## MAY DAY IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

— See Page 4 —

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VI-No. 17

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1942



FIVE (5) CENTS

# FDR, CONGRESS SEEK TO FREEZE WAGES

## MAYDAYMANIFESTO Carlson Runs For Mayor On A Labor Faces Fighting Socialist Program Voluntary' Of The Socialist Workers Party

Fellow-Workers of the United States-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Opposes The Boss-O. K.'d **Politicians**

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

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

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

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

Carlson is the only candidate in the campaign who has a program to protect the interests of the workers in the war, and to show (Continued on page 6)



GRACE CARLSON, WHO SAYS:

"Because I have opposed imperialist war and because I have put forth the socialist solution to the problems of war and fascism, I and 17 others have been convicted by the federal government.

"But I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism. This is the only road to a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

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

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

## 'Voluntary' **Pay Slashes**

#### **Union Leaders Show** Readiness to Make **Another Surrender**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We can, we must take the road out. Against imperialist war! For peace through international socialism! For the international solidarity of all workers! For the Socialist United

States of the World!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

### MARITIME COMMISSION AIMS BLOW AT UNIONS

offensive against the maritime time unions. unions made a giant sweep forward this week when the Mari-

continue to receive the profits Mates & pilots, AFL. from the operations of their fleets. By turning the authority for the loading and dispatching of their ships over to the Maritime Commission, the operators have passed to the government their end of a running fight with the maritime unions.

This is the latest in the series | merchant fleets. of union-busting maneuvers carried out by the shipowners and government for the past year. Since Pearl Harbor, this campaign has been intensified, flaring into the The move to rob the unions of open last week when Washington threatened the union seamen with is not being pressed at the mothe loss of their union hiring halls, abrogation of their union ton indicate that the government contracts and even mass induction is contemplating doing away with into the Navy, where they would be deprived of all union rights and conditions.

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

The shipowners-government | ment dictatorship over the mari-

A UNITED FRONT

Faced with an imminent threat? time Commission chartered the to their very existence, all the entire American merchant fleet | seafaring unions except the NMU, and announced that it will hence- last week jointly mobilized their forth "direct every phase of its forces in Washington to oppose the operators' union-busting drive. No longer will the unions be United against the shipownerable to negotiate with the ship- government-Stalinist proposals owners directly; instead they will are the Atlantic Gulf District of face the situation where any de- the Seafarers International Unfense of their union conditions ion, AFL, and West Coast affiliate, will be denounced as a fight a- the Sailors Union of the Pacific, gainst the government. The ship- AFL; the Marine Cooks & Stewowners will now nominally tunc- ards, CIO; Marine Firemen, Oiltion as managing-agents for the ers, Watertenders & Wipers, ingovernment, although they will dependent; and the Masters,

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

> This will place the unions in a position where the government will, be able to crack down whenever it feels the time to be ripe. their hiring halls and contracts ment, but reports from Washingovertime pay and "excessive" bonuses, and plans to disregard the union contract provisions in determining labor conditions.

THE SQUEEZE PLAY

A triple squeeze play was used against the maritime unions:

(1) Secretary of the Navy Knox (Continued on page 2)

#### Hitler Wants French Manpower, Resources in charge of German defense And Fleet to Aid In His Spring Offensive

The most important political event since Petain took office in June 1940 has just taken place in France. Pierre Lavals tions for the spring offensive. The return to power marks the beginning of a new period.

For several months all the world has known that "collaboration' was dead. Petain's interview with Goering at Saint Florentin last December accomplished nothing. In France people | will now support their efforts on were saying: "Petain is the bar- the home industrial front." When ometer of German successes." The German difficulties in the USSR tempts to find manual labor in gave Petain, within very narrow limits, a certain freedom of ac- explanation is very plausible. tion. This freedom was reduced, in the final analysis, to doing nothing, that is, to taking an atti- first consequences was the intertude of waiting instead of activ- ruption of the Riom trial, which ely working for the building of had been revealing the weakness the regime of misery and oppress-Hitler's "new order."

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

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

#### FRENCH WORKERS IN GERMANY

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

one sees -Berlin's desperate at-

But, of course, Laval's return has other objectives. One of the of Vichy and which Hitler him- ion. But if the German difficulties self was forced to denounce in his March 15 speech. Military considerations seem to have played an equally important part. The possibility of a second front in western Europe, while the German armies are occupied in the East, visibly disturbs Berlin.

We learn on April 4, that is, before Laval's return, that the Vichy government had received "special permission" to increase its air force and now had approximately 1,000 modern planes. Under the guise of "defense" these planes could be used against England: after the raids on industrial suburbs of Paris last month. French government had done nothing to punish Britain for the bombings. Finally, simultaneously with the return of Laval, General Field Marshal von Rundstaedt, former commander of the Ukraine rective to the War Labor Board

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

### NAZIS ORDER EXECUTION OF HENRICUS SNEEVLIET

bor leader and former Trotsky- in the East Indies and elsewhere ist, has been given the death sentence on charges of sabotage by a Nazi tribunal in Amsterdam, an April 15 Associated Press dispatch from London ber of the Revolutionary Social- contend that wage increases are leaders to give up the establish-

tionist was a well-known trade separated from the Fourth Inter- to leave the "matters of wages and one of the founders of the organizational and political dif- sues" up to "voluntary collective agreed to this. Communist International. He left ferences and affiliated with the bargaining, to the War Labor the Third International in the London Bureau, an international Board and other existing agenmiddle of the 1920's in opposition association of centrist parties. to the policies of the Stalin bu-

Dutch imperialist government for received here since the Nazi in- and since the Administration's his revolutionary activity on be- vasion of Holland.

Henricus Sneevliet, Dutch la- half of the Dutch colonial peoples After his release, he was electhe Nazi occupation.

fate at the hands of the Gestapo issues have been or are being In 1919 he was jailed by the is the first news of him to be

along the whole Atlantic coast. The two events are not unrelated. Laval's return to power is clearly one of the German prepara-German demands will become now on, Laval will undertake to purge and reinforce Petain's wayering administrative apparatus, and to increase the police terror all the European countries, this which is forced upon the country. But the wave of violence which greeted the arryial of Laval shows another consequence, a new acceleration of the opposition to

#### ATTENTION! ST. PAUL VOTERS

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

## Laval Returns To Power They Still Do Business With Hitler

## To Help The German War General Electric-Nazi Tieup Bared In Senate

General Electric, one of the biggest of the 56 monopolies about one and a half times the which hold 80 per cent of the government's war contracts, has more precise and will take shape blocked the production of tungsten carbide in conformity with according to military needs. From its patent-pooling agreement with the Krupp steel interests of

> The facts about GE's cartel arrangement with the Nazi steel trust were disclosed last week to 2-

John H. Lewin, special assistant with war production." to the Attorney General. Hardest metal known, tungsten carbide used as a cutting edge in-

stead of steel would increase pro-

duction in some instances as much as five times. Although last week scheduled to face anti-trust prosecution for the tungsten carbide situation, GE was able to secure a last-minute postponement of the trial through the intervention of the War and

#### WAR AND NAVY DEPTS. HALT ANTI-TRUST SUIT

Navy Departments.

In compliance with a telegram from Under-Secretary of War Patterson and Under-Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Federal Judge Philip Forman of Trenton, N. J., postponed the hearing. The telegram asked postponement for at least a month because:

time of U. S. vs. General Electric able to fix the price at a "figure

the Senate Patent Committee by Co. and others would interfere American companies were making

According to the documentary evidence secured by the anti-trust division of the Department of agreement to return patents to Justice, GE maintained prohibi- Krupp still "remains unimtive monopoly prices on tungsten paired." carbide and held down its production in this country to an amount equal to five per cent of the Ger- antly defended his company a- pany.

the price as high as \$453 a lb., with Krupp were broken off although it cost only \$25 a pound to produce. Tungsten carbide had been sold to this country by Germany, prior to the original 1928 patent license restrictions to agreement between GE and Krupp, for \$48 a pound. In the 12 for a tungsten carbide order seeking lend-lease aid. years, after 1928, however, the which it could have filled for price had not been below \$200.

A further agreement was made between Krupp and GE in 1936. Krupp agreed not to sell to the American market, and GE not to "We desire time to study the export tungsten carbide. Through question of whether trial at this its patent monopoly, GE was then

as December 1939, after the outbreak of the present war, the

testified.

