs.

At 10 o'clock in the morning, the Socialist parade began to form at the various party and union headquarters. Tens of thousands were in the line of march headed toward the Public Square in the downtown business section. There a giant mass meeting was to start at noon.

Heading the parade was an outstanding Socialist fighter who had just served a jail sentence for his anti-war activity, Charles E. Ruthenburg. He was then the Socialist candidate for mayor of Cleveland. Later he was to become one of the first and foremost leaders of the Communist Party during its early revolutionary period.

From the moment the parade got under way, the hoodlums organized by the local business men and the American Legion began to make provocative attacks on the marchers, centering their attacks on the workers carrying red flags.

USED CRIPPLED WAR VETERANS AS TOOLS

The reactionaries had secured some crippled war veterans to

act as inciters of the attacks, hoping thereby to win public sentiment to their side. They shoved forward these poor victims of their own war for profit to hide the hand of the real forces behind the massacre that was planned.

A concerted and simultaneous attack was launched on each section of the parade as it marched into the business area. Business men and white-collar clerks stood at all the office windows cheering on the hoodlums and police.

One of the bloodiest incidents of the day was started by James Stevens, a crippled veteran who was being used all over the city in the bankers' "Victory Loan" drive. He was seated in front of the Olmstead Hotel, and when the marchers approached, he gave the orders for a waiting group of armed Legionaires to assault the oncoming workers.

He described his own provocations later, boasting: "The first thing I saw was the red flags. I wheeled my chair as the head of the column passed, and I yelled 'Get those red flags.' Some of the marchers laughed and jeered at me. But my comrades in uniform came running when I yelled 'Get 'em boys!'"

STREET RAN WITH BLOOD

A large group of waiting hoodlums, armed with clubs, pounced on the marchers and began beating them down. Squads of police joined the attackers, mercilessly swinging their night-sticks on the heads of the workers and radical soldiers. Hundreds of the marchers were felled; the street ran with blood. Army tanks were brought into action, racing up and down, tearing into the parade and trying to break it up.

The workers and war veterans in the parade, though unarmed, fought back courageously, defending their fallen comrades and fearlessly pressing on toward the Public Square.

A small contingent of 200 led by Ruthenburg finally fought their way through and arrived in the square shortly after noon, where they were met by waiting thousands who had come to join the rally there.

Through the waiting crowd the Ruthenburg group marched up to the speakers' platform. There Ruthenburg was guarded on both sides by a number of war veterans carrying red flags. This

was the only organized group which had been able to reach the square through the boss terror.

TWO MURDERED, HUNDREDS INJURED

Into the crowd then charged the club-wielding Legionaires and police. Mounted cops tore into the jammed throng, riding down all in their path. After a fierce struggle, the meeting was finally broken up and dispersed.

When the marchers counted up their casualties, they learned that hundreds of their comrades had been seriously injured. And the police had shot dead in cold blood two workers, Joseph Ivany and Sam Pearlman, as they were trying to defend themselves from a hoodlum attack.

Then the police began to "mop up." Ruthenburg and 133 others were arrested. As the Cleveland Press described the scene at the police court, "Almost every man arraigned appeared with a bandaged head or body bound up. This was the result of blows from police maces or of clubs in the hands of the loyalist crowds (as the capitalist press described the bossed and incited hoodlum gangs)."

The smashing of the May Day parade was the prelude to a vicious drive to destroy the whole Socialist movement. That very night, police and armed gangs invaded the various neighborhood headquarters of the Socialist Party, destroying everything they could lay their hands on, every window, every stick of furniture, every bit of literature. The press of the Ohio Socialist, edited by Ruthenburg, was wrecked. Over 200 more Socialists were injured in the fight to defend their headquarters.

"YOUR ONLY PROTECTION"

The following day the arrested workers were brought to trial. Fifty-five were given 30-day jail sentences; the others, sentenced only a little less harsh. Those of the prisoners who were foreign-born faced deportation as "Bolsheviks."

The next day, the elated bankers put forth their call for the purchase of "Victory Loan" bonds containing the warning: "It means a hair trigger spirit from now on. A victory button is your only protection." In plain words, they threatened that anyone who did not wear a button indicating he had bought a bond would be physically assaulted on the streets.

In this fashion, the American bankers and industrialists impressed upon the workers and war veterans of Cleveland and the nation the real nature of the democracy for which they had been made to risk their lives.

Demand End to Indian Serfdom



Shown above are a number of Indian peasants marching to a session of the Indian National Congress and carrying their own banner with the slogan, "Away with serfdom."

Labor's First May Day Martyrs Were Militant Internationalists

Their Supreme Sacrifice for the 8-Hour Day Inspired the Workers of the Entire World

By MARVELL SCHOLL

On this fifty-second anniversary of May Day, the historic international working-class holiday, it is more than ever fitting that we should review the history of that day—a history which embodies within itself the entire saga of the trade union and revolutionary movement, its victories and defeats, its martyred dead, its leaders and misleaders.

May Day began first in the United States, but has always belonged to the workers of the world. The idea for a one-day mass strike in the fight for the eight hour day was born in the minds of men who were internationalists, who believed in those unbreakable class bonds which tie together all workers no matter what their race, color, sex, religion, or nationality.

May Day, 1886, was decreed by resolution in the 1885 convention of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. On July 14, 1889, the International Congress in Paris which laid the basis for the Second International adopted the May Day idea and issued a call to the workers of Europe to join another demonstration, called by the American Federation of Labor for May 1, 1890.

The response by workers all over the world to the call proved that the international working class had taken unto itself the traditions and the martyrs of that first May Day in the United States in 1886.

For the very words—May Day—recalled to the workers' memories the names of the immortal fighters for the working class, August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden and Oscar Neebe—the Haymarket martyrs.

POLICE VIOLENCE

Throughout the nation, hundreds of thousands of workers downed tools on that first May Day. Everywhere they were met with police violence, and everywhere they defended themselves fiercely. As a result of their determined struggle, workers in many cities won a reduction in

and where not one shred of evidence was produced to connect the defendants with the bombing, seven of them were sentenced to be hanged and one, Oscar Neebe, was given fifteen years in prison. Just before the date of execution, the governor of the State of Illinois commuted the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment. Lingg, defiant to the last, committed suicide in his cell rather than give his class enemies the satisfaction of his hanging.

LABOR MARTYRS

These men had lived for the labor and revolutionary movement, and they went to their deaths still strong in their belief that eventually the proletariat of the world would replace a system of exploitation and oppression with a socialist system of peace and brotherhood.

When Spies stood up to be sentenced, he uttered these undying words:

"I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price. Bring on your hangman!"

On May 1, 1890 the workers of the entire world downed their tools and took to the streets. Again the police came out in full force, and again heads were cracked, blood flowed. But when evening came an international tradition had been born.

Since that time May Day has been celebrated with strikes, demonstrations and parades, and each year new, significant political slogans have been raised. Among those raised in the early years and more than ever fitting for this war-torn year of 1942 were for international working-class solidarity, the end of colonial oppression, universal suffrage, the freeing of political prisoners, the right of workers to form their own political and economic organizations, etc.

LABOR LEADERS ATTACKED

Every labor leader in Chicago was arrested. The capitalist press set up a rabid cry for the blood of the workers' leaders. Eight strike leaders, Spies, Parsons, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, Schwab, Fielden and Neebe, were chosen to be the victims of boss-class "justice."

After a farcical trial, during which the judge openly voiced his class hatred for the prisoners

formist labor leaders, to destroy the May Day tradition. The combined weight of the government, the AFL leaders and the Second International right-wingers failed to halt the 1917 May Day anti-war demonstration in the United States. In 1918 a government decree forbade any celebration and the workers complied with the order. But on May 1, 1919 occurred one of the largest strike demonstrations in American history. (See article on Cleveland meeting printed on this page.)

Many other attempts have been made in this country to stop the continued celebration of May Day. Samuel Gompers, founder of the AFL, tried desperately to

introduce "May Sunday" to replace May 1 as a workers' holiday. He called for the setting aside of one Sunday in May on which workers and their families could gather in parks, eat their lunches in the open, and listen to speeches. The government magnanimously offered and finally gave the workers the first Monday in September as a legal "Labor Day." But all in vain. The spirit of May Day has never and will never be crushed.

This year, as in the last war, the class conscious workers of every land, those courageous fighters for international socialism whose voices will yet be heard above the roar of the bombs, will take courage from the imperishable words of August Spies, spoken just before the hangman adjusted the black hood:

"There will be a time when our silence from the grave will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

Los Angeles Mass Meeting

in defense of the Minneapolis defendants

Speakers:

V. R. DUNNE

Northwest Labor Leader

ASSEMBLYMAN PAUL RICHIE

DR. CLINTON J. TAFT

of the American Civil Liberties Union

SOUTH HALL EMBASSY AUDITORIUM

Grand and Ninth Streets

Sunday, May 3, 8 P. M.

Admission 25 Cents

Auspices: Los Angeles Branch, Civil Rights Defense Committee

The Trotskyists Continue Struggle For Socialism In Lands Oppressed By Both The Axis And 'Democracies'

Seek To Create Workers' Govt. In Great Britain

May Day will dawn on England with that country in the greatest crisis of its history. The British ruling class has shown its utter inability to answer the problems facing the nation.

