# THE NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

[SEE PAGE 6]

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. V.I-No. 11

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1942

Sends Cripps to Bargain

**Over Undisclosed Terms** 

Prime Minister Winston Churchill last Wednesday gave the people of In-

Aside from this "offer" - simple reiteration of the one made in Aug-

dia another worthless promise of "independence" to be granted "after the

war." He announced that he was going to make some concrete proposal to

the Indian nationalist leaders to demonstrate his "sincerity" about post-war

promises. But he refused to reveal anything about the terms of this proposal.

ust, 1940 and rejected as a fraud by the Indian people — the single con-

crete step promised in Churchill's statement is the sending of Sir Stafford

**1180** Votes

For Carlson

Vote for Trotskyist Candidate Increases

89% Over Vote Received in 1940 Primaries

Trotskyist candidate seeking nomination as mayor

of St. Paul, received 1180 votes in the primary elec-

per cent of the total vote cast in the election, and

was regarded as an encouraging response to the fighting socialist

Campaign Committee announced that it was going to conduct

a write-in campaign for Carlson as mayor in the April 28 reg-

names will be on the ballot next | Carlson's election statement came

Shortly after the election results were released, the Carlson

program Grace Carlson had presented in the campaign.

and William Fallon secured the polis "sedition" trial.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Mar. 11 - Grace Carlson,

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

FIVE (5) CENTS

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

# C. P. Begins New Lynch Campaign In Cleveland

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

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

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

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

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

#### THE WAY TO DEFEAT HITLER

"Here is the proof", they say:

"In the February 7th issue of THE MILITANT - (1) A frontbage editorial says that the way to defeat Hitler is to overthrow the governments of the United States and Great Britain. The destruction of the Hitlerite government is NOT urged."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

such officials. The union ranks want officers who will lead them in genuine struggle against the present serious threat to their rights and living standards. . . Above all, the strike weapon must not be surrendered. . . The rank-and-file owe it to themselves to spring and the threat of another elect as their leaders those who put the interests of the workers before everything else."

The charge about "ousting of elected officials" is clearly a distortion of a call to the workers to elect officials who will fight for their interests. The Stalinists don't like it because they want (Continued on page 4)

# We Accuse 2

# AGENTS AT YOUR GATES!

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

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

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

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

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

They attempted to wreck the development of unity mong the Chinese people. They made common cause with Franco, Hitler and

Mussolini in the destruction of the Spanish Republic. They helped torpedo the French Popular Front Govment, thus paving the way for Hitler's bandit arm-

And now, in America, the Trotzkyists are by slimy SLAVEMENT!"

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

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

In the February 7th issue of The Militant-

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

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

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

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

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

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

"LET FREEDOM RING FOR EARL BROWDER" Called by Cleveland Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder

Tuesday, March 17th - 7:30 P.M. - Public Auditorium [Ballroom] WARREN K. BILLINGS and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

Above is a reproduction of the Stalinist leaf let issued in Cleveland last week. Note the advertisement for a meeting on the bottom, in which the authors of this leaflet inciting lynch violence against the Trotskyists plead, "Let Freedom Ring for Earl Browder."

# Stalinists Have Revived Plea For 'Second Front'

The Stalinists are reviving their campaign for the opening | military decision by 1943. of a "second front" in Europe to engage Hitler's armies. It is not difficult to understand what this means.

The slogan for the "second front" was first raised by the Stalinists at the height of the Nazi drive into the USSR last

autumn. At the time Stalin tried > to explain away the defeats of the the approaches to Leningrad and on the Pacific where the British ever, was dropped as suddenly as successes and beat back the Ger-

During the winter months the Soviet economy. Soviet masses were then told that in 1942 the invaders would be driven out of the occupied territories by the unaided forces of the country itself. The previous defeats were minimized and explained away as having been entirely due to the element of surprise. After the Germans had lost this initial advantage they would never regain it. The Red Army, it was confidently predicted, would not surrender the

#### NEW CHANGE OF TUNE

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

Despite the heroic efforts of the ceeded in retaining their positions rejected the plan for a "second among our people" are "trying housing project fight not only a in the Ukraine. They still hold front" last year when Churchill desperately to hold the situation national, but an international in- on the morning of Feb. 28 would ganizations.

Red Army by the failure on the are within striking distance of part of Britain to open up such Moscow. During the winter a front. In November 1941 he months they have suffered heavy promised the Soviet people that blows. But these are far exceeded the second front would materi- by the losses suffered by the Soviet Union in terms of territory, resources, manpower and equipit had been launched when the ment. The official Moscow re-Red Army began scoring its first quest for food shipments under the Lease-Lend provisions is a grave symptom of the strain on

> The reports of the last six weeks are clear indication that the Germans have succeeded in pancy of the Sojourner Truth stabilizing their lines in the most important sectors of the front. This means that they have been able to proceed unhindered with and now demands some action." preparations behind the lines. With the industrial and technolo- Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary whites and 107 Negroes. gical resources at his disposal, of the National Assoc. for the military machine. The Kremlin's sult with and pledge cooperation rapidly coming to the point where for a diversion elsewhere. If that the housing fight. is done, boasts Moscow, Hitler can be defeated in 1942.

So far as Lendon and Wash- newspaper work, I have never ington are concerned, they do not found such bitterness on such a Red Army, the Nazis have suc- future. The British imperialists whom he calls "the cooler heads police department has made this"

was talking confidently of forcing

#### AT MOST A MINOR DIVERSION

But let us assume that they will accede this time, despite the fact that their attention is fixed colonial empire is tottering under the blows of the Japanese and the

'fed up' with talk of democracy

the NAACP, and in 20 years of

(Continued on page 3)

#### midst of a war, and Carlson's statement last week presenting the socialist alternative to the

impact of the Indian crisis. Any 17 other Socialist Workers Party and CIO members in the Minnea-

war made it clear to everyone that she cannot and does not support the war. In addition, Carl-

son has been the subject of many reactionary attacks since the campaign began because she was recently convicted of violating the Smith "Gag" Act along with

ular election. John McDonough 3-

The Carlson vote of 1180 was

an increase of 89% over the vote

cast for the Trotskyist candidate

for mayor in 1940. The increase

is all the more significant because

This year the country is in the

nominations for mayor, and their

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE

of the following factors:

Wilkins Describes Detroit Housing 'Riot'

of the striking revelations resulting from the riots here, whites, Negroes always lose be- in a public meeting and said he across the street, stop moving February 28, over the occualways, join the whites against ably be called to fight in Asia or gro families seeking to move in,

This was the observation of police arrested 109 persons — 2 Hitler has undoubtedly been able Advancement of Colored People of Negroes want to fight. They to reorganize and replenish his who came here March 4 to con- are tired of talking. They are

#### "In 11 years of travelling for institution. "TORE UP DRAFT CARDS"

"The Sojourner Truth riot even dream of being able to ter- wide scale as I have found in came in the midst of war. The minate the conflict in the near Detroit," said Wilkins. Those disgraceful action of the Detroit

They fear that "when there is up their draft cards last Satur- Wilkins. "The cops let the whites violence between Negroes and day - in public. One man got up form a mob, erect barricades cause the police and the soldiers was of draft age and would prob- vans containing furniture of Nehousing project is that the the Negroes. That is what hap- Europe, but I will take my fight- and beat and stone Negroes. But American Negro is just about pened in Detroit. Although whites ing and dying, if necessary, right when Negroes attempted to prostarted the riot and were armed here on the streets of Detroit for tect themselves and to break with every kind of weapon, the some democracy for my own peo- through the barricades, the cons

The strongest attacks against

from the jingo Communist Party

and its candidate for City Coun-

cilman, Rose Tillotson, The Stal-

inist candidate issued a state-

Carlson and the Socialist Work-

ers Party and declaring that their

position on the war showed their

added, of course, that she "whole-

Socialist Workers Party were at-

tacking Hitlerism all during the

(Continued on page 2)

heartedly supports the war."