"Documentary evidence shows," Lewin also revealed, "that as late plans to extend their agreement with Krupp's until after 1950." He further disclosed that GE's

gainst charges of "unpat-iotism" Carboloy, a GE subsidiary, fixed by pointing out that relations "right after Pearl Harbor."

1940 was forced because of GE's to the British government, and charge the War Department \$8750 \$3375 at a "reasonable profit."

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

Exposure of GE adds another to the long list of "patriotic" Amerto their advantage to "do business with Hitler" while also profiting trie from the "war for democracy."

But these "patriots" run the war program. For instance, Philip Reed, chairman of GE's board, danger of another shellacking at | holds the key WPB post of head of the Bureau of Industry tween Nazi capitalists and Amer-The latest issue of the AFL right where it hurts most, the Branches in the Division of Incican corporations, Remington's lar-a-year agents connected with dustry operations.

& Co., was revealed last week to have a patent pooling agreevalue of a pound of gold," Lewin ment with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie which includes an arrangement for paying royalties to the Nazi interests on ammunition sold the American government even in time of war.

Government's Ammunition

Remington Arms, subsidiary of E. I. duPont de Nemours

**DuPont Firm Agreed To Pay** 

Nazi Royalties On U. S.

As explained to the Senate Pat ent Committee by Allen Dobey special assistant to the Attorne General. Remington obtained the patents on tetracene from I. G. Farbenindustrie, on condition that it would not license the U.S. government to make this best type A GE executive, Dr. Zay Jer- of ammunition priming without fries, testified later and indian- the consent of the German com-

in on the cartel deal Remington ammunition priming. The Firth-Sterling Steel Co. in also agreed not to sell tetracene

Seventeen months after the war began, A. J. Greene, patent attor ney for Remington, warned the A. C. Spark Plug Co., which want ed to use tetracene for machine gun priming, that it could not be used in "ammunition sold to the British Government or to any of the countries of the British Em ican trusts which have found it pire" because of Remington's agreement with I.G. Farbenindus-

#### DISCOURAGED U. S. USE OF TETRACENE

known cartel arrangements be-

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

No explanation has been given for this failure, and it may be would not permit its sale to the assumed that the attitude of Rem-British Purchasing Commission ington and Imperial Chemicals served to discourage interest in tetracene on the part of American and British military author-

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

Through their chemical trust and control of such corporations as General Motors, the duPont Like the more than 100 other interests hold probably the largest share of the government war orders. They have a score of doldeal was made in the interest of the War Production Board.

#### the German-controlled newpapers said that they regretted that the French government had done ported to be wage-freezing by the | It must be stated and stated WLB, the CIO statement adds up bluntly, that the workers are in

the New York Herald-Tribune. April 21, revealed that "the President is expected to issue a difront in the USSR, had been put to grant no further wage increases unless the cost of living goes considerably higher.

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

#### ANOTHER RETREAT

prepared to accept such "voluntary" wage freezing is indicated ious Smith "Slave Labor" Bill. by the CIO open letter sent April cies and processes.'

The brief report of Sneevliet's | Since the most decisive wage dumped into the lap of the WLB. program is authoritatively re-

to just one thing: "voluntary" agreement to wage-freezing.

Weekly News Service, dated | pay envelope - if the union lead-April 14, indicates that the AFL ers are permitted to retreat once leaders are going to go down the line with Roosevelt's "stabilization" plan, and reveals its true character by stating that it period if the workers do not dewould make injustices perman- cy of the union leaders. The

RECORD OF SURRENDER

snare and a delusion. Last December, the union lead-

ers agreed to surrender the right to strike after Roosevelt had STANDARD'S PALS openly threatened anti-strike leg-That the top union leaders are islation and the House of Representatives had passed the notor-

No sooner was the no-strike ted to the Dutch parliament and 21 to Roosevelt, in which Philip agreement made than the clamor continued in that post up until Murray and seven other leading arose for legislation against the CIO officials attack the idea of forty hour week and overtime From 1933 to 1936, as a mem- legislative wage-freezing and pay. Roosevelt urged the union reports. Eight of his comrades ist Workers Party of Holland, he needed to counteract "spiralling ed week-end and holiday double were also sentenced to execution. belonged to the International living costs," but end up assur- time pay. Donald Nelson, WPB The 60-year old Dutch revolu- Left Opposition (Trotskyist). He ing Roosevelt that they are ready head, issued an ultimatum to labor to accept this demand withunionist, a pioneer communist nationalist movement because of and other labor-management is- in 30 days. The union leaders

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

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

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

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

the hands of the bosses - and

"is not a 'freezing' plan which cisively reject the surrender poliworkers must reclaim the rights which the union officials have al-The idea that another retreat ready tossed away, including the by the union leaders, this time on right to strike, and make a lastthe wage-freezing issue, will halt ditch militant stand against givthe present anti-labor drive, is a ing away any more of the gains they have won over so many decades of bitter struggie.

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

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

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

munitions and chemical trust; General Motors, largest manufacturing corporation in the world; Ford Motor Co.; Anaconda Copper; Atlantic Refining Co.; International Telephone and Telegraph; U. S. Rubber; Armour and Co.; General Electric; Sun Oil Co.; Continental Can; Libby, Mc-Neil and Libby; International Business 'Machines; International Harvester; etc., etc.

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

## Labor is going to be cut to pieces inch by inch in the coming period if the workers do not dethe imposition of an open shop ing through on these attacks with

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

#### STALINIST-MARITIME COMMISSION PLAN

Both these plans provide for: (1.) A government manning board which would supplant the union hiring halis and control all hiring. (2.) A pool of all seamen for the government to draw upon in selecting crews. (3.) A government policy-making board having authority to wipe out all union contracts that could be interpret- of aid the government may send ed as "interfering with the war the Soviet Union, the NMU leadeffort."

These proposals were aimed at eliminating vital union safeguards won over many years of struggle. The pooling of marine is being aimed directly at the personnel and their hiring maritime unions with the purpose through a government hall would of disrupting them and softening make the unions easy prey to them up for the shipowners' finks and paid agents of the ship- blows. The Stalinists have launch-Union hiring halls, as now con-

stituted, require a man to be in the SUP and other maritime ungood standing with his local be- ions. fore he can receive a job aboard ship. The union hiring hall is thus the instrument for maintaining a maritime union shop. The substitution of the government hiring halls would be, in effect,

CHICAGO MASS MEETING MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Speaker:

Albert Goldman Attorney for the Socialist Workers Party

Sunday, May 3 2:30 P. M.

#### HAMILTON HOTEL

20 So. DEARBORN ST. Auspices: SWP, Chicago

Admission 25 Cents

and pave the way for the return a flood of literature. Scurrilous time workers with the threat of of the "black-ball" system used leaflets are being shipped from by the shipowners to keep union port to port and distributed militants off their ships.

> instrument for whittling away union contract conditions and wages. Since this pro-employer board would be empowered to revoke any contract, it is easy to see how it could destroy overtime pay, bonuses, etc.

#### STALINISTS GIVE BOSSES "LABOR" COVER

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

In line with the Stalinist policy of sacrificing the workers to the bosses in return for the crumbs ers have been conducting a twopronged attack on the maritime workers. The first prong of this attack

ed a campaign of slander and vilification against the leadership of

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

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

this "rank and file" sheet show in the unions. the obvious imprint of the Com munist Party. Its sole function is to vilify the SUP leaders. It calls the union's resistance to the shipowners' chiseling on contracts 'subversive activities" and denounces the workers' opposition to government Czars attempting to impose a speedup as "sabotage."

The Communist Party is follow-

throughout the waterfronts. The The proposed government pol- Daily Worker in New York and icy-making board, intended osten- the Beoples Voice in San Francisco sibly for speeding shipments to are publishing huge smears a the war fronts, in reality is an gainst Lundeberg and the other maritime union leaders.

#### ANTI-WRECKERS UNITY

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

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

The proposals leaked out, however, and the Pilot, official organ of the NMU, was compelled to openly endorse them.

Thus tipped off, the other unions were able to unite in time and force the shelving, at least for the time being, of the shipin the SUP, the Stalinists slapped owner-government-Stalinist plan. Now, however, the Maritime Commission's action in taking over the merchant fleet has given the shipowners a springboard from which to launch future attacks.

