

Workers Of The
World, Unite!

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JOB'S FROZEN TO KEEP WAGES DOWN

MAY DAY MANIFESTO Of The Socialist Workers Party

Fellow workers:

Since 1886 the First of May has been set aside by the workers to demonstrate their international class solidarity and their opposition to the capitalist system which condemns mankind to exploitation, oppression, crises, fascism, and war.

May Day, 1943 marks the fourth May Day of the Second World War. The official leaders of the trade unions, the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties together with all representatives of the capitalist rulers, call upon the American workers to support this war. They declare that the capitalist governments of the United States, England and their satellites are fighting this war not for profits, not for monopolistic privileges, not for the preservation of private property and for world domination, but against fascism and for democracy, liberty, a better world.

In their efforts to persuade the workers that monopoly capitalism is not the sole beneficiary of the war, Roosevelt and his labor lieutenants promised to preserve the social gains and democratic rights of the workers. They proclaimed a program of "equality of sacrifice." They promised to keep down the cost of living; to respect civil liberties; to protect small business against the huge corporations; to eliminate profiteering.

Promises and Performances

But what has actually happened? By executive decree on April 8 Roosevelt froze wages and authorized the freezing of jobs. Meanwhile the costs of the prime necessities of life continue to mount. The most crushing tax load in history has already been imposed on workers' incomes. Hours are being stretched out; working standards are broken down; the speedup is being enforced.

Because their leadership gave away the right to strike, the trade unions have proved unable to counteract these capitalist practices and economic consequences of the war. Bills for conscription of labor have been introduced into Congress. Militants who fight for better conditions in the trade unions are terrorized and victimized.

While the workers, the poor farmers, the lower middle classes receive blow upon blow, Big Business prospers. The public treasury is wide open to the monopolist masters of America. Less than 100 corporations have 80% of all war contracts. 15 billions of new plants and machinery have been donated to them. In many cases corporate profits for 1941 and 1942 exceed those of 1929.

The same men who head Big Business direct the government and dictate the policies of the War Production and other boards in Washington. Wall Street is seeking, under cover of war patriotism, to cripple and if possible to wipe out the trade unions and to restore open-shop conditions in industry. These plans of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce are being energetically promoted by the Democratic-Republican coalition of ultra-reactionary Congressmen. The Hobbs Bill to jail and fine unionists, already passed by the House, is typical of the anti-labor legislation now being pushed through Congress and the state legislatures.

Through their ownership of the means of production and their predominant position in all government agencies, the monopolists are using the war to pile up new billions and to tighten their stranglehold on the productive forces

and resources of the nation. While Big Business and its political agents pretend to be fighting a war to destroy Nazism, Rockefeller's Standard Oil, duPont's chemical trust and General Motors, Morgans' General Electric and other international monopolies maintained patent-pools, royalties and market arrangements with their brother Nazi capitalists. Representatives Jones of Ohio estimated recently that shipowners will have grabbed "a cool billion" out of the U. S. Treasury.

Monopolists Caught Red-Handed

Such corporations as U. S. Steel, Anaconda Copper and National Bronze and Aluminum have been caught red-handed selling the government defective and sub-standard armor plate, wire cable, airplane parts and other products for the armed forces. In their mad haste to pile up profits, these monopolists do not hesitate to imperil the lives of the men in the armed forces and merchant marine of the United States and its allies.

The best of everything for the capitalists; as little as possible to the workers. Ruin for small business and the small farmer; impoverishment for the masses. Events have disclosed that this is how Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" actually operates.

The Roosevelt administration, which in nine years before the war had failed to establish a single one of "the four freedoms" at home, has asserted that through the war it is going to extend them throughout the world. Yet, in the first military move toward Europe, the U. S. forces entered into collaboration with Darlan, executioner of the French workers and with the pro-fascist Governor-Generals of North Africa, feared and hated by every progressive force in France and North Africa. The U. S. Ambassador to Spain hails Franco, butcher of the Spanish workers, as an ally. Here is a forecast and forewarning of the real pattern the Anglo-American coalition expects to impose upon the European peoples. Washington's program in this war is the program of U. S. capitalism.

And this program holds out no better prospect than interminable war, deepening reaction, more misery and poverty at home, enslavement for the conquered and colonial peoples.

On this May Day 1943 the end of the Second World War is nowhere in sight. What must the workers do?

Fight for Socialism

The workers need to regain their independence of class action. They need a militant class program to combat the terrible consequences of the war and the onrush of reaction. They need a clear Socialist goal to find their way out of the war and capitalist chaos. For this a new leadership is needed.

All vital problems confronting the workers today from wages to prices are settled in Washington. They have become political questions. Old-style "pure and simple" trade union methods are impotent to cope with these new wartime conditions.

More and more workers are beginning to understand the necessity for independent political action by organized labor. The vote given to the American Labor Party of New York and to the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota in the 1942 elections combined with the mass boycott of capitalist candidates,

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GPU Killer Of Trotsky Sentenced To 20 Years

(Special to THE MILITANT)

MEXICO CITY, April 16 (By Telegraph)—"Frank Jackson," GPU murderer of Leon Trotsky, was sentenced today to a twenty-year term for the crime. Mexican law does not have either a death sentence or life-term for murder. The maximum for premeditated murder is 20 years. The killer received a 19½ year sentence on this charge, and another six months for illegal bearing of arms.

Prosecutor Ligorio Espinosa Elenes jubilantly declared the verdict a "victory for justice." The GPU killer's lawyer had asked the judges to pronounce it an "unpremeditated murder," with a minimum of from three to eight years sentence.

The defense claims were rejected by the three judges, presided over by Manuel Riviera Vazquez, one of Mexico's foremost jurists, who handed down an 118-page verdict. Their verdict ruled that the murder had been premeditated and that "Jackson" had come to Mexico—he had arrived October 1939, nearly a year before the murder—solely to kill Trotsky.

The verdict also rejected as "illogical" the killer's claim that he had come to Mexico to be a secretary to Trotsky—the GPU concocted tale designed to make it appear that Trotsky had been killed by one of his own followers.

Likewise the verdict rejected "Jackson's" attempt to change his original story. Jackson struck Trotsky from behind with a pickaxe on August 20, 1940 and Trotsky died of the wound the next day. The investigating judge who prepares the case for final

decision—Mexico does not have the jury system—permitted Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney, to cross-examine "Jackson."

Goldman's cross-examination enabled him to establish, in a pamphlet published November 1940, entitled "The Assassination of Leon Trotsky—The Proofs of Stalin's Guilt," that "Jackson" could only be a GPU killer sent by Stalin to murder Trotsky. Seven months after the crime, in an obvious attempt to get away from the admissions and fumbled lies on the basis of which Goldman had proved his contention, "Jackson" claimed that he had been under the influence of drugs during his first confession and the ensuing examination and cross-examination. The new version his attorney offered 13 months after the murder sought to show that the crime was unpremeditated.

Today's verdict forcefully rejected this claim and the new version of the crime offered by "Jackson," the judges declaring that neither on legal or other reasonable grounds could they accept the belated change of story.

The killer's GPU connections were not affirmed by the court which, however, mentioned Nata-

lia Trotsky's statement to the court branding "Jackson" as an agent of the GPU. It was perhaps hardly to be expected that a Mexican court should categorically identify him as Stalin's agent at a time when Mexico is officially at war in alliance with the Soviet government.

But in affirming "Jackson's" premeditation and his coming to Mexico solely with the aim of killing Trotsky, the court left to any reasonable person the plain inference that it was a well-organized political assassination—and that Stalin was its instigator.

"Jackson" is appealing to the Supreme Court against the verdict.

A special dispatch from Mexico to the April 17 N. Y. Times reporting the verdict stated:

"Jackson has had plenty of money throughout his imprisonment and his sources have been kept well guarded, although current reports say that he is being supported by the Communists."

(An article on the background of the "Jackson" trial will be found on page 4 of this issue.)

Another War Plant Accused Of Defrauding Government

Sold Defective Material for Use In War Airplanes

By DINA SANDERS

Add another name to the growing list of corporations who are defrauding the government and endangering the lives of thousands of men in the armed forces: the National Bronze and Aluminum Company of Cleveland, world's largest maker of sand and aluminum mold castings. The government last week filed suit against this company, charging it with supplying defective parts for war planes and seeking an award of twice the amount of dollar damages.

Little publicity has been given the case by the capitalist press. But the New York daily, P.M., reported on April 16 that a federal grand jury is listening to testimony from workers at the plant and that the government's suit had named three company officers, "charging that they conspired to make false bills and claims to the Packard Motor Co., which used National Bronze castings in Rolls Royce Merlin engines for combat planes."

The National Bronze and Aluminum Company declared no dividend on its stock in 1940. In 1941, as a result of government war contracts, it was able to declare a dividend of \$1.25. But the company officials weren't satisfied with their enormously increased profits.

As for the government, its action in this case does not indicate a great desire to crack down on the dangerous and criminal practices of the war profiteers. Washington is apparently willing to settle the case by fining the company, but a fine will hardly seem an adequate punishment to the men in the air forces whose lives are imperilled by the production and sale of defective parts for combat planes.

Corporations And Welders

— AN EDITORIAL —

When U. S. Steel officials are caught deliberately falsifying records of tests on armor plate used for shipbuilding the capitalist press buries the story on its back pages and the War Production Board urges the steel barons not to bend over backwards in meeting contract specifications.

When Anaconda Copper officials are caught deliberately selling the government and its allies defective wire cable to be used on the battlefield, that's called "defrauding the government" and one or two people are indicted on charges that bring a maximum of a two years' sentence.

When National Bronze and Aluminum officials are caught deliberately selling defective parts for combat airplanes, the government brings them to court and asks that they be... fined.

But when ten welders in Baltimore shipyards, driven by the piecework speedup system, are accused of faulty welding, THEN the administration really gets upset and the FBI swings into action, arresting the workers on charges of SABOTAGE.

THEN, even though FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover admits there is no evidence "of any Axis direction or sympathies on the part of the welders," the hand of the law is felt, one of the welders is sentenced to a year and a half in jail and the others are held under \$5,000 bond.

Billions in war profits, taps on the wrist for criminal fraud—these are for employers. Frozen wages and jobs, overwork, speedup and prosecutions for "sabotage"—these are for workers. That's "equality of sacrifice" in practice.

Steel Production Falls in Wake of U.S. Steel Scandal

By ANTHONY MASSINI

A reported decline of possibly 35% in nation-wide production of steel plate has taken place since last month's Truman Senate Committee hearing, which uncovered the falsification by U. S. Steel officials of test records on steel armor plate used for the armed forces.

A Washington dispatch in the April 16 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette declared that "preliminary and informal reports to WPB on production tend to show that instead of April being the month in which all records for steel plate production would have been broken, this month's production may fall seriously below previous months—possibly fall off as much as 35%. The effect is being noticed equally in manufacture of steel itself and steel products other than steel plates.

"Lower production prospects are due to the demoralizing fear the Senate inquiry has instilled into every steel plant..."

WHAT CAUSED IT?

Why has steel production declined in the last month?

The steel barons blame it on the Truman Committee!

According to the N. Y. Times of April 17, it "has been ascribed by the industry to over-anxiety of inspectors, government or private, trying to avoid a repetition of the Irvin affair [the plant where faking of steel tests was first discovered]. WPB spokesmen denied that the companies had been disposed to cut production out of resentment of criticism stemming from the Truman disclosures."

But the Truman Committee does not appear to agree that its hearings were responsible. A spokes-

27,000,000 Denied Right to Accept Better Paid Jobs

Heavy Penalties Set For Violations By 'Essential' Workers

By Philip Blake

War Manpower Commissioner McNutt's April 17 order freezing 27,000,000 industrial, farm and government workers to their jobs is intended to bolster and strengthen the wage-freezing program of the administration enunciated in President Roosevelt's executive order of April 8.

The earlier decree ruled out the possibility for the great majority of the workers to obtain wage raises at their present jobs. The new order prevents them from changing their jobs to get higher pay elsewhere.

Apparently the administration believes that the corporations need incentive in the form of huge profits or they cannot be expected to produce. But it denies the workers the opportunity of freely seeking better-paying jobs to meet the rising cost of living. While the real price of all other commodities continues to rise, the price of the commodity, labor, is alone to be held down.

Roosevelt recently expressed opposition to enactment of the Austin-Wadsworth Bill to draft all workers; but by the new job-freezing decree he puts into effect the most important provisions of that bill which has been denounced by all sections of the union movement as a slave-labor bill.

PROVISIONS OF ORDER

The new ruling issued by McNutt prohibits workers in jobs essential to the war program from transferring to higher-paid essential or non-essential jobs. (On the same day this order was issued, the War Manpower Commission released a revised list of 35 activities considered essential). Workers violating this order can be sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,000 or to a year in jail, or both.

Louis Stark, labor reporter of the N. Y. Times, points out in the April 18 issue of that paper that the new decree "might well embarrass one group of men, those required under selective service rulings to move from

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Cannon Pamphlet Goes Into Second Edition in England

James P. Cannon's pamphlet, "Socialism on Trial," the text of his testimony at the famous Minneapolis trial of Socialist Workers Party and CIO members, has gone into its second edition in Britain, where it was issued by the Workers International League under the title of "The Case For Socialist Revolution: An ABC of Trotskyism."

The Cannon pamphlet, which has met a very favorable response in Britain as it has elsewhere, and which has been translated into Arabic and other languages, is 116 pages long in the American edition issued by Pioneer Publishers, and sells at the low price of 10 cents per copy.

A companion pamphlet is Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," the text of his final argument as defense attorney in the Minneapolis trial also priced 10 cents. Both may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers at 116 University Pl. New York

Dunne Is SWP Candidate For Minneapolis Mayor

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 17. — V. R. Dunne, state organizer for the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota, filed last week for mayor of Minneapolis — the only candidate standing for independent working class political action in the campaign for the municipal primary election to be held on May 10. The following press statement was issued at the time of his filing:

"The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party has been auctioned off, piece by piece. Part of it was purchased by Governor Stassen last fall; another part was bid in by the Democrats. Agents of Stalin in the CIO, together with characterless business agents and officials of the AFL, acted as the auctioneers.