"Another man came up before "Despite this, the rank and file Judge George Murphy on a disorderly conduct charge in connection with fighting at the project. He said to the judge: 'I have two only answer is to plead once again to the Citizens' Committee on they do not believe or trust any boys in the U. S. Army fighting white person or any government for these people (the whites) and you can sentence me to any years important trade union locals. you want, but when I get out I am

#### ROLE OF THE POLICE

Cripps to India to try to strike a bargain with the Indian nationalist leaders. With its military power in India broken down by the Far East defeats, the British ruling class hopes to obtain by bargaining what it can no longer maintain will leave the real power in the hands of Britain imperialism and

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

But whatever "offer" Cripps may make to the nationalist leadtions yesterday. This amounted to more than 3 1-3 ers, it is certain to include no answer to the basic question for the Indian masses. That is the question of the agrarian revolution, the solution of the problem of the peasants who constitute 70 per cent of India's population.

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

#### ment last Saturday attacking QUALIFICATIONS

Contrary to the impression gived by the capitalist press, Churchill did not promise na-"kinship" with Hitler "and other tional independence for India, but fifth column elements." She also only an undefined form of "dominion status" within the British Empire. But even the attainment Grace Carlson was quick to deof this status is hedged around nounce the Stalinist statement as with qualifications calculated to a vicious slander, and to recall forestall fulfillment of the Churchthat "I and other members of the ill promise.

Churchill's "offer" was "of course, subject to the fulfillment period when Mrs. Tillotson was of our obligations for the protecdefending Stalin's alliance with tion of minorities . . . and of our treaty obligations to the Indian The Stalinist drive to garner States and to settlement of cer-(Continued on page 3)

cident. Young Negroes here tore have prevented the riot. says

went into action against them. Protests and demands for action are pouring in upon Detroit and Washington officials fom hundreds of organizations and individuals throughout the country. Among these are the Wayne County CIO Council and many

A picket line of hundreds has going to start fighting again just been thrown around the City Hall where I left off.' The charge was calling for immediate action. The dismissed for lack of evidence." Citizens' Committee co-ordinating the fight includes labor unions, the local branch of the

One hour of "good police work" NAACP, and dozens of other or-

# Officials Fail To Act In Tobin Gunmen Case

MINNEAPOLIS - It has become clear that the city and 9 county authorities here intend to take no action to apprehend | tice demands the offenders be the trio of gunmen who recently made an armed attack on three | prosecuted." Local 544-ClO organizers. A public statement issued by the 544-CIO executives board charged that the gunmen acted for Daniel Tobin, AFL Teamsters head. Local officials are carrying

out the policy initiated by fed- 9eral and state authorities of aiding Tobin in his attempt to smash the CIO union.

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

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

But the Tobin machine doesn't dare sue Local 544-CIO for Libel! WHY TOBIN WON'T SUE

For Tobin and his local satrap, O'Loughlin, fear the proof in Lo cal 544-CIO's possession concerning the gangster activities of the

"We're going to stop those people

soon;" the evidence that could be given by a witness about the license numbers of the two cars parked near Local 544-CIO's hall during the gunmen's assault: and the presence of these same two cars parked outside a well-known underworld dive the evening of

The Tobin Teamster put on a further show of outraged virtue interested in upholding the law, over the 544-CIO charges by de they would have taken action claring that "such an unjustified long ago against Tobin's gunmen, attack on Mr. Tobin calls for im- who have been running wild here mediate apology to Mr. Tobin by since last June - assaulting the Morning Tribune (which fea- nurses in hotel bedrooms, slugtured the 544-CIO statement on ging aldermen in night clubs, the front page.)"

The Minneapolis Tribune has

To cover up its own unwilling-Tobin plug-uglies: the sworn tes- 544-CIO for what it terms "crimtimony of hundreds of Minneapo- inal libel," Tobin's sheet weakly slugging. Local 544-CIO is presslis drivers in the Blair hearing last says, "It is up to the responsible ing for NLRB elections in several summer concerning the ball-bat public officials to see that the of- more companies where workers tactics of Tobin's goons; the fenders are prosecuted ... A city have unanimously expressed threats uttered by a prominent lo- ordinance provides punishment themselves for their own union, cal Tobin official just four days for those giving false information 544-CIO, and against Tobin and before the recent attack that to police or to a newspaper. Jus- his racketeering outfit.

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

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

If the Minneapolis officials were transporting dope, trying to kill farmers, having gun fights outside night clubs, using ball-bats and blackjacks on drivers and warehousemen and brewery workers.

Fortunately, Harry DeBoer has now recovered from his ball-bat

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

JUST OUT

A Companion Pamphlet to James P. Cannon's Testimony

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The text of his two-day final argument to the jury in the

Minneapolis "Sedition" Trial.

IT'S ONLY TEN CENTS!

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon

The official court record of James P. Cannon's testi-

mony in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" trial,

116 Page Pamphlet . . Only 10 Cents!

This pamphlet — really a book — is an elementary introduction

to the ideas of socialism.

with an introduction by Felix Morrow.

IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

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

NEW YORK — Over 250 people attended a Defense Dinner on March 3, in honor of V. R. Dunne, one of those convicted in the Minnesota labor trials, and leader of Local 544-CIO. The dinner, sponsored by the New York Civil Rights Defense Committee, and held at Werderman's Hall, was one of the most spirited labor gatherings in 9 liberties in the labor movement

The overflow crowd that turned and the right to build a movement out to hear V. R. Dunne and to fight for a better world," he Carlo Tresca, Vice Chairman of said. the CRDC, was proof of the widespread sympathy among advanced workers for the cause of the Min- latest acts of brutality and intimnesota defendants.

V. R. Dunne's speech was an gunmen, who recently attacked inspiring call to all labor to de- Harry DeBoer, 544-CIO official. fend its rights by rallying to the and one of the workers convicted neapolis defendants. He explain- pointed out that the union leaders tion." ed how the Smith "Gag" Law in Minneapolis faced other placed in jeopardy all the hard- charges in addition to the Fedwon liberties of labor. Dunne eral prosecution. Kelly Postal is thanked the Civil Rights Defense faced with embezzlement charges Committee for its work in defend- for turning the Local 544 funds ing the convicted leaders of Lo- over to the CIO when the union cal 544-CIO and the Socialist disaffiliated with the AFL and Vorkers Party, and called on all joined the CIO. workers to "pitch in now to fight Tobin are out to get Kelly Postal from those present. Over \$530 this case through in a last ditch one way or another," Dunne said. was donated in the collection. fight to the Supreme Court."

"We are fighting to protect civil Local 544-CIO.

audience with his stirring account of his experiences in the miners' strikes on the Mesabi range of Northern Minnesota.

#### SOLIDARITY

Tresca, editor of Il Martello, an anti-fascist newspaper, pointed out that he was persecuted in Minnesota for taking part in the miners' strike, accused of "sedition" more than a score of years ago, just as the Minneapolis lead-In his speech Dunne told of the ers are being persecuted now. He pledged his solidarity to V. R. idation on the part of the Tobin Dunne, and spoke with great affection for all the defendants who represented "the militant selfsacrificing leaders who fight for defense of the 18 convicted Min- in the Minneapolis case. He also the cause of labor's emancipa-

George Novack, Secretary of the CRDC, served as chairman. His plea for funds to help pay for the immediate legal steps in the appeal of the Minnesota case to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act and to free the 18 defendants, "The bosses and brought an enthusiastic response

Postal is Secretary Treasurer of there was music and dancing.

# Carlo Tresca, a veteran fighter in the ranks of labor, thrilled the

#### TRESCA PLEDGES

After the dinner and speeches

# Grace Carlson's Grace Carlson Radio Speech Gets 1180 Votes

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

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

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

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

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

#### Against the Treacherous **Politicians**

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

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

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

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

#### New Attacks On Workers' Conditions

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

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

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

in their contracts. The Socialist Workers Party,



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

#### For Full Equality!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ful struggle against the forces of fascism, it is necessary to extend the hand of solidarity to and Japan. Only a Workers' date. and Farmers' Government in SPIRITED CAMPAIGN the United States can do this. Only a Workers' and Farmers' Government can show the way by calling for a joint struggle of the workers of all countries against the capitalist systemthe source of all of their ills. The failure of Stalin to utilize this weapon of internationalist struggle against Nazism has mortally endangered the Soviet

And yet, the heroic resistance Hitler's war machine has debanner of a workers' state for paign. industries and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and landlords. In no other country which has been invaded by the Nazis have the workers been inspired to such a magnificent struggle against the forces of Hitler.

