

# British Suppress Far Eastern Revolutionists

## Outlaw Fourth Internationalist Party In Ceylon

Move Aimed Against Trotskyist Struggle for National Liberation of India and Ceylon

The policy of repression of the masses that British imperialism intends to continue in India was indicated on March 13 when Governor Sir Andrew Caldecott of Ceylon decreed the suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party), adherent of the Fourth International.

A UP dispatch of March 13 from Colombo, capital of Ceylon, reports that "A defense decree set up rigid control of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party until it could wind up its affairs." It added that "it was presumed that the Governor aimed to crush any possible source of friction during the crisis."

This repressive move is undoubtedly connected, with the growing political crisis in India, with whose fate that of Ceylon is intimately bound up. The Lanka Sama Samaja is a source of "infection" of major significance for the coming revolutionary developments in the fight for Indian independence.

The numerous successes of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in mobilizing the workers and peasants in political and economic struggles against the Ceylon Planters Association and the Crown Colony government has been a source of inspiration to the revolutionists of India. Founded as recently as 1935, the L.S.S.P. had a phenomenal growth, soon becoming the authoritative leadership of the nearly 7,000,000 workers and peasants of Ceylon. Combining electoral and mass activity with Bolshevik flexibility, the party won two seats in the State Council in the very first election in which it participated, forced through an act limiting the working day to 10 hours instead of the previous 12 and 16, and led numerous strikes to victory.

The British imperialists took both "legal" and extra-legal means to crush the party when the war broke out. The L.S.S.P. stood by the revolutionary position of the Fourth International, declaring the war between Britain and Germany was nothing but a war between two imperialist robbers for the re-division of the world. The British Governor had the party members in the State Council arrested, violating their parliamentary immunity, and other party members were also jailed, the party papers and press confiscated. Thereafter the Ceylon Planters Association — which has its own armed Rifle Corps and other vigilante groups — carried on a terrorist campaign against the party and the workers, and a futile man-hunt to round up the remaining party leaders.

Those arrested are kept in jail without charges or a trial. Despite these repressions, the L.S.S.P. since the war has

### British Fight Indian Strikers, Murder Eight

Eight workers were killed and 21 seriously wounded when the British-controlled police in Madras, India, opened fire on strikers at two textile mills on Wednesday, March 11, according to Reuters, the British news agency.

Most textile mills in India are owned by Hindu and Moslem capitalists. These native exploiters of the masses of India are as ruthless as the British imperialists. The kind of "independence" they want is merely a better share of the booty that the three parasitic classes of India — the British imperialists, the native capitalists, and the landlords and landlord-princes — squeeze from the masses.

But against the masses the Indian capitalists join with the British imperialists. British bullets shoot down Indian workers with the warm approval of the Indian capitalists. The latest massacre serves to remind us again that real national liberation for India means also liberation from Britain's junior partners, the Indian capitalists and landlords.

achieved its most significant success — the bulk of its activity during the last two years has been directed among the tea-plantation laborers, the main element in the island's proletarian population and who come from the southern province of India.

Forming more than a tenth of the population, these workers were originally imported from India as a deliberate "divide and rule" move. They are aliens without legal status, deportable whenever discharged or unemployed, and the government had hoped to create a permanent division be-

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## LABOR'S RIGHTS MENACED BY OPEN-SHOP SMITH BILL

### Joint Conferences Will Result Only In Speed-Up

Workers Will Be Limited to "Advising"; Bosses Still to Run Things Their Own Way

By DON DORE

Donald Nelson, War Production Board head, has set into motion the administration's scheme to speed-up production through joint management-labor committees. Last Sunday he announced the calling of 31 management-labor regional conferences to be held during the next two weeks.

The union leaders and the Stalinists are hailing this move as a great "victory" for labor. They are claiming that the management-labor committees are going to give the workers a "real share" in the control of production. Such claims are a conscious fraud and deception.

Why are these committees being set up? Why have the Administration and bosses agreed to establish them?

The employers themselves give the answer. That authoritative voice for big business, the weekly *United States News*, in its March 13 issue explains:

"The official plan places within the proper scope of the study such subjects as: taking care of tools, preventing breakdowns, reducing accidents, good lighting, maintenance and repair, adapting old machines to new uses, cutting waste, breaking production bottlenecks, and using every machine to the fullest extent. In other words, any ideas for operating the plant that will speed up production. There is no requirement, however, that management accept any efficiency proposals that it does not believe feasible."

common denominator, is "also" the real purpose of these committees. They are to help the bosses put the squeeze on the workers for more work and more profits.

WHY BOSSES BALKED

It has taken some time and a great deal of pressure to make the bosses agree to accept even this set-up. "Up to now," says the *United States News*, "most employers have been reluctant to set up any committees which might serve as vehicles for union interference in management affairs. . . . Some fear has been expressed that the new joint committees will be used by the unions to gather technical knowledge of management techniques — a prerequisite to successful operation of Mr. Philip Murray's plan for management of industry by national and local councils."

The bosses certainly don't want the workers to get any "knowledge of management techniques" (Continued on page 2)

### Imperialist Etiquette

When Singapore fell last month, the terms of the British capitulation called for 1,000 armed British soldiers to remain in Singapore City to "maintain order" until the Japanese army completed occupation. A day or two later the Japanese troops entered Singapore, relieved the British of their obligation to "maintain order" and immediately began "cleaning up seditious elements."

But it must not be supposed that the British have a monopoly on such imperialistic etiquette. War Commentary, the British semi-monthly periodical, presents evidence to show that the Axis forces, too, know how to act like slave-holding gentlemen:

"There appeared in the evening papers towards the end of January, a photograph taken in a town in Lybia, which had been captured by the British. It showed Italian policemen, with loaded rifles, searching a car, and the explanation underneath said that 'these Italian police are cooperating with the British forces in helping to keep the local population under control'."

### Would Prohibit Union Shop And Overtime Pay

Congressmen Aiming New Blows at Workers Under Cover of Clamor for More Production

The Congressional anti-labor offensive drove forward this week with intensified fury:

Climaxing a flood of unrestrained tirades against labor in the House last Monday, poll-tax Representative Smith of Virginia introduced two bills to outlaw the union or closed shop and to prohibit over-time pay for workers on Army and Navy orders, and to suspend all minimum wage and maximum hour laws "for the duration."

Georgia's poll-tax Representative Vinson, chairman of the powerful House Naval Affairs Committee, announced himself as a co-sponsor of the Smith proposals. He stated that the bill covering work for the Navy would be given a hearing during the week by his committee.

The new reactionary drive in Congress, coming on the heels of the announcement of a disastrous naval defeat off Java, is a sign that to the bosses the main enemy at all times is the enemy at home, the working class and particularly its organized section.

Seeking to utilize the dissatisfaction, alarm and confusion that have arisen as a result of the defeats, the bosses are directing a further blow at labor.

WHY BILL COMES UP NOW

The danger of the latest Smith bill must not be minimized just because Smith's previous measure to suspend the wage-hour laws was voted down by 227 to 62 in the House on Feb. 27. Washington columnists for the *New York Post*, Flynn and Van Dever, on March 17 revealed that "as a matter of strategy the anti-union forces deliberately scuttled the proposal then, with a view to bringing it up later."

The new Smith Bill is brought up now because the Roosevelt administration has created the kind of atmosphere in which new blows can be struck at the workers. The administration's statements in recent weeks — for "un-

interrupted production," for "sacrifices" and the giving up of "special privileges," etc.—have added fuel to the fire of the more outspoken anti-labor forces in Congress.

PROFITS LIMITATIONS

To make the bill more palatable and disguise its completely anti-labor character, its sponsors have included a section covering profits limitations on naval contracts. This would permit a maximum of six per cent profit on the cost of a contract.

But, even if this six per cent profits limitation section were passed by Congress, the present huge volume of production would still permit the corporations to make billions in war profits, not counting the hidden profits they sink into padded tax and depreciation reserves, etc. What the Smith-Vinson bill proposes for the bosses might mean a little less for them to salt away in the banks; but what it proposes for the workers would mean less food to go into their bellies.

UNION LEADERS' ANSWER

Instead of standing up to the reactionaries and mobilizing the unions for a militant struggle in defense of the workers' rights, Philip Murray, William Green and the other CIO and AFL national leaders are trying to beg off the anti-labor laws by whining that they have already agreed to a no-strike policy and that they are giving full support to the drive to speed up labor.

Such was the substance of the discussion of the so-called "War Labor Victory Board," composed of Murray, Green and four other union leaders, with Roosevelt on Tuesday. It was agreed, stated Murray afterwards, that "voluntary action on the part of labor to yield the right to strike was a more satisfactory solution to the problem" than anti-labor laws.

This is simply stating that it is more "satisfactory" for the workers to surrender their rights without a struggle and for the union leaders to police the workers for the bosses, than for the bosses to attain the same practical end of shackling the workers by legislative decrees.

Instead of appealing the bosses and reactionaries by this cringing attitude, Murray, Green and the other union bureaucrats are merely encouraging them to become bolder in their attacks on labor. In the final analysis, the bosses don't want just "tame" unions. They want no unions at all. It is precisely when the union leaders retreat and demonstrate timidity, that the bosses always seize the occasion to give the workers a further blow.