The bosses and their government are not able to secure the support of India in the struggle against the Axis. They are far more concerned with holding on to the sources of the profits to be secured from the exploitation of India than they are in getting the support of the colonial masses for an effective struggle against the Axis.

The English capitalist class has also shown that it is not able to organize industrial production. In the words of a capitalist reporter, speaking of production in 1941:

"The City of London—heart of financial England—with confidential sources of information, declined to accept at face value optimistic governmental claims regarding rising production.

"On the contrary, there was gloomy agreement with the charges of C. A. Gordon, chairman of the Engineering Industries Assn., that Britain's rate of war production actually has declined this year."

PROFITS ROLL IN

But while they have not been successful in producing arms, the British bosses have been very successful in filling their pockets. For instance, the 2018 companies which had reported their profits by the first of this year showed a total of 389 million pounds for 1941 as against 375 million pounds for 1940.

The bosses also take excellent care of their precious bellies, and don't hesitate to flaunt their own laws to do so. While the food rations and living standards of the masses of England are becoming ever more meager, the ruling class is dining and wining very well in their fancy restaurants and night clubs where ration cards mean nothing to the possessors of the necessary money.

The leaders of the British Labor Party, section of the Second International, delivered themselves in chains to the Conservatives for a few cabinet posts at the beginning of the war.

The Labor Party leaders agreed to a parliamentary truce. This was a promise that they would not oppose the Conservative Party in the elections.

The Labor Party is content that the capitalists control production. When India is denied its freedom, the labor leaders echo the reactionary arguments of Churchill. When the war aims of Churchill are made public, based on a continuation of imperialism and a super-Versailles, the Labor Party leaders shout Amen. Their role is that of yes-men to the enemies and exploiters of the workers.

Marked by the same sell-out role in England as elsewhere, the Stalinists campaign for the Tories in the elections; they resist and obstruct the workers' efforts to better their economic conditions.

As the Labor Party leaders agreed with the Conservatives on the political field, so the trade union duplicates of the Labor Party leaders agreed to an economic truce with the capitalist class.

WORKERS OPPOSE BOSSES, FAKERS, STALINISTS

The leaders of the unions, with their no-strike, compulsory arbitration policy tend to hamstring the workers' struggles. But in spite of the desperate efforts of the labor fakers and the Stalinists, a whole series of militant strikes in various industries have taken place in England.

In spite of the efforts of the Stalinists and labor union officials the resentment of the workers against the mismanagement and corruption of the capitalists is shown by the increasing number of strikes.

During 1940 there were 850 strikes involving 284,000 people. Work days lost numbered 894,000. In 1941, 334,800 persons struck in 1162 walkouts with a total of 1,034,000 workdays lost. The New York Times reporter says:

"Thus far, 1942 shows no diminution of labor stoppages." Within the Labor Party the workers are stirring in opposition to the policies of the Labor Party leaders. For example, in December when the government proposed a labor draft law, the left wing of the Labor Party, in response to rank and file pressure, came out with the demand to draft wealth

French Trotskyist Paper



Par delà les faillites... En occupant la Tchétchénie, les Polonais, les troupes allemandes appliquent avec une rigueur sans précédent les méthodes d'oppression et de dictature. Depuis elles ont fait face à une résistance acharnée et parfois violente des populations de ces pays.

Le parti UNR d'abord, toutes les volontés et les énergies, il faut que les travailleurs s'organisent. Il faut que les travailleurs s'organisent. Il faut que les travailleurs s'organisent.

TERRORISME OU ORGANISATION DES MASSES? De nombreux camarades ont entendu un poste clandestin, probablement allemand: "Le Parti de Lénine et Trotsky", sur la bande des 31 m., vers 19 heures, en français, allemand et russe.

The above is a reproduction of the first page of an issue of La Verite (The Truth), French Trotskyist newspaper. Put out under the most difficult conditions, with the Gestapo and the French police searching everywhere to catch its publishers, the paper testifies to the continued activity and growth of the Fourth International in France.

Masses Alone Will Win Independence For India

Ghandi, Nehru Are Incapable of Leading Successful Struggle Against Imperialism

By JOHN G. WRIGHT Can the Indian bourgeoisie, led by Gandhi, Nehru and other spokesmen of the All-India Congress Party, be entrusted with the leadership of the struggle against British imperialism? The outcome of India's struggle in the next period hinges upon the way in which Indian peasants and workers answer this question.

There are fundamental reasons why the Indian bourgeoisie is incapable of conducting a genuine struggle for emancipation. The political unreliability of the present leadership flows from the economic relationships within the country.

British capitalism is the dominant power in India today not only politically but economically. The bulk of India's national debt is held by British investors. Similarly, in British hands is more than half of the capital in industry, mining and transport enterprises and almost two-thirds of the capital in banks, insurance companies, plantations and commerce.

But the Indian capitalists will never dare to accomplish this in the one way it can really be accomplished, namely, by leading a movement to expropriate British holdings. Such a movement would immediately confront them with the threat of their own expropriation by the Indian workers and peasants.

Limited only by the supply of paper, the press run and sale of the Socialist Appeal is over 15,000 copies. The work of the British Trotskyists has been so effective that it has met the opposition of such capitalist newspapers as the Sunday Dispatch. This paper was close to Hitler and the appeasers before the war.

But the Sunday Dispatch does not labor alone. The Stalinists, in their frenzied attempt to impose their treacherous policies on the masses, are also trying to stifle the Trotskyists as well as the Independent Labor Party by physical force.

The following program For Power is reprinted from the Socialist Appeal: 1. Immediate despatch of arms and material to the Soviet Union under the control of the trade unions and factory committees.

2. Nationalization of the land, mines, banks, transport and all big industry without compensation. 3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.

4. Workers' control of production to end chaos and mismanagement in industry to be exercised through workers committees. 5. Equal distribution of food clothes, and other consumer commodities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories, housewives committees and small shopkeepers.

French Party Is Growing Despite Gestapo Terror

Political life in France is much more intense in the occupied zone than in the zone called "Free." There are many causes, the principal one being the direct collision with the invader. Like the political life in general, the Trotskyists are more active in the Occupied Zone.

In the Paris region is found the largest number of the Trotskyist cells. The organization has groups in most of the large towns, but the reader will excuse us for not giving more details on this subject. The great majority of the members are extremely young.

The whole party is organized on a conspirative basis, for the slightest imprudence may cost dearly at the hands of the Gestapo. Regular liaisons are established between the two zones as well as with other European countries.

DESPITE THE GESTAPO For one and a half years, since a little after the arrival of the Nazis, the organization has been publishing a paper, La Verite. At first reproduced in divers ways, the paper has now been printed since September, 1941. It appears as regularly as the illegal conditions permit, about once every 15 days. Its run is about 3,000 copies, limited because of the difficulties in securing paper.

THE STALINISTS Of the unions, there is a little more left. But it is undoubtedly the Stalinist party which represents, by far, the principal organized force of resistance. One can consider it an established fact that the largest part of the terrorist acts are committed at the initiative of the Stalinists. The party itself advocates individual terror in its publications. As for its political ideology, it is absolute nationalism without a trace of socialism.

THE TROTSKYIST POLICY The Internationalist Workers Party (POI), on the other hand, subscribes to the Marxist criticism of the political adventurism of the Stalinists, constantly opposing to individual terrorism the organization of the masses. It shows the emptiness of all the adventurist methods which, in the long run, don't do much damage to the oppressors, but cost the lives of a large number of militant revolutionists.

OLD PARTIES DISAPPEAR The military defeats and the occupation of the country profoundly altered the political physiognomy of France. The traditional bourgeois parties have

of their country's independence is gravely endangered so long as it remains in the hands of the present leadership. India's salvation can be gained only by the self-action of the peasants and workers themselves on the basis of a program which will guarantee land to the peasantry, safeguard the rights of workers, and free the country politically and economically from British domination.

The significance of May First as a day of international working-class struggle is shown by the great stress which Lenin put upon its militant observance. One of Lenin's earliest appeals to the Russian workers is the May Day manifesto which he wrote in 1896 for the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-class. This was written in prison, from which it was smuggled by Lenin's comrades, mimeographed and distributed to workers of forty factories in St. Petersburg, now Leningrad.

B. Gorew-Goldman, a participant in this early May Day struggle, wrote of it in his "Out of the Party Past": "In preparing and distributing

COMRADES! Let us consider our position very carefully — let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives. What do we see? We work long and hard. We produce endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silk. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If things were as they should be, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good clothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us — in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado.

We have convinced ourselves only too often that all those to whom we turn for help are the servants and the friends of the bosses. They keep us workers in darkness, they keep us ignorant so that we shall not dare to fight for an improvement of our conditions. They keep us in slavery, they arrest and imprison every one who shows any signs of resistance against the oppressors — we are forbidden to struggle. Ignorance and slavery — these are the means through which the capitalists and the government that serves them oppress us.

Rely Only Upon Ourselves How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insults, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? Everybody is against us — and the better of these gentlemen are, the worse off we are! We can expect nothing from them, we can rely only upon ourselves. Our strength lies in our unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize of course in what our strength lies and they try in every way to divide us and to hide the identity of interests of all workers.

But it's a long road that has no turning — and even the best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that the cowardice of slaves has changed into the courageous stubbornness of men,

who refuse to submit to the greed of the capitalists. A whole series of strikes has swept through various Russian cities. Most of these strikes ended successfully, especially in that they threw the bosses into terror and forced them into concessions. They showed that we were no longer cowardly paupers but that we had taken up the struggle.