#### NO ROOM FOR RETREAT

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

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

The battle must be carried to the waterfront and the rank and Prevost then launched a paper file seamen must be mobilized and called the Rank and File West readied for a militant strugggle. Coast Sailors in imitation of the It must be a united struggle of all the maritime unions against the shipowners, their political The line, tone and phrases of tools and their Stalinist agents

> For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Prices

Two pamphlets that deal concretely with present day problems of the war, the struggle against Hitlerism, trade union democracy, etc., in a language so simple and clear every worker will immediately grasp and understand the fundamental Marxist ideas. . .

### IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

by Albert Goldman

The official court record of his final speech for the defense in the Minneapolis "Sedition" trial

100 Page Pamphlet . . . Only 10 Cents!

## SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon

The official court record of his testimony in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" trial, with an introduction by Felix Morrow.

116 Page Pamphlet . . . Only 10 Cents!

Order from:

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

**NEW YORK** 

CHICAGO MAY FROLICS SATURDAY, MAY 9th

MOVIES: an intimate film of the defendants as they lived during the trial. ENTERTAINMENT: specialty dance and song

numbers professionally presented, a magician, BAR, BUFFET: eat, drink and be merry.

Sponsored by the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE For the Defense of the 18 Minneapolis Defendants

VIKING TEMPLE

3257 No. Sheffield Avenue

Entree 8:30 P. M.

# Workers Democracy Or Vigilante Assault--

## WHICH SHALL PREVAIL?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### EXAMINE THE FACTS:

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

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

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

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

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

The day after this article appeared the vicious attack of twenty goons against peaceful distributors of the workers press took p'ace. Here you have the GPU-directed Stalinist machine operating with clockwork precision. First, push through a re- who had made an exhaustive investigation solution in the CIO Council to give a union covering to the despicable plans; second, a smear campaign in the Stalinist press; third, cowardly vigilante assault.

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

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

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

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

Some of the editors of the MILITANT were arrested by the Federal government last summer and brought to tria: in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" Case. They were charged with being working class revolutionists, fo lowers of the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsby, supporters of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, advocates of a revolutinary defense of the Soviet Union today, organizers of antifascist defense guards. But the Federal government, of the activities and ideas of the defendants, never dared to so much as intimate that these defendants could be linked with any foreign government or any fascist movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, Los Angeles Local.

## War Intensifies Women's Role

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

World War II is tearing women away from the kitchen sink to put them side by side with men and each other before "tradition weighs like an Alp machines in factories. Unimportant as that may seem to the single individual, it is actually an historic move with a train had meaning in every-day life, of consequences which will finally create a new world - new this one does in relation to the not in the sense of ceasing sim-3-

ORDER NOW

WHILE WE CAN STILL SUPPLY FROM

**OUR STOCK** 

By LEON TROTSKY

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION,

LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN,

MEMORIAL ADDRESS "To the Memory of

STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM, 40 p. paper ..... .10

By the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry,

By FARRELL DOBBS

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

ASSASSINATION OF LEON TROTSKY, 74 p. paper .15

By DANIEL GUERIN

FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS, 339 p. paper ..... .50

By FELIX MORROW

By VICTOR SERGE

RUSSIA TWENTY YEARS AFTER, 298 p. cloth .. 1.50

Manifesto of the Fourth International

ON IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE PROLETA-

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, 127 p. paper .... .25

New York, N. Y.

ORDER FROM

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

FROM LENIN TO STALIN, 112 p. paper .....

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF THE

116 University Place

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY (Report of Hear-

ings on the Charges Made Against Him in the

By JAMES P. CANNON

ply to be "a man's world", but cancer. in the sense of ceasing to be a No one can belittle the bitter class world.

ale section of the working class tion. means the release of a new fight- ROLE OF THE WOMAN ing force which decrepit capital- Karl Marx once remarked that

struggle that the male working A female section of the working class had to conduct to establish class, large and more greatly ex- and maintain decent conditions of ploited than the male, is being living. But that struggle will ers she washes - and lays ou to war and give up time-and-a- crop of soldiers when the presmolded by a desperate capitalism, pale before the one now facing her man's clothes where he can half for overtime! so sick that everything it does the proletarian women. For they hastens its own end. For the enter the fight as victims not only creation of a class-conscious fem- of class but also of sex exploita-

If ever a philosophic statement problem of women. Woman has always been looked

upon the mind of the present."

upon by man as a domestic animal. She cleans the house, cooks the food, bears the children find them without bother. She worries about the cost of living and scrimps to pay the rent. And no matter how "enlightened" a male may consider himself nor how demonstratively some femof the upper classes have "emancipated" themselves, the woman in a working class home is the one responsible for the endless, monotonous and dirty dom-

#### EFFECT OF THE WAR

Now come a war and a draft to pull the male head of the working-class house out of his job and into the army; and the wife goes into the factory to earn enough to keep herself and the kids alive till he returns (if he does). Whatever the job she gets, the routine is new, the physical strain great,

a pay envelope as possible.

of labor under which the man brought home the pay and the among the masses. woman devoted herself ful -time to the task of worrying through on its meager size is gone. Now

#### EXPERIENCES OF THE GERMAN WOMEN

a half million women into its war rewards in medals, money and industry. This took place in ac- furniture (Mussolini offered : ism which paid no attention to to the families that could run Hitler's theory about the province up the biggest total in the shortof women, based upon the three- est time. women are now allowed one day's housework into the one-day-invacation in every fourteen "to do | fourteen which the Labor Ministheir laundry." The hours they try allows them, in the first 8 don't spend at work are consum- months of 1940 delivered 1,131,300 ed, according to the complaints babies to the Reich. of Dr. Robert Ley, head of the

on to the job and get as good and the home were not enough to keep a woman occupied every But the responsibilities of her waking moment, her function as home continue. Dust gathers and an incubator of the population food spoils. The kids run the is consciously brought to the fore. streets and their clothes wear out. This is especially noticeable Food prices rise, commodities are again in those "have-not" counrationed, and she has to learn to tries where the capitalists have keep the family nourished on sub- resorted to fascism and done stitute products. The old division everything they can to implant

#### "REWARDS"

Both Mussolini and Hitler have the woman alone is expected to paid careful attention to the job whose noses she wipes and diap do both jobs, send her man off of assuring themselves a new ent one is wiped out. They have paid almost embarrassing attention to the business of increasing the productivity of the fe-Germany has drawn nine and majes of their countries, offering

> K concept of the late Kaiser: German women, beside diligent-"Kueche (kitchen), Kinder (chil- ly manufacturing ammunition dren), Kirche (church)." These and small arms for the conduct millions of German proletarian of the war, and squeezing their

The not-so-distant future will Labor Ministry, in running "like show how much the women of the a swarm of hungry bees" from working class will put up with store to store to get provisions. and how well they have learned and the pay not so good. Her first But capitalism and its politithe lessons of class struggle from

## Communist Party Betrays Indian People's Struggle

#### Makes No Objection to Cripps' Plan; Aims fact, so embarrassing to its Their Chief Criticism at Indian Leaders

By FELIX MORROW

Lenin and the Communist International of the pre-Stalina belligerant war psychology ist years considered it the elementary duty of every class-conscious worker to demand complete independence for all the colonial countries and to fight irreconcilably against the impe- India to gain her independence? rialist powers which refused to grant the colonies their inde-

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

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

When Cripps went to India, it 9was the duty of every political the interpretation that they were tendency in the labor movement more in the interest of Britain to state its attitude toward the than of India." Does the Daily arized ourselves with the Indian people's demand for immediate, complete and unconditional inde-

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

pendence.

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE Like the big bourgeois press

the Stalinists concealed the facts about the Churchill-Cripps plan.
They did not publish a word about the fact that the plan meant continuation of the autocratic rule of the "native" prin-A. M. to 1 P. M. before admitted ces, Butain's puppets, over 93 mil ion Indians; that Britain "Latrines in camp are clearly would maintain armies in the marked 'For whites' and 'For "native" states and thus keep the dominate India the British must Colored.' Negroes dare not use rest of India under continued toilets 'For white,' Whites often subjection; that the plan's electing down workers (the Amrittion-method of choosing the delegates to the post-war "constitu-"In War Department theatre tion-making body" was one which in camp on post, Negroes assign- prevents 75 per cent of the popu- lathi beatings of workers, etc., capitalist governments during ed to small section, dare not sit lation from voting. All this the etc. anywhere else. One Negro sol- Daily Worker concealed from its

> noon and the next morning the Trotskyists - the Ceylon Sociaiworld press carried the news and ist Party - but also the Stalintorial in the Daily Worker.