"Stassen 'rewards' his cheaply-



V. R. DUNNE

purchased friends by introducing vicious anti-labor bills into the state legislature; Roosevelt's Democratic administration also 'rewards' these spineless leaders by wage-freezing orders, threats of regimentation, and violent attacks upon John L. Lewis and the hard-pressed miners who fight for a living wage.

"Bound by their promises to the Democrats and the Republi-

cans, tied in with these parties of the enemies of labor, the Minneapolis trade union leaders cannot speak out for the independent political action which the ranks of labor need and demand. In a last minute attempt to cover up their weakness and treachery, AFL and CIO leaders are putting forward as their mayoralty candidate an unknown and untried figure. The men and women of labor cannot expect a candidate of this type to be a reliable champion of workers' rights or to lead the fight against the profit-mad employers and their reactionary Republican and Democratic agents.

"In the past, the militancy of the Minneapolis labor movement won for it the respect of workers on a national and international scale. Great gains were made by the Minneapolis workers both on the economic and political field. These gains are being rapidly whittled away. The actions of so-called labor statesmen, with their child-like faith in the promises of labor-hating employers and their Democratic and Re-

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Albert Goldman to Speak On Movie Of Davies' Book

Will Explain Aim of 'Mission to Moscow' At N. Y. Sun. Forum

"Mission to Moscow: Film of a Frameup" will be the title of Albert Goldman's lecture at the next Sunday Open Forum of the New York School of Social Science, April 25, 8 P. M., at 116 University Pl., New York City.

Goldman, who acted as attorney for Leon Trotsky at the Mexico hearings of the Dewey Commission investigating the charges against Trotsky and his son at the Moscow Trials, will discuss the new Warner Brothers motion picture based on the book by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, which is scheduled to open in New York on April 29.

He will discuss the reasons why the picture is being released at this time, why the issue of the Moscow Trials is being raised once again. He will also analyze the effect which Davies and the State Department hope the film will have in this country.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

The War Labor Board, with the concurring vote of the AFL and CIO, last week voted a 2 cent hourly wage increase in the Universal Atlas Cement case, the first case to come before the board since the issuance of Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order. The Board set aside the recommendation of its own referee who proposed an increase of 5½ cents, in spite of the fact that the Board itself had previously granted a similar increase to the other plants of the same company.

The Atlas decision, if allowed to stand, means that most of the 17,000 cases now pending before the WLB might as well be tossed into the ash can.

A few days later, the "labor leaders" began to howl.

Frankenstein, Vice-President of the UAW-CIO, called the Board decision "a serious mistake." Reuther declared that "Labor must make every effort to have the decision reversed." The AFL representatives, who a few days before had voted for the Atlas decision, suddenly came to life and in ringing style denounced the President's executive order as "a flagrant violation of the no-strike-no-lock-out-all-disputes-to-be-settled-by-peaceful-means agreement of Dec. 23, 1941."

Walter Reuther, Vice-President of the UAW-CIO in charge of its GM section, meanwhile made public a letter sent to the GM corporation, which demanded the opening of negotiations on the wage clauses of the union contract. "Labor cannot agree," the letter states, "that the executive order which freezes existing wage differentials and gross inequalities is acceptable or a solution of the present chaotic wage situation in our industry." The letter also adds that incentive plans "are not the answer to these wage inequalities."

Apparently, the Murray-Green-Stalinist policy of "cringing toadyism" will not be allowed to stand in its present crude form. Many of the "labor leaders" are trying to get out from under. Why? The pressure in the membership ranks for wage increases is becoming very strong.

Here is a partial list of the strikes of last week: 1,000 maintenance workers of the Detroit Street Railway system struck for the 48-hour week; over 1,000 foundry workers of Detroit's Main Dodge plant struck over the discharge of a union member; 900 miners closed down three coal mines in Harlan, Kentucky, in protest over the "filibustering tactics" of the operators in the current coal negotiations; Spicer Manufacturing Company, key parts manufacturer of Toledo, Ohio, employing approximately 2,500 workers, shut down over a wage dispute necessitating the closing of the Willys-Overland plant; members of District 50 of the United Mine Workers continued a strike at the Celanese Corporation of Newark, N. J., in defiance of the WLB; 8,000 UAW-CIO workers demanding a signed contract continued their strike at the Bendix and East Orange, N. J., plants of the Bendix Aviation Corporation; a one day strike was called at the Cleveland plants of the Thompson Products Company; 500 workers continued striking for higher wages at the Universal Atlas Cement Company plant at Universal, Pa., etc., etc.

The Minnesota Teamster, organ of Tobin's Minnesota lieutenants, discusses the Fort Snelling scandal in a leading editorial

of its April 8 issue. Although the editorial admits that the Army maneuvers at the fort consisted of training "in how to break a strike" it goes on to say: "However, this is no time to raise a rumpus over indiscretions of army officers at a reception center." And further: "Let us respect fighting men of our army, and not put them on the par for their economic beliefs."

That is how Tobin's henchmen disgrace the once proud name of the Minnesota labor movement.

The Michigan State Labor Mediation Board reported an increase of over 50% in strikes and labor disputes in the month of March as against the previous month.

The Michigan State Department of Labor and Industry reported that compensable industrial injuries hit a new high of 3,292 in the month of March. This figure, the report pointed out, is the highest for the 30 years in which records have been kept.

The injuries included 26 fatalities, 170 permanent disability cases, 300 hernias, 632 cases of cuts or lacerations, 973 sprains and 762 bone fractures. All but 10 of the permanent disabilities involved amputations.

It is obvious that all fatalities and injuries in this war do not take place only on the battlefield.

Seafarers Log, organ of the Atlantic and Gulf District of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, AFL, reports that its organization voted last week to reject the fink card system introduced by the War Shipping Administration through its Recruitment and Manning Organization. "Henceforth," the Log states, "SIU men will refuse to sign the RMO draft registration cards when they are submitted to them at the end of a voyage."

The Feenstra bill, calling for the incorporation of trade unions was killed in committee of the Michigan State legislature, after it was denounced by the AFL and CIO.

Prentiss Brown, OPA Administrator, informed a House Committee: "I am dubious in my own mind whether or not OPA has the authority to enforce grade labelling," and said he would hold the matter in abeyance pending Congressional action clarifying his authority.

They haven't got "authority" to put labels on cans, but they have plenty of "authority" to freeze all wages and freeze all workers to their jobs!

Brown is doing a wonderful job however of controlling prices, for which, presumably, he has all the necessary "authority." According to the monthly figures of the Industrial Conference Board, food prices showed the sensational rise in the month of March of 2½%. At this rate prices would go up 30% in a year's time.

The AFL and CIO unions have joined forces in Bayonne, N. J. to form a United Labor Committee and have put into the field of the current city elections, Chester Nadrowski, President of a local CIO electrical shop, as candidate for City Commissioner on an independent labor slate. Bayonne is an important industrial city of approximately 100,000 population.

Other cities please copy.

Bermuda Parley Offers Little Hope To Refugees

By EDITH KANE

In Bermuda this week representatives of the two richest "democracies" are meeting to discuss the problem of the refugees. These unfortunates, driven from their homelands and seeking some temporary haven, will find little to comfort them in the statements now being released from the Anglo-American Conference.

Even before the Conference opened, Richard K. Law, British Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs declared: "I believe the persecuted people should not be betrayed by false hopes of what may be possible into belief that aid is coming to them, when in fact we are unable to give them immediate succor."

Harold W. Dodds, chairman of the United States delegation, stressed further the "exploratory character" of the conference and the fact that it is not empowered to make decisions when he said: "The problem is too great for a solution by the two governments here represented. The cooperation of others must be solicited. Our task will be to offer such definite

proposals as may be possible under wartime exigencies."

The general consensus of the spokesmen was that the only definite program that could provide the "true and final solution" was the "complete and final victory" of the "Allies" in the war. Since the plight of the refugees is a direct outgrowth of the war and becomes more desperate every day the war continues, that "solution" solves exactly nothing.

AND MEANWHILE?

Even if one were to grant the gentlemen in Bermuda that an allied victory would solve the problem of these victims of war and capitalism, what, pray, are they to do in the interim?

The Jews constitute the largest group, their problems are most pressing. Yet, no Jewish organizations are represented at the Bermuda Conference. Both in England and in this country, committees representing all the important Jewish organizations requested permission to attend but were turned down. The Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews published a full page ad in the N. Y. Times of April 13 appealing for a

"program of action . . . not pity!"

Despite its tone of tact and diplomacy this appeal discloses the despicable role of Britain in Palestine. While the British policy is condemned, that of America is completely whitewashed. Roosevelt is not asked either by the Committee for a Jewish Army or the New Zionist Organization of America (whose full-page ad appears in the same issue of the Times) to revise the immigration laws so as to allow a larger quota of European Jews. Both these appeals request only that pressure be exerted upon Washington to persuade the British government to open wide the doors of Palestine.

It is already apparent that the Anglo-American Conference has no solution for the refugees. They can find no room on this planet for a small section of mankind, and yet pretend that they can solve all the burning problems of the post-war world.

Small wonder that they chose Bermuda—which is very inaccessible, not only to the general public but also to the newspapermen—as the fitting place for their conference: They prefer as little publicity as possible about their bankruptcy.

Steel Production Declines After U. S. Steel Scandal

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man of the committee, Senator Mead, declared on April 19:

MEAD'S STATEMENT

"It has been suggested by steel company officials who have resorted to gossip and rumor, but who have not authorized the use of their names, that there may be a 35% steel slump because the committee has required the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation to be honest.

"Consequently, the committee is asking all producers of steel plate which fail to produce as much in April as they did in the same amount of working time in March to report to the committee the extent of any slump in their production which they attribute to the requirement that they comply with government specifications."

WHAT IT PROVES

It is impossible to state with certainty whether the decline in steel production is due to pressure being exerted by the steel barons to prevent any more exposures of their criminal practices which endangered the lives of men in the armed forces or whether it is due to special care taken by inspectors to see that government contract specifications are met.

In either case, it seems clear that failure to meet these specifications must have been pretty widespread before the Truman hearing!

NELSON'S APPEAL

WPB chairman Donald Nelson has also expressed concern about an "appreciable" decline in steel production which he traces to "more than usual" vigilance on the part of inspectors. In a telegram to 90 mills producing steel plate, sent on April 16, he paid a little lip-service to the need for "honest good judgment in testing and inspection" but warned the corporations that they should not lean over backwards seeking "unattainable perfection" and thus reducing the previous volume of steel plate produced and shipped.

In effect this was a request to avoid scandals if possible, but to maintain previous production quotas at all costs.

The War Production Board followed this up by calling a meeting of leading steel corporation officials and war agency officials. The meeting was closed to the press, but was followed by the announcement that the conferees had agreed on the advisability of "simplifying" testing procedures for steel plate so as to "maintain maximum output without unduly

lowering its quality." (N. Y. Times, April 18.) An advisory committee was selected to make recommendations along this line.

FAIRLESS GETS BOLDER

Emboldened by these developments, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of U. S. Steel, issued a statement on April 19, brazenly asserting that the sub-standard steel plate investigated by the Truman Committee were "entirely suitable for their intended uses for shipbuilding purposes, despite irregularities in the testing of a small percentage of the plate production in this Irvin Works plant . . . there is no proper basis to characterize these plates as defective or faulty, or to question the safety or suitability of these plates for shipbuilding purposes."

This flies right in the face of the testimony at the Truman hearing which revealed that U. S. Steel plate sent to Kaiser shipyards last winter was "brittle" and "more like cast iron than steel" and resulted in a Kaiser ship, the Schenectady, snapping in half on its trial run.

Nor does Fairless' new statement jibe very well with his own testimony before the Truman Committee on March 23 when he said that he was "as shocked and desirous of a correction of the situation as you are" and admitted that the testimony showed "very poor management."

"DELAY AND OBSTRUCTION"

Fairless' new statement repeated the alibi that the scandal uncovered at the Truman hearing was the fault of a few plant officials. But the behavior of the higher corporation officials, as described in a Truman Committee report issued on April 19, gives good reason for suspecting that they were well aware of what was going on. The report says of the higher management:

"Instead of cooperating in an investigation of a serious situation which had arisen by reason of the carelessness and negligence of the management, it attempted to delay and obstruct the investigation by refusing access to records and an opportunity to examine witnesses."

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

What Happened to The April 13 Issue Of 'The Militant'

The Militant reported last week that the April 3 issue of this paper, which had been deposited in the Post Office on April 1, had not been released by Washington for delivery as late as April 14, despite a promise by Mr. Vincent Miles, Solicitor of the Post Office, that efforts would be made to dispatch the paper within two days of deposit.

We have since been informed by the postal authorities that the long delay was not intended, that Mr. Miles had sent a telegram to the New York Post Office authorizing the dispatch of the paper on but that the New York Post Office had not received the telegram or learned of its contents until April 16.

The April 3 issue was dispatched on April 17.

WELL TRAINED DOGS
Making face-saving protests that

CLEVELAND WORKERS FIGHT BOSS ATTACKS

By DAVID LANDS

CLEVELAND, Ohio, April 15. — Thompson Products workers returned to work today after a one day strike. The local press called it the first "authorized" strike since Pearl Harbor.

Thompson Products Incorporated, producers of aircraft parts, is one of the last strongholds of the open shop. The CIO United Auto Workers has been trying for 5 years to organize the plant, gaining the first step toward unionizing the Cleveland unit of 5000 workers when it won limited bargaining rights a few months ago.

The strike was called as an answer to the firing of 12 workers, 11 of whom were union stewards and committeemen. The workers responded enthusiastically to the strike call. Despite the barrage of propaganda against any union activity, open incitement to violence against the strikers on the part of the capitalist press, and the traditional terror regime at Thompson Products, strong picket lines were formed at the two main gates.