## Carlson Vote Highest In Workers' Neighborhoods

One of Every 30 Voters Supported Her; Plan Write-In Drive for April 28 Election

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The official returns on the St. Paul primary election, made public March 12 by the canvassing board, give Grace Carlson 1185 votes, or 3 per cent of the 35,958 votes cast. The official returns vary but slightly from those reported in last week's MILITANT.

Carlson received votes in all but two of the city's 154 precincts, the two being precincts in the Eleventh Ward, the city's "Silk Stocking" neighborhood. The heaviest vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidate was polled in the First, Eighth and Ninth Wards, where white and colored workers are concentrated.

A study of the precinct vote in relation to the distribution of the special election issue of THE MILITANT reveals a gratifyingly high correlation. Although the 5,000 issues of the election edition were insufficient to cover the working class neighborhoods, those districts where the regular MILITANT has been distributed for a number of months, and where the program of the Socialist Workers Party is known, also responded with a good number of votes for the SWP candidate.

The 1185 votes for the SWP candidate in 1942 constitutes a 31 per cent increase over the 904 St. Paul votes received by Comrade Carlson as a candidate for the United States Senate in 1940. However, the relative increase in votes this year is much higher, inasmuch as three times as many persons voted in the 1940 fall elections.

The 1942 mayoralty vote for the SWP candidate represents an increase of 89 per cent over the vote for the SWP candidate in the spring of 1940. In an attempt to discredit the SWP election campaign, the Union Advocate in its leading story in the post-election issue sneers that "Grace Carlson garnered in 1,180 votes on a 'I don't like the war' program."

Many St. Paul workers reading the Union Advocate will recall that not so many months ago that paper, also, expressed hatred for the war. The Socialist Workers Party has stood by its guns

and stood by the workers. The Union Advocate, edited by the turncoat, Lockhart, has been engulfed by war hysteria.

While the Committee has no exaggerated expectations so far as the vote is concerned, it feels that the vote in the primaries was a very encouraging indication that the workers of St. Paul are ready to listen to the Trotskyist program advocating the socialist alternative to capitalist war and reaction.

The day after the election, Martin Maki, self-styled "sergeant" in the Abraham Lincoln battalion in Spain, a well-known Stalinist hack and Communist Party write-in candidate for governor in 1940, charged in a letter to the press that the Trotskyists are "pro-fascists," that they "sabotaged" the Spanish revolution, etc., etc.

The decline in the vote cast for the Stalinists over what they received two years ago showed that they have not made much headway among the workers since they dropped their "anti-war" propaganda last June and substituted for it a jingo war line that tries to prove its "sincerity" by viciously slandering the militant and honest forces in the working class.

## Another Negro Lynched; More Soldiers In 'Riot'

New Lynching In Texas As Missouri Jury Whitewashes the Lynching of Cleo Wright

By ALBERT PARKER

In this war, as in 1917, the Negro people have been promised that their reward for fighting and dying will be equal treatment — after the war. The Negroes had to wait until the first war was over to find out what a lie this was, to find that their "reward" was more lynchings, "race riots", segregation, discrimination and insult than they had received before the war.

The chief difference between World War II and World War I, so far as the Negro people in this country are concerned, is that they don't have to wait until after the war is over to find out what lies they have been told by the capitalist press and their own misleaders — they can see what lies they are already!

You don't have to go back even a year ago to prove that Negroes are still considered second-class citizens. You don't have to remember that Negroes are discriminated against in the army, segregated in the navy and air corps, barred completely from the marines. You don't have to remember that one Negro soldier in a southern camp was lynched on an army reservation, and that another was shot dead for protecting himself from a vicious M. P. attack. You don't have to remember the "riot" of Alexandria, Louisiana. You don't have to remember the lynching of Cleo Wright in Sikeston, Missouri. You don't even have to remember the housing fight in Detroit, which took place less than a month ago.

Even if you forgot all those things, you would still know that

and knocked the constable's gun out of his hand. An armed lynch mob was quickly formed, surrounded Wilpitz in the toilet behind a Negro lodge building, and riddled it with bullets until the victim fell out. They then stood over him and shot him till he was dead.

The Negroes in the town were threatened into silence. The body was held for a week and then buried secretly. Wilpitz's wife never even saw the body.

The lynching took place on Feb. 21. No word of it was printed until the Call learned the story last week. How many other such cases there are which are hushed up, we do not know. But we have no doubt that there are many of them.

In the same issue of the Call is the report of the action by the Scott County, Missouri, Grand Jury on the lynching of Cleo Wright in Sikeston. Although everyone in Sikeston knows the names of the people who led and participated in the Wright lynching, the Grand Jury, meeting for less than two days, found no one to blame, and announced it had insufficient evidence to return a true bill. The jury was composed almost exclusively of merchants, bankers and "retired" farmers. The judge, J. C. McDowell, accepted the report without comment. Apparently he was satisfied that they had obeyed his warning, given just before they opened their hearings, not to pay any attention to "outside agitation" and "radical talk."

ANOTHER LYNCHING

The Kansas City Call, Mar. 13, reveals some of the facts in the "secret lynching" in Brookshire, Texas, of Howard Wilpitz, "which never reached publication in the daily newspapers."

Wilpitz was ordered out of Brookshire, which is 35 miles from Houston, by a local constable. In the argument that followed, the constable hit Wilpitz over the head with his pistol and shot him in the leg when he tried to run away. Wilpitz shot back,

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# CRDC Expands Activity As Results Of Dunne Tour

### New Supporters Rallied In 19 Cities; Plan Extension of Tour to Western Cities

The national tour of V. R. Dunne, officer of Local 544-CIO and one of the Minneapolis defendants, has thus far covered 19 cities in Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. Throughout this area the active local committees of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, sponsor of the tour, have established considerable influence among the labor and liberal circles and report increased support as a result of the Dunne tour. Scores of trade union officials, outstanding liberals, representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, clergymen and educators, met with Dunne and pledged their support to the defense of the Minneapolis case.

Reporting on his tour, V. R. Dunne said: "In all cities, almost without exception, we were able to reach important labor and liberal leaders, who had not been fully acquainted with our work previously. They all showed live and active interest in the Minneapolis case and made suggestions and proposals for furthering the publicity work and the important work of raising funds to defray the costs of the appeal to the higher courts."

The local committees of the CRDC utilized the Dunne tour to secure publicity in the local press and radio. In almost every city the press carried news of the meetings which were arranged by the local committee and on the issues involved. The meetings were all well attended and revealed a profound interest in the dangers to civil liberties presented by the convictions of the 18 members of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith "Gag" Act.

### INDUSTRIAL WORKERS INTERESTED IN CASE

In the industrial cities of Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Flint, Cleveland, etc., the Dunne meetings were attended primarily by workers active in the labor movement, who fully understood the extreme importance of testing the constitutionality of this "Gag" act and defending the democratic rights of labor by defending the 18 convicted in the Minneapolis case.

In Youngstown, where the Dunne meeting was widely publicized, an interested audience of active trade unionists in the steel industries gathered on Feb. 17 in Central Auditorium to hear V. R. Dunne. In addition to this meeting, Dunne was able to meet with two of the outstanding clergymen of Youngstown who agreed to do active work toward raising funds for the appeal.

In Buffalo, where Dunne spent three days, a successful meeting was held on Feb. 19 in the YWCA, where steel and aircraft workers attended. In addition to this, V. R. Dunne was introduced and had discussions with most of the outstanding local and national CIO officials of Buffalo. He reported

that most of these trade-unionists were sympathetic with the defense and pledged support. The public meeting held in the Labor Lyceum in Rochester, N. Y., on Feb. 23 was well attended by local workers and served to increase the support already achieved in that city. Dunne reported that in Rochester the ACLU, and local clergymen are actively supporting the Minneapolis case.

### VARIED ACTIVITIES IN BOSTON

The active and influential local committee of the CRDC in Boston arranged a very full schedule of meetings for Dunne, Feb. 26 to 28. Beginning with a meeting of the Harvard Faculty Club on the campus, and a luncheon meeting attended by several educators, the CRDC reached a very wide audience in Boston during Dunne's visit. An open meeting at the Unitarian Center was arranged and was followed by a dinner meeting the next day at the Harvard Union Club, at which students and educators present indicated an intense interest in the significance of the Minneapolis case.

An interview both with the *Harvard Crimson*, campus newspaper, and over the *Crimson* network of Harvard, was arranged. Dozens of new friends were mobilized for the defense work.

As has been previously reported, a trade union luncheon was held for Dunne in Newark, Feb. 28, at which the outstanding state CIO officials spoke, and delegates from many trade unions were present. As a result of the excellent work of the local CRDC in Newark, and the interest aroused by the Dunne meeting, new support is constantly arriving from the entire state of New Jersey.

One of the most representative meetings was held in New Haven on March 2 in the home of Dr. Willard Uphaus, Secretary of the Religion and Labor Foundation. Trade unionists as well as noted liberal leaders attended this meeting and several new friends were rallied to the defense campaign.