It is things like these — all AN ANTI-INDIA LINE

The editorial does not attack

Worker share that interpreta

tion? Heaven forbid! On the contrary, the editorial goes on to say: "It is to be recognized, however, that the British plan was a big step in advance of anything proposed by Britain in the past." Which is like praising a gangster for having stopped murdering his victims and contenting himself with merely robbing and beating them.

While saying not a word in criticism of Churchill-Cripps, and THE REAL ANTI-FASCISTS he British imperialists, the Stainist editorial complains that 'among the Indian leaders," 'there were some who did not show a statesmanlike approach to the possibility of using the British proposals as a starting point for successful negotiations. . ." It pretends to blame this on Gandh. but the net effect is to place the blame for the breaking off of negotiations upon the shoulders of India rather than on the determination of the British impeon India.

#### HOW BRITAIN RULES

What that death-grip is like, the Sta inists know very well. To and do rule by means of shoot-

To this day the Communist Party is outlawed in India. On the eve of Cripps' arrival in In-Ceylon outlawed not only the

whitewash of British imperial-

ERSATZ INDEPENDENCE

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

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

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

By these services to British im perialism the Stalinists are striking treacherous blows against the only forces in the world that can really defeat fascism and save the Soviet Union. Those forces are the international working class and the co'onial peoples, whose future depends on destroying fascism - and its capitalist roots. The road to wiping out fascism is Lenin's road - the establishment of Workers' and Farmers' Governments in the rialists never to relax their grip United States and Britain, which would free the colonial peoples, and join hands with the German masses to crush fascism forever.

But Lenin's road is not that of Stalin and his agents. Stalin's road is class-co laboration with the "democratic" capitalists. That sar Massacre) frameups (the road is as alien to Lenin's as was Meerut Trial), imprisonment of the class-collaboration of the protens of thousands, the terrible war socialists with their "own" the first imperialist war.

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

> > NEW YORK

A Timely Political Document! IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION By LEON TROTSKY

(A Compilation — 1927-1937) 10 CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

### tendency is to work herself to a cians are relentless. As if the their men. We have our bets on frazzle in the shop trying to hold double responsibility of the job them. Attacks On Negro Troops Continue Uninterrupted

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

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

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

attempted to arrest a Negro stuscene, having seen no reason for alive at press time. the arrest attempt, took the student flier into custody, led him to a car for return to the airport. Then things started pop-

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

telephoned the air base, and be- had been stationed: fore the fires could be started

"The incident started in Tuskegee, when a white policeman dent pilot attached to the avia- | the mobsters the error of their tion training base at Tuskegee ways, came to the rescue. The Institute. A Negro M. P. on the soldier is reported as being still

"Because of a veil of secrecy shrouding the affair, perfect accuracy cannot be assured. . . "Whatever the final, true story

will be, this conf ict of cracker ideology and fair play proves one thing - the Negro will no longer permit himself to be pushed around." The same issue of the paper contains a report made by two comrades.'

Brooklyn Negro soldiers about

thing formidable enough to show desperately ill, were taken to in- mittees to "investigate."

firmary, forced to wait from 7 for medical attention.

use toilets set aside for Ne-

dier presumed to forget his readers. 'place.' Large numbers of M. Ps. Negroes understood whites would brook no 'smartness.' . . . "Officers treat soldiers 'like

the provocative Jim Crow condi- part of the deliberate and studied with the 823rd Engineers, reveal- tion officials in Washington - carefully. ed the following about MacDill which are the real cause of the so

#### On Friday, April 10, the Indian were ordered out to make sure National Congress rejected the dia, the British in neighboring British "offer," and that afterlogs.' A Lieutenant Ross often editorial comment on it. But not ist organization, the "United Sothreatens Negroes with physical the Daily Worker. It remained cialist Party" of Ceylon. The violence. Said Ross once made silent — Saturday, Sunday, Mon-Daily Worker suppressed this "democratic." move to hit Negro soldier, was day - waiting for the line to be immediate y surrounded by angry handed down. Finally on Tuesthreatening group of soldier's day, April 14, came a short edi-

Every worker who still has any tions in southern training camps. policy of discrimination and seg- illusions about the Communist These two so diers, connected regation ordered by administra- Party should read that editorial

"But someone in Tuskegee had Field, Tampa, Florida, where they called "race riots" and "brawls" the Churchi'l-Cripps plan. Its which have taken the lives of at complaint is that the plan should "Negroes taken sick can't get least 5 Negro soldiers in the last have been offered earlier! It truckloads of soldiers, armed with into infirmary until all whites are month, and which the brass-hats says: "The fact that the propolead pipes, wooden c'ubs, any- treated. Once severa Negroes, have set up many different com- sals were not presented until the last minute made them subject to

## How Spirit Of May Day Flamed In World War I

history of the May Days during World War I.

in the first years of the last war. Working-class internationalism, the very essence of May D

Day, seems almost dead. But it still lives. It lives on in the concentration camps and dungeons and bloody terror of the fascist countries. The tiny

flame is kept alive by courageous handfuls, who like their predecessors of the last war. must meet furtively behind closed doors. It survives among the Trotskyist adherents of Leninism in the bourgeois-democratic

countries, despite the efforts of the bosses and the Social-Democratic and Stalinist betrayers to stifle all manifestations of internationalism and class struggle on this May

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

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

#### The First Blow

The very day, the very hour can be named when the blow was struck which first began to un-

August 1914, German imperialism seemed to have swept every-

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

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

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

When May Day 1915 came, the streets of the capitols of Europe, were silent and deserted. In former years they had rung to the tread of marching milions threatening the war-lords if they man victories. His message of should go through with their the year before had been heard known war plans. Never, it seemed, would the spirit of socialist internationalism rise again.

But in those darkest hours, there remained enduring and undermine the ruing class war compromising revolutionists-a machines in the last war. It was few dozen perhaps in all Europe May Day, 1916, in Berlin, Ger- -who kept up the battle. A Lenin, a Trotsky, a Rosa Luxem-

their own war for profit to hide

the hand of the real forces be-

hind the massacre that was plan-

A concerted and simultaneous

attack was launched on each sec-

tion of the parade as it marched

into the business area. Business

men and white-collar clerks stood

at all the office windows cheer-

ing on the hoodlums and police.

One of the bloodiest incidents

of the day was started by James

Stevens, a crippled veteran who

was being used all over the city

in the bankers' "Victory Loan"

drive. He was seated in front

of the Olmstead Hotel, and, when

the marchers approached, he gave

the orders for a waiting group of

armed Legionaires to assault the

He described his own provoca-

thing I saw was the red flags.

the column passed, and I yelled

STREET RAN WITH BLOOD

oncoming workers.

'em boys'."

### How happy the rulers of every capitalist nation would be on this First of May, if they could only forget the imperishable Today As Then, Working-Class Internationalism Will Darkest reaction holds sway throughout the world, just as Emerge Triumphant Over Suppressions And Betrayals

when Karl Liebknecht heard that | For on May Day, 1917, there | their rulers, across the border in | attempt at an offensive in the the German workers:

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

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

"The main enemy is in your own country!"