#### Defend the Soviet Union

We defend the Soviet Union unconditionally, but we oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy because it has deprived the Russian masses of all their democthe path of international social. women and dealt the heaviest other "forced collection" outfit. blow of all to the Soviet Union

tional socialism-a program ceived a letter of thanks from based on the principles of Marx, the War Dept. in appreciation for Lenin and Trotsky-can save the speed-up plans he had subthe world's workers from cap- mitted to it. The letter says in

an international socialist and it will interest you to know that Party, which I represent is in- der consideration by the Bureau. Defense Committee. Government. But I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism. This is the only road to a system of enduring peace, freedom and plenty for all. I ask your support in this campaign on that

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

Copies of our platform or of this radio address may be obtained at our campaign headquarters, 138 E. 6th Street in St. Paul. There you may also obtain a copy of the testimony of James P. Cannon, leading defendant in the "seditious conspiracy" case and the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. His testimony has been gathered into a booklet un. der the title "Socialism on Trial," and gives a complete account of our party's program.

As the only candidate pledged to a program of international socialism, I ask the support of St. Paul workers. Your vote for Grace Carlson will indicate your desire to build a socialist establishment of a Workers' and United States of America and a Farmers' Government in the socialist world.

(Continued from page 1) gans and attacking the true antifascists as "Hitler's agents" did not meet with much success at italist system in decay. The the polls. Tillotson received a sharpest attacks on working total of 2074 votes, but it must class leaders and the most sav- be understood that every voter had the right to vote for 6 Councilmanic candidates, unlike the voting for the mayoralty nomination, where the voters could cast their ballot for only one candidate; undoutedly, Tillotson's vote would have been much lower if there was only one Councilmanic nomination to be filled.

But even so, her vote was a 23% decrease under the vote cast for the Stalinist candidate for Councilman in the primaries two year ago - when the Stalinists were still denouncing the war as an imperialist war! Carlson's campaign had been

spirited from beginning to end. She had utilized every opportunity to present her program to the workers, and had aroused more discussion in labor circles the workers of Germany, Italy than any other mayoralty candi-

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

Last Friday night one of the most successful election rallies of the campaign was held by the working class solidarity in his Campaign Committee. At this meeting the candidate spoke on the Socialist Program "to Defeat World Fascism and Achieve a Lasting Peace, Freedom and Plenof the Russian workers against ty for All" to many people who had never heard of the Trotskymonstrated that the masses will ists before and first learned about fight to the death under the them in the course of this cam-Over the week-end Socialist

Workers Party members and sym- there.

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

#### Decide Un Write-In Drive For Carlson

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

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

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

We have therefore decided to run a write-in campaign for Grace Carlson for Mayor for the final Headquarters will be maintain-

ed at 138 E. 6th St. and election literature and information about the campaign may be obtained

#### **WORKERS FORUM**

No Appreciation By War Department

Editor: Emanuel Fried, promed speed-up artist working as en- labor-hating Curtiss outfit. gineer at the Curtiss-Wright ratic rights and, by its policies. Aircraftplant here in Buffalo was has placed the workers' state in fired two weeks ago by orders of honest workers who are duped by jeopardy. Stalin long ago left the U. S. War Dept. because his Stalinism. Their capitalist mas-"services are inimicable to Na- ters aren't being kidded one secism—the path marked out by tional Defense." Fried, a leading ond by all the protestations of Lenin and Trotsky in the early figure in the present drive to or- patriotism springing from the days of the Soviet Union. He ganize this plant into the CIO, cesspool of Stalinism. The bosses sells out the world's workers is noted for having wasted much are using them only to police the and colonial peoples for the sake valuable time of the local's meet- workers and keep them in line. of temporary alliances, one time ings by giving endless speeches When the lemon is squeezed dry. with Hitler, now with Churchill on how the wage-slaves can in- they are given the gate. and Roosevelt. These betrayals crease production, push Defense have alienated the sympathies Bond sales, contribute to the of millions of working men and Jim-Crow Red Cross, USO and

Only a program of interna- that only on Jan. 13 he had reitalist slaughter and anarchy. part: "You have offered a num-I am proud to say that I am ber of valuable suggestions and that the Socialist Workers several of them are already unternationalist to the core. But As you are apparently aware, because I have put forth this so- the War Department is making been convicted by the Federal appreciation of our problem you the CRDC.

The irony of the situation is

will help us to spread this message." In addition to contacting the War Dept. this Stalinist has spent sleepless nights thinking up other plans of speed-up that inent Stalinist and self-appoint- he has already submitted to the

This case must serve as a bitter lesson to all militant and

> L. T., Buffalo, N. Y.

#### New Haven Local Contributes

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

The local also passed a resolution condemning the convictions cialist solution to the problems every effort to explain to the in the Minneapolis case. The unof war and fascism and because workers the need for ever-in- ion's secretary was appointed to I have opposed imperialist war, creased production. I have no serve as the local's representa-I and seventeen others have doubt that with your excellent live on the New Haven branch of

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much of the old-established dem-

ism which in the words of the

resolution of the Indian National

Congress" is indistiguishable from

The colored races wish to get

all Herrenrolk white as well as

yellow-off their backs. While

their sympathies are with the

Chinese people in their heroic

fight for national liberation from

Japanese imperialism, it does not

necessarily follow that they are

spurred to support the Anglo-

American powers. On the con-

trary, they despise them as much

Even the threat from Japan in

Asia has not altered the narrow

"prestige" outlook of the British

pukka sahibs. Like their French

allies of yesterday, they would

rather be (temporarily) stripped

of their colonies than make the

smallest political concession to

their colored slaves. Had the

The situation, however, might

have been retrieved even after

the Atlantic Charter to the na-

plantation and mining purposes.

always hope to come back and

This attitude was made quite

Kai-Shek is Britain's ally, and

Hong Kong is not a part of the

It is this die-hard imperialist

the Far East. "Scorched earth"

owners of the tin mines and rub-

ber plantations, as the city jour-

ucts. They look hopefully to-

their present (temporary) occu-

Imperialism is incapable of of-

cial Revolution can bring libera-

tion to these people; only a So-

(Reprinted from the British New

Leader, Jan. 24, 1942).

Renews Cry for

(Continued from page 1)

move on their part would be in

the nature of a minor diversion.

The main brunt of the Nazi of-

are completely free. The Japan-

Soviet Far East whenever they

With Stalin's policies the only

perspective for the Soviet Union

is to continue waging a defensive

struggle against great odds since

cannot gain decisive victory

with its own unaided forces. How

long can the USSR withstand

in the camp of the victors?

choose

of Socialist countries.

**Soviet Union** 

Second Front

SOCIALISM WAY OUT

British isles!

pation.

as they do the Japanese.

fascist authoritarianism."

THEY DESPISE BOTH

# Atlantic Charter Not Intended For Colonies

### Colonial People Are Told To Have No Illusions

points of that so-called interna- for India and Burma. tional "Magna Charta," known as the Atlantic Charter, the subject peoples of the Empire began hopefully to think that perhaps, after all, this really was a war for democracy.

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

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

about this statement, and the goes into effect within the next men are engaging in the Black to prepare the masses for another jumping-off ground for the at-Daily Herald, like the Africans, few weeks. This is the begin- Market operations is affirmed by threatened cut in rations. Thomp- tack on Malaya. believed that Major Attlee was ning of a policy which will cerspeaking in the name of the War tainly be extended to other posted an order calling on the ulations and far heavier sentenThe situation however. Cabinet, for, reporting his speech necessities as the war goes on. people to report instances of "pa- ces than hitherto have been posin the issue for August 16, 1941, they gave it a splash headline on be undertaken to insure an equit- the proceeds of illicit dealings," "it is recognized that their ille- the Japanese had invaded Malaya the front page:

their readers that "colored peothe benefits of the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter."

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

true. Mr. Churchill very quickly rich continue to live in contrast after his return from the Atlan- to the workers, that a storm of been some blustering in Com-House of Commons on September 9th, he let it be known that point House of Commons and from Market dealers. This is gener-living necessities. three of the Atlantic Charter-"the right of all peoples to choose HOW THE BLACK MARKET the form of government under OPERATES FOR RICH which they will live"-applied Some details of the operation only to the white peoples of Europe living under Nazi rule.