Workers of All Countries, Unite! As is well known the workers of many shops and factories have organized the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-class with the aim of exposing and removing all abuses, of struggling against the shameful oppressions and swindles of our conscienceless exploiters. The League distributes leaflets at the sight of which the hearts of the bosses and their servants, the police, tremble. They are not frightened by these leaflets — they are terrified at the possibility of our united resistance, the sign of our great power that we have already manifested more than once. We, Petersburg workers, members of the League, call upon all the rest of our comrades to join the League and cooperate in the great task of unifying the working class in the struggle for their interests. It's time that we Russian workers smashed the chains that the bosses and the government have placed upon us. It is time that we joined our fellow workers of other lands in the struggle — under a common flag bearing the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In France, England, Germany and other lands where the workers have already closed their ranks and won important rights, the First of May is a general holiday of all labor. The workers leave the dark factories and parade the main streets in well-ordered lines with flags and music. They show their masters their power grown strong and join in numerous crowded assemblies to listen to speeches in which the victories achieved over the bosses are recounted and the plans for future struggles are developed. Because they are afraid of strikes, no individual boss dare fine or punish the workers who are absent from work on this day. On this day the workers also fling their chief demand into the teeth of the bosses: "For the Eight Hour Day."

A Society Without Masters Or Slaves In other countries the workers are already proclaiming this. There was a time — and not so long ago — when they also didn't have the right we are deprived of now, the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But through relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together. Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the working class. LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS. Petersburg, May 1, 1896.

Goldman Speaks Over Radio For Grace Carlson

Noted Labor Attorney Asks St. Paul Workers to Support Socialist Program of Write-In Candidate for Mayor

Below is the text of a speech in behalf of the candidacy of Grace Carlson for mayor of St. Paul, delivered over Station WMLN on April 24 at 8:45 P. M.

The speaker, Albert Goldman, attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, is best known in Minnesota labor circles as the counsel for the defense in the recent Minneapolis "sedition" case, which resulted in the conviction of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO, including both Goldman and Grace Carlson.

Goldman's brilliant concluding argument in that case has been printed under the title "In Defense of Socialism," by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York City. It is a 96 page paper-covered book, and sells for only 10 cents.

Ladies and gentlemen:

I ask you to support Grace Holmes Carlson in her write-in campaign as a candidate for mayor of St. Paul because she represents a program which alone is capable of solving the tremendously important problems facing the people of St. Paul, the people of this country and the people of the whole world.

A candidate must be judged primarily by the program he or she represents, and it is the platform on the basis of which Grace Carlson is appealing for your support that you must examine, study and analyze in order to determine whether or not she deserves your support. You must, of course, examine and study and analyze the platforms of all other candidates. Weigh them side by side with the platform of Grace Carlson and arrive at your conclusion on the basis of that examination.

Someone may remark that this is simply an election for the mayor of St. Paul and has nothing to do with any issues confronting the people of the whole world. Someone may assert that all the people of St. Paul are interested in is to elect as mayor a person capable of running the affairs of the city of St. Paul. Such an attitude would be wrong, for in the period of turmoil, in the period of great conflicts in which we live, the people of St. Paul must look upon an election, even for mayor of St. Paul, as a chance to align themselves for or against certain conceptions that the various candidates represent.

The election in St. Paul should not be determined by narrow, local issues, but should be looked upon as part of a great national and international political struggle in which an opportunity is afforded to vote against the world as it exists at present, to vote for a change in this world as proposed by the platform upon which Grace Carlson is running, the platform of the Socialist Workers Party.

The terrible conflict that has engulfed the whole world is a reality from which no one can escape, and it is this conflict which constitutes the background of the election in St. Paul.

To forget this all-important fact is to make a very serious blunder. The war is something that affects every human being whether he likes it or not, whether he knows it or not. Necessarily it affects those who suffer and die on the battlefield and on the sea more than those who stay at home, but whoever and wherever we are, we cannot escape its clutches. The housewife who finds that almost daily her dollar is shrinking by virtue of the increased cost of living; the worker who is urged to give up the extra pay for his overtime; the small businessman who is being squeezed out by priorities — none of them can escape from the effects of this all-embracing catastrophe.

Carlson Demands Workers Control

The statement is made and repeated over and over again that all sections of the population will have to sacrifice. But sacrifice is a relative term. Let us suppose that the man who makes \$50,000 a year will sacrifice one-half of his income and the man making \$2000 a year will sacrifice one-third of his income. The first will be left with \$25,000 and the second with about \$1340. The sacrifice of the 660 odd dollars in the second case means a thousand times greater sacrifice than the one of \$25,000 in the first case.

The undeniable fact is that proportionately the common people will sacrifice infinitely more than the bankers and industrialists. What is more, big business is doing its utmost to shift the burdens of the war onto the shoulders of the working masses. The hue and cry about extra payment for overtime, for work on Saturdays and Sundays, the attempt to put over a federal sales tax are all indications that they who make huge profits out of the war are determined to make the people pay for the war.

As the war will continue, and the probability is that it will continue for quite a long time, the standard of living for the masses will become lower and lower. We have been warned by persons high in administration circles that the masses must be prepared to live under a standard lower than that which prevailed in the darkest days of the Hoover depression. But remember this: that the persons controlling the 350 corporations that have received war orders amounting to 85 billion dollars will not suffer any by virtue of the war. Their profits will continue.

In 1941 the corporations made a profit of more than 7 billion dollars. If this profit would be taken by the government it would do away with the necessity of any sales tax and it would enable the government to pay trade union wages to all soldiers and leave many billions for other purposes.



ALBERT GOLDMAN

There is a great deal of talk about an offensive. There is one already — a real one and gaining momentum. It is the offensive of the representatives of the capitalists in Congress who are determined to take away all the social gains from labor.

The central point of the answer of labor to the offensive taken by reactionaries should be the point stressed in the platform upon which Grace Carlson is running — the point that demands the confiscation of all war profits, and the expropriation of all industries by the government, to be operated under the

control of the workers. Let the government confiscate all of the profits of the corporations and let it set a limit to the salaries which corporation officials are paying themselves and the need for additional taxes on incomes of workers will disappear. The government does not hesitate to take millions of men and send them to fight and die; it should not hesitate to confiscate profits.

And what will result from this war? This is the question uppermost in the minds of every thinking individual. Only 25 years have passed since the United States entered the first world conflict. Must we then look forward to more wars, to bigger and better conflicts? Must millions of lives be sacrificed every generation? It is this question that is the most important of all questions confronting us, and this question cannot be solved except through an understanding of the real causes of the last war and of this war.

Fascism Destroys Workers Rights

The members of the Socialist Workers Party, commonly known as the Trotskyists, have for many years predicted the coming of this war. Were we able to do so because we are more intelligent or more far-sighted? Not in the least. We were able to predict this war because the theory of socialism teaches us that the basis of all modern wars is conflicts between the various nations controlled by capitalist groups struggling for colonies, for markets, for raw materials, for spheres of influence, and by virtue of that socialist theory, we could state definitely that at one time or another, if the capitalist system is permitted to exist, wars must come.

The people of this country and the people of every other country want peace, but their wants and their desires have no effect so long as the present economic order exists. This is our fundamental proposition. It has been verified by the last war and by this war. There are many sincere and honest people who think that by a victory over Germany and Japan, peace will ultimately be brought to this world. But socialists who understand the real nature of war must say frankly and openly that permanent peace can come only when the peoples of the world will unite in a world socialist confederation with the object of producing the things that are required to satisfy the needs of human beings.

In such a confederation no one and no group will be permitted to make profit out of the labor of others. Economic rivalries will be abolished and the cause of wars will be abolished. Permanent and real peace will come only through socialism and it is this fundamental idea which Grace Carlson represents. The millions of honest people who believe that fascism will be destroyed through a victory of the United States and Great Britain, will discover after the war is over that fascism is a result not of the evil mind of Hitler or of Mussolini, but a result of the terrible conditions brought about by the failure of the capitalist system to satisfy the needs of all the people.

Trotskyists Predicted This War

What is fascism in essence? It is the destruction of all the rights and liberties of the working people in order to assure the continuation of the profits of monopolists. Every congressman who speaks against labor, who introduces a bill against labor, is trying to do exactly what the fascists in Germany and Italy have done. When the war will be over, the dreadful economic dislocation which must inevitably result will afford an opportunity for all the demagogues to make an attempt to introduce fascism in this country. They may not call it fascism, but these demagogues will try to suppress all the rights of labor, and I repeat: this is the essence of fascism.

What can assure the defeat of fascism is a government which will socialize all of the industries and operate them for the use of the people and not for profit of the monopolists. Such a government can only be a Workers and Farmers Government.

Against a Workers and Farmers Government Hitler and the Mikado will have no chance whatever. Such a government will arouse the enthusiasm and the initiative of the masses who will feel certain that their sacrifices will bring them and their children a world of peace and plenty. Such a government will also be able to appeal successfully to the masses of Germany, Italy and Japan to throw their rulers out and help establish a socialist world. The German, Italian and Japanese workers will have nothing to fear from socialist governments and they will refuse to support their present rulers.

Grace Carlson stands for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government and it is because of this that every worker, every farmer, every man and woman interested in bringing peace and plenty to this world should write in her name on the ballot.