In New York two defense affairs were held during Dunne's visit with overflow attendance which brought in hundreds of dollars. While in New York, V. R. Dunne met with James T. Farrell,

National Chairman of the CRDC, Carlo Tresca, Vice-Chairman, and George Novack, Secretary. He discussed with them the new plans for the appeal of the case to the higher courts. He also held a conference with Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Albert Goldman and M. J. Myer, chief attorneys for the defense, to lay the groundwork for the legal steps ahead.

From New York, Dunne went to Quakertown, Pa., where a meeting was held on March 7 at the Union Hall. The workers in attendance mapped out plans for spreading the news of the Minneapolis case and furthering the work of the CRDC.

In Reading, Pa. a very successful public meeting was held in the hall of the Hosiery Workers Local No. 10 on March 8th. Jacob Englehart, V.P. of Local No. 10 of the Hosiery Workers of Berks County, spoke at this meeting in support of the CRDC and the Minneapolis case. Several trade union representatives assured the committee of renewed support, following Dunne's speech.

Several CIO representatives and a group of AFL Teamsters attended the Dunne meeting in Allentown at the Labor Temple on March 9th and an excellent discussion followed Dunne's report.

As a result of Dunne's visit in Philadelphia, at which a public meeting was arranged in Mercantile Hall March 10, new groups of trade unionists and friends were attracted to the Committee's work and plans were laid for extended activities.

### DUNNE SUMS UP

Summing up his experiences in the first 19 cities of his tour, Dunne reported to the CRDC that an ever increasing support may be expected. "Many new avenues of approach have been opened up to local unions, which have hitherto closed to our work. The work of raising funds from the trade unions and especially the CIO will now be pursued with new vigor, I am sure," he said. "Thanking the Committees for their excellent work in connection with this tour, Dunne said, "Speaking for myself and all the defendants, I am fully confident that the Civil Rights Defense Committee and all its branches will succeed in mobilizing the support necessary to carry on this fight for civil liberties and to defend the Bill of Rights. We are fighting not only for ourselves, but for the freedom and democratic rights of the entire labor movement and the American people."

In view of the success of the tour of V. R. Dunne, the CRDC has announced that it is laying plans to extend Dunne's tour throughout the middle and far west. Details on the western tour will be announced later.

For the past four weeks Mr. M. J. Myer, one of the attorneys for the 18 defendants convicted of violating the Smith "Gag" Act in Minneapolis, has been busy in preparing the record of the case to be filed in the District Court in Minneapolis. The last day for filing is April 1.

The record consists of all of the testimony plus all of the pleadings and motions filed by both sides beginning with the indictment. The evidence alone, condensed into narrative form, amounted to approximately 1400 typewritten pages.

A copy of the Bill of Exceptions, consisting of the record of the testimony, has already been furnished Mr. Victor Anderson, District Attorney at St. Paul, to give him a chance to examine it and make any objections he deems fit. In a week or so Judge Matthew M. Joyce will rule on the Bill of Exceptions and the record will then be filed with the clerk.

Because of the huge sum of money required for appeal purposes, the defense finds itself unable to pay for the printing of the record. A motion has been filed on behalf of the defense to have the government pay for the printing of the record.

Besides the expenses for the printing of the record, the defense will be obligated to spend thousands of dollars in prosecuting the appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit. It is as yet impossible to state when the argument on the appeal will take place.

# Attorneys Are Preparing the Mpls. Appeal

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# The Kind Of 'Sacrifices' N.A.M. Is Eager To Make

### Its Tax Program Asks Lower Taxes for Big Business and 8% Sales Tax for the Masses

In a statement that reeked with self-sacrificial sentiment, the National Association of Manufacturers, representing 80 per cent of the war industries corporations, on March 11 pronounced itself for war taxes "to the limit — in order to guarantee victory, eliminate profiteering and to insure the future solvency of the government."

The statement affirmed that "all corporations and individuals with income should be taxed to the maximum of their ability to pay for the terrific burdens of this war" and that "no unwarranted profits will be permitted to any corporations."

Two days after this preliminary statement, hailed in the capitalist press as an earnest of the patriotic attitude of big business, J. Cheever Cowdin, spokesman for the NAM, revealed before the House Ways and Means Committee the practical details of the monopolists' tax program "to eliminate profits."

As for corporation profits taxes — a hump! — let's see, said Mr. Cowdin. We don't want anything that would make the big corporations run into "the law of diminishing returns," now do we? And we must take into account the question of "really adequate relief" provisions for the "unfair" taxes on the "war baby" industries — like say, the aircraft corporations making a few thousand per cent more profit now than before the war.

So? So the NAM spokesman proposed — purely in the spirit of capitalist self-sacrifice, of course — a 40 per cent tax on "normal" profits, based on the highest take in any three of the four years from 1936 to 1939, with an "excess" profits tax of 90 per cent.

Worked out in dollars and cents, as Mr. Cowdin conceded under questioning by a member of the House Committee, corporations making profits from equal to double their pre-war incomes would cough up even less profits taxes than they now pay. "But every corporation under and over that," he reassured the committee members, "will pay more taxes."

Representative Cooper of Tennessee, who speaks for the smaller business interests, worked out the actual amount of taxes a corporation snaring \$100,000,000 profits would pay under the NAM proposals and under the present low tax rates.

The NAM program for taxation "to the limit" would take \$40,000,000 of the \$100,000,000 profits. At present, the same corporation is paying \$47,000,000.

### NAM WANTS SALES TAX

The plan — as was to be expected — is simple and fully expressive of the readiness of the big capitalists to "give their all" for the commonweal. In short, it proposes to reduce present taxes on big corporation incomes and, figuratively speaking, to slit the throats of the workers, farmers and small business men.

The main NAM proposal, to raise some \$4,800,000,000 of the \$7,600,000,000 of the impending tax bill, is the imposition of a general sales tax. Being broad-minded, and having a flare for

the workers who were impeding production.

The Riom trial to fix "responsibility" for the French defeat is an effort to give an appearance of authority to the unstable police-government of Pétain. That it will achieve its aim now appears very unlikely.

But what the Riom trial has accomplished so far, has been to show the masses through the admissions of Blum and Daladier, how the "Socialist" and "labor" and "democratic" leaders of Republican France undermined the only power that was willing and able to fight fascism to the death, the revolutionary working class, and restored the power of the French capitalists, who preferred a victory by Hitler to the victory of the workers.

After this, Blum could still tell his trial judges with a straight face: "I am not a politician. I am a Socialist." The French workers, however, ground under the heels of Hitler and Pétain, would scarcely subscribe to this self-judgment.

### Conferences Only Mean Speed Up

(Continued from page 1)

— because that might give the workers a clearer idea of how useless and unnecessary the bosses are to the operation of industry.

But Donald Nelson has given his "assurances that the new program will not interfere with management prerogatives," adds the *News*, although expressing doubt whether this "is sufficient to win full co-operation of management."

The bosses obviously can and will wreck these committees the instant they feel the workers are getting any "wrong notions" from them.

Philip Murray has offered the "enthusiastic co-operation" of the CIO to this plan, stating that it is "directly in line" with his "industry council plan." There is a "slight" difference between the two, however, Murray's plan was to place the control of industry in the hands of joint committees. "But Mr. Nelson has refused to transfer any control of industry to the joint committees," states the *News*.

It won't take long after the management-labor committees get into operation for the workers to realize that they are just another boss device to intensify labor exploitation through the speed-up. They will realize more than ever that it is impossible for two classes in irreconcilable conflict, the workers and employers, to "share" control of industry. They will learn that so long as a handful of private capitalists own the industries and run the government, that the workers will remain powerless to effect operation of industry in the interests of the masses of American people. And they will see more clearly than they do now, that the anarchy of capitalist production, its greedy exploitation of labor, will not end until the basic industries are taken over by the government, to be operated under the control and management of the workers.

### BOSSSES' 'SAVIOR'

Indignant that the French capitalists whose hides he had saved should now turn against him, Blum reproached his accusers for their base ingratitude.

"At the time certain elements among the employers regarded me as their savior," Blum boasted that he had successfully undertaken the task which the bosses were powerless to perform. "One of his solutions for strikes, he said, was the forty-hour week, which his government adopted as a means of halting the refusals to work and of evacuating occupied factories. In fact, Blum said, the big employers' associations asked him to speed up its inauguration so the factories could get back to work." (A. P. dispatch from Riom, March 10).

Thus, Blum confirmed to the letter the analysis of the role of the Popular Front made by the Trotskyists in 1935 and 1936. Leon Trotsky had then pointed out that the Popular Front coalition of reformists, trade union leaders, Social Democrats and Stalinists, with the "left" bourgeois Radical-Socialists led by Daladier, was a move to behead the impending workers' revolution and to preserve the rule of the capitalists who were headed toward fascism.

### INDUSTRIALISTS BLOCKED FRENCH WAR PRODUCTION

Just a week before Blum's statement, his Popular Front colleague, successor as Premier and co-defendant, Daladier — who had completed Blum's work when he smashed the General Strike in 1938 and abrogated the labor reforms by decree on the grounds that they were an obstacle to "na-

General Motors workers are to receive double-time pay for Sunday and holiday work, according to the decision made on March 13 by G. Allen Dash, Jr., so-called labor umpire named by the company and the United Automobile Workers Union to arbitrate contract disputes. The company has agreed to abide by this decision.