On May Day, 1916, Liebknecht poke to a huge May Day demonstration in Berlin. Almost aone he had summoned the masses, in the very midst of the Ger-Thousands turned out to voice their protest at the war. And the fear-stricken German ruling class brushing aside Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity, rushed him

But there was no stopping the rising anti-war tide. It affected

The Italian socialists had voted to were monster strike demonstra- France, the French workers were latter part of April 1917, the continue opposition to the war, tions throughout Germany, im- also rising in struggle against French troops returning to the he penned his immortal appear to mediately inspired by an order their capitalist war leaders. reducing the civilian bread ra- On May 1, 1917, for the first Peace!" and "They have been astions. In Berlin alone, 250,000 time since the war began, Paris sassinating us!" workers were out. 125,000 witnessed a great demonstration. munitions workers throughout Ten thousand workers attended a the country joined the strike; mass meeting called by a "Com-

#### Mutiny, 1917

naval yards at Kiel.

seized control of their vessels. overrunning the royal palaces..." This mutiny was finally suppressed, but with the greatest dif-

ers were demonstrating against battle front. After a disastrous a few days ago soldiers cried out:

10,000 downed too's in the chief mittee for the Renewai of International Relations." The strikes that broke out on May Day, began to sweep France. By the between Soissons and Paris could And just outside the Kiel har- end of the month almost all Pabor, a powerful section of the ris was out. Of the scenes in the German navy mutinied. The streets and public cafes, Michael crews of several ships in Squad- Corday wrote in The Paris Front: ron IV, anchored at Schillig "It made one think of the French

#### 'Viva la Revolution!'

The disaffection on the home And while the German work- front was linked to that on the

Demand End to Indian Serfdom

Shown above are a number of Indian peasants marching to a session of the Indian National

The greatest struggle took

on the picket line at McCormick-

Deering, killing four workers,

On May 4, a huge mass meet-

ing gathered in the Haymarket

The meeting was just about to

police marched upon the crowd,

cateur-threw a bomb from the

roof of the Marshal Field ware-

house, located opposite the spot

When the smoke cleared, seven

Every labor leader in Chicago

was arrested. The capitalist

Eight strike leaders, Spies,

press set up a rabid cry for the

police and four workers were

dead, and scores more injured.

LABOR LEADERS

where the meeting was held.

evidence points to a boss provo- tradition had been born.

force on May Day.

wounding scores.

clubs swinging.

been met.

Congress and carrying their own banner with the slogan, "Away with serfdom."

rear were shouting "Long Live the war.

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

Poincare, the French Presiinforms me of new mutinies . . . Road, set up committees and Revolution, with the populace Men have refused to go into the trenches . . . Order is menaced everywhere . . . The fever is spreading. Symptoms of a breakdown of discipline in the army are multip ying . . . At Dorman

'Viva la Revolution! Down with

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

#### Greatest May Days In All History

The streets of every Russian city were choked with the monster mass outpouring. It was the triumphal celebration of the overthrow of Czarism in February 1917. And it was also a gathering of forces for the final overdent, wrote in his memoirs of throw of Russian capitalism those days: "Colonel Herbillon which was to come six months later.

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

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

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

sponses from the German side."

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

#### May Day Lives On

Not merely in Europe, but in America the spirit of May Day survived the impact of the war. May Day 1917 was marked by remendous anti-war demonstraions and bitter batt'es with the police and "patriotic" bosses'

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

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

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

#### all the armies, even the victori. Less than two years before, in burg, a Liebknecht. ous armies of the Kaiser. One well panned offensive in 1917 'The Main Enemy' might have won the war for Gerthing before it. The great Ger- In early 1915, on the occasion many; but the generals dared not

## An Unforgettable May Day--Cleveland, 1919

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

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

Fear and fury seized the capiling thereby to win public sentitalists of all nations. They mobilized their police and armed forward these poor victims of hoodlum gangs to beat down the rising tide of the masses.

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

#### THE "VICTORY LOAN"

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

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

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

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

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

#### USED CRIPPLED WAR VETERANS AS TOOLS

The reactionaries had secured

was the only organized group quare through the boss terror.

#### HUNDREDS INJURED

Into the crowd then charged the struggle, the meeting was finally

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

Press described the scene at the dead, its leaders and misleaders. 2 police court, "Almost every man arraigned appeared with a bandaged head or body bound up. This was the result of blows from police maces or of clubs in the hands of the loyalist crowds (as the capitalist press described the boss-

ions later, boasting: "The first wheeled my chair as the head of 'Get those red flags.' Some of the marchers laughed and jeered at me. But my comrades in uniform came running when I yelled 'Get A large group of waiting hood-

lums, armed with clubs, pounced quarters. on the marchers and began beating them down. Squads of police joined the attackers, mercilessly swinging their night-sticks on the neads of the workers and radical soldiers. Hundreds of the march- Fifty-five were given 30-day fail ers were felled; the street ran sentences; the others, sentenced with blood. Army tanks were only a little less harsh. Those of brought into action, racing up the prisoners who were foreignand down, tearing into the parade | born faced deportation as "Bolshand trying to break it up.

The workers and war veterans in the parade, though unarmed. fought back courageously, defending their fallen comrades and fearlessly pressing on toward the means a hair trigger spirit from George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Public Square.

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

Through the waiting crowd the Ruthenburg group marched up to the speakers' platform. There Ruthenburg was guarded the nation the real nature of the fiercely. As a result of their deon both sides by a number of war democracy for which they had termined struggle, workers in which the judge openly voiced his approach of May Day. They have some crippled war veterans to veterans carrying red flags. This been made to risk their lives.

which had been able to reach the

#### TWO MURDERED,

club-wie ding Legionaires and police. Mounted cops tore into the jammed throng, riding down all in their path. After a fierce

hoodlum attack.

Then the police began to "mop up." Ruthenburg and 133 others led and incited hoodlum gangs).'

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

#### YOUR ONLY PROTECTION"

The following day the arrested workers were brought to trial.

The next day, the elated bankthey threatened that anyone who did not wear a button indicating he had bought a bond would be physically assaulted on the

In this fashion, the Amer-

Were Militant Internationalists which workers and their families could gather in parks, eat their lunches in the open, and listen to speeches. The government

Inspired the Workers of the Entire World By MARVELL SCHOLL

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

> May Day began first in the the work time, and some gained United States, but has a ways their full demand for the eight his cell rather than give his class belonged to the workers of the hour day. world. The idea for a one-day mass strike in the fight for the place in Chicago. There, for two LABOR MARTYRS eight hour day was born in the minds of men who were internationalists, who believed in those Deering plant had been on strike. unbreakable class bonds which The repeated brutalities of the tie together all workers no mat- po ice had aroused the masses of ter what their race, color, sex, Chicago. They came out in full re igion, or nationality.

May Day, 1886, was decreed by resolution in the 1885 convention of the Federation of Trades and strikers decided to continue their Labor Unions of the United strike until their demands had States and Canada. On July 14, 1889, the International Congress of the Ohio Socialist, edited by in Paris which laid the basis for the Second International adopted 200 more Socialists were injured the May Day idea and issued a in the fight to defend their head- call to the workers of Europe to join another demonstration, called by the American Federation to protest the police murders. of Labor for May 1, 1890.

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

For the very words-May Day -recalled to the workers' memers put forth their call for the ories the names of the immortal purchase of "Victory Loan" bonds fighters for the working cass. containing the warning: "It August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, now on. A victory button is your Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, only protection." In plain words, Samuel Fielden and Oscar Neebe ATTACKED -the Haymarket martyrs.

#### POLICE VIOLENCE

Throughout the nation, hun- blood of the workers' leaders. dreds of thousands of workers downed tools on that first May Parsons, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, ican bankers and industrialists Day. Everywhere they were met Schwab, Fielden and Neebe, were BOSSES HATE MAY DAY impressed upon the workers and with police violence, and every- chosen to be the victims of bosswar veterans of Cleveland and where they defended themse'ves class "justice."

the defendants with the bombing, bined weight of the government, seven of them were sentenced to the AFL leaders and the Second be hanged and one, Oscar Neebe, was given fifteen years in prison. Just before the date of execu-

tion, the governor of the State of Illinois commuted the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to to the last, committed suicide in enemies the satisfaction of his

Labor's First May Day Martyrs

months prior to May Day, the These men had lived for the workers at the huge McCormicklabor and revolutionary move ment, and they went to their deaths still strong in their belief that eventually the proletariat of the world would replace a system of exploitation and oppression After a day of bloody battles with a socialist system of peace between police and workers, the and brotherhood.

When Spies stood up to be sentenced, he uttered these undying On May 3 the police opened fire

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

On May 1, 1890 the workers of the entire world downed their adjourn when a large body of too's and took to the streets. Again the police came out in full force, and again heads were Some one—just who it was has cracked, blood flowed. But when never been established, but the evening came an international

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

nomic organizations, etc.

In this country, as in every capitalist land, the employing After a farcical trial, during class has dreaded and feared the many cities won a reduction in class hatred for the prisoners sought, with the aid of the re-

Their Supreme Sacrifice for the 8-Hour Day and where not one shred of evidence was produced to connect the May Day tradition. The com-International right-wingers failed to halt the 1917 May Day anti-war demonstration in the United States. In 1918 a government decree forbade any ce ebration and the workers complied with life imprisonment. Lingg, defiant the order. But on May 1, 1919 heard above the roar of the occurred one of the largest strikedemonstrations in American his tory. (See article on Cleveland meeting printed on this page.)