CARLSON FOR MAYOR

(Continued from page 1)

the people a road out of the capitalist system which breeds war and depressions every generation. All the other candidates support the capitalist war program, and are ready to subordinate the workers' interests and hard-won gains to it.

Carlson is pledged to the election platform of the Socialist Workers Party of St. Paul, which advocates:

Confiscation of all war profits; a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living; the demand that the government take over the basic industries and operate them under workers' control; a federal appropriation for the establishment of camps where workers can be given military training under the control of the trade unions; observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time; opposition to Jim Crowism wherever it exists; defense of the Soviet Union, etc.

The other two mayoral candidates are incumbent John McDonough, Democrat who has been endorsed by the Labor-Progressive Association, and William Fallon "Republican" Democrat. These two candidates have laboriously

manufactured several tenth-rate issues in an effort to distract attention from the skyrocketing cost of living and the growing boss-inspired drive against the labor movement.

Ironically, Fallon, the "business" candidate, is charged that the "labor" candidate, McDonough, is a "tool of the power interests" and the "darling of the kept press." The reactionary *St. Paul Pioneer Press* in an editorial on April 16th, admits that it gave "vigorous and whole-hearted editorial support throughout his administration (1938-1940) and his campaign for re-election in 1940 In 1942 the Pioneer Press believes that Mayor McDonough has done a good job."

This boss paper praises McDonough for smuggling a five-year franchise to the Northern States Power trust, behind the backs of the people and without a vote. Fallon has seized on this as an issue; but the only difference between him and McDonough is that he is out now and McDonough is in.

The only candidate who merits the vote of the workers in St. Paul in this election is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Grace Holmes Carlson.

Hear
GRACE CARLSON
on the radio
the night before election day
She will speak on
"The Basic Issues of This Campaign"
over WMLN
Monday, April 27, 8:45-9:00 P. M.

ELECTION PLATFORM OF St. Paul S. W. P.

The Socialist Workers Party asks the voters' support for its candidate, Grace Carlson, on the following platform:

The people of St. Paul together with the people of the U. S. and the entire world are today engaged in the Second World War. In this period of terrible conflicts, mass misery and slaughter, the people of our city, as everywhere, are grappling with two great problems. 1.) They are striving to maintain the social gains and standards of living they have won over decades of struggle, through their trade unions and other organizations. 2.) At the same time they are anxiously seeking a solution to eliminate war, fascism and all the other evils which a decaying capitalist system inflicts upon them. These two problems are really one. The working masses can defend their welfare only by their own independent efforts directed towards the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government and the institution of socialism.

The employing class is attempting to place the full burdens of the war upon the working masses, and to wipe out whatever advantage labor has been able to secure for itself in times of peace. They are attacking wage and hour laws, the right to strike, social security, unemployment relief, old age pensions, and child welfare. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Roosevelt and other government representatives promised the workers that their social gains would remain intact. It is now clear, however, that unless the workers offer organized and militant resistance to these reactionary moves and measures, they alone will be compelled to make all the sacrifices demanded in the prosecution of this war.

The steep, uninterrupted rise in the cost of living, increased taxes, the rationing of certain consumer goods and the stoppage of production of others — all these economic consequences of the war — strike most heavily at the workers and their families. Wage increases won in recent months have already been nullified by the far more rapid rise in the cost of living. The 20 per cent advance in the cost of living by this March has not only wiped out all 1941 wage gains but will inflict an additional ten per cent cut in real wages.

The monopolies and their owners are the sole beneficiaries of this war. While over 80% of all war contracts are awarded to about a dozen giant corporations, small business men are squeezed out of existence. While millions are drafted to fight and die on distant battlefronts or compelled to work long hours in the factories and fields, the monopolists pile up exorbitant profits and live in wasteful luxury.

Make the rich pay for their own war!
We urge the passage of legislation necessary to confiscate all war profits.

We recommend to organized labor that the

trade unions incorporate in all contracts provisions for a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living.

II.
The ruling capitalist class and its government attempt to justify their demands upon the workers with the pretext that these sacrifices are necessary for war production. The reports of the Truman and Tolan Congressional Investigation Committees have demonstrated with irrefutable facts and figures that big business has deliberately refused to utilize its full productive capacity in order to safeguard profits and monopolistic positions.

Properly utilized, managed and controlled, American industry could provide even in wartime a high standard of living for the American people.

We therefore propose that the government take over the basic industries and operate them under workers' control.

III.
According to official estimates, over 10,000,000 men will soon be serving in the armed forces. They are entering an institution where they will lose what democratic rights they have enjoyed in civil life: the right to express their ideas, to elect representatives of their own choice to petition for a redress of their grievances, etc. It is farcical even to talk about a war for democracy without democracy in the armed forces.

We are opposed to all discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces as in industry. Down with Jim Crow wherever it exists!

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. Worker-soldiers should be led by their own elected and trusted worker-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.

IV.
The conviction of 18 men and women, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis last December, has imperiled the civil liberties of all. These are the first convictions under the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940 which has been condemned by all leading labor and progressive organizations as the most vicious anti-labor and anti-free speech legislation in the statute books. The war-time Espionage Act is also a threat to free discussion.

We demand the observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time as well as in peace-time, guarantee-

ing freedom of speech, press, petition and assembly.

V.
In the 1940 elections our candidate warned the St. Paul workers that the platform of the Labor-Progressive Association would be sabotaged by the Democratic politician, John McDonough. None of the progressive features of that platform have been put into effect during the 2 years of his administration. The progressive features of this year's platform will meet a similar fate.

Since we fight for full social, economic and political rights for the Negro people, we agree with the St. Paul Recorder in condemning the candidacy of Labor-Progressive John Mauer, who practices race segregation.

All the candidates for Mayor except Grace Carlson unite in support of the war and thereby take responsibility for its terrible consequences. This is equally true of the Councilman candidates including those of the Labor-Progressive Association and also of the Communist Party which claims to speak for the interests of the St. Paul workers.

The war question dominates and overshadows all other issues. The support given the war by these so-called labor representatives renders them incapable of defending the interests of the St. Paul workers.

Not a single workers' vote should be cast for these false and treacherous politicians.

VI.
War and fascism are the foul products of the

decaying capitalist order. To crush domestic and foreign fascism, to achieve peace and security, the workers must establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States.

The heroic resistance of the Soviet 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. We defend the Soviet Union unconditional'y.

We oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy because it has deprived the Russian masses of all their democratic rights and by its policies mortally endangered the Soviet Union. The Red Army would not have suffered such defeats in the first five months of the war had Stalin not murdered the political and military leaders who played such great roles in the success of the Russian Revolution.

Stalin 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 exploited people and dealt the heaviest blow of all to the Soviet Union itself.

As the only party pledged to the principles of international socialism, which alone can bring a system of enduring peace, freedom and plenty for all, we ask the support of the St. Paul voters for our candidate, Grace Carlson.

Vote Socialist. Your vote for Grace Carlson will signify your desire to build a Socialist United States of America and a Socialist World.

Grace Carlson Has Always Defended Labor's Interests

The daughter of an Irish railroad worker, Grace Carlson was born in St. Paul on Nov. 14, 1906. Through the experiences of her father who took part in the militant Shopmen's Strike of 1922, she learned early in life the meaning of the class struggle.

In 1934 she campaigned actively as a Farmer-Laborite for Floyd B. Olson and the radical "Cooperative Commonwealth" platform of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The contacts which she made with the Marxist leadership of the progressive labor movement while she was engaged in labor defense work during the strike wave of 1934-35 led her to a Marxist analysis of political problems.

In 1935 she took a position as a vocational rehabilitation counselor in the State Department of Education and became known as a militant fighter for the rights of the much exploited, physically-handicapped people.

As a state employee she became a charter member of Local 10, Minnesota State Employees Union, AFL. She served on the executive board of this local for two years; as a

delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly for four years; as a member of the Assembly Education Committee for three years; as a delegate of her local to state conventions of the AFL for three years in succession.

Grace Carlson's interest in the cause of the oppressed early led her to support the struggle of the Negro people for social, political and economic equality. She is a member of the St. Paul branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

Active in labor defense work, she is now a member of the National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League.

She resigned from the State Department of Education on Sept. 1, 1940 and has since devoted her full time to the work of the Socialist Workers Party.

As candidate of the "Trotskyist Anti-War Party" for United States Senator in 1940, she received 8,761 votes, more than the combined vote cast for the Socialist and Communist Parties.

In July, 1941, she was indicted together with 28 other members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO

of Minneapolis on charges of "seditious conspiracy" to overthrow the government by force and violence and of violating the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act.

On Dec. 1 the jury found all of the defendants not guilty of the charge of "seditious conspiracy" and 18 of the defendants, including Grace Carlson, guilty of the charge of violating the Smith Act.

A week later, on Dec. 8, at the same time President Roosevelt was reading his war declaration message to Congress she was sentenced to 16 months in jail. The case is now being appealed to higher courts, and in the meantime she is out on bail.

On Feb. 17 she filed as a candidate for mayor of St. Paul; the City Clerk ruled that her name be placed on the ballot despite reactionary attempts to keep it off.

In the March 10 primary election she received 1185 votes, or 3 per cent of the total number of votes cast. This encouraging response to the clear-cut socialist program of Grace Carlson induced the Carlson Campaign Committee to run her as a write-in candidate for the coming election on April 28.