The decision, however, did not grant the right in principle for such double-time pay. It stated that the contract "granted no latitude to consider the equities of the situation," and added that if at the time of the termination of the contract on April 28 — a little over a month from now — this provision "should prove to be an obstacle to full war production," steps should be taken for "reformulating such provisions as soon as possible."

It is apparent that, in view of the short time left before the expiration of the contract, the corporation and the umpire felt it expedient not to set a precedent by a violation of the contract. Such a precedent might convince the workers that contracts are not as sacred as the bosses pretend and that if the bosses can set aside contracts at will, so can the workers.

Meanwhile, the company can afford to wait another month or so, particularly since production is at a low point, when the question will arise once more. Then there will be no contract provisions to stand in the way of the company's refusing to pay double-time for Sunday and holiday work.

### ISSUE NOT SETTLED

The War Labor Board, into whose hands the dispute had been thrust originally, disclaimed jurisdiction over the case and insisted that the company and union conduct further negotiations on the issue. It is now clear that the WLB did not desire to put itself on record at this time on the question of double-time pay, particularly in a dispute where a decision against the union could be interpreted as agreement to the violation of a contract.

Dash's decision about "reformulating such provisions as soon as possible" may be the formal basis on which GM after April 28 will refuse to pay double-time and over-time. If the dispute then goes to the WLB, which is likely, the road will be clearer for the board to rule against the union.

Dash's decision, while immediately favoring the workers, in the long run may pave the way for a serious blow against their interests.

### MASSES TO GET IT IN NECK UNDER BOTH PLANS

Aside from the temporary difference over the Administration's and the NAM's corporation profits tax proposals — a difference which it is reported both the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee are ready to resolve by way of a "compromise" — the masses will get it in the neck from either the Treasury's or the NAM's tax measures.

The Treasury wants to raise the bulk of new taxes through doubled income taxes from the lowest income brackets and excise taxes — hidden sales taxes — on selected commodities. Such "vicious upsetting of homes and lives by oppressively high taxes" is repugnant to the NAM. It rightly proposes a lower schedule of income tax increases than the Treasury has proposed which, purely coincidentally, would be far more favorable to the millionaires than the Treasury's schedules.

Thus, so far as the effect on the masses is concerned, the chief difference between the NAM and the Treasury plans is one of method. Both methods would place the greatest tax burdens on the low income earners. The NAM, like the advertising dentists, describes its proposed surgical butchery of living standards

as "painless" extraction. Congressional sentiment, it is reported, leans in this same direction.

The NAM put it mildly when it said it, was for taxes "leaving only enough for survival." But it wasn't the big war profiteering monopoly corporations it had in mind.

### Outlaw Ceylon Party Of Fourth Internationalists

(Continued from page 1)

The best aid to the Soviet Union and China, declare the Trotskyists of the Far East, is the national liberation of the colonies.

### CONDITIONS IN CEYLON

Pre-war conditions in Ceylon were quite superior to those in India. The Crown Colony constitution left all final powers in the hands of the British-appointed Governor, but nevertheless the election of a State Council by universal franchise made possible full-scale electoral propaganda and through it certain concessions. As the immigration of workers from India indicates, economic conditions were better than in India.

But Ceylonese conditions appeared better only as compared to the vast misery of India. The average wage for workers in Colombo was 30 cents a day and half that for the landless proletarians on the plantations, 85 per cent of which are British-owned. That sure index of colonial oppression, the rate of maternal and infant mortality, recorded 197 deaths per 1,000 births in the ten-year period ending with 1936. In 1932 there were a million cases of malaria in an epidemic, in which 250,000 died. General conditions on the plantations are indicated by the fact that anybody visiting a plantation worker without permission of the planter thereby commits a criminal offense.

Economic conditions were worsened by the war. For Ceylon is a raw-material producing colony depending completely on the outside world for its finished products.

The formal suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party coincided with Sir Stafford Cripps' trip to India. An appropriate symbol! We are sure that it will be so understood by the advanced sections of the workers and peasants of India.

But repressions will no longer save British rule over India. This latest move is an act of desperation which will produce no results for the British. The L.S.S.P. survived the arrest of its leaders, the suppression of its press, the vigilante terror of the planters. Likewise it will survive this formal outlawry. With its sister parties of the Far East it will go on to ever-greater battles for national liberation against all the imperialists.

The Stalinists have suppressed the fact that Governor Caldecott of Ceylon has also suppressed the Stalinist organization there, the "United Socialist Party."

In Ceylon as elsewhere throughout the Far East, the Stalinists are supporting Britain's war, and are opposing the slogan of national liberation. In Singapore there was the spectacle of the Stalinist leaders being released from prison just long enough before the Japanese arrived so that they could organize a caricature of a "people's resistance." In India also the Communist Party, illegalized in 1934, remains illegal despite the fawning of the Stalinist leadership toward the British.

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**The Negro Struggle**

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT DEMAND TO BE TREATED AS EQUAL TO LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS 'BRANDED' — EARL MARK

**Another Negro Lynched; More Soldiers in 'Riot'**

(Continued from page 1)

Everybody knows who lynched Cleo Wright; the guilty parties are walking the streets of that town free and easy. Everybody knows that if anybody talks, he'll join Cleo Wright, and nothing will happen to the men who murder him either. The people who lynched Cleo Wright are all-out supporters of the "second war for democracy."

**NEW ARMY "RIOT"**

The California Eagle, Mar. 5, reports another army "riot" in Merced, Calif., on Mar. 2. It all began when the Negro soldiers were refused service at a tavern on the fair grounds on which they are camped. The report says:

"Negro soldiers attacked the discriminatory tavern twice. Both times they were 'calmed' by military police.

"Colored troops were armed only with sticks and clubs.

"Military police are still patrolling the business section, whether to prevent riots or prevent Negro patronage is not clear."

**NAVY JIM CROW**

The name of the Negro sailor who was hailed as hero on the U. S. S. Arizona has finally been revealed. He is Dorie Miller, 22 year old Texan. At Pearl Harbor he seized a machine gun — although he had never handled one before — and manned it under enemy fire until his ammunition ran out and the ship was sinking. The Negro press is singing his praises this week — but he is still in the mess kitchen somewhere, not permitted by Navy Jim Crow rules from doing anything but serve food and wash dishes.

**HOUSING**

In Rhode Island, "home of Roger Williams and tolerance", there is a housing project at Newport at which it was decided that some Negro as well as white families could live. Among the whites assigned to the project it was felt equality for the Negro people was a threat to "the maintenance of the morale and prestige of the white race", so they sent a petition to their Senator in Washington asking him to have the Negroes barred.

This is pretty much the way the Detroit "riot" began; so far Washington has refused to do anything about the situation, but the Detroit experience showed that when Jim Crow forces put on a little pressure, they are only too willing to give in — against equality for the Negroes.

And that housing Jim Crowism is not an evil peculiar to Detroit or Rhode Island is shown in last week's People Voice, the front page of which shows a large picture of a Washington Heights, New York, Negro man and woman, standing by a window, the pane of which was shattered by a milk bottle thrown by hoodlums who don't want Negroes living on the same block as whites.

**POLICE BRUTALITY**

New York is supposed to be the most "liberal" city in the country, but as City Councilman Adam Clayton Powell points out in a People's Voice editorial: "... during the past few days, one man was horribly beaten, teeth knocked out, leg broken and then arrested, although he first came to the police station to make a complaint. Another severe beating was administered to a 15-year-old school boy by a special subway officer and three strong courageous police protectors of the peace," etc.

**WHAT GOVERNMENT IS DOING**

And what about the government while all this is going on? What are the government officials doing about lynchings and riots and brutality?

The answer is: They are out investigating the Negro newspaper editors and publishers who print the truth about conditions and have the courage to protest against them!

The Pittsburgh Courier, Mar. 14, in an editorial, "Cowing the Negro Press," reports that "the Negro press is being closely watched and investigated by government agents.

"Offices of at least two of the largest Negro newspapers have been visited by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since Pearl Harbor.

"Mrs. Charlotte A. Bass, editor and publisher of the militant California Eagle, states that FBI agents have visited her office and interrogated her about possible receipt of Japanese or German funds because her paper courageously condemned color discrimination and segregation in National Defense.

"This sort of thing is an obvious effort to cow the Negro press into soft-pedaling its criticism and ending its forthright exposure of the outrageous discriminations to which Negroes have been subjected."

In other words, instead of going after the enemies of the Negro people, the government is going after the defenders of equality for the Negroes. This is the typical "police mind" reaction to complaints against injustice: if somebody complains, shut him up and expect him to keep quiet even though the cause of his complaint goes untouched.