COMPANY PROVOCATION

The immediate issue behind the present dispute was the refusal of the company to permit a union committee to attend hearings on a worker's grievance. A worker charged with falsification of production records demanded the right to have a union committee represent him against a battery of company officials and supervisors. The committee composed of union stewards and committeemen was violently evicted from the plant by the company cops.

Ed Hall, UAW organizer of Thompson Products Local 300, stated immediately after the dispute that the union, in turning the case over to the regional War Labor Board, was prepared to call a strike authorized by President R. J. Thomas unless the War

Labor Board instructed the company to rehire the dismissed men and investigate the situation in the plant.

The regional War Labor Board turned over the question to its conciliation commissioner and recommended to the National War Labor Board that an investigation be made. Understanding what this meant — that just one more grievance would join the mountain of grievances collecting dust on WLB files — the union local called the strike. Hall was quoted in the press as stating emphatically at a regular meeting of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council on Wednesday night, that the strike was authorized. He stated further that the union had placed charge after charge with government agencies and had written to President Roosevelt about the situation at Thompson Products but "government agencies were lethargic and something had to be done to wake them."

WLB AIDS AND ABETS

The War Labor Board, in keeping with its established anti-union policy, ordered the men back to work. In doing so it placed on the workers and their union the responsibility for the strike which really belongs on Thompson products and its anti-labor president, Frederick J. Crawford, who had provoked the strike. By centering its attack against the workers, the War Labor Board gave aid and comfort to the union-busting tactics of Thompson Products. It backed the company still more by excluding the 12 men originally fired from the order to return to work.

The strikers voted to return to work pending prompt consideration of their grievances. Their justified lack of confidence in the War Labor Board and the determination with which they rallied to the dismissed union representatives indicates that the days of the open-shop regime at the Cleveland-Thompson Products plant are numbered.

V. R. Dunne Is SWP Candidate For Mayor Of Minneapolis

(Continued from page 1)

publican office boys are speeding up this process.

WHAT DUNNE ADVOCATES

"I ask the support of Minneapolis workers and the friends of the labor movement, as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis. Now, as before, I stand for democracy in the workers' movement; for a militant struggle for full economic and political rights for all who labor: men and women; white and colored; Jew and Gentile. These rights can be gained only if Stalinism, Stassenism and Tobinism are eradicated from the labor movement.

"A fresh start must be made. Long steps toward a better day can be taken by Minneapolis labor in this election. I stand for militant industrial unions, for an independent labor party, for elected workers' representatives everywhere, for a march to a Socialist World.

"As a Trotskyist, I am pledged

to the program of international Socialism. The out-moded social system which produced capitalist anarchy, war for the profits of imperialist gangsters and bloody, brutal fascism, must be abolished from the earth."

The so-called labor candidate, endorsed jointly by AFL and CIO unions in Minneapolis, is a man whom Central Labor Union officials boasted they picked up outside of labor's ranks. This man, CLU officials proudly explained, had carefully weighed offers from the Junior Association of Commerce and Roosevelt's War Manpower Commission before accepting the offer of the union movement. It was revealed that the bargain included the promise by union bureaucrats to take care of him with a job in case he is defeated in the election campaign.

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY

Opening his campaign with a speech at the Twin City Sunday Forum on April 18, Comrade Dunne spoke on "Labor's Stake in the Minneapolis Elections." He will speak again at a May Day rally on Saturday evening, May 1, at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis. A radio speech is scheduled over station WL0L on Friday, May 7, at 7:15 P. M. in a state-wide hook-up.

Under the direction of Harry De Boer, campaign manager, thousands of copies of this issue and a special election edition of The Militant next week will be distributed in working class areas. Other plans are under way to rally the workers of Minneapolis behind Comrade Dunne's campaign.

Wm. F. Warde Speaks On New Freezing Orders

William F. Warde, popular writer and lecturer, analyzed Roosevelt's April 8 wage-freezing and job-freezing order at the last regular Sunday Open Forum of the N. Y. School of Social Science.

Reviewing the domestic war program of Big Business, Warde showed how Roosevelt, as the representative of the capitalist class, consistently serves the interest of that class and faithfully executes its anti-labor program.

"Roosevelt has become Wage Cutter No. 1," Warde stated. He has already instituted all of the time-tested means of intensifying the exploitation of labor and increasing the profits of the bosses: lengthened work days, speedup, direct and indirect wage cuts and the abolition of reforms.

At the same time as it deals repeated blows at the workers, the administration winks its eyes at war profiteering and allows the provision for a \$25,000 salary limitation to be indefinitely tabled; and powerful forces in Congress are pushing the much-ballyhooed Ruml pay-as-you-go plan to lighten the tax obligations of the rich.

workers chained to their jobs, the price of commodities continues to soar, for the millionaires and industrialists and bankers who own the means of production are driven by an insatiable thirst for profits. "Capitalist thirst for profits can never be quenched," Warde said, "no matter how much blood they wring out of the workers."

In dealing with inflation, the speaker exposed the falsity of the claim that high wages cause inflation. Wages cut only into the bosses' profits, he said, while the root causes of inflation are to be found in the war economy of capitalism.

"The dictates of the bosses have become clothed in federal authority," Warde stated, and the workers can counter the united attack of the government and Big Business only by forging a political weapon of their own. An Independent Labor Party, based on the trade unions, could stem the tide of reaction, and representatives in Congress who directly represented the working class could effectively block the mass of anti-labor legislation now being advanced by boss politicians.

A Short History Of 'The Militant'

The Militant had entered its fifteenth year of service to the labor movement when the United States entered the second world war. Because The Militant continued to defend the interests of the masses in war as in peace, because it continued to tell the truth, the administration revoked its second-class mailing privileges last month and interferes with the delivery of every issue entered as third-class mail.

The stand taken by the administration was voiced by Attorney General Biddle, who charged in a letter written last December that this paper "is permeated with the thesis that the war is being fought solely for the benefit of the ruling groups and will serve merely to continue the enslavement of the working classes. It is urged that this war is an imperialistic clash for spoils at the expense of the lives and living standards of the people."

This was Biddle's way of saying that The Militant had shown that the war was the result and the continuation of the economic rivalry of the capitalists; exposed the monopolists who even after Pearl Harbor continued to maintain their patent pools with the Nazi monopolists and to sabotage production in the interest of post-war profit and privileges; urged the workers to resist the anti-labor offensive of the employers, who are concerned not with democracy but only with profits and placing the burden of the war on the workers through increased taxes, higher prices and frozen wages.

Biddle's letter also accused The Militant of deriding "democracy and the 'four freedoms' as hypocritical shams."

This was a bare-faced lie, and Biddle knew it. The Militant did not and does not deride democracy. On the contrary it aggressively and consistently fights to preserve and extend the democratic rights of the masses, as every issue of this paper since the beginning of the war will testify. It is not democracy that The Militant derides, but the hypocrisy of the administration which makes noble-sounding speeches on the question but violates all its lofty promises in action, as it did on a domestic issue such as the anti-poll tax bill and on a foreign issue such as the hand of friendship which it extends to the fascist Franco. Was The Militant wrong in denouncing the Biddles as hypocrites? They proved how right our charge was when they went ahead to attack this paper for telling the truth.

Another charge of Biddle's was that The Militant published "anti-British attacks."

This was another lie by the hypocritical Biddle. The Militant carried no anti-British articles. It carried articles denouncing the British IMPERIALISTS for refusing among other things to grant independence to India. But we don't regard that as an anti-British attack. We believe that the policy we follow on this issue is in the interests of the great majority of the British people, who themselves are oppressed by British imperialism and whose desire to wipe out fascism is obstructed by the imperialists' opposition to granting freedom to the Indian masses.

This paper printed "charges of Fascist collaboration by the United States," Biddle continued.

Of course it did. It not only made such charges but protested against such practices most vigorously, as when the U. S. administration carried through the Darlan deal, the Giraud deal, etc. This may be a crime in Biddle's eyes, but it isn't in the eyes of the American people and the masses exploited by the fascists with whom the administration collaborates.

The Militant is also guilty of the "stimulation of race issues," Biddle declared.

This is his distortion of our policy pursued before and after Pearl Harbor of opposing discrimination against the Negro people and other minorities practiced by both the employers and the government. The truth is that this paper, far from stimulating racial antagonisms, tries to unite Negro and white in a joint struggle against their common enemy.

Despite Biddle, thousands of workers became acquainted with The Militant for the first time in 1942, and many of them learned that it defends their interests. They can rest assured that The Militant will continue in the same tradition in the future as in the past.

(This is the final in a series of articles on this paper's history. Those who are interested in examining the 1942 issues of this paper can get the bound volume for that year by sending \$3 to Business Manager, 116 University Pl., New York.)

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

V. R. DUNNE

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE
FOR MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

SPEAKS IN MINNESOTA:

AT THE MAY DAY RALLY

sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 8 P. M., at
919 MARQUETTE AVE., MINNEAPOLIS

Social to follow meeting: Admission free

AT A RADIO BROADCAST

on the issues in the Minneapolis election
FRIDAY, MAY 7
7:15 to 7:30 P. M.

Over Station WL0L

Socialist Workers Party's May Day Manifesto

(Continued from page 1)

the recent moves toward the formation of Labor Parties in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other states attest to this growing demand for independent labor political action.

The workers must end company unionism on the political field and organize their own party to check the anti-labor drive in Congress and in the state legislatures and to promote their interests.

For an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and equipped with a militant program of action!

The workers cannot entrust the conduct of their fight against fascism to capitalist forces or their agents, who are primarily concerned with protecting their profits, privileges and property. The American people cannot leave the welfare of their sons, husbands and brothers in the armed forces and merchant marine to the mercy of these profit-mad monopolists and their political representatives.

To clear the road for the struggle against fascism abroad and at home, to take the profit out of war, and to protect their very lives, it is necessary for the workers to:

Expropriate the war industries! Operate them under workers' control!

Frozen wages, soaring prices, scarcity of basic commodities, and mounting taxes slash deeply into the workers' standard of living. Swollen profits of speculators, big food manufacturers and distributors, black market prices keep pushing up the cost of prime necessities. Price-fixing regulations have admittedly broken down.

To protect the living standards of the masses, workers' wages and working farmers' incomes must rise to meet the rising cost of living. All unions must fight for:

A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living!

Scarce consumer goods should be rationed and everyone who works should be guaranteed by law an adequate allotment of food and clothing. There must be strict enforcement of price ceilings through mass committees of trade unions, housewives and working farmers. There should be no taxes on workers' wages nor on incomes below \$5,000 a year. All incomes over \$25,000 should be confiscated.

The main weapon of the workers in defense of their living standards and working conditions, the right to strike, has been surrendered by their official leadership to Roosevelt in exchange for unkept promises. To combat the ever-increasing cost of living, to maintain their conditions of life and labor, and to defend themselves against the anti-union offensive of the bosses, the workers must regain their freedom of economic action. The firm stand and stubborn struggle of the coal miners have pointed the way to the rest of American labor.

No reliance upon government boards packed against labor! Defend the right to strike!

By the end of 1943 over ten millions will be in the armed forces. Scattered all over the world, they will be militarized for years. These men and women in uniform should have the same rights as in civilian life.

The Rickenbackers are trying to cover up capitalist war profiteering and to pit the men in uniform against the workers in overalls by lying stories about "overtime millionaires," absenteeism, and so forth. This propaganda campaign of the bosses is being supplemented by the training of soldiers in strike-breaking tactics.

This anti-labor offensive within and around the army gravely endangers the trade unions. Organized labor must defend the interests of the rank-and-file soldiers both for their sake and its own. The unions must step forward and demand a moratorium on all debts and union wages for draftees, must uphold their right to hold meetings and to be tried by a jury of their fellows instead of by brass-hat court-martial.

For democratic rights of all men in the armed forces!

Trade unionists should demand training camps of their own, financed by the government. These should include special camps to train worker-officers who, unlike the present high officer caste, will have no reason to spread anti-labor venom among their men.

For military training camps under control of the trade unions!

Not since the Civil War have the Negroes displayed more

determination to fight for full social, economic, and political equality. Nevertheless discrimination prevails in the war industries and in the armed forces. As the principal oppressed minority in the United States, the Negro people cannot achieve the freedom they seek without the active and whole-hearted support of the white workers. We call upon every Negro and white worker to unite:

Against Jim Crowism! For equal rights for Negroes in industry and in the armed forces!

Women by the millions are entering the factories, many for the first time. The trade unions must demand:

Equal pay for equal work by women!

The administration threatens to ration civil liberties and curtail the democratic rights of free speech, freedom of the press and of assembly. It refuses to repeal the poll tax laws which disfranchise almost ten million white and Negro workers and sharecroppers in the South. After sentencing 18 leading members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Teamsters Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis the day war was declared, the administration has proceeded to revoke the second-class mailing privileges of *The Militant*. This first attack upon the foremost anti-fascist labor paper provides a precedent which can be invoked against other labor and liberal organs.

No return to the witch-hunts of 1917-1918! Defend the freedom of the press! Abolish the poll tax! Free all class-war prisoners!

World economic crises, the spread of fascism, and now the Second World War in a generation have made workers everywhere realize that the security and salvation of the workers in any one country depend upon the political and economic situation of workers in other countries.

Events today compel the American workers to think of their problems in world terms. All class-conscious workers have been inspired by the stand of the Soviet masses against the Nazi invaders and the recent victories of the Red Army. Their class feelings tell them what Marxist theory confirms: that the Soviet Union, despite its political degeneration under the regime of Stalin, nevertheless remains a workers' state, rid of capitalists and based upon nationalized property; that the basic conquests of the Russian revolution remain; and that every worker is duty-bound to defend the USSR in its struggle against all imperialist attempts to overthrow and destroy the first workers' state.

The morale of the Soviet peoples and the virility of the Red Army's resistance spring out of the conquests achieved by the October Revolution of 1917.