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

statement made it obvious that Black Market, where they are the Tories envisaged a perpetua- easily obtainable - at greatly tion of imperialism and a conti-inflated prices. Thus, as Raymond nuation of their domination of Daniell reported in the New York colonial peoples after they had Times, March 4: got rid of their German imperialist rival.

peoples were quickly dashed, and ed. Formerly it was possible to their resentment and sense of pol- eke out the ration of a shilling itical frustration rose once more tuppence worth of rationed meat to the fore, now in proportion to with poultry or rabbit or canned the hopes which had been so stuff, but even that is well nigh falsely raised in them.

The African Pilot (Nov. 5, to the 'black market'." 1941), leading West African nationalist organ, commenting prices on the Black Market, howupon the above statement of Mr. ever, only the well-to-do actually Churchill's found it difficult to have such "recourse". conceive:

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

#### BURMA TURNED DOWN

Minister."

The 21 million natives of Nigeria are not alone in the despondency and alarm which Mr. Churchill, more than any other and small stores alike often supindividual, has engendered ply favored customers - the best throughout the colored commun- way to become a favored customer ities of the British Empire. The is to buy lots of unrationed goods 17 million natives of Burma have at fancy prices — and rely on the made their feelings public provisioner to provide more ra-

By GEORGE PADMORE | Prime Minister, U. Saw. His When, in August last, Mr. claim for dominion status for Churchill's deputy in the House Burma was categorically rejectof Commons, Major Attlee, an- ed by Mr. Churchill and his unnounced to the world the eight derstudy, Mr. Amery, Secretary

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

"There is a small section of

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

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

COLONIAL PEOPLES SEE Everywhere feeling is the same. The colonial people, even the most backward, unlike many

Rations From Workers



George Padmore sophisticated people in Britain democracy and freedom. They who call themselves Socialist, are feel instinctively that this con-

# not deceived by all the talk about flict is fundamentally a quarrel **Black Market Diverts**

#### Masses Suffer, While Rich Live in Usual Luxury When Capitalists Control Rationing greatly benefited by the Black when the "Men of Vichy" sold their country to History

By DON DORE

There was nothing equivocal rationing when sugar rationing cause of complaints."

Means Darker Races" and told tortion. The lesson of Britain is that some of our men with unshows, however, that rationing tarnished records for thirty and which the masses may secure, but Times, March 4). incomes from obtaining all they prehended for Black Market The interests of the masses un- Instead, they preferred the Japwant of both necessities and luxu-

In that country, where rationing has been in effect since the start of the war, the illegal, underground Black Market supplies the wants of the rich. So exten-CHURCHILL'S REPUDIATION sive are these Black Market oper-It was, however, too good to be ations, and so luxuriously do the GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN various government officials.

of the Black Market in England are contained in a London report of Craig Thompson to the New York Times, March 5. He cites an official report showing that Black Market operators are doing a yearly business estimated conservatively at 156,000,000 pounds - \$624,000,000. They deal mainly in rationed commodities, food, clothing, textiles, gasoline,

One of the chief reasons that rationed commodities prove insufficient is that a great amount Stripped of its verbiage, this of them are sluiced off into the

"Housewives stand daily in long lines before butcher shops, some-Thus the hopes of the colonial times going home empty handimpossible now without recourse

Because of the astronomical

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

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

"FAVORED CUSTOMERS"

He reports further that: "Big through the medium of their tioned stuff than is legally alally regarded as mere talk, since British Government supported a the rich and influential are too move for their independence

lowed. This sort of thing often The government's "concern" tives of Indo-China could have American workers will get results in inequality of distributover the situation is in reality an linked up with China proper and their first taste of government tion, and therein lies some of the attempt to head off repercussions Siam in an anti-Japanese alliamong the workers by an official ance, and Japan would not have That "respectable" business show of "doing something" and been able to use Indo-China as a Ostensibly, this rationing will rasites living in sleek comfort on sible are foreshadowed" because able distribution of scarce com- and made the painful admission gal traffic is a threat to national if the British Government had ofmodities and to prevent price ex- that "one of the saddest features | morale through the creation of | fered to extend the principles of

The situation in England should tives of this region. But to do ples, as well as white, will share under government and capitalist forty years have succumbed to serve as a warning to the Amer- this they would have had to hand control limits the amount of goods the infection. . " (New York ican workers about the likely re- back the lands which they have sults of rationing under capital- expropriated from the natives for Up to the present, those ap- ist control in this country.

trading have been penalized only der a system of rationing can be anese to take them over and conto the extent of paying a fire protected only if rationing is con- tinue their exploitation, as they equal to triple the amount of the ducted under the control of the sale price of the illegal goods masses themselves. Consumers resume where their yellow rivals they were caught selling. This committees of labor, farmer and forced them to leave off. has been considered only a small lower-middle class organizations overhead expense in terms of the must be established which will clear in Lord Moyne's telegram have full control of all consumers to Sir Mark Young after the capsupplies and complete power to itulation of Hong Kong. The Colregulate their distribution and onial Secretary's message in-In the past week, there has prices. This is the only means of dicated that the British hoped to insuring against the rise of the return after an enforced temportic meeting made the position ab- protest last week compelled a mons and in the British capital- Black Market in this country and ary absence. There was no mensolutely clear. Addressing the formal recognition and denuncia- ist press about invoking the death of guaranteeing that the masses tion of handing back the isand to tion of the Black Market in the penalty and flogging for Black obtain their share of available the Chinese, even though Chiang-

# Worried Taxpayer **Gets Cave Ready**

Dear Editor:-

profits they have been making.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours truly,

San Pedro, Calif.

BILL MORGAN

### re-division of their countries; that they are merely pawns in the international game of power politics. Consequently, they want to see the end not only of aggressive fascist inversalism but quite as fascist imperialism but quite as

#### ocratic "peace-loving" imperial-Independence Can Be Gained and Safeguarded Through Action Of Workers, Peasants, City Poor Organized Into Councils

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

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

#### Beginning to Awaken

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

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

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

#### The Constituent Assembly

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

The eyes of war-stricken mankind are turning arena of the Constituent Assembly, or in the struggle for the convocation of the latter.

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

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

#### For Workers' and Peasants' Councils

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

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

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

# Churchill's 'Offer' Denies Independence To India

attitude which is responsible for tain lesser matters arising out of the chaos in British affairs in our long association with the fortunes of the Indian sub-continent."

policy for these people is just a bombastic figure of speech. The nalists have unambiguously desmade clear by a British-inspired land-owning princes who rule as has been forced to make his latest cribed, are more concerned that statement of the reactionary prop- absolute monarchs over their prinsheir property should remain inertied-class Moslem League earlier | cipalities. These princes will tact than that Japan should be in the week, threatening "revolt" deprived of the use of their prod- | if the British government granted independence to India without partitioning the country to permit wards restitution when the Japanese have been ousted from separate Moslem rule over large

Churchill was very cagey about offering a specific solution to the minorities issue he raised. fering freedom to its subject He stated that the "War Cabinet peoples. To do so would be to have agreed unitedly upon conclucommit kara-kiri. Only the Sosions for present and future action" to resolve the alleged Hindu-Moslem conflict, but they are of India's resources, production in the hands of the Indian workcialist Europe can offer to these "apprehensive" about making the millions of brown, yellow and details public until "our scheme black races the possibility of freehad a reasonable and practical dom, in order that, as free peomeasure of acceptance.' ples, they may voluntarily take

Churchill knows that his their place as equals in the com-"scheme" for resolving the minormunity of the World Federation ities problems of India would raise such a storm among the Indian masses that to reveal it now would destroy Cripps' chance of

for his "democratic" allies. This will not preserve the status quo, i.e., assure the further existence of the USSR even under Stalin's domination. What will be the relation of

forces in the world if the Axis is finally defeated but the Soviet Union has been drained and weakened to the point of exhaustion? It will be so greatly to the disfensive would still fall on the USSR. Meanwhile Japan's hands advantage of the workers' state that the victors will be in posiese imperialists can strike at the tion to impose any demands and to wring any concession up to and including the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade, and the restoration of private property. London and Washington. once they begin gaining military ascendancy, will try to impose these demands in the very course of the war itself.

such a terrific strain? What will The workers of Germany and happen even if after many years Europe alone can open up another of bitter warfare, it does emerge front in Hitler's rear that will overthrow fascism and really safeguard the USSR. In order to Stalin with his hand to mouth politics foresees nothing. The fact open up this front it is necessary is that the fate of the Soviet Unto break with the policies of Stalion is by no means safeguarded inism and issue the revolutionary in the event of the most favor- summons for the struggle for the able military outcome of the war | Socialist United States of Europe.

backs of the Indian people.