It does not take a prophet to predict that the Negro people, dissatisfied today, are going to become increasingly dissatisfied as the war goes on and conditions become worse. The government may try to cow the press into silence, it may try to explain Negro dissatisfaction as the work of "agitators" — but it will never be able to convince the Negro masses that this is a "war for democracy" as long as it is fought by a Jim Crow Army and Navy, as long as Negroes are lynched and their lynchings white-washed, as long as cops beat up Negroes and protect the fascists, — as long, in short, as the Jim Crow ruling class continues to run things in this country.

**British Miners Continue Strike, Win Demands, Free Jailed Leaders**

Refusing to end their strike until the government agreed to release their imprisoned leaders and to grant them their legal minimum wages, 1600 workers of the Betteshanger coal mine, Kent County, England, have scored the "first really important victory to be won by the workers since the outbreak of the war," reports the February Socialist Appeal, organ of the Workers International League, a British Trotskyist group.

This is the first "on-the-scene report received here of this significant struggle, news of which has been limited to a couple of brief and unintelligible dispatches in the capitalist press.

"The widespread anger which swept the labor movement at the savage sentences under the Essential Works Order," states the Socialist Appeal, "and the movement of solidarity which was sweeping the mining areas in particular was sufficient to force the government to beat a hasty retreat."

The strike was called on January 19 over the demand that the company pay the minimum county wages. On Nov. 8, 1941, the company had "closed a highly productive wall and opened up a new wall" where it was imposed for the men "to extract the minimum quantity of coal to make up the average wage in spite of more strenuous efforts."

**1017 SUMMONED**

A ferocious attack was almost immediately launched against the strikers and their leaders, the company issuing 1,017 summonses against the men for breach of contract, and the government following with additional summonses, issued by the Ministry of Labor, charging violation of the Essential Works Order.

On January 23, the case was heard before three magistrates of the Kent County Court. In order to prevent a public hearing of the conditions which provoked the strike, the company's solicitor withdrew the breach of contract summons and the case was tried entirely on the basis of the Essential Works Order, which makes strikes without previously filed 21 days notice illegal and subject to prison penalties.

After a farcical trial, in which the local strike leaders made a courageous and militant defense, while the representative of the national mine union leadership agreed to their victimization, three of the leaders were given heavy fines and hard labor sentences.

**LEADERS SENTENCED, WORKERS FINED**

Describing the sentencing of these militant workers, and the reaction that followed among the miners, the Socialist Appeal said: "Lord Howden, the chief magistrate then passed the sentences. Two months hard labor for William Powell, the secretary. One month hard labor for Tudor Davis, the chairman, one month for Isaac Methuen, member of the Branch Committee. Three pounds or one month for the 35 men who were working on No. 2 face, and one pound or 14 days for all the others, making a grand total of 1,017 miners who were framed.

"There they sat — those three comfortable, well-dressed, well-fed country gentlemen, their hands covered with woollen mittens; they had never known a hard day's toil, much less a shift in the foul atmosphere of a mine; they had never suffered the pangs of an empty stomach — and they passed their sentence without blinking an eyelid.

"Before being taken away in the police car to the County Jail, Bro. Powell shouted 'Don't go back until I come out!' The men were absolutely furious at the decision and there was a determination that they would not go back to work until their demands had been fully satisfied and until their leaders were released."

**WORKERS VOTE**

Two days later a meeting of about 900 strikers, jammed into the Miners' Welfare Hall, Deal, unanimously voted to continue the strike. Their resolution added "that we do not return to work until the wages deducted from certain of our members' pay packets are refunded; and that in the meantime we use every means at our disposal to get our three members released from prison."

"Immediately the news got out," reports the Appeal, "there was a widespread movement of support among the other miners in Kent, in Wales and in Yorkshire. In the latter areas, where friction had been sharp between the miners and coal owners on similar questions to these at Betteshanger, miners struck work as a gesture of sympathy. Indeed the movement became so widespread that the Government was forced to beat a retreat.

"Accompanied by Ebby Edwards, Secretary of the National Mineworkers' Federation, Mr. Grenfel, Minister of Mines, jour-

neyed to Deal where an agreement was arranged with the bosses. This agreement accepted the demands of the men, including back payment for the men on shift by the management, which was the original cause of the strike.

"But it took the full weight of Grenfel, Edwards, and the Committee of the Kent Miners' Association to get the men to go back to work. This after 4 hours and on the promise that the leaders would be released and the fines quashed."

During the trial the tie-up of the government and the mine owners was obvious. A representative of the Ministry of Labor, Mowll, stated "that the Ministry was not concerned with the rights or wrongs of the conditions which had led to the strike," the only thing to be decided being whether or not the men had violated the Essential Works Order.

Mowll called on the manager of the mine to give evidence as to who he considered were "responsible for the strike." This gave the company the opportunity to pick out the union leaders they wanted victimized.

**LEADERS' DEFENSE**

Powell's defense was simple, states the Appeal. "He attempted to outline the conditions which led up to the strike, but was rudely interrupted by the magistrates who said they were not concerned with the causes. Knowing that he was for the cells and that the men had been shanghaied, he stated: 'No matter what happens in this court, unless there is an adjustment of the men's conditions it would not bring peace to Betteshanger.'

"Tudor Davis asked the magistrates to 'give due consideration to the reason why we took the action we did; the strike was enforced upon the men by the actions of the employers; they, and not the men, should be standing in the box; the miners are fully aware of the serious situation which the war had brought to the country, but we were fighting for something that we hold sacred and which we have achieved only after years of struggle — the minimum wage.' Unless this was conceded, 'I could not possibly ask the men to go back to work.'

Most of the miners at Betteshanger, which is in "the most bombed mining district in the country," are drawn from other areas and "constitute the cream of the mine workers." They were "once praised by Winston Churchill for working under continuous fire during the Battle of Britain and . . . have in past achieved a record output far exceeding the target fixed by the Ministry of

**Tasks of the Indian Revolution**

**The Role Of Democratic Demands In India Today**

Such Demands Are Necessary Part of the Struggle to Unite the Masses for the Successful Carrying Out of Agrarian Revolution

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

(This is the third of a series of articles dealing with the problems facing the Indian masses today. The first, dealing with the agrarian revolution and the struggle for India's independence, appeared in THE MILITANT of March 7. Last week's article discussed the slogan of the Constituent Assembly.)

The emancipation of India will be achieved only by those who base themselves on the national and the agrarian movements; by those who mobilize the Indian workers and provide them with the opportunity to play their destined role as the leaders of both these movements.

The Indian bourgeoisie cannot provide this leadership. They fear the masses and the agrarian revolution as much as do the native princes and the English imperialists.

In July 1934 Gandhi expressed the real position of the Indian bourgeoisie when in his speech at Cawnpore he flatly stated that he was "never in favor of abolition of the talukdari (feudal tax-gathering) or zamindari (feudal land-owning) system, and those who thought that it should be abolished did not know their own minds." The opposition of the Indian bourgeoisie to the agrarian revolution will become more and more pronounced as the crisis unfolds.

The Indian proletariat can rise to its role as leader of the nation only by becoming the standard-bearer of its revolutionary democratic tasks.

A campaign for the convocation of the Constituent (or National) Assembly provides, as we have already pointed out, the best opportunities for advancing the basic demands of the first stage of the Indian revolution, i.e. the revolutionary-parliamentary stage. What are these demands for India?

First and foremost is, of course, the slogan for India's independence. The Indian workers are the only ones who can consistently advocate this slogan, linking it up not only with the abolition of British rule but also with a guarantee of the right of self-determination for all nationalities in India.

**Land to the Landless**

Inseparable from this struggle for independence is the struggle for the immediate abolition of all feudal rights, titles and land registers.

Mines." Due to their families having been evacuated from the area, most of the miners were compelled to keep up two separate living establishments, for themselves in Kent and their families in other sections.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF FIGHT**

Summing up the significance of this struggle the Appeal declares: "In a period of 'national' danger, and when the Government and owners are combining to de-

mand from the workers more and more production, the management of Betteshanger close a rich and productive seam of coal and open up another wall which produces much less . . . But the Essential Works Order is not used against the coal owners!

Confiscation of the land — Land to the landless! It is precisely in the struggle against feudalism that the slogan for universal suffrage — the right to vote, for all men and women over the age of eighteen — will play a central role. The chief strength of the peasantry lies in its vast numbers. In periods of upsurge, the most backward peasants gravitate toward those measures which translate their numerical preponderance into elementary political terms. Their economic need for land is instinctively linked up in their minds with the democratic right to vote and thus to legalize the partition of the landlords' estates. That is why the demand for universal suffrage cannot fail to meet with an immediate response on their part.

**Centralizing the Peasant Movement**

These democratic slogans become imbued with a profoundly revolutionary content above all because they provide the indispensable means for mobilizing the Indian masses. There is no way of centralizing the peasant movement except through these slogans. Unless this centralization is achieved, the peasant movement will become dissipated in the innumerable provincial areas. No graver blow can be dealt to the unfolding agrarian revolution than the one which it will suffer if any attempt is made to skip over this stage of political education of the peasantry.

This applies not only to the peasantry but to the mass of the Indian workers themselves. They too must pass through the experience of a revolutionary democratic stage. The chief slogans for the mobilization of the Indian workers in the next period are contained in the immediate demands for the 8-hour working day, better working conditions, higher wages, the right to organize, etc.