Many other attempts have been | hood: made in this country to stop the continued celebration of May Day. Samuel Gompers, founder of the AFL, tried desperately to voices you strangle today."

place May 1 as a workers' holiday. He called for the setting aside of one Sunday in May on which workers and their families magnanimously offered and finally gave the workers the first Monday in September as a legal "Labor Day." But all in vain. The spirit of May Day has never and will never be crushed.

introduce "May Sunday" to re-

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

"There will be a time when our silence from the grave will be more powerful than the

# Los Angeles Mass Meeting

in defense of the Minneapolis defendants

Speakers:

V. R. DUNNE Northwest Labor Leader

ASSEMBLYMAN PAUL RICHIE DR. CLINTON J. TAFT

of the American Civil Liberties Union

SOUTH HALL EMBASSY AUDITORIUM

Sunday, May 3, 8 P. M.

**Grand and Ninth Streets** 

Admission 25 Cents

Auspices: Los Angeles Branch, Civil Rights Defense Committee

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

## Seek To Create Workers' Govt. In Great Britain

May Day will dawn on England with that country in the greatest crisis of its history.

The British ruling class has shown its utter inability to answer the problems facing the nation.

of Parliament voted against the

discipline of their party for "con-

The leaders of the so-called left

wing, figures like Emmanuel

Shinwell, do not give a socialist

answer to the problems facing

England at the present time.

growing opposition of the work-

crease the great importance of the

The centrist Independent Labor

Party offers the only electoral op-

portunity at the present time for

the masses to express their oppo-

sition to the capitalist class. In

the elections where this party has

presented its candidates-al-

though on a program that has

serious shortcomings-the I.L.P.

has secured substantial numbers

of votes, ranging from 15% to

tion to the Conservative-Labor

obstacle to the increase of prod-

uction, and that the way to in-

crease production was by estab-

lishing workers' control of prod

uction. The Stalinists, horrified,

that such an idea should be put

forth, attempted to stifle the de-

legates representing tens of thou-

The elected representative of

40,000 Bristol aircraft workers in-

formed the Conference that the

workers of this huge aircraft fac-

sands of workers.

in part as follows:

stitute a campaign for the expro-

The revolutionary internation-

papers, Socialist Appeal and The

Militant. A theoretical magazine

called Workers International

Limited only by the supply of

News also appears each month.

Party-Stalinist unholy alliance.

scription of wealth.'

TROTSKYISTS

ADVANCE

The bosses and their government are not able to secure the support of India in the struggle against the Axis. They are far as well. Over 30 labor members more concerned with holding on to the sources of the profits to be secured from the exploitation of India than they are in getting the support of the colonial masses for an effective struggle against the Axis.

The English capitalist class has Their hope is to capitalize on the also shown that it is not able to organize industrial production. ers to the policy of the Labor In the words of a capitalist re- Party leaders for their personal porter, speaking of production in ambitions. But this does not de-

"The City of London-heart of fact that the masses are beginning financial England-with confiden- to oppose the Labor Party policies. tial sources of information, declined to accept at face value optimistic governmental claims regarding rising production.

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

#### PROFITS ROLL IN

But while they have not been successful in producing arms, the 29% of total votes cast, in opposi-British bosses have been very successful in filling their pockets. For instance, the 2018 companies which had reported their profits by the first of this year showed ous delegates from shops and a total of 389 million pounds for unions pointed out that it is the 1941 as against 375 million pounds | capitalist class which is the main

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

Party, section of the Second International, delivered themselves in chains to the Conservatives for a few cabinet posts at the be-

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

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

role in England as elsewhere, the their talk of "Public ownership" ing the British stranglehold on tize the existing feudal autocra-Stalinists campaign for the Tories in the elections; they resist and obstruct the workers' efforts to better their economic condi- priation of the war industries

As the Labor Party leaders ers control of the industry under agreed with the Conservatives on state ownership; and for the the political field, so the trade planning of profitless production union duplicates of the Labor in the interest of the commun- the threat of their own expropria-Party leaders agreed to an eco- ity . . . " nomic truce with the capitalist

#### WORKERS OPPOSE BOSSES,

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

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

During 1940 there were 850 strikes involving 284,000 people. Work days lost numbered 894,000. In 1941, 334,800 persons struck in 1162 walkouts with a total

New York Times reporter savs: "Thus far, 1942 shows no dim- the masses, are also trying to inution of labor stoppages."

workers are stirring in opposition physical force. to the policies of the Labor Party leaders. For example, in Decem- Power is reprinted from the ber when the government propos- Socialist Appeal:

### French Trotskyist Paper

"L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEUES FERA LA PAIX DU MONDE "

GESTAPO CONTRE PRATERNISATION

Denne Campel des Cambes Franceis mei la 18' feinenathente allemented presentations for any companies of the property of the pr

The above is a reproduction of the first page of an issue of La Verite (The Truth), French Trotskyist newspaper. Put out under the most difficult conditions, with the Gestapo and the French police searching everywhere to catch its publishers, the paper testifies to the continued activity and growth of the Fourth International in France. One of the few anti-fascist organs printed in France, this issue was recently smuggled out and sent

## Masses Alone Will Win At a recent London conference on production problems, numer Independence For India

#### Ghandi, Nehru Are Incapable of Leading Successful Struggle Against Imperialism

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

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

workers answer this question. There are fundamental reasons why the Indian bourgeoisie is intory had given up trying to "co- capable of conducting a genuine operate" and in the future would struggle for emancipation. The turn their Production Committee | political unreliability of the presinto a Workers' Production Com- ent leadership flows from the eco mittee pledged to "investigate and nomic relationships within the

expose capitalist mismanage- country. British capitalism is the dom-The delegates from Napier's No. | inant power in India today not 1, Park Royal, from London Num- only politically but economically. bering, Stoke Newington, from The bulk of India's national debt T. E. C.'s, from Renault's, Park is held by British investors. Sim-Royal came to the Conference to ilarly, in British hands is more present a resolution which the than half of the capital in indus-Stalinists suppressed. It reads trial, mining and transport enter prises and almost two-thirds of "Recent investigations into the the capital in banks, insurance mismanagement and productive companies, plantations and comcapacity of the war industries merce. India's foreign trade is have completely demonstrated to almost completely controlled by many workers the inability of Britain. Only 13 percent of ships capitalist methods to overcome engaged in coastal traffic and ? the prevailing anarchy and chaos. per cent of those in oceanic trade "We therefore demand of our are now owned by Indian compa-Labour and Trade Union leaders nies. This means that India can Marked by the same sell-out that they immediately implement gain real freedom only by break-

> her economy. by some determined action. This means that they must at once in-But the Indian capitalists will never dare to accomplish this in the one way it can really be acwithout compensation; for workcomplished, namely, by leading a movement to expropriate British holdings, Such a movement would immediately confront them with tion by the Indian workers and The growth in the forces of the peasants. Small capitalists must Trotskyists must be included a- always submit to big ones. So mong the factors showing that the long as British capitalists remain British workers are beginning to dominant in India, the native capunderstand the necessity for re- italists would have to obey — as ing an important part of their inplacing capitalism with socialism. they have in the past - the dictates and desires of their sualist socialists publish the news- periors.

4. Workers' control of produ-

ction to end chaos and misman-

5. Equal distribution of food

clothes, and other consumers com-

the distributive trades, factories.

housewives committees and small

6. Sliding scale of wages to

with a guaranteed minimum.

shop-keepers.

a formal one. India would still nomically from British domina physiognomy of France. The lives of a large number of mili- will show what a formidable force

of their country's independence is gravely endangered so long as it resolutions were adopted on the remains in the hands of the present leadership. India's salvation can be gained only by the selfaction of the peasants and workers themselves on the basis of a land to the peasantry, safeguard

program which will guarantee OLD PARTIES DISAPPEAR the rights of workers, and free occupation of the country pro- long run, don't do much damage and carry high the banner of the

The military defeats and the adventurist methods which, in the united on the basis of Marxism the country politically and eco- foundy altered the political to the oppressors, but cost the Fourth International. The future

## French Party Is Growing Despite Gestapo Terror

#### Forced to Carry On Illegal Activities, Group Wins New Members, Including CPers

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

In the Paris region is found the largest number of the Trotskyist cells. The organization 3has groups in most of the large vanished. The Radical-Socialist

towns, but the reader will excuse Party, biggest bourgeois party, on this subject. The great major- camp of the bourgeoisie, nothing ity of the members are extremely young.