But the struggle in defense of the USSR is seriously handicapped and its achievements imperilled by the policies of the degenerate and treacherous Stalinist clique which has usurped the power in the first workers' state. This reactionary bureaucracy tries to stifle the revolutionary spirit of the Soviet masses, refuses to restore Soviet democracy, and tightens the hold of its totalitarian apparatus upon Soviet life. Stalin's foreign policy is an extension of his reactionary domestic policy. Instead of summoning the workers in capitalist countries to a joint struggle against their common enemy, world imperialism, Stalin helps chain them to Anglo-American capitalism.

The winter victories of the Red Armies and the spreading civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland have engendered a deep-going crisis in the relations between the Kremlin and its Anglo-American allies. The fundamental and irreconcilable opposition between Soviet property relations and world capitalism asserts itself in this widening rift. The subsequent development of this antagonism can lead to an open revival of the anti-Soviet mobilization organized during the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-1940 when the entire "democratic" capitalist world cheered on Mannerheim's army.

The sole reliable allies of the Soviet Union in its life-and-death struggle are the workers of the world, above all, the German workers. Hitler's forces can be disintegrated from within and won over by a revolutionary program, a summons to the German workers to overthrow Hitlerism and imperialism, and, together with the liberated peoples of the continent, go forward to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

Defend the Soviet Union against all the imperialist powers and against the Stalinist bureaucracy!

For six years the people of China have been fighting

against Japanese invaders. Now they have been joined by the people of India who struggle for their independence against Britain. We unconditionally defend the Chinese and Indian masses in their fight for emancipation against the rival imperialist enslavers. The titanic struggle of colonial Asia for national freedom and social liberation is a genuine fight for liberty, democracy and progress. Their liberationist struggle can finally triumph only under the leadership and through the program of the youthful proletariat who can lead their peasant allies toward a Soviet China and a Soviet India, keystones in the Socialist United States of Asia!

Unconditional support to the struggles for independence of the Chinese, Indian and all colonial peoples in Asia, Africa, and South America!

The American workers want to destroy fascism and to help liberate the conquered peoples of Europe. How can these worthy aims be realized?

The trade union bureaucrats, the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders urge the masses to trust in and to stake all upon a military victory of the "United Nations" over the Axis. But the armies being prepared for invasion come not to liberate Europe from capitalism but to save capitalism. London and Washington propose to dismember Germany, subjugate and punish the German nation.

The German people today fear that the Anglo-American victors will inflict just as severe penalties upon them as Hitler himself imposed upon France. However much they hate Hitlerism and long to rid themselves of it, they are held back from struggle by the paralyzing dread of the political and economic consequences of another "peace treaty" imposed by the victors. The German people's memories of the Versailles aftermath of the last war combined with their knowledge of the avowed aims of the Anglo-American coalition help to prop up Hitler and deter internal resistance against his regime.

This situation inside Germany could be transformed overnight if the workers of the United States would establish their own Workers' and Farmers' Government. Such an anti-capitalist government could hold out the hand of fraternity to the German workers and peasants, calling upon them to overthrow the Nazis and the capitalists who back this regime and to march forward to establish their own government.

A Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States would not fear the consequences of a Soviet triumph over Hitler but would exert its full power to help the Red Armies conquer and destroy the menace of imperialism. A

Workers' and Farmers' Government could honestly renounce all imperialist aims and privileges. It could insist upon independence for India which would transform four hundred million sullen slaves of British imperialism and all the natives of Asia into powerful allies of the workers against fascism and imperialism.

A Workers' and Farmers' Government alone could realize a Socialist program which would bring peace, security, freedom and plenty to the American people. That is why we appeal to the American workers:

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

The program we advocate is Lenin's and Trotsky's program of international socialist struggle which was tried, tested, and proved triumphant during the First World War. The Bolshevik program of peace through socialism stopped the imperialist war in Russia and hastened the end of the war elsewhere by its revolutionary effects.

The anti-capitalist revolt of the masses emerging from the first world war was carried through to the creation and maintenance of a workers' state only in Russia. Elsewhere it faltered, stopped short, and was crushed by reaction.

Chronic crises, fascism, Stalinism, and finally the Second World War are the heavy price the world working class has had to pay for the failure of its leadership to spread the victorious revolution from Russia to the rest of Europe and Asia.

The terrible experiences of the years between the First and the Second World Wars demonstrate that society can only go from one convulsion to the next, from the Second World War to the Third, unless capitalism is abolished, the workers take full power in their hands, expropriate the exploiters, and set up their own regime.

The only way out of the bloody chaos of capitalism is through the struggle for socialism.

For peace through international socialism! For the united struggle and international solidarity of all workers and colonial peoples! For the Socialist United States of the World!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The Militant Origin And Traditions Of May Day

By MARVELL SCHOLL

On this fifty-third anniversary of the first international working class holiday, May Day, it is fitting that we once again review its history.

May Day as a working class holiday, a one day demonstration, began in the United States. But it has always belonged to the international working class for the idea for such a demonstration was born in the minds of men who were themselves internationalists, and who went to their death as a result of that first May Day, unshaken in their convictions that the workers of all the world would one day join hands to abolish capitalism, to establish world socialism.

The very words — May Day — recall the memory of the heroic figures of the Haymarket Massacre: Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fisher, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, and Oscar Neebe.

CHICAGO STRUGGLES

The idea for calling upon all workers to down their tools in a fight for the eight-hour day was contained in a resolution passed in the 1885 convention of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (later renamed the American Federation of Labor). May 1, 1886 was set aside as the day for this demonstration.

The response to the call exceeded even the expectations of the most optimistic among those who initiated the idea. All over the country workers by the hundreds of thousands laid down their tools and picked up their banners. Clashes between the police and paraders took place everywhere. In many large centers, the workers won their demand for a shorter day and resumed work on May 2.

It was in Chicago that the fight assumed its sharpest form. Labor had been organizing mili-

tantly in this city. The Central Labor Union was led by the socialists Spies and Parsons, and advocated a revolutionary program. The workers of the McCormick-Deering plant had been locked out for more than two months. Another strike among the lumber workers was also in progress. For weeks before May Day the police had made preparations against the striking workers. When May Day dawned literally all the workers in Chicago were out on the streets. Picked battles between parading workers and police occurred all day long. The next morning the May Day strikers found a city-wide lock-out facing them.

On May 3 the picket line at the McCormick-Deering plant was joined by thousands of May Day strikers. Suddenly the police attacked the picket line with gunfire and clubs. Four workers were killed.

THE BOMBING OF MAY 4

On May 4 a mass meeting to protest the police brutality was called in Haymarket Square. Among the speakers were Parsons, Spies and Fielden. A rain storm broke in the middle of the meeting. Most of the crowd of 3,000 had already sought cover from the rain when suddenly 150 police charged the meeting. Fielden, the speaker, protested that the gathering was peaceful, that it was breaking up. Then without warning, a bomb thrown from the roof of the Marshall-Field warehouse across the street, burst in the midst of the crowd.

When the smoke had cleared seven police and four workers lay dead. Henry Spies, brother of August, was wounded in deflecting a bullet intended for his brother. Fielden was also injured, shot just above the knee.

The next day the program against the labor movement began. Every prominent labor leader in Chicago was arrested. Eight men: Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Schwab, Lingg, Neebe, Engels

and Fisher were indicted for the murder of the first policeman to die.

THE TRIAL AND AFTERMATH

The trial began on June 21, 1886 before Judge Gary of steel trust fame. From the very beginning it was a legal farce. Not one shred of evidence was presented to show that any of the defendants had had anything to do with the planning or throwing of the bomb.

The trial dragged on for many weeks, most of the time being taken by prosecution. When it was over, seven of the men were sentenced to be hanged; the other, Oscar Neebe, was given fifteen years in prison.

All appeals failed. The protests of the national and international labor movement were disregarded. Shortly before the date for the execution, Governor Altgeld of Illinois commuted the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment. Lingg, defiant and contemptuous of his persecutors to the very last, committed suicide in his jail cell. On Nov. 11, 1887, August Spies, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fisher, and George Engel were hanged by the neck until they were dead.

Repercussions of the Haymarket affair were heard round the world. In the founding convention of the Second International, in Paris (1889), May First, 1890, was set aside as the first international working class holiday.

MEANING OF MAY DAY

Since 1890 the manner in which May Day has been celebrated has reflected the moods and trends within the labor movement. For two decades it was celebrated every year with mass parades, demonstrations and strikes. Every year new slogans were added to the roster, as old ones were outmoded or won.

Among the slogans carried by parading workers through the years are — freedom for political prisoners, universal suffrage, the

end of colonial oppression, the right of workers to form their own political and economic organizations. The last slogan especially takes on new significance this May Day as a mounting wave of economic and political oppression meets the workers on every side.

Every known method has been used by the capitalists and the reactionary labor leadership to strip from May Day its international labor significance. Samuel Gompers tried in vain to sell the American workers the idea of replacing May Day with "May Sunday," a day upon which the workers could go to the parks, eat a picnic luncheon and listen to speeches of labor fakers. During the world war, President Wilson forbade the celebration of May Day. Finally a legal "Labor Day," the first Monday in September, was established.

In 1919 the first year after the end of the first world war, the American workers celebrated May Day with one of the most militant one day strikes in the history of the country.

MAY DAY THIS YEAR

This year May Day will not be celebrated with mass demonstrations, parades or strikes. In the eyes of superficial observers, four years of total war seem to have robbed the world working class of its international bonds of class solidarity. But those ideas which bind our class together are imperishable and unconquerable. Everywhere in the world, small groups meet, carrying aloft the banner of international solidarity, some under the most savage illegality, others in conditions of semi-legality, to pledge their lives anew to the cause of socialism.

And the voice of socialism will yet make itself heard above the din of bombs. The day is coming when May Day will be one of real celebration. A day when the workers of the entire world will rejoice in the new-found society, that apex of civilization which is possible only under socialism.

May Day And The Bolsheviks

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The first document relating to May Day and accredited to Lenin is a circular dated 1896 written by him in a Czarist jail in the name of the "Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class."

The founding congress of the Second International in Paris (1889) had established this day as a day of international labor solidarity. The whole capitalist world was alarmed at the time by the proclamation of May Day. They expected that the celebration of 1890 would serve as the direct signal for the world proletarian revolution. This summons was fully answered in backward Czarist Russia.

Although Marxist organizations in Russia were not yet formed at the time — the first genuine Marxist groups were founded in 1894, that is, four years after the original May Day celebration, — this holiday was nevertheless celebrated in Petersburg in 1891 with about 200 participating in an illegal meeting. The Moscow organization of Russian Marxists did not acquire sufficient strength and influence to issue a call for a May Day celebration under illegal conditions until 1895.

LENIN IN 1896

In his circular of 1896 Lenin had to explain in simplest terms

the meaning of this day to the Petersburg workers. In concluding, he wrote:

"Comrades, if we unite firmly and wholeheartedly, then the day is not distant when we too, forming our forces in serried ranks, will be able openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all countries, without distinction of creed or color, against the capitalists of the whole world. And once we lift up our toil-hardened hands, the shameful chains of slavery will be shattered. The working people shall rise in Russia and there will be quaking in the hearts of capitalists and of the government that always zealously serves and aids them."

Twenty one years were to elapse before history proved that the original fears of the world bourgeoisie were by no means unfounded. Lenin's forecast was realized in life in October, 1917 when the Russian workers and peasants did shatter their chains. In the darkest days of the just-born workers' state the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky never failed to give true expression on May Day to the international tendencies of the modern labor movement: They sounded the tocsin for the liberation of mankind.

The earliest surviving document of Lenin's May Day speeches in this period is dated 1919. And of them only newspaper accounts survive. The young Soviet

Republic was as yet too poor and too direly beset by the armies of 'democratic' imperialists to be able in the heat of the Civil War to take down a full transcript of Lenin's two speeches in the Red Square on May 1, 1919. Here is a newspaper report of the second of these speeches:

"The majority of those assembled here — said Lenin — who have not reached the age of 30, 35 will see the flowering of communism, from which we are still so far removed.

"Pointing to the children, Lenin said that they, now participating in the holiday of labor's emancipation, will enjoy the full measure of the fruits gained through the efforts and sacrifices of revolutionists.

"—Our grandchildren will gaze in wonder at the documents and

memorials of the epoch of the capitalist system. It will be difficult for them to understand how the trade in primary necessities of life could have been left in private hands; how factories and mills could have belonged to private individuals; how one man could have been permitted to exploit another; how people could have lived without having any useful work to do. Up to now, we talked about what our children would see, as if it were a fairy tale, but now, comrades, you see with your own eyes, that the structure of socialism lodged by us is not — a utopia. And our children will work still more zealously to build this structure."

Vechernye Izvestia of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies. May 3, 1919.

The transition from capitalism to socialism has turned out far more tortuous and tortured than any one could have foreseen in Lenin's lifetime. The road for reaction was cleared above all by the betrayals of the Second International and of Stalinism. But the entire experience of the years that have since elapsed, far from detracting from the message and program of Marxism-Leninism, has invested them with even a greater urgency. Socialism is the only way out for mankind. The struggle for socialism is our task and our duty. Otherwise we and our children and the whole of civilization will relapse into barbarism.

Seattle Branch SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Announces Opening of New Headquarters
521 Pike Street, Room 7
In Downtown Seattle
Phone: Seneca 0453
Hours: 12-3 and 7-9 P. M.
Daily Except Sundays
Monday Evenings, Open until 10 O'clock

CELEBRATE THIS MAY DAY WITH THE TROTSKYISTS!

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party invites you to attend a MAY DAY SOCIAL on SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 1, at 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
Special May Day program, labor songs, dancing, refreshments, etc.

MAY DAY MEETING ON SUNDAY, MAY 2, at 8 P. M., 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

Speaker: E. R. FRANK, noted trade unionist

At this meeting there will also be mass singing of labor songs and other May Day features

TRIAL OF TROTSKY'S MURDERER

History And Background Of The GPU Killer 'Jacson' Case

By Betty Kuehn

The GPU murderer of Leon Trotsky, sentenced by the Mexican court on April 16, came to Mexico in October 1939, as the three judges stated, solely for the purpose of killing Trotsky.