A campaign for the convocation of the National (or Constituent) Assembly with the content outlined above will be reinforced in the consciousness of the masses by the events themselves. And if the workers and peasants pass through this experience under the leadership of the Indian vanguard, no power on earth can prevent the existing revolutionary situation in the country from terminating in a victorious revolution.

(Next week: The Native Princes)

they have to defend their standards — the strike, that Mr. Bevin, backed up by the full weight of the Government steps in and uses this reactionary law against the workers.

"While the workers relied upon the Trade Union bureaucrats who had sold out to the Government and temporized with the bosses they gained nothing. But where they took the traditional militant stand of the fighting miners they gained a success."

**BRITISH LORDS EXPRESS VIEWS ON STRUMA TRAGEDY**

The British Parliament in both its Houses — the House of Lords and the House of Commons — had the opportunity last week to express its sentiment on the tragic catastrophe in which 768 Jews, refugees from the terror of the Nazi-dominated Rumanian anti-Semites, lost their lives. The members of Parliament indicated in no uncertain terms where the responsibility

in vain. Here at last was a chance for the British authorities to show a firm hand and unwavering determination. The ship with the refugees aboard was forced to put out to sea, despite the warning that it would go to pieces. The destination? Back to the hell which the unfortunate refugees thought they had left behind. They did not even have a glimpse of the "promised land."

The "steamship Struma, small, only fifty feet long, entirely unseaworthy, and packed with 769 men, women and children managed to get away from Nazi-dominated Central Europe and they were headed for the promised land.

**THEY DID NOT HAVE VISAS**

So what if they were packed like sardines? So what if they were denied the ordinary comforts of life? One had to grit his teeth and bear this purgatory.

Behind them was the Nazi hell to which there was no return. And ahead? Ahead was the country that the mighty British Empire had designated as a Jewish homeland in the year 1917 through the solemn declaration of His Majesty's then foreign minister, Lord Balfour. And the Struma with its cargo of refugees was headed for Palestine.

In their rush to get away from Rumania, the refugees had neglected to provide themselves with the proper papers, passports, visas, etc. — or more likely, they had tried to get those papers, but the British Embassy and consular official had fled even ahead of them. The Struma was not permitted to proceed to its destination.

For weeks it lay at Istanbul, trying to secure from the British authorities permission to land in Palestine. But all efforts were

it had reached its destination, and the unfortunate refugees had had their glimpse of the "promised land."

Let no one say that the British ruling class is entirely devoid of human feelings. Two Lords, Lord Davies and Lord Wedgwood, bestirred themselves and made the charge in the House of Lords that the British authorities in Palestine are biased against the Jews. Perhaps these two Lords thought it good politics to place responsibility on the authorities in Palestine and thus absolve the home government. This, however, was not the opinion of Viscount Cranborne, Colonial Secretary. Here is how the New York Times, March 11, reports the speech of the Viscount in reply to the critical two Lords:

"Amid cheers Lord Cranborne asserted that the Palestine High Commissioner and those assisting him were carrying out a policy approved by the British Government and added: "They have done it and are doing it with complete integrity and great courage in circumstances of extraordinary difficulty and to suggest anything else is both undesirable and dangerous because we can thus only injure the authority of the administration and than can only lead to disaffection and unrest."

Indeed it took "integrity and great courage" to send the defenseless refugees to their doom. When Hitler does anything similar, the sanctimonious hypocritical Lords who have made a profession of deceit and chicanery, call it uncivilized and barbarous. And why the cheers at this gruesome tragedy? Is it because the Lords have had so little to cheer about that they have lost their balance like that village fool who made it a practice to cheer at fun-

erals and weep at celebrations? No, those cheers are pregnant with political meaning — they are the rebuke to the hopes of the persecuted Jews. Just as Churchill had to go out of his way to make it clear that the so-called Atlantic Charter does not apply to the many millions of colonial slaves, the Lords took the trouble to emphasize with their cheers that the Jews should not have any illusions either.

**POLICY REMAINS SAME**

The House of Commons added its authority to that of the House of Lords two days later. The New York Times, March 13, reports: "No guarantee that would undermine the existing policy regarding illegal immigration into Palestine can be given at present. Harold MacMillan, Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, told the House of Commons yesterday in reply to a question whether the authorities were taking steps to prevent a recurrence of the Struma disaster . . ."

The Struma incident is symbolic of the fate of the Jewish people as a whole. How true ring the words of the Fourth International in its manifesto on the war (May, 1940):

"In the epoch of its rise, capitalism took the Jewish people out of the ghetto and utilized them as an instrument in its commercial expansion. Today decaying capitalist society is striving to squeeze the Jewish people from all its pores; seventeen million individuals out of the two billion populating the globe, that is, less than one per cent, can no longer find a place on our planet! Amid the vast expanses of land and the marvels of technology, which has also conquered the skies for man as well as the earth, the bourgeoisie has managed to convert our planet into a foul prison."

**Guthrie Resignation Shows Bosses Can't Plan Production**

By A. ROLAND

The resignation of the head of the textile division of the War Production Board, Guthrie, and a couple of his assistants, will result in some sort of investigation and lots of talk. Its real significance will be glossed over by the capitalist press and the government experts. In fact Guthrie himself, former sewing machine monopolist, had no intention of spotlighting the actual situation.

Guthrie resigned in protest over the fact that he could not get any honest cooperation from the owners of the textile mills and leather goods makers. With all its paper-work on priorities and allocations of strategic raw materials, the government depends in final analysis on the cooperation of the bosses to make its planning of war production effective. And there's the rub! The government will get cooperation fast enough from the big outfits that are benefiting from the war production and are piling up enormous profits. But it will get every kind of sabotage and hidden opposition from those capitalists who are being or are threatened with being squeezed out of industry because of material shortages.

The man in the street is made to think that the trouble is with this or that group of individual factory owners who prefer profits to patriotism. That is not the trouble, or it is just one phase of the trouble that modern capitalism experiences in wartime. Under capitalism it is the natural thing for each and every owner of the means of production to comb the market for his needs in raw materials. There is a keen competition between the war industries and the other sectors of American economy to lay hands on these materials. Remember, the government does not own these materials nor the plants in which they are used. It can only mediate to see that supplies flow into the proper factories.

**What Guthrie Is Revealing**

Guthrie was the representative of the government of the United States in wartime. The significance of his resignation lies in the fact that it is the clearest kind of admission that the government is helpless in the face of non-cooperating bosses. Guthrie is protesting not against his superiors, not against the government, but against the textile factory owners outside the government. Guthrie thinks he is showing up some unpatriotic, grasping men in one industry. Really he is once again revealing that planned production is impossible under capitalist anarchy.

Many union men, particularly union leaders who support Roosevelt and the war, think like Guthrie that the system could be made to work if only it weren't for some selfish capitalists. These men propose various schemes to put the present factory machinery and the man-power to more efficient use. The greatest gain that comes from these ideas and plans is that it sets the unions to thinking along lines of planned production. Gradually workers will realize in thinking along these lines that the real trouble lies in the system of property relations, the system that produces first of all to bring profits to individual factory owners. Under such a system there is no way to prevent industries from pulling in opposite directions and working at cross-purposes.

The capitalist class, you may be sure, feels the greatest alarm when workers begin to think of taking a hand in the running of industry. One of the greatest reasons for the instant and unanimous boss opposition to the Reuther plan proposed for the auto industry long before that industry was shut down, had nothing to do with the merits of that plan. It was opposition by the bosses to the very idea that unions should think along these lines. How could manufacturers dare to admit that their workers knew better than they how to plan production more efficiently?

**Boss Attitude to Joint Conferences**

This attitude is shown quite clearly in an editorial in the magazine Business Week, Murray and the CIO unions have been demanding that the workers have some representation with the bosses on the planning boards. Here is the plain-spoken attitude of the employer class:

"Washington is wondering whether Nelson pulled a smart one or headed for trouble when he assigned his push-production propaganda drive to 'management-labor committees' in munitions plants. Intent was (1) to sell the scheme to labor, and (2) divert the unions from their demand for a bigger voice in management of industry (the Murray plan) to what Nelson considers their proper role — stimulation of the individual worker to greater effort. It looks as if the plan may backfire. The unions have accepted it whole-heartedly. Now CIO leaders, with a straight face, are publicly congratulating Nelson on having adopted the Murray plan, are promising a flow of valuable ideas for improved handling of war work in the plants."

There is nothing that the employing class wants less than ideas, good or bad, from workers on how to run their business. Yes, some saving in producing small items, some different operation here or there — but leave the bigger things to the bigger men. But the unions will do well to take up more seriously than ever before the study of the larger running of industry. Capitalism is on the rocks the world over. Its industry is running down. Sooner or later the workers will find it necessary to step in to keep production going in order not to starve.

Meantime, if the government seriously wants to plan production, it can do so in individual industries like the munitions, ship-building, steel-producing industries, only by taking over these industries from the owners, and running them under a system of workers' control. The government will hardly do this willingly; it is something the workers must fight to achieve.