Indian States," to which the ques- the right to continue its exploittion of India's national independ- ation of the Indian masses and its The significance of Churchill's ence is subject according to economic domination of the counreference to "our obligations for Churchill, refers to the agreed try. the protection of minorities" is ments made with the 500 native The very fact that Churchill away in short order.

The "lesser matters arising out facilities and markets. Churchill ers and peasants.

to India on condition that the The "treaty obligations to the British ruling class be guaranteed

promises, meaningless as they are, and to devise elaborate maneuvers never agree to complete Indian and stratagems in an effort to independence, because they know win over the Indian people, indithat once the British are out of cates how helpless the British India, the peasants they have ex- ruling class is to prevent the Inploited so long will sweep them dian masses from seizing their national independence right now.

Churchill may make his empty of our long association with the promises; Cripps may try to sell fortunes of the Indian sub-conti- these promises; the Indian nanent" which Churchill claims tionalist leaders may even agree must be disposed of before his to accept them. But this will not promise of "independence" can be postpone for long the final settlefulfilled, refers to British control ment of the issue which now lies

### THE BILL **OF RIGHTS** IN DANGER!

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The Meaning of the Minneapolis Convictions

by GEORGE E. NOVACK foreword by JAMES T. FARRELL

Author of "Studs Lonigan," etc.

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#### Background Of The French Trials GPU Lynch Campaign Is On International Scale for their terrible fear in June from the end of 1934 to February, 1936.

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

By MARC LORIS

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

Daladier is accused of having thrown his country into a war for this way as well as others, to imiwhich he knew it was not prepared, and Gamelin is accused of REASONS FOR THE TRIALS responsibility for the military What are the reasons for these weakness of the army of France trials? Above all, it is to give the

that the accused were already tion.

the outside world. During the period of the trials, strangers are not being admitted to the town. judged by what an American iournalist cables: "Ten seats in the court will be reserved for the public, but it is understood that the occupants will be appointed in rotation from a group of of-

The Petain government has also taken care of the press. Daily instructions are given out by the MILITARY PREPARATION Bureau of Censorship to French OF FRANCE newspaper men, indicating even the "commentaries" which are to is not to deal with technical faults accompany the reports of the in the military preparations of few such mockeries of justice, and political. In essence, they repretoday the senile Petain tries in sent the revenge of the bourgeoisie Commission of National Defense

tate the dictators.

appearance of authority to the Petain government which is sadly The accused are being tried in need of it. Immediately after under the provisions of a special the military debacle the team of decree issued by the government Petain-Weygand-Laval, directly reof Vichy. The tribunal itself is presenting the most serious secnot a regular one, but is a court tion of the French bourgeoisie. of justice established especially brushed aside the entire republifor this purpose by the govern- can and democratic apparatus, ment. Moreover, three months and took the power into their own ago the Petain government, in a hands, with absolute disregard of special decree officially declare! the constitutionality of their ac-

Since then, the history of the a small town of an old French of impotence. Its earlier vague province, practically cut off from prestige disappeared before mass oppression and poverty. Even the functionaries of the administration do not always execute their Although the trials are declared orders with good grace. There is open to the public, this can be grumbling even in the ranks of the police. In the schools the students tear down the pictures of Marshal Petain.

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

The task of the judges in Riom

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

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

> THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HIGH COMMAND

which have contributed to the defeat of France, the incapacity of the military chiefs does not occupy the last place. And Marshal place among these chiefs. Petain he invoked "honor" to justify his was Commander-in-Chief of the silence. Army from 1923 to 1931. Then he was inspector of defense from 1931 to 1934. He was Minister of trial. Our epoch has seen not a France. The trials are above all War for most of 1934. Finally, the Marshal was president of the

1939, six months before the war started.

During all that period, he made very precise and well known declarations against a too great motorization of the army, against the organization of aviation as an independent arm of the military as the main offensive force, amost outdated types. Germany gainst the fortification of the Sedan breach. We can be sure that times more arms than France neither Blum nor Daladier ever dared to make any decision on these military problems, and that all the decisive powers were entirely and absolutely in the hands of the French high command, where the influence of Petain was dominant.

The attitude of General Gamelin at the trial throws abundant light upon this question. The General. about the causes of the defeat. At the very first session of the trial. silent during all the debates, since the days of revolutionary tension he could not permit that the army during June 1936, the bourgeoisie be judged!

But that is not all. The plot thickens when we learn that the decree by which the special court der to enable the court to prevent the discussion of military operations. In other words, the Vichy government directly permitted, if not ordered. Gamelin to shut up.

Here is the most positive proof of an agreement between Petain Among the numerous causes and Gamelin in order to prevent the responsibility of the high command from being exposed. Petain and Gamelin are covered by a pledge of mutual amnesty. Petain did not occupy the last Gamelin did not even blush when

A GOOD OBJECT LESSON

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

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



LEON BLUM

ardice of the French bourgeoisie. Blum is accused of having consented to the social reforms of ican Chamber of Deputies, de-June 1936. But what did the French bourgeoisie do at that per-

They "played dead." When the workers occupied the factories, the bosses promptly signed anyhe declared that he would remain thing the workers demanded. In to deal with these individuals. quietly drove out into the countryside. They felt the burning breath of the revolution pass over Paris, and did not move even their little was created had been altered a fingers. They demonstrated exshort time before the trial, in or-| cellent bourgeois political judgment. The slightest resistance on their part would have provoked a political explosion. Instead the movement was vanguished by the conciliatory policy of Leon Blum. Without conciliation it would have been an open and armed struggle. In the direct sense of the term, Blum saved the bourgeois structure from the workers assault. The most responsible organs of the bourgeoisie quickly recognized this fact. In the interest of truth, however, we must add that Blum could not have accomplished his task without the active collaboration of the Stalin-

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

The bourgeoisie has nothing for which to reproach Daladier or Blum. They have defended the of jingo prejudices inflamed by to carry out these assignments capitalist system as well as they the war, are extending their with impunity. could, when all other methods poisonous activities to the United States. The sole editorial in the were made impossible. If the conciliators are responsible for de- Daily Worker of Mar. 2 viciously feat, it is for the defeat of the attacked Serge, Muniz and their

To draw the lessons of this de- "stern measures" against them feat, to explain them patiently to The Stalinist leaders seek to take the working masses, such is the advantage of the heroic resistanother thing; the extreme cow- rez capable of thwarting it.

and Gustav Regler, and demanded their "suppression" as "fifth columnists," "agents of Hitler," > 'gangsters," "spies" and "sabot- trials and purges as Ex-Ambaseurs." A group of deputies, hypo- sador Davies' "Mission to Mos-

the Communist Party, has intro- THE MAIN TARGETS

Seeks to Destroy Anti-Fascist Opponents

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

The Stalinist GPU through its various national sections and

Of Stalinism by Incitations to Violence

critically claiming to be "dem- cow."

ocratic" but in reality agents of

guard, and afterwards in the as-

sassination of Trotsky himself by

All five of these anti-fascist

refugees have long records of

service in the international labor

movement: several fought arms

their heads by Hitler, Franco or

with the protest sent to President

CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

would a Nazi." They have used

physical violence against sales-

men of the Trotskyist and other

labor papers. The Sunday Dis-

Lord Rothermere, the British

equivalent of Hearst, has repeat-

ed the Stalinist slanders against

campaign for the repression of

all militant workers.

an agent of the GPU.

assassination.

sonment of these refugees.

duced a resolution into the Mex-The Trotskyists, now as always, are the main targets of manding the expulsion or impri- these attacks. Opponents of Stal- us repeats the lies used against inist policies in the labor move-The Communist press has published open incitements to assassination by calling for the formation of "Vigilante Committees" This campaign of provocations is identical with that preceding tion of the Trotskyist leaders in was denounced in Germany as a the May 24, 1940 machine-gun raid on Trotsky's house by a Vigilante gang led by the Mexican Communist, David Siquieros, which resulted in the murder of Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's body-

of 1917."