For months after his arrival he did not go near the Trotsky household in Coyoacan but stayed in Mexico City waiting for the right opportunity. His unwitting tool was to be Sylvia Ageloff, whom he had married in Paris in 1938, obviously in preparation for his task. She had entree through friends into the Trotsky household.

When she followed him to Mexico, he did not attempt to enter the Trotsky house with her, but through her he became known by name to the household. Finally, on one errand or another for her, he visited the Trotsky household a few times for a few minutes.

Using the pretext that he wanted Trotsky's opinion on an article he had written "Frank Jacson," on his last visit, succeeded in getting behind Trotsky as he sat at his desk and drove a pickaxe into Trotsky's head.

The May 24, 1940 Assault

Trotsky knew that Stalin had decreed his death. During the three months following the May 24, 1940 attack, Stalin's most recent attempt on his life, he had greeted Natalia each morning with "Another lucky day. We are still alive!"

The May 24 assault was carried out by some 25 men disguised as policemen, armed with machine guns, rifles and incendiary bombs. They succeeded in getting through the walls surrounding the house, holding off Trotsky's guards, and spraying bullets through the doors and windows of the room where Trotsky and his wife were sleeping. Miraculously, the two escaped unharmed.

Four of the participants in the attack were known Stalinists and admitted their complicity. David Alfaro Siqueiros, Mexican painter, a Stalinist for more than 15 years, a "colonel" in the Stalinist forces in Loyalist Spain, was identified and indicted as the leader of the armed attack.

During the investigation it was shown that the GPU had rented every house that became empty in the vicinity of the Trotsky house. At one of these houses in the country nearby, the police found the murdered body of Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's guard who had been kidnapped during the assault.

Siqueiros admitted he had led the attack. Yet he was let out on bail and, of course, skipped the country along with three of his accomplices who had also been members of the Communist Party at one time or another.

From the time of Leon Trotsky's arrival in Mexico in 1937, the official Stalinist press and Stalinist-controlled press had carried on an endless campaign against him.

They demanded his expulsion from the country. Before the Stalin-Hitler pact the Stalinist press accused Trotsky of being an agent of Nazi Germany. After the Stalin-Hitler pact, they accused him of being an agent of England and the United States. These slanders were a political preparation for the assassination of Trotsky.

Arrest and Trial

When "Frank Jacson" was seized after the murder, the police found a "confession" letter in his pocket.

Like the "confessions" fabricated by the GPU for the Moscow Trials, this "confessor" claimed to have been an ardent Trotskyist, sent on fantastic missions by nameless superiors, and finally "ordered by Trotsky" to go to the USSR to spread sabotage and kill "the leaders of the USSR."

With "Jacson's" letter, the GPU only succeeded in convincing the world of Stalin's guilt as the real murderer of Trotsky.

The trial of Trotsky's assassin dragged out for two years and eight months. "Jacson's" lawyers employed every possible means to postpone the sentence.

Under Mexican law a case is turned over to a trial judge, who is required to hand down a verdict within one year. The judge conducts his investigation and examination of the witnesses and of the accused throughout the year allowed. The prosecutor plays a relatively minor role. Finally a board of three judges prepares the verdict and sentence.



'Frank Jacson'
GPU Killer of Trotsky

"Jacson's" first story was to pretend that he had been close to the Trotskyists in Europe, that members of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International had sent him to Mexico to serve as a secretary for Trotsky, that he had become disillusioned with Trotsky and then decided to kill him.

The Assassin's Passport

Trotsky's attorney, Albert Goldman, showed up "Jacson" as a liar. Permitted by the judge to question the killer, Goldman showed that "Jacson" lied about his income, his passport and about his non-existent connections with the Fourth International.

"Jacson" claimed that a member of the Fourth International Bureau furnished him with his passport. Sylvia Ageloff and her sister testified that he claimed to have bought the passport for \$3,500 from some passport forgers in France.

The passport "Jacson" used was traced by the Mexican government. It had been issued by the Canadian government in March 1937 to one Tony Babich who had enlisted in the Stalinist International Brigade to fight in the Spanish Loyalist Army. On May 12, 1939, the Franco government of Spain had issued a death certificate for Babich. His picture and name were taken off the passport and the picture and name of "Jacson" inserted.

"More than any other evidence in the record of the whole case, conclusively proving that Jacson is a GPU agent is the fact that the passport used by Jacson was one belonging to an individual who fought in the International Brigade and died in Spain," says Albert Goldman in his analysis of the evidence.

The "Confession" Letter

"Jacson's" "confession" letter also showed his GPU connections.

There was one significant difference between this "confession" and those in the Moscow trials. The defendants in the trials "confessed" that Trotsky was in league with Hitler and the Mikado; Stalin's foreign policy at that time demanded that all his enemies be considered in alliance with Hitler and the Mikado.

But at the time of "Jacson's" "confessions" in 1940 Stalin's policy had changed. By then the Hitler-Stalin pact had been signed. "Jacson's" letter mirrored this change. It charged Trotsky with conspiring with "a certain foreign government" and with a certain parliamentary committee — an obvious reference to the Dies Committee and the United States. The Stalinist press had also been calling Trotsky an agent of the Dies Committee. (Later, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the Stalinists again began to

call Trotsky a Hitlerite agent, and "Jacson" revised his story to fit the Stalinist line.)

"Jacson's" "confession" letter also clearly established premeditation. The criminal had destroyed all his documents — thereby proving that he wanted to hide his real identity. The Stalinist origin of his passport makes this understandable.

"Jacson" confessed the way he had tricked Trotsky into sitting down to read an article brought by the assassin in order to distract his victim's attention. He confessed that he had struck from behind.

Tactics of the Defense

The defense embarked on a tactic of delay with two possible escapes in view for "Jacson" — a "legal" and an illegal one.

A "legal" escape might be arranged by maneuvering the case into the hands of some judge amenable to the inducements of a well-stocked GPU treasury. For this it was necessary to create and seize upon every pretext, no matter how small, to accuse Judge Vasquez of partiality against the prisoner. In this way the judge might be forced to resign from the case. (The judge's fair handling of the case was later upheld by a higher court.)

It is known that on two different occasions the GPU had a plan laid to get "Jacson" out of jail. Reliable reports told of the extremely friendly relations between him and certain prison authorities — to the point of having drunken parties, music, women in his cell. "Jacson" has had plenty of money for whatever he wanted.

There was and still is the danger that the GPU will try to liquidate the case by liquidating "Jacson." They no doubt would like to kill him to make sure he will never talk.

The "New Version"

Seven months after the murder, "Jacson" suddenly announced that his key statements had been made while under the influence of some mysterious "liquid" with which he was injected.

Under the instructions from his new lawyer — one connected with the Stalinists — "Jacson" tried to retract his earlier description of the murder.

The defense then started on a new tack, saying that the direction of the wound showed that the blow could not have been struck from behind. A "provocation" by Trotsky had led to an unpremeditated murder — that was the new story.

On the very last day of the hearings, after no more proofs could be presented, "Jacson" handed in the "new version" of his crime. As was to be expected, it played up the "self-defense" line.

The murderer did not try to explain how it happened that he was so well prepared to "defend" himself — with a pickaxe, a knife and a 45 calibre revolver.

When the judges handed down the decision, they completely rejected this latest version which was presented 13 months after the crime.

The Struggle Against Stalinism

The assassination of Leon Trotsky can only be understood if one understands that it resulted from his struggle against Stalinism, which had been going on for more than 16 years.

Trotsky fought against the dictatorial bureaucracy which under the leadership of Stalin was becoming more and more powerful. He waged a fight for democracy within the party. He struggled against every tendency toward the creation

of a bureaucratic regime which would oppress the masses.

Stalin and his clique began with slander and falsification. These first steps inevitably led to hundreds of Stalinist frameups, to the murder of thousands of Trotsky's followers, relatives, secretaries and guards, and finally to the murder of Trotsky himself.

Issues in the Struggle

Stalin representing the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy — which was satisfied with things as they were in Russia and therefore no longer interested in the socialist revolution outside the Soviet Union — propounded his theory of socialism in one country.

Trotsky saw in that system of ideas the inevitable degeneration and ultimate destruction of the Soviet Union and waged a fierce theoretical struggle against Stalinism. To Trotsky the world was a unit, inextricably bound together by economic ties created throughout the whole history of capitalism. Socialism must be a product of the highest forces developed under capitalism, and therefore must be world-wide.

The defeats of European and Asiatic revolutions enabled the Stalinist bureaucracy to consolidate its power and defeat the advanced section of the working class represented by Trotsky. The Stalinists sent Trotsky into exile in Turkey where he would have no apparatus, no resources with which to continue organizing the revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. Trotsky himself later explained Stalin's scheme:

"Stalin calculated that after he had succeeded in completely blackening me in the eyes of the country, he could without difficulty obtain from the friendly Turkish government my return to Moscow for the final reckoning." ("Stalin Seeks My Death," Aug. 1941 Fourth International.)

With the help of friends in the International Left Opposition organized around Trotsky's ideas, he managed to leave Turkey before Stalin was able to carry out his plan.

With a small apparatus and practically no financial resources Trotsky and his co-workers laid the foundation of the Fourth International. Stalin's plan to prevent Trotsky's effective opposition was thwarted. His mistake was obvious.

The Final Years

It became more imperative than ever that Trotsky be liquidated. There remained only one way — a terrorist act. And to this end Stalin's GPU hounded Trotsky and his co-workers through France, where they managed to live for a while, then to Norway, and later to Mexico.

It was while Trotsky was in Norway that the Moscow trials were staged. During the two years of these trials, Lenin's entire general staff, the old Bolshevik leaders who had led the successful revolutionary struggle of 1917, was destroyed by Stalin.

After the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, Stalin's GPU agents, who had slaughtered numerous militants in Spain, started arriving in Mexico. There was no doubt as to the purpose of this influx.

With the force of a mighty state behind him, with inexhaustible financial resources at his disposal, Stalin finally succeeded in assassinating Trotsky.

The real murderer of Trotsky is Stalin. It was he who directed the GPU to murder Trotsky. "Jacson" was an agent of the GPU, and through the GPU of Stalin.

Mexican CP Breaks Up Alter-Erich Meeting

A meeting held by Spanish refugees in Mexico City to commemorate the deaths of Carlo Tresca, Victor Alter and Henryk Erlich was broken up by Stalinist thugs on April 1.

While the *N. Y. Times* carried a brief report of the affair on an inside page of its April 3 issue, the press has generally hushed it up and details have been difficult to obtain.

Last week, however, the noted refugee, Victor Serge, cabled a story from Mexico City to the *New Leader*, revealing that the GPU had inspired and directed the attack, in the course of which Julian Gorkin, a leader of the Spanish POUM, was stabbed and badly wounded in the head.

The meeting had been called by the Iberian-Mexican Cultural Center, organized and sponsored by Spanish anti-fascist refugees living in Mexico, and those speakers who were heard before the meeting was disrupted, denounced the Stalinist terror against political opponents.

"At eight o'clock," says Serge, "a gang of about one hundred Communists laid siege to the hall, broke down the iron door, and burst into the Center looking for the speakers to beat them up."

LIES SUPPLEMENT CLUBS

"Armed with clubs and bits of broken furniture as well as knives and guns, they formed a strong-arm squad, evidently recruited off the streets, probably hired, and led by some Communist Party leaders who kept shouting, 'They are Germans, enemies of Mexico!'"

Serge also reports that some of the Stalinists telephoned the police at the height of the fighting and said that a body of workers was

breaking up a fascist meeting which had begun with shouts of "Vive Hitler! Vive Franco! Vive Mussolini!"

When the police arrived and arrested the leaders of the attacking mob, it was discovered that not only Gorkin had been injured but also Enrique Gironella, an antifascist refugee professor from Barcelona, who had been hit on the head with a pipe.

Following the riot Gorkin, in an interview with the Mexican newspaper, *Excelsior*, named Antonio Mije, Juan Camerera, Julian Carillo and Carlos Contreras as instigators of the attack. Contreras is a notorious Stalinist GPU

hatchet man who was an active leader in the terror against anti-Stalinist workers in Spain during the civil war. Gorkin charges that these men met two days before the memorial meeting and planned the attack.

SECOND IN A MONTH

This is the second time that Erlich and Alter memorial meetings have been attacked by the Mexican Stalinists. According to the *New Leader*, a Stalinist gang tried to violently break up a meeting held by Polish socialist refugees at the Jewish Center of Mexico three weeks ago. That time the attackers began the riot with the cry, "Death to the Nazi spies."

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'N.Y. Times' Tries To Distort The Miliukov Record

By Felix Morrow

Paul Miliukov, the principal leader of the Russian capitalist class, died at 84 in France on March 31. The April 16 *N. Y. Times* publishes a warm, indeed loving, biographical obituary of more than a column. It serves to remind us that the most elementary facts about the Russian revolution still must be falsified by the world bourgeoisie. For the truth about Miliukov is also the truth about all other capitalists.

The *Times* obituary describes Miliukov's party in the following terms: "the Constitutional-Democratic party, an organization representing the points of view of British liberals and French radicals (sic), with an advanced social, labor and agrarian program." Let us grant this much, that Miliukov's Cadets, as his party was called, were of the same stripe as bourgeois democrats everywhere, including the Democratic and Republican parties in this country. His brother "democrats" will do what he did whenever the masses arise to demand an end to oppression and slaughter.