Directions for Voting

Push up the metal cover of either slot 4 or 5 of the voting machine in the row of slots immediately above the names of the other candidates for Mayor. Write or print the name of GRACE CARLSON. The cover will drop back automatically.

Bring a pencil with you, or ask the election judge for one.

Take these directions to the polls with you April 28.

The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

A Negro Mother Writes FDR

The following letter, written by the mother of one of the Negro soldiers shot dead in the recent Fort Dix gun battle between M. Ps. and Negro troops, speaks for itself. It is an eloquent example of the growing spirit of anger and resentment among the Negro people at the tide of Jim Crow violence that has taken the lives of 5 Negro soldiers in the last month.

Conyers, Ga., April 5, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

I am the mother of George Hall, who was killed at Fort Dix, N. J., by a group of your white M. Ps.

Are the Negro women of this country raising up boys to be slaughtered like hogs and beef cattle by the M. Ps.?

My son is being buried today because of wanting to fight for his country. I have read of the death of several Negro soldiers being killed and nothing is being done about it. I would like very much for you to make a thorough investigation of my son's death, and the death of all other Negro soldiers who died likewise.

I know that I speak in the voice of all women, when I say that I love my children, and do not want them to be killed just on account of neglect. I read in the paper where the soldiers had slipped some ammunition from the firing range. This should never have been, for I think that all firearms are supposed to be taken away from the soldiers before they leave; if this is so, there must be some neglect on somebody's part. The officer in charge should be punished for letting firearms be handled by soldiers, unofficially. Our colored boys need better protection in the army. We don't want to labor for years bringing up our children to be respectful men and then have them killed like dumb driven cattle.

I have struggled hard for my children to get an education, and taught them to respect authority.

Please don't pass this up; I want you to promise me that you will investigate this case, not only for me, but for 3,000,000 Negro mothers. They are burying my son today.

A heart-broken mother, MRS. FANNIE HALL

UAW Opposes Housing Jim Crow

In Congress recently, Representative Tenerowicz of Michigan took the floor to utter the lie that the majority of the CIO auto workers were opposed to permitting the Negro people to move into the Sojourner Truth housing project in Detroit which had been built for them.

In this way he hoped to remove from the real estate interests and reactionary vigilante organizations the responsibility for organizing the February 28 attack on the Negro families trying to move into their homes.

But the recent UAW conference in Detroit completely exposed Tenerowicz's filthy trick. President Thomas reported what the congressman had said, and then called on everyone in the hall who was in agreement with Tenerowicz's position to stand. Not a single delegate arose. Thomas then asked the delegates who agreed with the official UAW stand, for the unqualified right of the Negro people to move into their homes, to get up. Everyone of the 1500 delegates stood up.

There has been such a furore about an article on the Jewish question in the Saturday Evening Post that very little attention has been called to another interesting article printed in the April 11 issue of that magazine. The author of this article is Brian Fenton, editor of The Daily Telegraph, a newspaper published in Sydney, and among other things he says the following:

"One side of Australia's case for America's aid I have not mentioned because I do not think I need to tell Americans that this wholly white democracy of 98% British stock looks with horror at any change in its status vis a vis the little yellow man. We think the country could support four or five times its present population, but we want newcomers to be of our own color and race."

Now you can understand how generous are the Australians who hold Fenton's point of view, to permit Negro newcomers in the form of United States Army labor battalions to serve in Australia until the war is over.

Marjorie McKenzie, Pittsburgh Courier columnist, has touched on an important aspect of Knox's April 7 order announcing that Negroes from now on would be able to serve in a Jim Crow section of the "reserve components" of the Navy, Marines and Coast Guard.

Her point is that from now on it will be even more difficult than it was before to compel the Navy — and the Army — to stop segregating the Negroes from the whites.

Many people who don't understand the nature of the Negro struggle will say: "Well, segregation is not a nice thing, but now the Negro people can serve in the Navy, and that's what really counts."

But that's not what really counts. The issue is: not the mere right to serve in the Navy, but the right of complete equality in every sphere of life. Those who do understand this will see that Knox's move was intended to do just that — cut the ground from under this protest movement, without at the same time making a single concession to Negro equality.

Character Of China's War

Reader Inquires About the Role of China In the War

A Letter to THE MILITANT

As a union progressive I have read your paper for some time now. I admire and support the fight the Minneapolis Trotskyists and teamsters are making for their elementary rights. This is a fight every good union member and sympathizer should support.

There is one political aspect to this war, however, which I do not understand your position on clearly from your paper. I refer to the role of China in the war. Do you or do you not think that China is worthy of support? She seems to be fighting right alongside and for the same purposes as the allies — and we don't think they're so hot, do we?

Besides, Chiang-Kai-Shek was sent over to India to rally the cause of the Allies. And I notice in your March 7 issue the attitude you have towards India — I gather you'd support a struggle there to throw out the British armies and set up an independent Indian republic, as we did here in '76. Now it seems the Chinese leader is trying to suppress Indian independence, and is more interested in helping the British than in aiding his own people to get an independent China.

Also, what do you say about Ethiopia? That hasn't been in the news much lately, but it seems a problem something like China. Maybe she has a different system though.

I would like to see an answer to these problems in your paper. With best wishes for your continued success, I remain

Fraternally yours, MYRA WARD BEECH

Akron, Ohio P. S. Good luck to the candidacy of Grace Carlson for mayor of St. Paul. She is a courageous and spirited woman.

China Is Fighting Against Imperialist Domination

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The current (April) issue of the magazine, Fourth International, contains a complete and detailed Marxist analysis of the questions raised in Myra Ward Beech's letter on China. We recommend that all readers of THE MILITANT who are interested in this very important question read that article, entitled "Why We Defend China" by John G. Wright. Here we make only a few remarks on the question.

China's war is the struggle of a semi-colonial country for its national independence. China's main enemy today is Japan, the imperialist invader; Japan today is the chief obstacle to the right of the Chinese nation to rule itself. The victory of China over Japan in this war would be a powerful blow against the whole imperialist world and an inspiration to all the oppressed peoples to throw off their chains of imperialist slavery. For this reason Marxists consider China's war as progressive and have supported it since the beginning of the Japanese invasion.

Our support of China's war has nothing in common with political support of Chiang Kai-shek, or the Kuomintang, which he leads, or the Chinese capitalist class whose interests he represents. On the contrary, we have supported China in spite of and against the reactionary policies of Chiang Kai-shek's regime.

QUESTION OF MATERIAL AID AND ALLIANCES

We unceasingly criticized and exposed the reactionary policies which drowned the 1925-27 Chinese revolution in blood, established a military dictatorship over the people, demoralized the masses and thus opened wide the doors for Japanese invasion and still obstruct the successful prosecution of the war against Japan.

It is clear therefore that our position in support of China's war was not arrived at because of the slightest confidence in Chiang or his policies. We do not oppose acceptance by

China of aid from Anglo-American imperialism; we do not oppose an alliance of China with one imperialist power against another — neither of these in and of themselves would change the situation so as to warrant a change in the policy of the Marxists. For neither of these by themselves could transform the character of China's war against Japan. What we oppose is any subordination of China's war for freedom to the aims and strategy of imperialist allies of China.

To determine the correct position toward China's war today, it is therefore necessary for those who supported China's war before December 7 only to look at what has happened since then and to ask: Has China or China's war come under the control of China's imperialist allies, has China's war become subordinated to the strategy and aims of those allies? If it has, then Marxists can no longer support China. If it hasn't, then Marxists, while remaining aware of future dangers, must continue to support China.

What has happened since December 7 and the extension of the world war to the Pacific? The struggle for national liberation in the most important colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Southwest Pacific has become stronger and bolder, rather than weaker. The grip of Britain on India, for example, has been loosened. London and Washington now find it necessary to make overtures and promises to the Indian nationalist movement; and the answers they receive from the native capitalists are not the sub-

dued and respectful ones they used to be.

CHINA BOLDER NOW

Similarly, the grip of Washington and London has been loosened on China. The Chinese regime feels freer than ever before to resist dictation of China's military struggle by the United States and Britain. Even less than on December 6 do the wishes and desires of Roosevelt and Churchill today determine the course of China's war. The Chinese government is demanding more, not less.

Wm. P. Simms, Scripps-Howard Foreign Ed., told on Apr. 18 of "the rising demand on the part of the Chinese, Indians and others for a Pacific Charter." He reports: "In the East, observed Tsung Tsi-pao, one of Chungking's leading newspapers, 'many nations are of a colonial or quasi-colonial spirit. The Roosevelt-Churchill declaration (Atlantic Charter) is applicable to independent nations which were overrun by the Axis powers. It has made no provisions concerning the postwar positions of such countries as India and Burma.'"

"The spirit of the proposed Pacific Charter," paper said, should aim at the liberation of Korea, the Liu-chu Islands and Formosa from Japanese domination and the freedom from Allied control of India, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. China, it added, "is certainly not helping one imperialism fight against another imperialism."

One can hardly imagine such statements coming from the Chinese capitalists five months ago. And one can easily imagine what Washington and London think when they hear such things: "There is no question but that China's hand in the war has been strengthened, that it is more independent of Anglo-American control than ever before."