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

#### DESPITE THE GESTAPO

For one and a half years, since a little after the arrival of the Nazis, the organization has been the paper has now been printed since September, 1941. It appears ganized force of resistance. as regularly as the illegal conditions permit, about once every lished fact that the largest part 15 days. Its run is about 3,000 of the terrorist acts are commitcopies, limited because of the dif- ted at the initiative of the Staficulties in securing p a p e r. linists. The party itself advocates Pamphlets are also frequently individual terror in its publica-

The organization held its national convention last September | without a trace of socialism. with the representatives of the THE TROTSKYIST POLICY two zones participating. Many permanently took the name Partie Ouvrier Internationalist (Internationalist Workers Party), Fourth International.

traditional bourgeois parties have litant revolutionists.

accomplishing a great revolu-

tionary act. A month and a

half later there developed the

great strike of the spinners and

weavers that began and grew

precisely under the influence of

the May Day leaflet and only

waited for the occasion to go

forward in more active form. . .

those places where accidentally

our leaflets had been particular-

Out of those strike struggles

inspired in part by Lenin's May

Day leaflet grew those greater

battles culminating in the 1905

Revolution, which was the fore-

runner of the Bolshevik Revolu-

The following is the text of

Lenin's historic manifesto:

ly well distributed.'

tion of 1917.

The strike began precisely in

organized remains except the fascist cliques and, illegally, some new organizations, groups of resistance without direct connec-

tions with the old parties. Of the once enormous Socialist Party, not a great deal remains. It is only now, nearly two years They have been able to publish after the debace, that one can perceive signs of a renewal of activity in the socialist groups. party in one area. Joint meet-But it is still very small.

#### THE STALINISTS

publishing a paper, La Verite. At more left. But it is undoubtedly All this is a sign of profound first reproduced in divers ways, the Stalinist party which represents, by far, the principal or-

One can consider it an estabtions. As for its political ideology, it is absolute nationalism

The Internationalist Workers politically united. Party (POI), on the other hand,

of sabotage of a mass character, for example slow-downs in the factories, but opposes all merely individual acts as sterile products of impatience.

The adventurist methods of Stalinism have produced inside the Communist Party a muffled and confused opposition, but one that is already very extended. Resentful of the absurd and criminal policies imposed from above, this opposition as yet has failed to raise a political criticism of us for not giving more details disappeared in 24 hours. In the Stalinism, but is tending inevitably to such criticism.

That is why the French Trotskvists have been trying to help the development of this opposition. One of their ways is to make united fronts with the Stalinist organizations. They have already obtained some success. an illegal journal in common with a whole section of the Stalinist ings have taken place in different towns. In Paris the Trotskyists can easily approach and dis-Of the unions, there is a little cuss with young Communists. changes.

We do not forget that these successes could not have been possible had the Trotskyists not been firmly united for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The internal political life of the Trotskyists is extremely intense. Discussion bulletins are frequently published. All the complex questions of the present period are discussed. One can say that the whole organization is really

Difficulties are not lacking. subscribes to the Marxist criti- Our French comrades have much cism of the political adventurism to learn. Their leadership must of the Sta inists, constantly op- acquire experience. But the presposing to individual terrorism the ent situation teaches quickly. In organization of the masses. It the midst of the greatest persecushows the emptiness of all the tion, ever-growing numbers are

## Lenin's 1896 May Day Manifesto

a day of international work ing-class struggle is shown by the great stress which Lenin put upon its militant observance.

One of Lenin's earliest appeals to the Russian workers is the May Day manifesto which he wrote in 1896 for the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-class. This was written in prison, from which it was smuggled by Lenin's comrades, mimeographed and distributed to workers of forty factories in St. Petersburg, now Leningrad.

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

"In preparing and distributing

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

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

#### Rely Only Upon Ourselves

How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insuits, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? Everybody is against us - and the better off these gentlemen are, the worse off we are! We can expect nothing from them, we can rely only upon ourselves. Our strength lies in our unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize of course in what our strength lies and they try in every way to divide us and to hide the identity of interests of all workers. But it's a long road that has no turning - and even the

best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that the cowardice of slaves has changed into the courageous stubborness of men,

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

#### Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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

In France, England, Germany and other lands where the workers have already closed their ranks and won important rights, the First of May is a general holiday of all labor.

The workers leave the dark factories and parade the main streets in well-ordered lines with flags and music. They show their masters their power grown strong and join in numerous crowded assemblies to listen to speeches in which the victories achieved over the bosses are recounted and the plans for future struggles are developed.

Because they are afraid of strikes, no individual boss dare fine or punish the workers who are absent from work on this day. On this day the workers also fling their chief demand into the teeth of the bosses: "For the Eight Hour Day."

#### A Society Without Masters Or Slaves In other countries the workers are already proclaiming this.

There was a time - and not so long ago - when they also didn't have the right we are deprived of now, the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But through relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together.

Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the work-

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Petersburg, May 1, 1896.

## FAKERS, STALINISTS

paper, the press run and sale of the Socialist Appeal is over 15,000 copies. The work of the British Trotskyists has been so effective that it has met the opposition of such capitalist newspapers as the

ber of strikes. Sunday Dispatch. This paper was close to Hitler and the appeasers before the war. not labor alone. The Stalinists, ed through workers committees. of 1,034,000 workdays lost. The in their frenzied attempt to impose their treacherous policies on

Within the Labor Party the the Independent Labor Party by The following program For

stifle the Trotskyists as well as

ed a labor draft law, the left wing | 1. Immediate despatch of arms of the Labor Party, in response to and material to the Soviet Union rank and file pressure, came out under the control of the trade with the demand to draft wealth unions and factory committees.

ists, her freedom would be merely remain in British bondage be- tion. cause of the overwhelming predominance of British capital in the most vital spheres of the country's economic life. This economic subservience of

the Indian bourgeoisie has resulted in still another crucial de velopment. For lack of fields of investment, a large part of native capital has gone into land, or more correctly, into the purchase of feudal rights to land. Because of this, the native capitalists find themselves tied directly with the mortal enemies of the peasantry, i.e., the feudal princes whose rule, in turn, depends upon British bayonets. It is impossible, however, to conduct a determined struggle for independence without rousing the peasants who constitute the bulk of the population.

Yet the program of the All-India Congress Party for the peasantry is Gandhi's program: to democrasies by "representative governments in the native states under the aegis of the ruling princes.' Such a "democracy" is democracy in words only. It would leave the peasants in exactly the same intolerable conditions as under the British rule, with this difference, that the native bourgeoisie would replace the existing British bureaucracy. Such a program can serve to strangle a struggle but never to unfold it. But once again the native capitalists dare not offer another for fear of losvestments.

Because of these basic reasons the Indian workers and peasants Therefore, even if India were can place no confidence whatever to gain her political independence in the leadership of the Indian through negotiations under the bourgeoisie. That is why we warn leadership of the native capital- the Indian masses that the cause

mines, banks, transport and all laws.

big industry without compensa-3. Confiscation of all war profits-all company books to be open for trade union inspection. armed forces.

9. Establishment of military academies by the trade unions at But the Sunday Dispatch does agement in industry to be exercis- the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.

10. Arming of the workers unmodities under the control of committees of workers elected from

12. A Socialist appeal to the workers of Germany and Europe meet the increased cost of living on the basis of this program in Britain to join the Socialist strug-7. Repeal of the Essential gle against Hitler for the Social-

2. Nationalization of the land. working class and strike-breaking

8. Clear out the reactionary pro-fascist officer caste in the Army and Home Guard. Election of officers by the soldiers. Trade union wages for all workers in the

der control of committees of workers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the danger of invasion or Petainism. 11. Freedom for Ireland, India and the colonies.

Works Order and all other anti- ist United States of Europe.

## Goldman Speaks Over Radio For Grace Carlson

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

Grace Carlson for mayor of St. Paul, delivered over Station WMIN on April 24 at 8:45 P. M.