The resignation of Guthrie is a little straw in the wind. Real planned production can be accomplished only through socialized industry under workers' control.

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7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## Program For Detroit Labor Movement

The Detroit housing fight is far from closed. The Negro people of Detroit are still determined that the Sojourner Truth housing project shall be occupied by the Negro families for whom they were built: they are organizing and picketing and making plans to prevent a repetition of the "riot" of Feb. 28 which — with the help of Detroit police — prevented the Negroes from moving in. The reactionary white elements, supported and goaded on by the real estate sharks and Ku Klux Klan and fascist vigilante groups, are still functioning openly, distributing provocative leaflets on the streets, and boasting that the Negroes will never occupy their homes. Federal and city authorities have announced that eventually the Negro families will be permitted to move in. The one thing that is certain is that the federal and city officials are the least determined of these three groups to carry out what they say.

The fight is far from finished, but already the Negro people of Detroit have had the opportunity to learn some important lessons which, if thoroughly assimilated, will make far easier the task of beating back the fascists the next time the struggle reaches an acute stage. These lessons are:

1. The Negro people have no reason from now on for placing the least bit of dependence on the authorities or their police. They learned on Feb. 28 — when the police beat them and arrested them, instead of those who were preventing them from moving into the homes — that capitalist justice is not something "impartial", that a mere appeal to the police to preserve law and order is no guarantee that their rights will be observed or protected. If this was true on Feb. 28, the Negro people have no way of knowing that the same thing will not happen again the next time they try to move in.

2. The Negro people know that the only major organized force outside of their own ranks which spoke up against the "riot" and demanded that the project be opened to them was the labor movement. The Negro people have learned that they are not "alone", that they have powerful allies, that theirs is not a struggle of Negro against white but of the working people, Negro and white, against those forces, acting in the interests of the Jim Crow real estate operators and bankers, who would like nothing better than to arouse "racial fights."

If the Negro people in Detroit have learned these lessons well, if they understand they can depend only on the organized strength of themselves and the labor movement, then we can be confident that in the end, regardless of the role of the officials and their police, the Negro people will win this fight.

It does not depend on them altogether alone. The labor movement has its responsibilities too. The Detroit CIO acted quickly and wisely in declaring their solidarity with the Negro people. The unions showed that they recognized that the enemies of the Negro people are their enemies too,

that a blow at the Negro people is a blow at the working class as a whole. Their prompt action did much to prevent the housing clash from developing into a bloody struggle between the races.

But the labor movement by making this expression of solidarity fulfilled only half its role. It is correct for the unions to demand of the city and federal governments that they permit the Negro families to move into their homes; but it is not correct for them to let it go at that. For what guarantee have they that the same thing that happened on Feb. 28 will not happen again, or that the police will not act the same way they acted on Feb. 28?

The labor movement has another task — and that is to show that their expressions of solidarity go beyond mere words. They must show the Negro people that they back them up with action too.

The labor movement must demand that the authorities set a date for the re-opening of the Sojourner Truth homes — and that it be soon. Then on that date the labor movement must organize its forces as strongly and as powerfully as they did when they fought and defeated the mighty auto barons and their goon squads and "service men". They must be present at the homes in great numbers with their picket lines and flying squadrons to see that Feb. 28 is not repeated. If they will do this, the Negro people will be able to move into their homes; the odds are that under such conditions the Ku Kluxers and fascists would not even dare to show their faces there.

In this way the labor movement could at one and the same time win the whole-hearted support of the Negro people and put to rout those fascist forces which seek not only to intensify racial hatred against the Negroes but also to smash the trade unions.

## WLB Offers Study In Contrasts

If a group of striking workers were to turn down the order of a government agency to end their strike and arbitrate, we need but little imagination to visualize the treatment they would receive at the joint hands of the administration, Congress, the employing class and its strikebreaking agents and press.

Congressmen would call for life imprisonment and death penalty. The capitalist press would run streamer headlines denouncing the workers as "saboteurs" and "traitors". Troops would be sent to drive the workers back to work with bayonets and machine guns.

Have you noticed a certain quietness during the past three months? That is the response accorded by the government and capitalist press to George P. McNear, Jr., president of the jerk-water Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad Company, who since early December has brazenly thumbed his nose at five orders from government agencies directing him to arbitrate with striking workers on his line.

Two weeks ago, the War Labor Board gave McNear a "final warning". Last week, it gave him another "final warning". And at last — when it appeared that the defiance of McNear would jeopardize the prestige and authority of the government's entire mediation and arbitration set-up — the WLB complained to President Roosevelt and appealed to him to use his influence to get McNear — one lone small-time employer — to comply with its order.

Roosevelt last Saturday sent McNear a personal letter, couched in respectful tone, stating that "I hereby request (not order or demand) you to comply with the order of the National War Labor Board."

McNear replied by "respectfully raising the question" of the right of the government to order him to arbitrate and demanding that the government either "enforce law and order" by breaking the strike or "take over" the road.

Possibly, Roosevelt may be forced to "seize" the road to protect the authority of the War Labor Board. But McNear isn't worried by the prospect. He knows what happened in the Federal Shipbuilding plant case, when the Navy "seized" the plant, paid the company full profits and handsome compensation, and finally returned the plant to the bosses, who still refuse to carry out an NDMB order of last August to grant the workers a "maintenance of membership" clause.

Let the workers compare the instantaneous fury that would descend on their heads if they should refuse to accept an unjust order of the War Labor Board, with the "punishment" that a vicious anti-labor boss like McNear is receiving from the government. Let them ask, what class does a government represent which uses kid gloves for the bosses and a mailed fist for the workers?

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# Commune Charted Way To Workers' Freedom

After the French Defeat of 1871, the Workers of Paris Set Up The Most Democratic Government Modern History Had Ever Seen

By C. CHARLES

"Working-men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, May 30, 1871.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 showed the French workers that the capitalist class of that country was rotten to the marrow, interested only in huge profits. The war saw the siege of Paris by the Prussians. During the siege the Parisian people were armed as a measure of defense. The war witnessed the fall of Napoleon III and the rise of the capitalist republic.

The French capitalist class, monarchist and Republican united, were mortally afraid of the armed anti-capitalist Parisian workers. After signing an armistice with Bismarck, head of the Prussian forces, the first task that faced the French capitalists was the disarming of the workers of Paris.

As the initial step in this direction, several regiments crept into Paris before dawn on March 18, 1871, with the purpose of stealing the cannon which belonged to the Paris people.

## Soldiers Go Over to Workers

The move was discovered. The thoroughly aroused masses thronged out of their homes. The soldiers sent to take the cannon went over to the side of the workers. The workers took over the city. War was declared between Workingman's Paris and the French capitalist class with its headquarters in Versailles. On the 26th the Commune, composed of representatives from each section of the city, was elected. On the 28th it was installed.

For 71 days the Red Flag waved over Paris. Unfortunately the Paris workers, hoping to avert a civil war, did not at once march against Versailles. Versailles was given a chance to strengthen itself. The Communards paid dearly in blood for their illusion that the capitalists would not wage a civil war against them.

The French capitalist forces, with the solidarity of Bismarck, placed another siege against Paris. Most of the energy of the Commune had to be given to military defense.

In spite of this, the Commune passed important social legislation.

All house rents were remitted from October, 1870 to April, 1871. Night work was eliminated for bakers. The pawn shops were abolished and all pawned goods belonging to workers and small independent craftsmen were returned free to their owners.

The Commune ordered a census to be made of all factories and workshops which had been closed by their employers. The aim of this was to have these plants operated by and for the workers previously employed in them. The workers were to be organized in producers' cooperative societies.

## Commune Upholds Workers Internationalism

In the field of political and cultural activity, the Commune:

Abolished the standing army and conscription and established the National Guard to which all

citizens capable of bearing arms had to belong as the sole force with the right to have arms.

Granted full rights to all foreigners since the "Flag of the Commune was the Universal Republic." Destroyed the column erected by Napoleon I in 1809 as a monument of national vanity and international jealousy. These were symbols of the internationalist character of the Commune. Publicly burned the guillotine.

Decreed the strict separation of Church and State.

Fixed the maximum pay allowed to an official of the Commune at 6000 francs per year (\$1200).

On May 28, the Versailles troops, now overwhelming in number, crushed the last heroic barricade of the Commune.

Terrible revenge was wreaked upon the Communards. From 20,000 to 30,000 working men, women and children were killed either in Paris or died in exile. Their crime: striving for a free world.

## Commune Showed Road to Socialism

The Commune gave the answer to the problem of how the transition between capitalism and socialism will take place. It proved that the workers cannot use the machinery of the capitalist state as an instrument of this transition. Even the most democratic of capitalist governments abounds with checks and hindrances of the popular will, has artificial divisions between the various departments of governments, creates a strong bureaucracy and army separated from the people.

The capitalist state must be replaced by a workers state, a true democracy. According to Lenin, who made a deep study of the Commune and its lessons, proletarian democracy, or proletarian dictatorship, has the following characteristics:

"(1) The source of power is not law previously discussed and enacted by parliament but the initiative springing straight from the underlying mass of the people, on the spot. . . .