WHAT CHIANG'S ROLE IS AN ARGUMENT FOR

In other words, it is completely false to reduce the question of China's war to the reactionary policies of Chiang Kai-shek. We

condemn Chiang's intervention in India because it was a blow at China's struggle, because its effect was to alienate the sympathy of India's masses for China's war. It is another example of how the Chinese capitalists hamper the struggle for independence.

But this is no argument against supporting China's progressive war — it is only an argument against placing any confidence in Chiang. It is only an argument for the continuation of the political struggle against Chiang by the Chinese masses, while they continue to direct their fire at the main enemy of Chinese national existence, Japan.

PROBLEM OF ETHIOPIA

The situation of Ethiopia is not at all like the situation in China today. It is more like the situation in India, because Ethiopia is today a colony of Britain.

In 1935 we supported Ethiopia's war against Italy as the war of a backward country for independence from an imperialist power. We said it was correct for the Ethiopians to accept aid from the British in order to drive the Italian conquerors out of their land. We warned the Ethiopian people then, as we warn the Chinese masses today, to be on guard against their imperialist "allies." We predicted the Ethiopian people would have to fight the British who would try to take over Ethiopia. That Britain was not fighting for Ethiopian independence was shown two months ago, when Britain forced the signing of a British-Ethiopian treaty which gives Britain control of the police, courts, military forces, railroad, etc.

In other words, Ethiopia has been reduced to the status of a British colony; and under such conditions the only kind of war in which Marxists could support Ethiopia would be a war against Britain, Ethiopia's main enemy today.

Quick UAW Local Opposes Surrender Of Overtime Pay

The members of the large Buick Local 599, United Automobile Workers, CIO, Flint, Michigan, last week backed the position of their delegates to the recent UAW conference and voted continued opposition to giving up the established wage rates for weekend and holiday work.

This action, reflecting widespread sentiment among the auto workers generally, was taken in spite of the pressure of the union's national leaders who were able after a day-long battle at the UAW conference to pass a motion to recommend the relinquishing of this traditional wage standard.

Similar opposition was voted last week at the membership meeting of the Bell Aircraft local in Buffalo, New York.

John McGill, Local 599 president, stated that "the membership has reaffirmed its position as opposed to relinquishing any overtime provision existing in the present contract."

When Unionism Conquered Ford

One Year Ago This April His Open-Shop Kingdom Fell

By JOE ANDREWS

One year ago in April the American working class wrote into its history one of its most glorious pages — the victorious Ford strike.

It was a battle that should be commemorated as a demonstration of the unconquerable strength and courage of the workers.

On the first day of April, 1941, 90,000 Ford workers, after years of enslavement under the most ruthless industrial tyranny in America, broke their chains. By their organized power they humbled the open shop Bastille at River Rouge, and brought Ford, the hitherto absolute monarch of his empire, to his knees.

The strike was a dramatic demonstration of the irrepressible militancy and innate resourcefulness of organized workers. The Ford strikers in swift decisive strokes delivered their strategic blows with military precision and drove Ford's thug army of 5,000 armed Service Men to unconditional surrender. They silenced the roar of the production lines, and drained the mile-long plant of its life-blood, leaving it silent and dead as a corpse.

The day before the workers walked out, an avalanche of sit-downs swept from department to department. The news was quickly spread: "The rolling mill is down; the B. Building is down; the Foundry . . . Assembly . . . paint shop . . ." By midnight of April 16 the call to "down tools" had passed from plant to plant. Strike captains were chosen, and the headquarters of the United Automobile Workers — CIO was contacted. No one touched a tool until the headquarters summoned all men to walk out.

OUTWIT SERVICE MEN

All but a handful left the plants. Barricades of automobiles were placed at the four main highways, the arteries of traffic leading into River Rouge. No one without a union pass could get within a block of the plant. Traffic was stopped. Picket captains policed the highways. Gradually a picket line began to form, numbering tens of thousands. This simple and effective strategy outwitted and beat the most powerful strike-breaking army in the world.

A conquering union army marched on Miller Road as day dawned. The strategy of the barricades had prevented any scabs from reaching the plant gates. Later, as the picket lines grew, each plant gate was guarded by thousands of union men.

Ford's little band of scabs, 1500 in all, who had remained inside the plants, made a few futile for-

ance cruised back and forth, ready for any emergency. But there was nothing to fear. Ford was smashed.

Strike canteens which were set up at every corner dished out tons of coffee and doughnuts. Picket duty cards were punched, and saved as badges of honor. Thousands of union men from far and wide came to see the sight, to fight if necessary, and to join in the spirit of victory.

At the small union hall on Michigan Avenue, which could hold only a few hundreds, thousands of new Ford members were signed up.

Ford — the man who had said he would not bargain with a union, and if he was forced to bargain would just bargain "until hell freezes over" — signed a closed shop check-off agreement, granting all the union demands, and then some.

But something far greater than a contract alone was won. A sym-

Seek Freedom for Seamen Framed Up In '37 Strike

The Committee to Free Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown, created to win freedom for three seamen framed-up by the Hague machine and sent to jail in New Jersey for their activities during the 1936-37 seamen's strike, has issued an appeal for support from all trade unions and progressive organizations.

The men — Anthony Panchelly, Edward Woodworth and Donald Brown — have already served five years of a fifteen year sentence. An application for pardon has been placed before the New Jersey Court of Pardons, and the Committee requests that letters, telegrams and petitions be sent at once to Governor Charles Edison, Trenton, N. J., asking favorable action on the pardon application.

The three West Coast seamen, members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Water-tenders Association (unaffiliated), joined the strike as soon as their ship docked in December, 1936. On New Year's Day, 1937, they were arrested in Hoboken following a street fight with Frederick Schwartz, a scabberder trying to break the strike.

The strike committee had to be released for lack of evidence, but Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown were sentenced to prison. The charge was — robbery!

On the unsupported testimony of the strike-breaker Schwartz, men were convicted of stealing \$21.80 he alleged he had on his

person before the fight. The police, who had searched the three, had not found the money on them. None of the witnesses of the fight saw the money. Schwartz himself testified that he had not seen it taken from him, claiming that it was stolen while he was unconscious.

On the basis of this evidence the three were sentenced to 14 to 15 years in prison — for allegedly having stolen \$21.80! This is a typical example of Jersey justice.

Their appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court — controlled by Hague — was lost; their first request for a pardon was denied.

The defense committee, created at the initiative of the Workers Defense League, is composed of labor leaders, educators, etc. Its work for a pardon has been endorsed by the three prisoners, many local unions, the last national convention of the CIO, the New Jersey CIO and the American Civil Liberties Union. The Marine Firemen's union has guaranteed employment for the men immediately upon release and for the next ten years.

Bring up the case in your union this week, and after taking action, notify the Committee, whose address is 30 Nairn Pl., Newark.

Laval Will Try To Make France Part Of Hitlerite Order

By A. ROLAND

Hitler is not satisfied with the efforts made by Petain to "coordinate" France into a Nazi Europe. What such coordination meant to the fascists was quite clear. They wanted a France in which the working class would be completely under the iron heel of a capitalist class dictatorship. They wanted Petain, as the spokesman for big finance capital, to carry out cold-bloodedly the terrorism that the German Nazis had used in the period of their rise to power. The French ruling class would thus have been forged to burn all bridges behind it. Its future fate would then have become completely intertwined with that of the German conquerors. It would have been forced to discipline the French workers into abject submission to its will. Hitler could then have relied on whole-hearted support in the war from the "new" France. French production would have been geared most effectively into Axis war production. A short step further and France would be in the war itself, this time on the side of the Axis.

Petain found himself unable to meet the demands of Hitler. Not because of any fundamental difference in social outlook. Petain, just as Weygand, was ready long before the war to play the part of a Franco and wipe out every last trace of democracy. His name is associated with every plot to bring about a reactionary coup d'etat.

The whole trouble with French "coordination" lay precisely in that defeat. Any attempt to copy the methods of the Nazis in their actions against the working class would have failed miserably. It would have appeared for what it was, the obvious work of secondary agents of the foreign conqueror. Far from strengthening the fascist-minded French bourgeoisie, it would have united the entire nation against them. Petain dared not risk the likelihood of civil war under conditions in which he would have been forced to call on the conqueror for aid. Then too, Petain was not at all certain that Hitler would win the war. He therefore preferred to sit on the fence and wait rather than to risk not only his own neck but the future of French capitalism on a gamble.

The Last Straw

The Riom trial was the last straw for Hitler. It underlined the failure of Petain to carry out the "coordination" of France with Nazism. Hitler looked to this trial as the climax of the rise of the "new" France. It was to be preceded by a cold pogrom that would pave the way for more bloody deeds. It was furthest from the thoughts of the German conqueror to permit Blum and Daladier to put in any real defense of themselves in open court. The conducting of the trial was to symbolize that France had "arrived" at its new status. Instead, the trial showed up the weakness and hesitancy of the Petain regime. Hitler could not even use the trial for home consumption, to show that it was the French and English whose plotting had brought on the war.

The failure of Hitler's plans for France comes at an awkward time. Hitler had granted a certain time to France because his "time-table" for German conquest of Europe seemed to permit this. Russia was to be overrun in a matter of weeks, the German armies were to slice through the Red Army "like a knife through cheese." But the Soviet masses knocked Hitler's time-table into a cocked hat. The question of France has assumed a far greater importance in this second year of the Soviet campaign. If tomorrow the "United Nations" should attempt to open up a second front in Europe, France would be as likely a choice as any for a landing of armies. The attitude of the French government then takes on the greatest significance. Would it attempt to repel the invader? Would it on the contrary welcome its old allies and seek the chance to re-enter the conflict? Hitler wants this question resolved in no uncertain terms. He wants somebody in the saddle whose fate depends entirely on a German victory. Hence his choice of Laval.