But the leaders of the Communist Party in this country, as in others, are obliged to under- Axis." take this slander campaign under supervision of the GPU and in compliance with the reactionary in hand against the fascists in policies of Stalin's regime. In ex-Spain; all have prices placed on change for proffered material support and political flattery, Petain. We solidarize ourselves Stalin has sold the services of the Communist International to Camacho of Mexico last month his capitalist allies. During the by more than 225 noted Amer- Stalin-Hitler pact, the Commundied fighting in the front lines acan labor and liberal leaders, or ist parties, following Stalin's inbehalf of these victims of the structions, opposed Stalinist campaign of character and Churchill's policies while they remained silent about Hitler's crimes. In Nazi-occupied countries names and addresses of In England the Communist revolutionary opponents to Com-Party has ordered its members munist Party policies were "to treat the Trotskyists as you handed over to the Gestapo.

Today the Communist Parties, again following Stalin's orders are performing similar chores for patch, owned by fascist-minded act as strikebreakers and agents They do not-and will not-hesitate to act as fingermen against militant workers. Their slander campaigns against the Trotskyists are designed to create a fav-Now the Stalinists, under cover orable atmosphere to enable them

THEY HATE OUR POLICIES

The Stalinists persecute us Trotskyists with such savage defenders and recommended hatred because we are the most by surprise with his attack. relentless and uncompromising opponents of their reactionary fundamental task of the revolu- ance of the Red Army to vilify, and treacherous policies in the the policies of Roosevelt and tionists in France now. If they terrorize, and get rid of their labor movement. We alone a- Churchill—and attacking those learn how to solve this task, after political opponents. High govern- mong the working class parties who remain true to the revoluthe dreadful ordeals of the pre- ment authorities not only look carry forward the struggle for tionary socialism of Lenin, Liebof Stalin's infamous Moscow Union. At the same time we ex- struggle for socialism.

pose and condemn the domestic and foreign policies of Stalin which serve to undermine that defense. We call for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United sympathetic agencies has launched a new campaign of slander States which can institute socialand violence against its opponents within the labor movement. ism in place of capitalist anarchy In Mexico the Communist press has singled out for attack and we fight all forms of fascism Grandizo Muniz, Marceau Pivert, Victor Serge, Julian Gorkin to the death.

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

The poisonous spread by the Stalinists against revolutionary socialists by the ment whose ideas differ from imperialists and their agents in ours are designated by the Stal- the last war. In the days of the inist press as "Trotskyists." The Russian Revolution Lenin and Stalinist lynch campaign against Trotsky were indicted by Kerensus has been rendered difficult by ky as "agents of the German the government trial and convic- General Staff." Karl Liebknecht Minneapolis as revolutionary so- "paid agent of the Entente." cialists, as "followers of V. I. Eugene V. Debs was branded as Lenin and Leon Trotsky" who an agent of the Kaiser for op-"accept as the ideal formula for posing the war in this country. the carrying out of their said ob- Today every militant worker who jectives the Russian Revolution stands up for the rights of labor is liable to be accused by capitalist reactionaries and Stalinists of "sabotage" and "aiding the

> THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

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

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

Now the Stalinists crown their crimes against the working class

No lies, persecutions or mur-

# Murray Opposes Strikes As Bosses Hit At Labor

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

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

His speech was particularly Dsignificant because it came in the turning both barrels on the mondemands for general wage in- have caused the break-down of Board discussions of the CIO's creases and the union shop, and whole industries for months on as the employing class offensive end. against labor gathered moment-

Murray called on the workers to "Work, Work, Work! Produce, Produce!" and renewed the "soleadership has made with the employers and government behind the backs of the union member-

current open shop drive of the stacked in advance against them bosses, emphasizing instead labor's responsibility for keeping production going without loss of production-time "from any WORKERS' FINAL SAY cause." Its chief effect will be to encourage the employers' campaign to raise war production and war profits at the expense of the workers' rights and living standards.

REPUDIATES STRUGGLES OF OWN RANK AND FILE

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

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

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

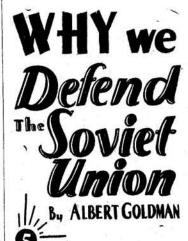
To the reactionaries' attempt to blame the workers for holding back production, Murray should have answered-but didn't-by

opolists and war profiteers, who

The policy of the top CIO leadleave the workers defenseless before the open shop corporations. lemn agreement" to uphold a no- It would deprive the workers of strike policy which the union effective means of protecting their living standards in the face of rising prices and the open ship, without their consultation shop offensive. The workers would be forced to rely on the The speech largely ignored the "good will" of a War Labor Board as their only "hope" of gaining their justified demands.

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

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about the "solemn agreement" of the leaders to surrender the real source of its power, the core workers' right to strike.

have to repudiate the abject policies of their present leaders

If the CIO workers are to win

their just demands for increased wages and the union shop, if they are to preserve the gains made in years of bitter struggle, they will They will have to demand an end to dependence upon government bor's interests. As always, the destandards continues to depend on their own independent organized essary of every effective and tra- FRENCH CAPITALISTS ditional method of union struggle,

agencies and the "good will" of Touch!" Such is, in a few words the employers to safeguard la- the excellent lesson that the Riom fense of the workers' rights and in France but throughout the world. ers, as stated by Murray, would strength and the use when nec COWARDICE OF THE

(Continued from page 1)

the union leaders to place the interests of the war machine above

everything else. What the Stalinists mean by "labor unity" today

is unquestioning acceptance of every proposal advanced by the union

leaders, even when those policies are contrary to the workers' in-

terests and decided on bureaucratically behind the back of the

ist policy, as expounded by Roy Hudson, their trade union expert,

in the Daily Worker, March 3: "Strikes Help Hitler," he said,

because they hinder the war." The Stalinists say that the Trot-

skyists' support of the right to strike makes them "Hitler's agents."

Well, that's exactly what the die-hard open shoppers of Little Steel

and the poll-tax congressmen like Smith of Virginia say not only

of the Trotskyists, but of every worker who tries to make trade

"Presenting the Trotskyists" attitude toward the war, James

Cannon's "Statement On the War" was a Marxist analysis of

P. Cannon, National Secretary, attempts to drive a wedge between

the United Nations by falsely characterizing the war effort of the

the causes of the second world war, reprinted by THE MILITANT

from the January, 1942 issue of Fourth International. The state-

ment declared that "Following Lenin, it made no difference to us

which imperialist bandit fired the first shot." The characterization

of the war of the capitalist countries "as an imperialist war" was

"determined for us by the character of the state powers involved

in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism;

themselves imperialist - oppressing other nations or peoples - or

satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the

Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan change

characterization of the war conducted by the capitalist states and

state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of

the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the

Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To de-

fend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to

defend the nationalized property established by the October revo-

as progressive because it is "a colonial country, battling for na-

tional independence against an imperialist power. A victory for

China would be a tremendous blow against all imperialism, inspir-

ing all colonial peoples to throw off the imperialist yoke."

The statement also characterized China's war against Japan

the war conducted by the Soviet Union and China!

But Cannon's statement drew a sharp distinction between its

"We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers'

United States and Britain as imperialist in character."

unionism something more than a rubber stamp for the bosses.

The third "proof" of the Stalinists:

nothing in this basic analysis."

lution. That is a progressive war."

The Trotskyist trade union policy is the opposite of the Stalin-

sent reaction, the revolt of the with indulgence upon these at the interests of the working knecht and Trotsky. oppressed people will be so deep tempts but even lend "ideologi- masses in the spirit of revoluand so terrible that there will be cal" assistance by approving the tionary internationalism. We unders by the Stalinist gang will The Riom trials teach us still no Daladier, no Blum or no Tho- publication of such whitewasher conditionally defend the Soviet prevent us from carrying on our C.P. Begins Lynch Campaign In Cleveland

> China on the one hand and the capitalist countries on the other is mine the defense of the Soviet Union. what the Stalinists call driving "a wedge between the United Nations." They do not dare to discuss Cannon's analysis of these differences; they do not want the workers to think about these Soviet system is different from the capitalist system. The Stalinists only last June themselves were loudly char-

acterizing the war as imperialist. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, they say, the character of the war "changed"; " the imperialist war of Britain", for example, was changed into "a just war". This is like saying that the British ruling class was fighting a war for markets and raw materials and the right to exploit ent. When it comes to "spreading seeds of confusion," the Stalinists have no competitors.