Then came the attempted Kornilov counter-revolution, openly aimed to crush the Soviets and to establish a military dictatorship. Miliukov backed Kornilov, but the *Times* obituary delicately skates around this with the following formula: "In August 1917 Miliukov made a futile effort to reconcile Premier Kerensky with General Kornilov." That is true enough; but also Miliukov was the ideological leader of the Kornilov attempt, with or without Kerensky, aimed to drown the Soviets in blood at a time when they were led by reformists and not by the Bolsheviks. The *Times* is silent about this because it starkly illumines the fact that the only real alternative in Russia was between the White Guard dictatorship of Miliukov-Kornilov and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The signal for the Kornilov revolt was the fall of Riga to the Germans on August 21. Eight days earlier, Miliukov writes in his "History of the Second Russian Revolution," "As Kornilov told me personally at a meeting in Moscow on the 13th of August, he did not wish to let pass this opportunity." In other words, Kornilov deliberately let the Germans take Riga, one of the centers of the Bolsheviks, in order to weaken the revolutionary forces while Kornilov marched on the capital. Likewise, after Kornilov failed, Miliukov tried to get the Provisional Government to leave Petrograd and let the Germans occupy it. He wanted the Russian proletariat to go to school to Ludendorff and the Kaiser. Fortunately, the Bolsheviks forestalled him.

On all this the *Times* is silent, as it also breathes not a word about where Miliukov went when the Bolsheviks took power. Tender to his memory, the *Times* would like the world to forget that this "democrat" fled from Petrograd to the Kaiser's forces in Kiev.

From calling for "war to the end" against the Kaiser, he switched to offering his services to the Hohenzollerns against the Bolsheviks, begging for that same German gold that he had accused Lenin and Trotsky of taking.

A CONSISTENT COURSE
In all this Miliukov pursued a consistent course. As Trotsky writes: "In feeling out under czarism the path to a separate peace in order to avoid revolution; in demanding war to complete victory in order to stop the February revolution when it came; in seeking an alliance with the Hohenzollerns in order to overthrow the October revolution — in all this Miliukov remained true to the interests of the possessing class."

Likewise his methods were consistent. Support of czarism, pseudo-liberalism after the February revolution, collaboration with the "socialist" Mensheviks, the frameup against Lenin and Trotsky — the grandfather of Stalin's Moscow Trials — the attempted military dictatorship, etc. — all these together constitute the arsenal of a bourgeois "democrat."

When the great masses directly enter the political struggle, throwing off the centuries of submission, and demand the right to rule themselves — then any "democrat" acts like a Miliukov. To conceal this all-important truth is the aim of the lying obituary in the *N. Y. Times*.

Although thenceforward outside the government, Miliukov remained the most authoritative leader of the bourgeoisie. And he participated in the most effective of all the political maneuvers of the ruling class against the Bolsheviks — the July 1917 indictment of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev as paid agents of the Kaiser.

ANTI-BOLSHEVICK SLANDER
Unable to win support by other means, Miliukov and the "democrats" of Russia attempted one of the greatest frameups of all times, trying to turn the masses against Lenin and Trotsky by forged "documents" showing they had received funds from the Kaiser to disrupt the Russian army. The *Times* is silent about this frameup — which the *Times*, like the "democrats" as a whole, endorsed as true at the time. American officials fostered this slander after the October revolution: Sisson, Petrograd representative of George Creel's official American propaganda bureau, in 1918 brought back manufactured "documents" to prove that Lenin and Trotsky were German agents.

The frameup of the Bolshevik leaders as hirelings of the Kaiser was designed to create an atmosphere in which they could be assassinated with impunity. With the help of this slander, the Bolsheviks were outlawed, their press and headquarters closed, Trotsky and others arrested, while Lenin was forced into hiding — Lenin knew that, if he remained to face the charges, Miliukov's officers would murder him. Nor would Miliukov have stopped with the Bolsheviks. He later declared that his removal from the government "was directly inspired from Germany," and that the demonstrators against him were "boy workers paid ten to 15 roubles"

WHY we
Defend
The Soviet
Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Pioneer Publishers

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The Negro Struggle

Albert Parker

March-On-Washington Movement Issues Pamphlet Exposing Army Jim-Crow Policies

Senator Downey of California has introduced a resolution into the Senate for an investigation into discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces. If Downey or anyone else in Washington wants to know what it is about the armed forces that the Negro people object to, we recommend that they read the pamphlet on the question just issued by the March-on-Washington Movement: "The War's Greatest Scandal: The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform." Written by Dwight Macdonald on the basis of research prepared by Nancy Macdonald, it is the most up-to-date and one of the best documents dealing with military Jim Crow in World War II.

In its own words, "This pamphlet has two purposes: (1) to give the brutal facts on Jim Crow in the American Army and Navy; (2) to show that the colored people of America, and their white friends, must begin right now to make a real fight on this issue."

The pamphlet calls attention to Section 4 (a) of the 1940 Draft Act, which says: "In the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color." But this provision is being violated in the treatment of every Negro in the armed force, for "a doctrine of 'White Supremacy' which is simply Hitler's 'Nordic Supremacy' in Cracker lingo has become the official policy of the American armed forces. Realism is monstrous in Nazi Germany but O. K. in the U. S. Army."

The result is: "Every one of the half million Negroes now serving in the armed forces is doing so on a Jim Crow basis. Every regiment, every ship, every battery, every flying squadron and medical staff and jeep company is either all white or all colored. The most ingenious planning, the most complicated and voluminous quantities of paper-work, the tireless efforts of thousands of officers are devoted to the great task of keeping apart the two races. The instant he puts on the uniform of his country, the Negro becomes a deadly plague carrier, to be quarantined, isolated at all costs from his white comrades in arms."

Of course the military authorities deny that this segregation is in itself discrimination. But, as Macdonald demonstrates in ample detail, segregation in the army as in civilian life always works out to mean discrimination in practice, confinement to menial and laboring tasks, inferior training, lesser opportunities for advancement, etc.

An excellent section of the pamphlet is the one dealing with the case of Winfred Lynn, the Negro draftee who is legally challenging the military authorities' violation of Section 4 (a) of the Draft Act and suing them to be allowed to return to civilian life on the ground that he was drafted in a separate Jim Crow quota and on a discriminatory basis. His case will probably come before the Supreme Court some time this year.

We might add parenthetically here that a reading of this section of the pamphlet convinces us that the Lynn case has not been sufficiently emphasized by the whole labor and Negro press. It deserves a good deal more attention, not because it can be used to solve the problem of Jim Crow in the armed forces but because it can serve as a dramatic focus in the fight for equality.

The March-on-Washington Movement is doing an important service to that fight in its current campaign to publicize the Lynn case and mobilize support for it, and both the labor and Negro organizations and press should extend more aid in this campaign. Other sections of the pamphlet that can be singled out for special praise are its brief but pointed history of the Negro in the U. S. armed forces; its analysis of the Negro's position in the Navy and the Air Corps today; and its conclusions, which center around three points:

"(1) The colored people of America have come a long way since the last war; they are no longer willing to be pushed around as an inferior race. (2) The Roosevelt Administration has backed up the Jim Crow policies of the military authorities as much as it has dared; nothing can be hoped for from Washington without a much tougher fight than the Negroes and other friends of democracy have put up so far. (3) This great issue must be faced; it cannot longer be evaded and compromised as our political leaders are trying to do. Either you advance toward real democracy, and the Negro with you; or you go backward to racialism and fascism."

Readers of The Militant and the Negro press are already acquainted with much of the information in "The War's Greatest Scandal," but they should find it very useful to have it all gathered together in one pamphlet, illustrated and cheaply priced. Many branches of the Socialist Workers Party and locals of progressive trade unions will find that it can serve well as an introduction to the question for white workers as well as Negroes, and will want to obtain it for distribution among their members and friends. It sells for 5 cents a copy, 4 cents apiece for bundle orders under 100, and 3 cents for orders of 100 or more. Send money to the March-On-Washington Movement, 2084 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C.

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International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

We support China's war for national liberation, but we have never supported Chiang Kai-shek's way of fighting that war. The Chinese capitalists, with Chiang as their representative, have stifled the initiative of the masses in order to prevent the national struggle from turning into revolutionary struggle.

Remnants of a former revolutionary struggle still exist in former Red China, spread out over some of the Provinces. When the Chinese revolution was defeated in the cities in 1927, peasants and some workers formed roving Red armies which finally found refuge in what was called Soviet China.

As a part of the Peoples' Front deal with Chiang Kai-shek the Stalinists liquidated Soviet China in 1935. The former Red armies were subordinated to Chiang Kai-shek. However, Chiang was never satisfied with the extent of that subordination. He wanted to wipe out every vestige of revolutionary tradition in those armies. The present relation of Chiang's Kuomintang to the former Red armies, which have been fighting so valiantly, is now told by A. T. Steele, foreign correspondent recently returned from China. In the April 6 Chicago Daily News he declares:

"Kuomintang China is blockaded by the Japanese, but has a narrow inlet of aerial supply from the outside world. Red China, however, is blockaded not only by the Japanese but by the Kuomintang. Only the tiniest dribbles of material have entered the communist areas during the past

three years. Combined with this, Japanese pressure on Red China has been heavy and continuous. . .

"The Communists, who have a poorly equipped army of about half a million rifles, claim that they have received no military supplies from the central government since 1939."

The social structure of what Steele calls Red China "bears no resemblance to true communism. It is nearer to democracy, though under firm party supervision." He appears to mean by this that the predominantly agrarian area is cultivated in individual farms. Nevertheless, the political opinions of the masses have made it impossible for the Communist Party to come to a political agreement with Chungking. Furthermore, both Red China and Chungking "find it expedient to maintain garrisons along their joint frontier."

The Red China area, says Steele, has had no military aid from Soviet Russia. "Soviet Russia has confined its military and material assistance. . . to General Chiang Kai-shek's central government at Chungking."

"As their only source of arms is what little they can make themselves and what they are able to capture from the Japanese and their puppets, the Chinese Reds have grown militarily weaker. They are desperately short of small arms, ammunition and medicines."

Thus the former Red armies of China have had to face the Japanese onslaught practically barehanded.

British Soldiers Discuss Socialism Vs. Capitalism

By a British Infantryman

The following letter, from a soldier receiving military training in England, was printed in the mid-March issue of the British Socialist Appeal:

I am in an Infantry Training Center undergoing 6 weeks elementary training. The most important (very, very important) is drill—instills discipline, sir! And of the drill, the most important for the recruit is saluting. A great part of the first week is taken up with this "morale-building" factor. One of the central slogans posted up in standing orders is: "At all times salute—and if in doubt at any time—salute."

HOW TO SALUTE

We spend hours learning how to salute to the front, to the left and to the right. Do you know how to salute if you were on a bicycle? No! Well, you stiffen

the body and look straight in front. If you happen to be riding a mule (or horse) and you are fortunate enough to pass one of your lords or masters, do you know what you would do? Well, you would look straight to the front, at the same time you would bring your whip (held in your right hand) smartly down to the side, pointing approximately at 45 degrees to the ground.

They tell the men there is no servility in saluting. The O. C. gave us a history on saluting to prove this—though it actually proved the opposite.

We were not allowed out for three or four days until we had passed the saluting tests.

The men in my platoon are mainly, in fact 100% industrial workers. Many have been trade unionists and some are keenly class conscious. They are all good fellows. What struck me was the

way in which they accept discipline so easily.

DISCUSSION ON BRITAIN AND FASCISM

Every week we have two discussions, one called "The Way of Life"—about how to become a "good citizen"—and the ABCA lecture. The whole object of the lectures, of course, is to mold the men's minds, though the officers (young ones mainly, who often have come from the ranks) pretend they are for the purpose of making the men think for themselves. They invite opposition from "Reds or anybody," they say. They get it.

They are at a disadvantage, for the lying, whitewashing text—which they repeat word for word—cannot stand against any intelligent opposition. As a class-conscious worker, I do my duty to help my comrades to get a scientific approach to the ills and

evils of this life. So when the officers come out with their bunk, I give them the works. They wriggle and twist and turn, but facts are facts, and my fellow comrades appreciate this.

For instance, the ABCA paints a picture of a righteous Britain fighting for peace before the war against aggressive "Huns" and at last, reluctantly going to war to destroy the bestial fascists in order to make the world safe for democracy. When I point out that for years the British capitalists, through press and radio, carried on a pro-Hitler campaign—that the same gang are running the country now—the officer reddens and the men say, "Yes, yes, that's true."

There is a great admiration for Russia amongst the ranks and they have an understanding that "it's because the Russians have something to fight for" that they fight so grimly.

PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

One lecture was held on "The Parliamentary System." The blackboard was filled with figures. The lecture was given around these figures and the officer gave his lecture around these, pointing to a picture of slow and inevitable progress—of course, there were things wrong—but these could be righted. It all depended on how the people voted. In any case we were better off than Hitler.

He then invited me to come out and speak, hoping that I was going to be stumped. I took up the challenge, helped by the urgings of my comrades. I drew the real picture of Parliament. How only the struggle of the masses against the ruling class had been the cause of progressive legislation. Pointed out that the lecture made no mention of the Chartists, etc., then showed that Parliament was an instrument of the capitalists; quoted the case of Carson, and the "Home Rule for Ireland Bill," the obstruction suffered by the Labor governments in 1924-29-31. Showed that as in Spain in 1936, even if the workers did get a majority, like Franco, the British bosses would not allow them to use it for the interests of the people. I finished up by calling for a Soviet system of government.

70 TO NONE

The officer tried to get opposition against this, but only got added support for it. He then put it to the vote and the result was 70 for the Soviet system and 0 for the Parliamentary system. This is the mood of the workers in uniform. The vast majority are wholeheartedly determined that we cannot and will not return to the "world of before the war."

"Typical Jew" in the Soviet Issue Of "Life Magazine"

"The special Soviet edition of Life included pictures of unnamed individuals typical of the different people who make up the Soviet Union. The typical Jew was Professor Joseph J. Lieberberg, former president of Biro-Bidjan, who was dismissed in October, 1936, on charges of Trotskyism."

—The Nation, April 17, 1943

Wilson, in a message to Congress in 1919, asked for \$100,000,000 for European relief, and added: "Food relief is now the key to the whole European situation and to the solution of peace. Bolshevism is steadily marching westward, is poisoning Germany. It cannot be stopped with force. It can be stopped with food. . ."