Role of Laval Now — And Before

This despicable figure is a fitting symbol for the task of making France a vassal state in a fascist Europe. It is the same Laval who gave Mussolini the necessary assurances for the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The same Laval who plotted with English reaction (the Hoare-Laval deal) to give fascism its way. What the capitalist press will fail to note, however, is that this figure emerges perfectly naturally from the epoch of French parliamentary democracy. This man was a premier of France under the democratic regime. In that there is no accident. The forces that gave rise to fascism existed in dormant form right in the heart of the democratic regime.

Laval is willing to stake all on Nazi success. He is taking over in particular the entire police power of France. In this he will no doubt cooperate fully with the Gestapo. But Petain, unwilling to take the full measures which Laval will no doubt utilize, remains as a power in the background. No doubt he gave way to Nazi pressure in placing Laval back in power. But evidently he is willing to give the Laval experiment a try. If it fails, then Petain can always step forward once again — so he hopes — and repudiate the failure.

But Petain is grossly in error. His task, willingly or unwillingly, has been performed. It was to pave the way for a more reactionary regime which could more openly cooperate with Hitler. This regime no more than that of Petain, will have mass support. No more than Petain will Laval be able to set up a really fascist state. That is done not by the fiat of a foreign conqueror, but by civil war in which the proletariat is vanquished. Laval's regime, even more than that of Petain, will rest on German bayonets.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Twin Cities MAY DAY Celebration

Speaker:

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Chief defense attorney in Minneapolis "Sedition" trial

Place: 919 Marquette Avenue, Minneapolis

Time: Friday, May 1, 8 P. M.

Celebrate this MAY DAY with the Socialist Workers Party

THE MILITANT

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March 3, 1919.

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.

Getting "Tough"

A few weeks ago a petty junk dealer in a small Indiana town refused to sell the government 100 tons of scrap metal he had managed to accumulate in his back yard.

The government did not plead with him. It did not fuss around with suits and delaying court action. It sent Army and FBI agents to the spot, seized the scrap metal, and hauled it off in trucks. What a fanfare the capitalist press made about how the government was going to get "tough" with violators of the metal priorities and hoarding regulations! Confiscation — expropriation — those were the words!

Now the War Production Board has been forced to reveal that the big corporations, U. S. Steel and Jones & Loughlin, producing one-third of the steel in this country, have been engaged in "repeated, deliberate violations of priorities regulations" from the time the government established these regulations on through Pearl Harbor and up to the present day.

These "patriotic" corporations, disregarding and dismissing the explicit instructions of the government, diverted tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of tons of vital steel from war production, given high priorities ratings by the government, to production for their regular private customers.

This was going on a long time, since the establishment of priorities ratings. The government managed to ferret out an obscure, small town junk dealer and settle his hash in a few days. But somehow, the government didn't seem to be able to get around to checking the monster steel corporations working on huge government war orders. Or if the government did, it acted with utmost discretion and caution. Month followed month—the companies snapped their fingers at the WPB, brushed aside the pleadings of the government officials, and issued instructions to their officers and employees to handle orders giving first consideration to private customers "on the basis of their past purchases" and "regardless of the priority ratings."

Maybe you think the government is going to get "tough" now—maybe you think the government is going to move in on U. S. Steel and Jones & Loughlin like it descended on the petty Indiana junk dealer. Guess again!

Confiscate U. S. Steel? Expropriate Jones & Loughlin? Not on your life!

These corporations don't take orders from the government. They give orders. They're continuing to tell the government to go to hell—right now, today. And the government blusters and—institutes a suit.

Maybe in a few months or a few years a decision will be made. Maybe the government will win—maybe the corporations. Maybe it will be decided by the U. S. Supreme Court twenty years after the war, like the Bethlehem Steel case of World War I. Maybe it will all be settled out of court finally, with the corporations being advised to do their priorities chiseling a little more circumspectly.

It is plenty obvious, from the contrast between the way the government treated the Indiana junk dealer and the way it is treating the giant trusts,

that the government intends to tread very lightly where the interests of the big corporations are concerned.

If the government really meant business about expediting production, if it really were more concerned about production and priorities regulations than about stepping on the toes of the big monopolists, it would long ago have cracked down on the steel companies and all the rest of the monopolies just as it cracks down on a petty scrap hoarder, who also possesses "sacred" property rights.

It would have moved into the steel plants, taken them over—yes, expropriated them—and placed them under the control of the workers.

Or is it too much to expect that from a government so preoccupied with cracking down on small-time junk dealers that it hasn't the time and resources left to effectively curb those who are really impeding production?

Pity The Poor \$1-A-Year Men!

Pity the plight of the poor dollar-a-year men! Their lot is truly a hard one. All they get besides their fat corporation salaries for steering war orders to their companies is one lone government buck a year — and criticism.

It's the criticism! That's what get under their tissue paper skins. People don't seem to appreciate what it means for a corporation agent to sacrifice himself for his country. Some of them say pretty nasty things. And how much do you think a sensitive individual, nurtured in the genteel cut-throat atmosphere of "Big Business," can stand?

The situation is becoming so acute that Donald Nelson, War Production Board head, is complaining that "experienced businessmen" don't want to serve their country in Washington. It's so bad, he says, that it may become necessary to draft them for government service.

And when you have to draft businessmen for a job of sitting around the gravy bowl in Washington that's really bad. It's almost a crisis.

However, we have the feeling that Nelson is agitating himself needlessly.

From what we have learned about Washington the problem is not how to get dollar-a-year men there, but how to keep them away.

As a matter of fact, we have men like Philip Reed, chairman of the General Electric board, who cling leeches to those "dollar-a-year" jobs — even when their companies are caught doing a little business on the side with Hitler.

Last November, for instance, there were 250 "official" dollar-a-year men in government war agencies. Twenty-two of them, mostly small fry, have left since — and they had to be booted out. But that hasn't seemed to discourage the corporation agents any. They've braced their shoulders and marched unflinchingly into the fires of Washington. At the last count, on March 26, there were 395 of them giving their all for their country — and the corporations which are paying for their maintenance in Washington.

We strongly suspect that what Nelson means by a draft is a "selective service." There's so many big and little fat cats trying to muscle their way to a choice spot around the gravy bowl, that the WPB head is forced to set up some "standards." We'll bet that only the biggest fat cats will get caught in the draft.

Who Protects The Soldiers' Interests?

The reactionaries are trying to beat down the standards of the workers under the pretext that the maintenance of union rights and conditions is against the interests of the soldiers.

An appropriate answer to this vicious and lying claim was given at the recent United Automobile Workers Conference by one of the militant delegates who spoke in opposition to surrender of the workers rights.

"Many of our members are fighting abroad," he pointed out. "We must protect their rights at home."

These words express the real truth of the issue. The fight to maintain and improve the workers' conditions at home is part of the fight to defend the interests of the soldiers.

For the soldiers are mostly workers in uniform. Many of them have fought in the union ranks to establish decent conditions for themselves and their fellow workers. They have left behind them families and dependents whose living standards and rights they expect the unions to protect. And they themselves, if they survive the war, will some day return seeking jobs and a chance to live in comfort and decency.

Who then are the enemies of the soldiers? It is those who are attempting to pave the way for super-exploitation of the workers in uniform upon their return to civilian life. It is those who are going behind the backs of the soldiers, while they face deprivation and death, and trying to undermine their future working and living conditions.

The unions, for their part, have the stern obligation and duty not merely to defend the interests of the soldiers as soldiers, but to defend their interests as workers.

Let the organized labor movement see to it that those who will some day come back from the hardships and horrors of war do not return to an open-shop America, to a boss-dominated America of low wages, long hours and vicious exploitation.

The Workers' Bookshelf

The Two Pamphlets That Came Out Of The Trial

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. C., January, 1942. 116 pages. 10 cents.

IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM, by Albert Goldman. Pioneer Publishers. March, 1942. 96 pages. 10 cents.

One of the important results of the Minneapolis "sedition" trial of union leaders and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party is the pair of pamphlets entitled *Socialism on Trial* and *In Defense of Socialism*. The first of these contains the official court record of the testimony of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the S. W. P., while the latter is the transcript of the closing address of Albert Goldman, chief attorney for the defense and himself one of the defendants.

This is not the first time the class struggle has found its way to the judicial plane in this country. Other leaders of labor in other periods have been summoned to defend their ideas in the capitalist courts. There were the Haymarket anarchists, Eugene Debs, and the leaders of the I. W. W., to mention a few. But these men were not provided with a clear and worked-out program. Their ideology reflected the immaturity of the movements they represented. In this, Cannon and Goldman were far better equipped than their predecessors. Armed with the program of Trotskyism, the most advanced form of Marxist socialism, they were able to present a comprehensive picture of the future of American capitalism and the intentions of modern revolutionary socialism.

Cannon's testimony ranged over the whole field of the socialist movement. In it, he explained the nature of the everlasting crisis of capitalism, and the road out of it and towards the Workers' and Farmers' government.