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

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

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

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

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

When Hitler broke the pact last summer, the Stalinist lies about the Trotskyists changed once again. Again they become "agents | its independent existence, its struggle for better conditions, its freeof German and Japanese imperialism," although the Trotskyists dom of speech, its right to differ with the policies of the Comremained what they always were, uncompromising defenders of the | munist Party - must speak up now and conduct an all out-fight first workers' state in spite of the Stalinist regime, and opponents against the lynch provocations of the Stalinists.

This analysis of the difference between the Soviet Union and of the Stalinist regime because its policies have helped to under-

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

In fact, the Chinese Trotskyists have bravely fought and died differences; they attack all those who remind the workers that the in the struggle against the Japanese invaders, have urged the Chinese masses to adopt the revolutionary policy which would drive Japanese imperialism out of their country.

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

"They made common cause with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini the colonies on June 21, and then because of Hitler's invasion it in the destruction of the Spanish Republic. They helped torpedo suddenly began on June 23 to fight for something entirely differ- the French Popular Front Government, thus paving the way for Hitler's bandit armies."

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

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

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

Stalinism is the syphilis of the labor movement. Just as the spread of syphilis is not checked by "not speaking about it," so will Stalinist lynch campaigns not be checked by an ostrich policy, which makes them bolder and gives them the opportunity to finish off their opponents one by one. The labor movement - to protest

## Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# The 59th Annniversary of The Death of Karl Marx

March 14 marks the anniversar yof the death of Karl Marx. The fifty-nine years that have passed since that event have offered nothing but the most explicit confirmation of the correctness of his views. His explanation of the laws that govern the operation of the capitalist system, and his prediction of its

breakdown serve to this day as the foundation for the program of Once he had allied himself with the advanced workers' movement throughout the world.

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

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

#### ALLIED HIMSELF WITH

THE WORKING CLASS In his early years Marx rose geois ideology. Having mastered

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

pointed out, his theory was not

Frederick Engels, Marx's comrade for almost forty years, explained this as he spoke at the of all necessity to apply scientific grave of his friend. His words methods to the study of history are a firm answer to all those who would seek to transform him

#### AND RESPECTED

"For Marx was above all a on the lessons he learned in it, and its class needs, a knowledge he began to see how every prob- of the conditions necessary for

and success granted to few . . . "And therefore Marx was the best-hated and most-slandered man of his age. Governments. both absolutist and republican. expelled him from their territories, whilst the bourgeois, both conservative and extreme-democratic vied with each other in a campaign of vilification against him. He brushed it all to one side like cobwebs, ignored them and answered only when compelled to do so. And he died respected. But Marx was no mere clois- loved and mourned by millions tered student, content to stew all of revolutionary workers from his life in his own academic the Siberian mines, over Europe juices. As he himself always and America to the coasts of California, and I make bold to say meant to be a dogma, but a guide that although he had many opponents he had hardly a personal

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

#### THE ATTITUDE OF THE OPPORTUNISTS

Max Eastman is well-known as a man who deserted the hard life of the revolutionary movement for more lucrative employment as revolutionary, and his great aim the lapdog and court-buffon of the of capitalist society and the state cently in one of his learned dis- work for its progressive transinstitutions which it has created, sertations on socialism that Marx formation. There is no fortune to the summit of German bour- of the modern proletariat, to ported all his life like a baby. In never earned a fortune. He earn eracy. Political Babbitts of Eastlem led for its solution directly its emancipation. In this struggle ed first of all with their own perto the revolutionary class of mod- he was in his element, and he sonal gain, and the safety of their ern society, the working class. fought with a passion, tenacity worthless hides. They look with enough!

Karl Marx

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

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

every theory by its market value. Marx never saw things that way. He sought, first of all, to in life was to co-operate in this imperialist bourgeoisie. This hon- understand society as it actually or that fashion in the overthrow orable gentleman remarked re- was, and having understood it, to to co-operate in the emancipation was a failure, and had to be sup- to be earned that way, and he whom he was the first to give a this smug thrust is contained the ed instead, the everlasting gratithat school, and basing himself consciousness of its class position whole essence of philistine degentude of the millions of oppressed man's variety are always concern- and the millions more who will come to it.

For a man like Marx, this was

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

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

By A. ROLAND

phenomenon. A passing good imitation ted States cannot mobilize its full proof the man dying of thirst in the desert who sees what looks like the saving oasis just ahead, is the capitalist economist. Past and present history present a searing experience of economic anarchy and fined and limited as it is, by the fear of crisis. The second World War is but the natural, inevitable consequence of the guarantee that it will be swept away capitalist anarchy of production. Yet the apologists of the present social system look ahead and dream of its golden fu-

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

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

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

#### Role of the State

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

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

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

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

can act to stabilize the post-war economy comes down to an analogy. "We have seen how it is possible to mobilize would the incantations of a tribal medithe productive capacities of the country | cine-man. The second world war is part for war." That same argument was us- of the death agony of the capitalist form ed in the last war. Its value may be of society. There is no remedy for it. the first world war. But one must analyze even this uncritical assertion. The real mobilization of industry for carry- human intelligence and the capacity to

history, has been hamstrung at every The mirage is not exclusively a desert turn by monopoly capitalism. The Uniductive forces under capitalism. However a certain amount of "war socialism" is mandatory in modern war. The very fact that this war socialism is conthe capitalists of government control, is the moment the war is over.

#### "Full Employment for All"

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

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

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

#### The Specific Proposals The futility of Hansen's kind of think-

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

The real pay-off comes in his propo-

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

No, professor. You and your kind are interested not in raising the living standards of the masses, but in preserving intact the system of monopoly capitalism. To preserve that system, with all its wretchedness for the masses, you are willing to lower the standards of liv-The argument that the government ing of the working class. But the application of your pills and plasters will do the sick system no more good than judged by the history of our times after | Civilization cannot go on unless it passes over and beyond this form to a new form of society, to socialism. Then only will ing on the most dangerous war of all | cooperate be given a real chance.

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

Could the Philippine Islands have been successfully de- unable to make the workers and tions were to be maintained, such fended against the Japanese? The military experts say no; taos desert their organization. President Roosevelt in his radio speech of Feb. 23 said no. All PROFITS FOR CAPITALISTS that could be expected, according to them, was a delaying

This is not true. Nothing else could have happened as long as the masses of the Philippine D

people were not rallied to the ning to 100% in order to exist fight. But if the masses had been until the harvest. He then sells rallied, the picture in the Philipthe crop at low harvest prices in today from what it is.

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

General MacArthur. Just as the hated British ploiters could not get any support from the Malayan people in the struggle between Great Britain and Japan, so, for the most part the United States has been unable to get real support from the great masses of the Filipiknow the truth about American imperialism.

UNDER U. S. RULE

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

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

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

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

labor, are 50 cents a day. In the rural areas the sharecropper is lucky if \$1 a week passes through his hands. They io not get enough food to nourish themselves adequately.

#### CONDITIONS OF THE PEASANTS

fers from roundworms and hook- resentatives. worms that drain his strength. But these are not the only para- June, directly after the President | The workers of Chevrolet want sites he supports. He lives under issued the executive order against to say to their fellow workers of a cacique (landlord) system. Half discrimination, but it never took other plants where discriminafeudal status on the land has November after the Fair Employ- ers must fight to put teeth into you want to see the order carried

He has to borrow from the land- ternational in here to investigate these rights. They will find their gainst in! lord at usurious rates often run- the case.

pines would be entirely different order to pay his debts. Soon he must inevitably go into debt a-

> The landless rural worker, emtobacco and hemp fields, earns from 15 cents to 30 cents a day. His hours are from sunrise to

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

peasant movement, all the internos. The reason is that they tried, from company unions to ed for whites. company-controlled towns where slugged—if a worse fate does not

> sugar raising province of Pampanga, organized a fascist so- ence for the Philippines? ciety. This province was the

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

000,000 in goods from the United freedom for the Phillipines. ployed in the sugar, rice, copra, States in 1939. In that year the In the face of such a record

foreign exploiters have developed their war?