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IN THIS WAR

In the present war food has already played a role in the diplomatic strategy of the "United Nations." According to Cordell Hull, all food supplies to Martini were cut off when Admiral Robert, High Commissioner of this isolated island, failed to break his ties with Vichy. Later reports stated that the starving natives were threatening open rebellion against the Robert regime.

Can the capitalists be prevented from repeating their performance of the last war? Yes. The workers in this country can do it. They can take their fate into their own hands, establish a Workers' and Farmers' government and solidarize themselves with the masses of Europe and Asia. Such a government alone can take adequate and sincere measures to feed, clothe and shelter the victims of imperialism.

IN THE WAR

Two MAY DAY MEETINGS IN BOSTON

William F. Warde will speak on:

"Labor's Political Prospects" Saturday, May 1, 7:45 P. M. at WORKERS CENTER 158 Broadway at Shawmut

"The Struggle for World Socialism" Sunday, May 2, 8 P. M. at EAST BOSTON HALL Maverick Square above Iva's

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Unionization Of Foremen And Workers' Control

By M. Morrison

Last month C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation, sent a long telegram to four committees of the House of Representatives, protesting against the organization of the foremen of the Detroit Diesel Engine Division by the Foremen's Association of America. There was a hysterical note in the telegram. For Mr. Wilson sees a veritable breakdown of industry should the foremen be permitted unionization. Reactionaries in Congress have already taken up the cudgels on behalf of Mr. Wilson and plan to introduce bills to prohibit unionization of foremen.

If Mr. Wilson gets so excited about a union of foremen unfaffiliated to the regular trade unions one can imagine his consternation when he read that John L. Lewis is demanding that the coal operators recognize the United Mine Workers as the bargaining agency for all the foremen and subforemen in the coal industry.

"Foremen are the first line officers of the management," writes Mr. Wilson, and as such, so runs the general conclusion in his telegram, must be responsible to and under the complete control of the management. Undoubtedly not only Mr. Wilson but all other capitalists behold a horrible vision of labor unionism steadily encroaching upon their right to manage the industries as they please. The demand of a union for jurisdiction over the foremen is evidence that the situation has been permitted to go too far. Through Mr. Wilson the capitalists appeal to Congress to come to their aid.

And in fact the capitalists are justifiably worried. For the demand of the United Mine Workers, that it be recognized as the bargaining agency for the foremen, is significant in that it indicates a trend of the trade unions to restrict, more and more, the rights of capitalist management and to gain greater control over industry.

The immediate motives of Lewis in making such a demand are not very important. He wants to strengthen the union by absorbing an effective layer of the personnel in the industry. That in itself would be sufficient justification for us to support Lewis in that demand. He may even be interested in the additional dues, or he may simply have put forth the demand as a bargaining point. All this is unimportant in comparison with the fact that the demand symbolizes the tendency of labor unionism to gain greater control over the operation of industry.

With the birth of trade unions the control which the capitalists had over industry began to be restricted by the workers. No longer could the employer deal with the worker as he pleased; no longer was he able to "enter into a contract" with the individual laborer. He had to contract with the trade union and his sacred right to control his property was thereby limited. The more powerful the union, the greater were the limitations upon the rights of the owner.

But the trade unions have been limiting the rights of ownership only in so far as they were directly concerned with the welfare of the workers in the shop. It has been taken for granted that the owners could do anything they pleased as far as management of

the industry is concerned, outside of wages, hours and conditions of work. Some craft unions have been compelling employers to purchase only union-made material but that too is a limitation which does not interfere directly with the management of industry. Unionization of foremen, while being a far cry from actual control of the operation of industry, shows a desire on the part of the unions to have a control over people upon whom management depends in disciplining workers and supervising production.

The demand for the unionization of foremen is all the more significant because in the past unions have generally frowned on the idea of taking foremen into the organization. The altered attitude towards the inclusion of foremen in the unions may be primarily due to the changed character of industry, which has considerably lowered the status of foremen in comparison with the position they had formerly. Nevertheless foremen are considered by the capitalists as their agents and it is because of this that they are so disturbed by the demand of the unions to control the foremen. They see in this demand a dangerous precedent. May not the unions demand, as the next step, supervision of all aspects of operating industry?

Revolutionary Marxists must wholeheartedly support the demand for the unionization of foremen. Not only because it will strengthen the unions but because it is also a step in the direction of workers' control of industry. It is of course true that foremen as a group are less militant than workers as a group but a powerful and militant trade union movement has nothing to fear from a small group of foremen. To have them in the union means to have a certain control over them by the union. They are transformed from agents of the bosses entrusted with the task of discipline and speedup to mere supervisors of the technical end of production. The class-conscious workers will answer Mr. Wilson not by denying that they want to interfere with management but by boldly stating that the trade unions must have greater control of management.

And what is most important is that the advanced workers must base their desire for control of the industry not merely on the proposition that they thereby want to benefit the workers of their particular union. The weakness of Lewis and other conservative trade union leaders in demanding jurisdiction over the foremen lies just in this—that they do not connect that demand with the necessity for controlling industry as a measure to benefit the wide masses of the people.

Trade unionism will obtain support amongst all layers of the population outside of the capitalists only if it presents a program dealing with all the problems of society. To confine themselves to the interests of their members alone means to alienate the support of the wide masses and thus to injure their own members.

In reality this means the organization of an Independent Labor Party with an adequate political program, with workers' control of industry as an important part of that program.

10,000 Workers Protest Jim Crow In Detroit

DETROIT, Mich., April 17. — Over 10,000 Negro and white workers marched to Cadillac Square last Sunday afternoon to hold a mass demonstration against Negro discrimination. The march and meeting were sponsored by the Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in co-operation with other organizations including the CIO United Auto Workers and Negro fraternal groups. Chevrolet Local 235 of the UAW was represented by a band and drum corps. There was also a small contingent of

Negro soldiers who spontaneously stepped into the line of march as the parade swept by a Negro USO center.

Most of the speakers protested against job discrimination in war plants, police brutality, refusal to serve Negroes in Detroit restaurants, failure to give Negro women jobs to which their skill entitles them, the defeat of anti-poll tax legislation by Democrats and Republicans, Jim Crow housing, etc. Some of the placards demanded freedom for India.

ARMY JIM CROW

An incongruous note was struck by one of the speakers, Colonel George E. Strong, Chief of Plant Protection for the Army Air Forces in the Michigan district, who dwelt on the heroism of Negro soldiers in battle, but who never mentioned the fact that Negroes are segregated in the armed forces. The speakers who followed Strong took care to denounce military Jim Crow; one drew extended applause when he said, "If we must fight and die together, for God's sake let's live together!"

Among the speakers were Dr. McLeod, president of the Detroit NAACP, Walter Reuther of the UAW, Leonard Strong of the United Rubber Workers, Rev. Charles Hill of the Detroit Citizens' Committee. Greetings were received from Pearl Buck, A. Philip Randolph, Roger Baldwin and others.

INDIAN WORKERS IN BRITAIN BLAME FAMINE ON IMPERIALISTS

The following is the text of a resolution adopted by the India Workers Association in Britain and sent to the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party:

The India Workers Association in Great Britain views with serious concern the fast imposed upon Mahatma Gandhi by the barbarous policy of British imperialism. It demands his immediate, unconditional release and calls upon the British and American working class organizations to support this demand.

Responsibility for Famine

The Indian Workers Association holds the British imperialists responsible for the terrible state of food shortage and famine in India. It considers that this is a logical result of the most brutal exploitation of the Indian masses carried out by the imperialists in the last 150 years. It has caused a large part of the cultivable land to remain waste, increased the pressure of the population on land; and forced down the living standards of workers and peasants to starvation level. This normal state of affairs is aggravated by the presence of a huge army living upon the resources of the country and the continued export of foodstuffs in the last three years; and the incapacity of the government to deal with the food hoarders.

It condemns the brutal methods adopted by the

government to suppress hunger riots and regards the order to shoot without warning as a sign of complete bankruptcy and impotence.

It considers that the problem of adequate food and its proper distribution cannot be achieved without ending the imperialist rule in India. British imperialism is in alliance with the racketeers and exploiters in India.

Hoarding of food can only be controlled and proper distribution achieved if the power to search the granaries of landlords and zamindars in the villages and grain merchants in the cities is given to the committees of workers and peasants. But such a transformation is impossible without the complete independence of India. Only by the ending of British imperialism in India can the power pass, in the words of the Congress resolution, into the hands of the "workers in the fields and factories."

Call for Solidarity

Therefore, we call upon the British and American working class organizations to express their solidarity with the Indian masses who are forced to resort to hunger riots and demand that shootings be stopped immediately. We further call upon the British and American workers to raise the demand for the release of Indian political prisoners and acceptance of the Congress demand for immediate independence.

New Conference Recalls Use Of Food As Weapon In 1918

By ELOISE BLACK

Cold, hunger and disease are taking a far greater toll today than in World War I. Thousands die daily in ravaged Greece. Famine in China has wiped out whole sections of the population. Belgium's hospitals are reported to be choked with children, their limbs swollen from starvation. Reports from such territories as Norway, the Netherlands, Spain and Africa, relatively unaffected during the last war, indicate that the Eastern hemisphere is fast becoming a hell of hunger, epidemic and death.

Memories of how the last war ended haunt the imperialists of Britain and America. As the war drags toward its fifth year and the first rumbling of revolt sounds from the depths of suffering Europe, the capitalist rulers tremble. They cannot forget that it was the wave of popular rebellion, rising out of the misery of the masses, that forced the belligerents to conclude a hasty peace in 1918. Red Russia stands as a constant reminder that the world of the capitalist class is not impregnable. Fear of the inevitable uprisings that will sweep Europe if the war continues much longer motivates every consideration of the allied government today.

FOOD AS A WEAPON

That this conference will not be concerned alone, or even chiefly, with the feeding of the starving millions of Europe is strongly indicated by the announcement that press representatives will be barred from all but the formal opening and closing sessions. The capitalists know that one of the most potent weapons they hold in their hands is the control of food supplies.

The best guide to the real deliberations at this conference, which will take place behind locked doors, is the way in which food and relief supplies were used by the "democracies" to impose their wishes on Europe in the post-World War I period.

HOOVER'S ROLE

Herbert Hoover, as head of the European relief commission under the Wilson administration, was one of the American pioneers in the use of food as a political and counter-revolutionary weapon. Disguised as a humanitarian, he fought the spread of Bolshevism for the allies.

Of his own work in this field, Hoover says: "Besides the transcendent purpose of the organization which I directed to stop the flood of human misery, to save millions of lives, to prevent a dwarfed and mentally degenerated generation of children, my job was to nurture the frail plant of democracy in Europe against these withering blasts and their inevitable aftermaths of anarchy and communism. Communism was the pit into which all governments were in danger of falling when the frantic peoples were driven by the Horsemen of Hunger and Pestilence."

Wilson, in a message to Congress in 1919, asked for \$100,000,000 for European relief, and added: "Food relief is now the key to the whole European situation and to the solution of peace. Bolshevism is steadily marching westward, is poisoning Germany. It cannot be stopped with force. It can be stopped with food. . ."

Wherever the workers succeeded in driving out their oppressors and set up governments of their own, the allied governments immediately raised a blockade that cut off all food and medicine supplies to the beleaguered people. The young Hungarian Soviet Republic was first undermined and then overthrown by just this method. Without a doubt the "dwarfed and mentally degenerated generation of children" in post war Hungary can in good measure thank Hoovers' "Relief Commission" for their tragic condition.

IN THIS WAR

Philadelphia May Day Meeting

1886—Beginning of fight for 8-hour day

1943—Toward the formation of an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

FIGHT

INCREASING COST OF LIVING

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

RIISING TAXES ON WORKERS

SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

SWOLLEN PROFITS OF BIG BUSINESS

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. 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.
9. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Hollywood And The Moscow Trials

On almost the same day that Hollywood opened its newspaper campaign to advertise the opening of the motion picture, "Mission to Moscow," which will have its premiere in New York on April 29, a Mexican court passed sentence on "Frank Jackson," the GPU assassin. The coincidence begins and ends here. The motion picture repeats the Stalinist lie that Trotsky and the Trotskyists sought to assassinate Stalin; in the Mexican court it was established that Stalin's hired killer had come to Mexico for the sole purpose of taking the life of Leon Trotsky.

Hollywood, it goes without saying, did not film the story of this real plot and real murder. The film, based on the book by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, has an altogether different task to perform. With actors, make-up artists and movie cameras Warner Brothers hopes to accomplish what the Kremlin, with its entire colossal apparatus and network of foreign agencies, so miserably failed to, achieve: namely, to justify before world public opinion all of Stalin's crimes against the working class, above all the blood purges of the infamous Moscow trials.

Stalin was able to set the stage in Moscow with living puppets. The best Hollywood can do is boast about the physical resemblance between its actors and the personalities they represent. But it has something which Stalin lacked: it is able to present the story of the Moscow trial frameups with an air of impartiality. As evidence of its impartial adherence to the truth, Hollywood's publicity men have been flooding the capitalist press with the assurances that the only changes made involved the telescoping of Stalin's three major public trials into a single one for the screen. And then they play their trump card: the actors, they emphasize, speak only lines taken verbatim from the official transcript of the frameups. The same words, that is, that the GPU put into the mouths of its victims or wrote into the records through the prosecution.

This is like making a picture of the Mooney or Sacco and Vanzetti frameups and citing only the arguments of the prosecution. But everyone acquainted with those cases knows that it is necessary to go beyond the "evidence" of the prosecution and even outside of the courtroom in order to establish the truth.

No one would expect the perpetrators of a frame-

up to follow such a course because obviously they seek to suppress the truth. But why does Hollywood, which so loudly asserts its fidelity to the facts, ignore the great volume of unimpeachable evidence on the Moscow trials gathered, analyzed, substantiated and published by a truly impartial body, the John Dewey Commission investigating the charges against Leon Trotsky? Why does it ignore the testimony of the chief defendant of the trials, Trotsky, who was not permitted to speak on his own behalf in Moscow? Why does it confine its film version to Moscow's court records which do not contain a single piece of verified documentary evidence and make not a single mention of the testimony and evidence presented before the Dewey Commission?