They Stuck to Their Guns

Goldman's address was more limited in scope, but its main point was a worthy one. It was designed to explain the fundamentally democratic nature of the socialist program, and the dictatorial resistance of the ruling class to it. This idea is worthy of propagation at the present time, in view of the persistent efforts of apologists for the decayed system of private property to demagogically paint every movement in opposition to it as an opponent of democracy. Goldman's address to the jury is an effective antidote for this poisonous slander. The well-known

effect of this speech on the jury is sufficient evidence of its potency.

In a dispatch to THE MILITANT from the courtroom during the trial, Felix Morrow wrote of Cannon's testimony:

"Long after this trial is settled one way or another, the stenographic record of this courtroom dialogue between Albert Goldman and Jim Cannon will be read as a primer by new generations in the socialist movement."

Here is the great value of this record of a courtroom struggle between the ideologies of two classes. With it, "new generations in the socialist movement" will be educated. They will be taught the history of the movement, its purposes and program, and the promise of its future.

Goldman's Main Point

But there is another lesson implicit in the booklet which they can learn. For Cannon and Goldman to hand on their courtroom words to the party as educational instruments, signifies they did not care to teach to the new socialist militants. They did not water down their principles! In the heat of the struggle, with the Damocles sword of years of imprisonment hanging from the courtroom ceiling, these fighters stuck to their guns. Yes, this is perhaps the greatest lesson of all to be learned from these two pamphlets, the lesson of the Bolshevik method of struggle; the principled method.

There is no doubt but that the Cannon testimony and Goldman address will long survive ordinary pamphlets explaining the views of the socialist movement. They will become historic evidence of the worth of the Trotskyist party, which on the eve of the war, flung the challenge of revolutionary socialism into the teeth of the ruling class. But these pamphlets are not museum pieces yet. Like all dented armor and hacked swords lying in museum showcases today, these weapons of socialism will bear the marks of a thousand battles before they become relics of our epoch.

Every advanced worker must read the program of Trotskyism as explained in these pamphlets. Every revolutionary socialist must work to give the widest possible circulation to them. In their content, in their lucidity, and in their dramatic form of presentation they are eminently suited for the education of new workers everywhere. They should be put to the greatest possible use for that purpose.

Reviewed by HARRY FRANKEL.

April 'Fourth International' Features National Question

The April issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, features four extremely educational articles on current problems of national liberation.

1. The Editorial Comment analyzes the British offer to India of "dominion status" after the war, and the reason for the Indian Congress Party's rejection of the plan carried by Sir Stafford Cripps. The editorial ably answers the lying pro-British propaganda in the American capitalist press and the anti-Hindu speech recently made in New York by Lord Halifax.

2. *Lenin's Teachings On National Wars* by Felix Morrow, is an answer to the latest Stalinist forgeries committed in Lenin's name. Those who are in touch with the Communist Party know that while in public and in the *Daily Worker* they offer only patriotic explanation of their support of the war, in private and at their meetings and in their theoretical magazine they try to offer quotations from Lenin to justify their position.

The outstanding example of the present period is Robert Minor's article, *Lenin on the Junius Pamphlet*. Morrow takes Minor's

article and subjects it to a searching analysis, shows how Minor deliberately distorted Lenin's words and ideas, and presents Lenin's real views on national wars. Every Stalinist worker who wants to learn what Lenin said and fought for will find it here.

FOR DEFENSE OF CHINA

3. *Why We Defend China*, by John G. Wright, discusses the effect of the extension of the world war to the Pacific on the Chinese war against Japan, and shows why the workers of the world should continue their policy of supporting the Chinese struggle. In addition, he reviews the arguments of the Shachtmanites and Oehlerites, who have abandoned support of China, and shows how they have revised and distorted the teachings of Leninism on the national question.

4. *The Road To Freedom for Ceylon* is part of the program of the Ceylon Socialist Party, adherent of the Fourth International, which was recently suppressed by the British.

Other articles in the April issue are:

The Riom Trial: The Truth About French "Democracy," by

Marc Loris. This piece reviews the French trial and draws several important conclusions from the revelations made by Blum and Daladier.

The Auto Workers Conference, by Joe Andrews who attended the recent Detroit conference of the UAW-CIO, emphasizes the significance for the whole labor movement of the militant opposition at the meeting.

BOLSHEVIK DIPLOMACY

A Soviet Note To President Wilson is a brilliant example of revolutionary diplomacy and propaganda. It was written by Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin in 1918, and constitutes a starting contrast with the present diplomacy and politics of the Kremlin.

Two book reviews round out this issue:

Stafford Cripps' biography by Eric Estorick is reviewed by Larissa Reed, and *The Remaking of Italy* by Pentad is reviewed by Jack Ranger.

The cost of a single copy of this issue is 20 cents; the cost of a year's subscription, \$2.00. For either, write to Business Manager, *Fourth International*, 116 University Pl., New York City.

Names and Aims

Some Reflections On The President's Request

By M. STEIN

Even though we are rapidly approaching the state of total war, and the regimentation of the people is growing from day to day, there is nevertheless a great difference between the fascist brand of total war and that of bourgeois democracy. Who could possibly conceive of a fascist regime taking the masses of the people into their confidence on the conduct of the war or any of its phases? Thinking is the exclusive prerogative of the bureaucratic hierarchy. The Fuehrer and the immediate clique around him maneuver the people into war, they name the war, they lead the war, and they expect to benefit from it. The people are not to ask the reason why, theirs is but to do or die.

Could anyone conceive under fascism of such a magnificent gesture as the one made by the President April 3, when he appealed to the people — yes, to you and me — to find him an appropriate name for the war. "He explained," says the New York Telegram, April 3, "that he does not want to coin the phrase himself. He wants it to come from down below and not from the top." This is democracy in action. This gives the plain folk, the average citizen — Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones — a chance to use their heads not only to wear a hat or any army helmet, but also for some deep thinking. Since April 3 it has become our responsibility as citizens of a great democracy to find a name for the war. We have got to vindicate the trust placed in us by the President, but even more important than this, we simply must have a name for the war.

We have been participants in this nameless war for over four months. But how much longer can we go on without a name? Even if we should manage to pull through as at present, we would still need a name for the war. Imagine trying to explain to your grandchildren the medals on your chest, received for bravery in action in the what's its name war? It might not be so bad if we were sure that this would be the only nameless war. But there is no guarantee that another war will not follow shortly after this one, and if we fail to find a name for this one, and the one following, such a situation might easily lead to a breakdown of civilization. History books without names for wars would lose all meaning, just as the development of science would be impossible without terminology, and language in general would be inconceivable without names for persons and things.

Names and Aims

The truth of the matter is that there is a much more immediate and pressing reason why we cannot go on much longer without a name for the war. So far we have neither an aim for the war nor a name. If we cannot have both, at least let's have one. Which shall it be? Difficult as it may be to find a name for the war, just think of the difficulties the authorities run into when they try to define the aims of the war. England has been in the war for over two and a half years. During this period there have been numerous demands from various sources for a declaration of the aims of the war. This has met with the most stubborn refusal on the part of the British Cabinet. In reply to such demands in Parliament Mr. Churchill replied, "The moment you leave the arena of pious platitudes, you will descend into the arena of heated controversy." Right you are.

Here, for example is one British view: "With respect to war aims, it is useless to talk vaguely of new orders or of making the world safe for democracy. The job our statesmen are paid to do is to see that the world, as God made it, is safe for Great Britain." (From *Everybody's Weekly*, reprinted in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London, Feb. 14, 1942.)

And here is one American view: "We must make this nation so strong that, when peace finally comes, President Roosevelt will be able to sit down at the conference table and tell every other nation in the world to go to hell." (Ed Kelly, Mayor of Chicago.)

Imagine if the above two views on the aims of the war were openly proclaimed as the views of their respective governments. We would then indeed "descend into the arena of heated controversy." This is why the authorities must stick to "the arena of pious platitudes" for the time being and jockey for positions and hope to be able to enforce the real war aims later on.

Some Suggestions That Have Been Made

Here are a few of the names suggested. "We take them out of one day's crop in the World Telegram: "The Anti-Aggression War," "The War of the Millennium," "Last War," "Allies Anti-slavery War," "The Emancipation War," "War for World Democracy."

All the above names, we fear, will be rejected by the President. They are just a bit too expressive of the illusions of the masses. Not that it's bad for the masses to entertain illusions. It helps in the war effort. But to commit the government officially to any of these illusions — to sign a post-dated check in the name of any of these illusions — that is a bit too dangerous. When the time for settlement comes, it may be too embarrassing to be presented with the need of making payments on these illusions.

Take the Atlantic Charter for example. It certainly stuck to the "arena of pious platitudes." Nevertheless it has created plenty of trouble. The people in India want to know why it couldn't apply to them, why they couldn't have their independence and freedom. And there are voices rising in China demanding a Pacific Charter and freedom for all the people of the Orient.

"The Anti-Aggression War"? Will one be able to square it with the terms of the peace treaty? "The War of the Millennium"? "The Emancipation War"? After the war is over some people might get the notion to continue fighting until the millennium has really been realized — until the emancipation has really been achieved.

More on this question next week.

New York May Day Rally

Speakers:

JOE ANDREWS
LYDIA BEIDEL

Mass Singing of Labor Songs

WERDERMAN'S HALL
160 3rd Avenue, corner 16th Street

Friday, May 1, 8:00 P. M.

Admission 25 Cents

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party