The great masses of the Filiferiors by the wealthy Americans To keep down the labor and and Spaniards; even the upper would do. Such a government nationally known tricks, are permitted in certain clubs reserv- ploiting other peoples but in rais-

Imperialism means hunger, disunion leaders and organizers are ease and insult for the Philippine all nations. Such a government masses but for the American in- would establish a fraternal allivestors and Wall Street it mean? The governor of the rice and super-profits. Is it any wonder sent colonies and semi-colonies these investors oppose independ-

The movement for Philippine worker movement, which was years old, met the stubborn restrongly dominated by socialist sistance of the American governideas. The hirelings of the gov- ment up to 1934 when independtion with the constabulary, were 1946. Even so, certain reserval powers.

as continuing military forces on the islands. Independence was promised

only because certain interests in competition with the products of the Philippines-such as the Amto a lesser extent, the Spaniards. erican and Cuban sugar interest; -wanted the Philippine products

So it was not the democratic right of every nation to govern itself, but the argument of dol The Philippines imported \$100,- lars which won the promise of

Islands were the fifth most im- and such hypocrisy, is it not unportant customer of the United derstandable why the Philippine masses are apathetic to the war As is usually the case in the between the United States and colonies and semi-colonies, the Japan, why they feel it is not

That which a capitalist government could not and cannot do, pinos are considered racial in- only a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States classes of the Filipinos are not would not be interested in exing the standards of living not only of their own people but of ance with the masses of the pre against imperialism and fascism

Such a Workers and Farmers Government would be the only center of the peasant and rural independence, now more than 50 guarantee for the independence for the Philippine nation, which under imperialism is destined only to subjugation by one or the ernor, working in close collabora- ence was finally promised for other of the large imperialist

# ORKERS'

#### Victory Over Jim Crow At Flint Chevrolet

won equal job rights for the Ne- the discrimination charges. gro workers last week in a

end they were left without a leg to stand on and had to accept The average tao (peasant) suf- the demands of the union rep-

the crop goes to the cacique. The on its real aspects until late last tion exists that all colored workbeen unchanged from the days of ment Practices Committee had the executive order and mobilize been contacted and had sent Wall and use their organized strength a wholehearted march on the The tao is perpetually in debt. ter Harding of the UAW-CIO In- as the weapon for realizing plants you are discriminated a-

All the colored workers were very much interested in the out- cal 544-CIO's writ. come of the case. The main participants in the fight were lead-Chevrolet U.A.W. Local 659 ing colored brothers who filed ments on the merits of the Blair

meeting with the management. the constitution of the UAW-When the workers are called CIO which states emphatically that the Minneapolis drivers beback to work they will be placed that there shall be no discriminaon any job they are qualified to tion because of race, creed or do, according to their seniority. color, backed the colored work-The management fought and ers in their fight for equal rights, struggled desperately to evade equal jobs and equal pay. Milithe issue but every prop was tant white union brothers in the kicked from under them. In the plants supported their colored brothers down the line. Their support will not be forgotten. This only proves the truth of the old saying "United we stand; The struggle commenced last divided we fall."

white union brothers supporting A FLINT AUTO WORKER

# Judge Refuses To Quash Writ Of 544-CIO

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

Judge McNally announced that on March 26 he would hear argu decision. Alfred Blair is Gov The local union, standing by ernor Stassen's former state labor conciliator who, last fall, ruled longed to Tobin and denied the drivers their democratic right to an election. Local 544-CIO and the Minneapolis drivers are chal lenging the crooked Blair deci-

> them. If there are any Negroes who are faced with discrimination and bow down without a fight, they are helping to weak en the struggle of labor every where, and hurting themselves. Negroes had to threaten to

march on Washington before the Executive Order was issued. I out, you in turn will have to lead

## THE MILITANT

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#### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

#### Trade Union Wages For The Soldiers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Another Relief Bill Is Turned Down

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

The Deficiency Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee on March 10 rejected the administration's request for a \$100,000,000 appropriation to be expended through WPA for unemployment relief.

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

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

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

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

### Military Training

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Taxes and Profits

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

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

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

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

# Workers Will Honor Tom Mooney As A Great Labor Martyr

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

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

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

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

HOW MOONEY WAS FREED Mooney's innocence had been

clearly established from the moment of his arrest. Every piece deserved prestige among the of "evidence" used to convict him workers to be exploited by this was proved to be framed and manfactured. Those who testified labor movement. Under the guidagainst him were perjurers, as ance of the Stalinists, he ended

death to life imprisonment in broken his body and condemned 1918 as a result both of world him to 22 years of living hell. working class protest-including demonstrations of the revolutionary Russian workers-and the fumsy character of the case against him.

U. S. Supreme Court decision, while denying jurisdiction in the case, admitted the shady charthe powerful American capitalist class, through its courts and legal devices, continued to keer the prison doors closed and held the working class. Had Tom Mooney been some capitalist swindler, the courts would have found a thousand legal loop-holes to effect his release.

He was finally granted his because of the growing power of capitalist politicians that Mooney n jail would be a greater rally-Governor Olson, who used the Case Dismissed." promise of Mooney's pardon as a

titude. Not for a moment in the an admission of his own guilt and capitalism. as an acquittal of guilt for his persecutors.



as he had in the past. He succumbed to the reactionary virus of Stalinism, and permitted his greatest scourge of the world they themselves later confessed. up by calling for unity with President Wilson was forced to those same reactionary capitalist commute his original sentence of forces which had framed him

Nevertheless, the American workers, considering his long years of martyrdom and loval de votion to labor, will honor Mooney, the symbol of capitalist in-The American labor movement justice, and forgive Mooney, the tried every legal means to obtain sick individual who in his declin his freedom. But though even a ing days became a tool of Stalinism.

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

THE TIMES' SLURS

Now, the ruling class would freedom not from good-will, but like the American workers t forget the Mooney case. The the American labor movement Times seeks to denigrate the meand the recognition by certain mory of Tom Mooney by attacking his personality-"He had no great or engaging qualities. He ing figure for militant labor that just happened to be innocent"-Mooney out of jail. Moreover and proclaims: "Tom Mooney:

But the working class will not campaign pledge, shrewdly made dismiss the Mooney case. It will political capital out of the over- remember how Tom Mooney for whelming sentiment for Mooney's | 22 years demonstrated that greatest and most engaging of Mooney conducted himself be- qualities-uncompromising loyal fore his capitalist persecutors ty to labor and unyielding defiwith exemplary courage and for- ance to the exploiters of labor. The working class will engrave years of his imprisonment did he the name Tom Mooney imperishenounce his loyalty to the work- ably in its memory, along with ing class. He continued to defy the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco his oppressors, refusing to accept and Vanzetti, and all the long list his freedom on a parole which of those whose suffering has epimight have been interpreted as tomized the innate viciousness of

No, the Mooney case is not closed so far as the working class is concerned. That case will not SUCCUMBED TO STALINISTS be dismissed until the capitalist It must be stated as a sad fact system itself, which continues to however, that during the three breed its Mooney cases, has been years of his freedom Mooney dismissed forever by the final failed to serve the working class judgment of the proletariat.

### New York School Presents Cannon In Trotskyism Series

The second half of the winter | gue of America. term of the New York School of | The value of these lectures, de-Social Science begins on Wednes- livered as they are by one of the day, March 18. It is featured by leading participants in the events a series of six lectures on the to be treated, cannot be overes-History of Trotskyism in Amer-timated by students of Marxian ica, to be delivered by James P. politics in this country. Cannon, Secretary of the Socialment in the United States.

the Trotskyist movement in the ture. Communist Party, the expulsion | Following the Cannon series,

The lectures will begin promptist Workers Party and one of the ly at 7:45 P.M. and will be held founders of the Trotskyist move- at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, New York, The fee The first lecture in the series will be \$1 for the series of six, will deal with the background of or 25c. for each individual lec-

of the followers of Trotskyism on the same evening, will be a and the founding of the Left Op- series on Modern American Capiposition and the Communist Lea- talism conducted by C. Charles.

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By LEON TROTSKY

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# THE NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

Good-Bye, Tom Mooney!

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

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

#### The Funeral Was a

Frame-up, Too

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

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

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

#### **Everything Was Nice and Tame**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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