Hollywood can no more disprove the findings and the verdict of the Dewey Commission than the Kremlin could. This verdict, passed on Sept. 20, 1937, still stands:

"We find that Trotsky throughout his whole career has been a constant opponent of individual terror. The Commission further finds that Trotsky never instructed any of the defendants or witnesses in the Moscow trials to assassinate any political opponent.

"We find that Trotsky never instructed the defendants or witnesses in the Moscow trials to engage in sabotage, wrecking or diversion. On the contrary, he has always been a consistent advocate of the building up of socialist industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union and has criticized the present regime on the basis that its activities were harmful to the building up of the socialist economy in Russia. He is not in favor of sabotage as a method of opposition to any political regime.

"We find that Trotsky never instructed any of the accused or witnesses in the Moscow trials to enter into agreements with foreign powers against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he has always uncompromisingly advocated the defense of the USSR. He has also been a forthright ideological opponent of the fascism represented by the foreign powers with which he is accused of having conspired.

"On the basis of all the evidence we find that Trotsky never recommended, plotted or attempted the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. On the contrary, he has always uncompromisingly opposed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its existence anywhere else.

"We find that the Prosecutor (in the Moscow trials) fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during and after the October Revolution.

"We therefore find the Moscow trials to be frame-ups.

"We therefore find Trotsky and Sedov not guilty."

Here Are Some Real Peonage Cases

The Department of Justice has been publicly commending itself for obtaining a conviction of two Texas farmers who held a Negro as a slave; and for undertaking no less than thirty investigations of peonage and slavery cases in Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and other states.

The conduct of the Department of Justice reminds us of an experience a friend of ours had while getting some sparkplugs cleaned. The cut-rate outfit entrusted with this simple task made such a to-do about its wonderful work that our friend forgot to check his motor. The sparkplugs were cleaned well. What the outfit neglected to mention was that the motor had been ruined in the process. Our friend's sad experience has taught us to watch closely those people who raise a hullabaloo about something they are supposed to do in the first place. What is the Department of Justice trying to cover up with its beating of drums about the enforcement — a trifle belated — of the Thirteenth Amendment?

We think we know. This cleaning of a few dirty sparkplugs in out-of-the-way places is intended to distract attention away from moves in Washington that threaten to destroy the entire mechanism of our people's elementary rights and liberties.

There is the Roosevelt-McNutt order freezing 27,000,000 workers to their jobs, with penalties of \$1,000 and one year in jail, or both, for any worker who tries to better his condition by changing jobs without permission. Peonage remains peonage for 27,000,000, even when the label on it reads "frozen."

And what is the gist of the Austin-Wadsworth Bill to conscript all labor? In the last analysis, it comes down to turning every man, woman and child in this country into a peon. Everyone, that is, who is not a member of the capitalist class. The capitalists and their agents, you see, do the freezing, bill-passing, tax-passing, etc. — all of which invariably comes down to one and the same thing — PROFIT TAKING.

We propose a simple method whereby the entire mechanism of our society can be kept not only clean but vastly improved:

Set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government and let the "Department of Justice" of this government do the job of really abolishing all peonage and slavery.

A Marxist Record of the first year of
World War II

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WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

A. P. Randolph On Military Jim Crow

Editor:

The treatment of Negroes in the armed forces of this country is a shame and reproach to every American. We of the March-On-Washington Movement believe that a Jim Crow army is a mockery of the principles proclaimed by the leaders of the United Nations. May I, therefore, request the courtesy of your correspondence columns to tell your readers about two current developments in the fight we are putting up against military Jim Crowism?

1. We have just put out a 16-page illustrated booklet, "The War's Greatest Scandal: The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform," which contains all the facts on this issue brought together for the first time. It costs five cents and may be obtained from the March-On-Washington Movement,

2084 Seventh Ave., New York City.

2. We are trying to dramatize nationally the case of Winfred Lynn, the Negro draftee whose suit alleging violation by the military authorities of the "no discrimination" clause in the 1940 Draft Act will come up before the Supreme Court in a few months. A mass meeting on this case will be held at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Lenox Ave. and 140th St., New York City, at 8:30 P. M. on Thursday, April 22. All who share our concern about military Jim Crow are cordially invited to attend.

A. Philip Randolph,
National Director,
March-on-Washington
Movement.

(Albert Parker's review of "The War's Greatest Scandal" will be found in his column on Page 5 of this issue. Next week's Militant will carry a report of the mass meeting on the Lynn case. —Ed.)

Suggest a New Column

Editor:

It has occurred to me that a column entitled "In My Shop," containing newsy bits of interesting information on the attitudes and reactions of workers in the war plants throughout the country, the various decrees issued by the government, might well be of interest to the readers of The Militant if placed in the paper as a regular feature. Please take it under advisement.

N. L.
New Haven, Conn.

(What do other readers of the paper think about this suggestion? The editorial staff is in favor, but the success of the proposed column would depend on the willingness of our readers to supply us with the material for the column. —Ed.)

Workers' BOOKSHELF

ONE WORLD by Wendell L. Willkie, 206 pp. New York: Simon & Schuster. \$2 (cloth), \$1 (paper cover).

Mr. Willkie has no government post. Considerations of diplomacy do not fetter him. Nor does he have to soothe the sensibilities of a Churchill. In denouncing British colonial rule, he speaks out what is in the mind of Wall Street. At Wall Street's disposal is the greatest industrial machine; its coffers hold almost all of the world's gold; it needs elbow room, new markets, places for investment — in short, it needs its own super empire. Great Britain stands in the way? Then it is necessary to "liberate" the colonies from British rule. And what about France?

One would think that Willkie, out of considerations of sympathy for the prostrate French Empire, would at least moderate his attitude toward it. But the more impotent the French all the more merciless is our author. Here is Willkie's description of his meeting with General de Gaulle: "In the general's private room, where every corner, every wall, held busts, statues and pictures of Napoleon."

"Frequently the general, in describing his struggle of the moment with the British as to whether he or they should dominate Syria and the Lebanon, would declare dramatically, 'I cannot sacrifice or compromise my principles.' 'Like Joan of Arc,' his aide added. . . . When I reminded him that Syria was but a mandated area under the League of Nations, he said, 'Yes, I know. But I hold it in trust. . . . In no place in this world can I yield a single French right. . . .'

General de Gaulle, heading only one faction in a defunct empire, says with bravado: "In no place in this world can I yield a single French right" — the right, that is, to exploit the natives and to grind them down under conditions of starvation and pestilence. Mr. Churchill, heading the waning and but still quite potent British Empire, says threateningly — and unmistakably with the U. S. in mind — "We mean to hold our own. I did not become His Majesty's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." And Willkie, speaking for Wall Street, the main challenger for the right to world empire, puts in the mouth of one

of the high officials of the Lebanon the following words: "A plague on both their houses." Revealed by these statements is the pattern of the conflict going on right now even while victory over the Axis is still out of reach.

Turkey is one country in the Middle East that captivated Willkie's imagination. He represents it as "a possible prototype of what is happening to all the vast area that used to be the Ottoman Empire." What makes it a prototype? While painting a glowing picture of Turkish progress for the past 19 years, what really interested Willkie becomes quickly obvious: Turkey is already within the American sphere of influence and may play an important role in the Middle East in behalf of the American empire.

Missionaries have often served as scouts of imperialist penetration in the colonies. The Bantus of Africa have a saying: "At first we had the land and the white man had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and the white man has the land." In Turkey, it appears, "educators" have taken the place of missionaries. Outside Istanbul, Roberts College has been established by Americans, and Mr. Willkie informs us, "Its graduates are now sitting behind some of the most important desks in Turkey. They are turning to good use the knowledge and ideas given them by American teachers. . . ."

Further, "They would like to trade with us . . . They produce, in Turkey, nearly one-quarter of the world's supply of chrome . . . and they need manufactures and machinery" Mr. Willkie comments: "The Turks are our friends. They both like and admire us. They do not fear us, nor do they envy us." Clearly, the Turkish bourgeoisie — which Willkie omits to mention, maintains a dictatorial regime — is fully aware that it can play no independent role on the international chess board and is willing to be a pawn in the hands of the American ruling class.

About a quarter of Willkie's book is devoted to his two weeks' sojourn in the Soviet Union, and his two meetings with Stalin. By sheer volume he tries to make up for a lack of any clearcut perspective. Willkie, who speaks with assurance of America's role in the rest of the post-war world, finds himself face to face with an

enigma when he comes to the Soviet Union. He mostly has high praise for the Stalinist clique, but the nationalized property relations he cannot swallow. Is it perhaps because Willkie has a stake in capitalism? Nothing so vulgar could possibly enter his mind. Willkie proceeds here as in everything from the noblest of motives. He is opposed to communism, because he is " . . . completely opposed to any system that leads to absolutism."

Willkie resorts here to the worn but still favorite trick. Like all capitalist apologists, he identifies communism with reactionary Stalinism. As a result, the socialist achievements of the USSR in industrialization, education and public health, along with the magnificent performance of the Red Army, are thus credited to the leadership of Stalin, while Stalin's totalitarian regime is blamed on socialism.

But what about the Soviet Union's future in the scheme of Willkie's "One World"? Out of all the verbiage he employs to cover up his fears and misgivings, one thing stands out: "The industrialization of Russia will require a limitless amount of American products, and Russia has unlimited material resources that we need." There is the basis for a profitable business deal, which no hard-headed American business man would overlook.

In his book Willkie gives us not only a survey of the world as he saw it, but also his picture of the world to come. This, too, is very vague and blurred in a thick fog of Jeffersonian phraseology. All this is deliberate. Willkie has sufficient confidence in the preponderance of American power on the world arena. Only the spokesmen of the weaker imperialists need make more precise guarantees for the future. The strong can do what they please.

It is safe to predict that as the war goes on we will be engulfed in a deluge of books on the peace and the world to come. They will all speak eloquently and very generously of "liberty, justice and plenty." Very few, after the experience of the last war, will be deceived by them. The workers and the oppressed colonial peoples will go on planning their own peace.

—Reviewed by M. STEIN.

Issue of Truth Arouses Disputes in Washington

By RALPH JOHNSON

Last week came controversial news from Washington, from which, as is well known, nothing ever comes but the truth. Some people there, it appears, now deny this. They say that they believe in slicing the truth, but not baloney. On April 15 approximately two-thirds of the publications sections at the Office of War Information (OWI) resigned. According to these 15 men and women, the domestic publicity on war issued by the OWI is "dominated by high pressure promoters who prefer slick salesmanship to honest information."

The dissident writers and research specialists do not specify just what brand of "slick salesmanship" turned their stomachs. But it is safe to assume that it was something quite unsavory. It would have to be.

The profession of selling capitalism to the people in peace as well as in war does inure one, and all of the dissidents are case-hardened veterans in this field. The case for capitalism must be bad indeed, if such people throw up their hands at this time.

We Trotskyists are indeed deeply concerned with the truth, and all matters relating to this vital issue. Even a claim from Washington that there are truth-seekers there almost strikes in us a sympathetic chord. But we remain a bit skeptical that the latest conflict in the OWI occurs between the seekers of truth and those who remain indifferent to it. It is rather a conflict between two different schools and traditions in peddling the most abominable lies of all — the lies of capitalism, stripped in wartime of all the convenient camouflage and hypocrisy that peace-time conditions permit.

To us it is old news that the truth is feared and suppressed in Washington. This is attested by the vicious persecution of the one paper in this country that really tells the truth — The Militant.

UAW Newspaper Corrects The 'Daily Worker'

The Stalinists have been caught red-handed in their campaign of misrepresentation and lies on the "incentive pay plan." Last week The Militant reported that Percy Llewellyn, the newly-elected president of the Ford local of the UAW-CIO, wired his objections and corrections to the "several errors" in the Daily Worker's story of April 5 which asserted, among other things, that Llewellyn's election implied approval by the Ford Rouge workers of an incentive wage plan. Recounting this incident, United Automobile Worker, official organ of the UAW-CIO, adds the following in its April 15 issue:

"The Daily Worker's article stated also that the UAW board had approved incentive wage plans, with vice-president Walter P. Reuther the only one voting in opposition. The truth is that the UAW board, without opposition, reaffirmed the union's opposition to incentive plans.

"The Communist paper also boasted that Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party, was a 'pioneer' in the current incentive pay movement. Wrong again.

"General Motors Corporation and other industrial corporations beat the Communist Party to the punch on it; however, the CP is a close second for the honor of proposing re-introduction of incentive, piece-work, speed-up systems which the UAW-CIO and other unions fought so hard to eliminate from industry."

Madame Chiang Discusses The Poll Tax and India

The American capitalists have not been wining, dining and acclaiming Mme. Chiang Kai-shek on her official tour for nothing. In a press conference at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles on April 2, according to the April 5 issue of the Negro weekly, L. A. Tribune, she evaded the question of whether she and her husband favored independence for India and issued statements to the effect:

"That China's sole interest in India was to have that country throw her full weight into the war effort.

"That whether the poll tax in the United States should be abolished depended on how much the Negro people are doing to help the war and on how the Negroes would use their voting power.

No direct quotes from Mme. Chiang's remarks were permitted. The L. A. Tribune remarks: "No reason for the restriction was given."

The chief reason is the masses of China. The lady does not speak for them and knows it.

CHICAGO MAY DAY CELEBRATION

SUNDAY, MAY 2 - 2:30 P. M.

HEAR

VINCENT R. DUNNE

Renowned militant labor leader and organizer of famous Local 544, Minneapolis Drivers Union. For 25 years a fighter for workers' rights and socialism. Now awaiting the outcome of an appeal against a prison sentence imposed on him and 17 other CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders in the famous Minneapolis labor trial in 1941

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This Week: SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 8 P. M.

"MISSION TO MOSCOW:
FILM OF A FRAMEUP"

Speaker: ALBERT GOLDMAN

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NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
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Question-Discussion Period - Refreshments