"(2) It involves the replacement of the police and army, which are separated from the people and opposed to it, by the direct arming of the whole nation; peace and order are maintained under such a government by the armed workers themselves, by the armed nation;

"(3) The bureaucracy is either cashiered (fired) in favor of representatives of the people or held strictly under popular control."

The Commune was the first expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviets under Lenin and Trotsky was the second historical example of the rule of the workers.

## Commune Will Be Re-established

The greatest promise for the future is in the recent news we have received from France. Not only has the fighting spirit of the French workers not been broken by Hitler and Petain, but the great weakness of the Commune is being remedied. That historical weakness was the absence of a revolutionary party. This shortcoming in 1871 was inevitable. It was the price the Parisian workers paid for being the great pioneers. We are informed that the Bolshevik Party of the Fourth International of France is functioning and gaining new support among the workers.

The French workers will reconstruct the Commune on stronger foundations under the leadership of the Fourth International.

# Articles On India Feature Of March 'Fourth International'

The March issue of *Fourth International*, which came off the press last week, again demonstrates that this monthly magazine is indispensable to every worker interested in obtaining a Marxist analysis of the important developments in the war and the class struggle on an international as well as national scale.

Almost half of the March issue is devoted to the question of India, to which the eyes of the whole world are now turned.

Three articles analyzing the question in detail provide the reader with the background of the present struggle for Indian independence and an understanding of the recent "offer" of Churchill to the Indian ruling class.

Among the questions dealt with in the lengthy and informative *Editorial Comment* are the following: the real meaning of Indian Independence — the solution of the agrarian problem; the reactionary proposals of Churchill, the British Labor Party and the "Left" Laborites; the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism and Chiang-Kai-Shek in India; the attitude of Japanese imperialism toward the colonial people, and the attitude of the colonial people toward Japanese imperialism; the program of Nehru and the nationalist leaders; the relation of the British working class to the Indian revolution and the need for a Workers' Government in Britain.

## INDIAN THESIS

A second article on the question is a thesis of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India entitled *The Classes of India and Their Political Roles*. This document, adopted by the Indian Trotskyists last year, is an analysis of the role played in the Indian struggle by the native princes, the landlords, the Indian bourgeoisie, petty

bourgeoisie, peasantry and working class.

Particularly interesting are the sections dealing with the development of the peasants' unions, and the growth of the working class in India since the first world war.

Larissa Reed contributes another of her penetrating book reviews, this time on *My India, My America*, a book by Krishnalal Shridharani which exposes the bankruptcy and treachery of India's bourgeoisie. "The weakest of the three parasitic classes that feed upon the blood and toil of the Indian workers and peasants." Particularly interesting is the discussion of the reactionary character of Gandhi's non-violence movement.

## TROTSKY'S SPEECH

The remaining articles in the issue are of the same high standard. Leon Trotsky's *Speech to the Czarist Court in 1906* is a brilliant defense of the 1905 Revolution (never before printed in English), in which the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet gave a fighting answer to the charges of the prosecutors of the leaders of that Revolution. Among the questions he discusses are: who initiates violence? what is the armed uprising? what determines the legality of the revolution? etc.

*Roosevelt and the War Crisis* by William F. Warde is a probing survey of the position of American capitalism after three months of war, the domestic and

foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration, "national unity" and the attacks being made on the workers' living standards and rights.

Francis Willard's *The Farmer After the New Deal* is an analysis of the claims so often made in Washington about the improvements in the lot of the American farmer in the last nine years. Her answer to these claims is not based on guesswork, but on those portions of the 1940 Census dealing with agriculture which have thus far been released. Even those who have kept themselves acquainted with general agricultural developments will be surprised if not shocked at the decline in the farmer's living standards and the permanent crisis of agriculture pictured in these, the government's own figures.

*Gaullism and Stalinism in France* is the title of a resolution presented to the Third Trotskyist Conference of the Unoccupied Zone, and it deals with such burning questions of France today as the national question, Soviet defenseism and the current policies of the DeGaulists and Stalinists.

The March F. I. is a splendid issue to introduce to many workers who never before have heard of this magazine. It is the duty of MILITANT readers to get it to as many of these workers as possible. A single copy costs 20 cents; a subscription for 6 months only \$1. Write Business Manager, *Fourth International*, 116 University Pl., New York City.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

# The Jewish Worker And The Struggle For Socialism

By M. STEIN

## Fighting Traditions of Jewish Workers

The Jewish workers have written a glorious page in the history of the American Socialist and trades union movement. With untold sacrifice, they built the powerful garment workers unions which were at one time the model of progressive unionism. With tireless devotion, the Jewish workers in this country worked in addition to create a socialist movement in which they had placed their hope for a better world. Later, after the Russian Revolution, they were in the vanguard of the Communist movement. They contributed unsparingly of their pennies to build and maintain, first the *Daily Forward* as their spokesman for Socialism, and later a communist daily, the *Morning Freiheit*. They also built powerful fraternal organizations and various cultural institutions and cooperatives.

Practically all of these institutions conceived in the struggle for a socialist world are in existence to this day. Some of them merely eke out an existence, others even flourish, but none of them any longer express the aspirations of the Jewish masses.

The garment unions have become transformed under Hillman and Dubinsky into business unions. But in order for this to be achieved, the workers had to be beaten into submission in a virtual civil war which was fought for a number of years (1925-30). It took the combined effort of the bosses, the cops and the union bureaucracy to overcome the resistance of the workers.

The *Forward* remains in existence, but it does not even make the pretense of speaking for socialism. It shifted its base entirely to the petty-bourgeois elements in the Jewish community.

The *Freiheit* suffered the fate of the Communist movement as a whole under the deadening hand of degenerate Stalinism, only in a more accentuated form. The very fact that the *Freiheit* operates within the narrower confines of a language-speaking community that has been through the mill, makes the big difference. The veering, changing, zig-zagging line of the Communist Party as it is enunciated in the *Freiheit*, has to make its appeal to an audience that lived through the last war and rebelled against Social Democratic treachery; that witnessed the heroic days of the Russian Revolution; that watched the ensuing degeneration of Stalinism step by step.

## Stalinist Influence

You will ask, did the Communist Party succeed in maintaining some semblance of a hold on the Jewish workers? The answer is, unfortunately yes. It does not compare to what it was, but it is considerable nevertheless.

This has been due primarily to the onrush of world reaction and the defeats suffered by the working-class in one European country after another. The Jewish worker knows that his fate is tied with many ties to that of his brothers in Europe. Their defeats have also been his defeats. He feels very keenly the indignities, the brutalities, the rank bestialities suffered by his people at the hands of the barbarous Nazis. He saw anti-Semitism run rampant in Poland and Rumania long before Hitler overran these countries. He saw the waves of the same pernicious black reaction pound at the shores of this continent. What was he to do? Time was running short, the situation was growing more desperate. The class-conscious Jewish worker was losing hope. Out of sheer despair, he fell back on the defense of the only position left him, the Soviet Union where despite the Stalinist degeneration, some of the basic conquests of the revolution still remained. He reads and supports the *Freiheit* because he conceives of it as the agency of the Soviet Union.

We know that this line of reasoning is false. We know that the effective defense of the Soviet Union demands a merciless struggle against Stalinism and its subservience to the capitalist class. We know that the fate not only of the Soviet Union, but of the Jews, the Negroes, all the oppressed minorities and the colonial peoples is inseparable from the struggle of the working-class for international socialism. We know furthermore, that all the working-class defeats flow directly from the subordination of the struggle for socialism to some temporary considerations: The attitude of "not now, now we must have a peoples front, not now, now we must have national unity" — has brought nothing but defeat. We know all this, and many of the Jewish workers — even those who follow the Stalinists — know this. The difference is that they cannot extricate themselves from the mood of defeat, and cannot therefore translate their knowledge into the support of the Trotskyists, the only force fighting for socialism.

## A Mood of Restlessness

You can see however a mood of restlessness among the Jewish workers reflected even in the pages of the *Freiheit*. The issue of March 7, prints a question that was sent in by one who signs his name J. R. This question is typical:

"I read your paper, but I do not see why you have devoted yourselves to the capitalist system. You know very well that you cannot unite with capitalists even during war. Why do you and your staff seek to create the impression that you favor the poor at a time when support of capitalism does not harmonize either with the times or with human nature."

This worker does not theorize. He learned the basic lesson of the class struggle, that there is no unity with the capitalist class which does not betray the interests of the workers. He very likely learned this very lesson from the *Freiheit*, when it defended the revolutionary point of view, when it carried on a ceaseless struggle against the class-collaborationist *Forward*. Today this same *Freiheit* vies with the *Forward* in extremes of Jingoism.

It is indeed gratifying to see that despite the crushing blows dealt by the Nazis to the Jewish people, the class conscious workers among them have not become blinded, that they are not easily misled onto the futile road of Stalinism, which will not solve the problem of anti-Semitism through support of the American and British bourgeoisie. Anti-Semitism, like Fascism as a whole, has its roots deep in the very system to which the Stalinists are giving all out support.

This is a sure guarantee that the Jewish workers will once more find their place in the ranks of vanguard fighting for socialism.