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

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

Ladies and gentlemen:

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Carlson Demands Workers Control

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

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

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

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



ALBERT GOLDMAN

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

The central point of the answer of labor to the offensive taken by reactionaries should be the point stressed in the patform upon which Grace Carlson is running — the point that demands the confiscation of all war profits, and the expropriation of all industries by the government, to be operated under the the profits of the corporations and let it set a limit to the salaries which corporation officials are paying themselves and the need for additional taxes on incomes of workers will disappear. The government does not hesitate to take millions of men and send them to fight and die; it should not hesitate to confiscate profits.

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

#### Fascism Destroys Workers Rights

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

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

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

#### Trotskyists Predicted This War

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

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

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

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

## ELECTION PLATFORM Of St. Paul S. W.

support for its candidate, Grace Carlson, on the following platform:

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

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

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

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

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

We recommend to organized labor that the

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

The ruling capita ist class and its government attempt to justify their demands upon the workers with the pretext that these sacrifices are necessary for war production. The reports of the Truman and Tolan Congressionai Investigation Committees have demonstrated with irrefutable facts and figures that big business has deliberately refused to utilize its full produc-

Proper'y utilized, managed and controlled, American industry could provide even in wartime a high standard of living for the American

tive capacity in order to safeguard profits and

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

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

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

The militarized character of our times demands that every worker be given military training. We propose that the trade unions undertake to provide such training for their members under their own supervision and control. Worker-soldiers should be led by their own elected and trust-

We propose that the federal government appropriate the necessary funds for the establishment and equipment of camps for military training of workers under the control of the trade

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

We demand the observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time as well as in peace-time, guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, petition and assem- decaying capitalist order. To crush domestic and

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

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

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

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

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

War and fascism are the foul products of the

foreign fascism, to achieve peace and security, the workers must establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. The heroic resistance of the Soviet workers

against Hitler's war machine has demonstrated that the masses will fight to the death under the banner of a workers' state for industries and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and landlerds. We defend the Soviet Union unconditional v.

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

Stalin sells out the world's workers and co'onial peoples for the sake of temporary alliances, one time with Hitler, now with Churchi'l and Roosevelt. These betrayals have alienated the sympathies of millions of exploited people and dea't the heaviest blow of all to the Soviet Union itself. As the on'y party pledged to the principles of

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

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

### Grace Carlson Has Always Defended Labor's Interests

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As candidate of the "Trotsky ist Anti-War Party" for United States Senator in 1940, she received 8.761 votes, more than the combined vote cast for the Socialist and Communist Par-

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

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

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

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

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

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

CARLSON FOR MAYOR (Continued from page 1) | manufactured several tenth-rate the people a road out of the capitalist system which breeds wars tention from the skyrocketing and depressions every generation. All the other candidates support the capitalist war program, and

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

are ready to subordinate the

workers' interests and hard-won

a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living; the demand that the government take over the basic industries and 1940 . . . In 1942 the Pioneer operate them under workers' con- Press believes that Mayor Mctrol; a federal appropriation for Donough has done a good job." the establishment of camps where workers can be given military training under the control of the trade unions; observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time: opposition to Jim Crowism wherever Fallon has seized on this as an it exists; defense of the Soviet Union, etc.

The other two mayoralty candidates are incumbent John Mc- is in. Donough, Democrat who has been endorsed by the Labor-Progressive "Republican" Democrat. These two candidates have laboriously Party, Grace Holmes Carlson.

issues in an effort to distract atcost of living and the growing boss-inspired drive against the labor movement. Ironically, Fallon, the "busi-

ness" candidate, is charging that the "labor" candidate, McDonough, is a "tool of the power interests" and the "darling of the kent press." The reactionary St. Paul Pioneer Press in an editorial on April 16th, admits that it gave "vigorous and whole-hearted editorial support throughout his administration (1938-1940) and his campaign for re-election in

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

The only candidate who merits the vote of the workers in St. Association, and William Fallon | Paul in this election is the candidate of the Socialist Workers

### Hear GRACE CARLSON

on the radio , the night before election day

She will speak on "The Basic Issues of This Campaign" over WMIN

Monday, April 27, 8:45-9:00 P. M.

John Common Contraction of the C

### **Directions for Voting** Push up the metal cover of either slot 4 or 5 of the voting

machine in the row of slots immediately above the names of the other candidates for Mayor. Write or print the name of GRACE CARLSON. The cover will drop back automatically.

Bring a pencil with you, or ask the election judge for one. Take these directions to the polls with you April 28.

can imperialism; we do not op

pose an alliance of China with

change in the policy of the Marx

To determine the correct posi-

who supported China's war befor-

egy and aims of those allies? If

er support China. If it hasn't

then Marxists, while remaining

aware of future dangers, must

What has happened since Dec-

ember 7 and the extension of the

Southwest Pacific has become

weaker. The grip of Britain on

ened. London and Washington

nothing to fear. Ford was

saved as badges of honor. Thou-

At the small union hall on

workers came out, UAW members ion, and if he was forced to bar- ation, optimism, and courage to

granting all the union demands,

a contract alone was won. A sym- dom.

continue to support China

The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED A KARL

### Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

#### A Negro Mother Writes FDR

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

Conyers, Ga., April 5, 1942

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

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

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

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

I know that I speak in the voice of all women, when I say that I love my children, and do not want them to be killed just on account of neglect. I read in the paper where the soldiers had slipped some ammunition from the firing range. This should never have been, for I think that all firearms are supposed to be taken away from the soldiers before they leave; if this is so. there must be some neglect on somebody's part. The officer in charge should be punished for letting firearms be handled by soldiers, unofficially.

Our colored boys need better protection in the army. We don't want to labor for years bringing up our children to be respectful men and then have them killed like dumb driven cattle.

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

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

> A heart-broken mother, MRS. FANNIE HALL

#### **UAW Opposes Housing** Jim Crow

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Character Of China's War

# China In the War

A Letter to THE MILITANT As a union progressive I have

read your paper for some time now. I admire and support the is a fight every good union mem- question. ber and sympathizer should sup-

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

Besides, Chiang-Kai-Shek was attitude you have towards India - I gather you'd support a struggle there to throw out the British armies and set up an inde-support of Chiang Kai-shek, or ask: Has China or China's war pendent Indian republic, as we the Kuomintang, which he leads, come under the control of China's did here in '76. Now it seems or the Chinese capitalist class imperialist allies, has China's war suppress Indian independence, the contrary, we have supported and is more interested in helping the British than in aiding his own people to get an independ-

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

With best wishes for your continued success, I remain

Fraternally yours, MYRA WARD BEECH Akron, Ohio

P. S. Good luck to the candiof St. Paul. She is a courageous his policies. and spirited woman.

empire, to his knees.

The strike was a dramatic de-

monstration of the irrepressible

militancy and innate resourceful-

ness of organized workers. The

Ford strikers in swift decisive

strokes delivered their strategic

blows with military precision and

drove Ford's thug army of 5,000

armed Service Men to uncondi-

tional surrender. They silenced

the roar of the production lines,

emptied the plant of its workers,

and drained the mile-long plant

of its life-blood, leaving it silent

The day before the workers

department. The news was quick-

the Foundry . . . Assembly . . .

paint shop ... . " By midnight of

April 16 the call to "down tools"

had passed from plant to plant.

Strike captains were chosen, and

the headquarters of the United

Automobile Workers — CIO was

until the headquarters summoned

All but a handful left the plants.

Barricades of automobiles were

placed at the four main highways.

the arteries of traffic leading into

River Rouge. No one without a

union pass could get within a

block of the plant. Traffic was

stopped. Picket captains policed

the highways. Gradually a picket

line began to form, numbering

tens of thousands. This simple

and effective strategy outwitted

and beat the most powerful

strike-breaking army in the

A conquering union army

marched on Miller Road as day

dawned. The strategy of the bar-

ricades had prevented any scabs

from reaching the plant gates. La-

ter, as the picket lines grew, each

plant gate was guarded by thou-

Ford's little band of scabs, 1500

in all, who had remained inside

the plants, made a few futile for-

sands of union men.

world.

contacted. No one touched a tool

all men to walk out.

OUTWIT SERVICE MEN

and dead as a corpse.

# Reader Inquires China Is Fighting Against About the Role of Imperialist Domination

The current (April) issue of the magazine, Fourth International, contains a complete and detailed Marxist analysis of the questions raised in Myra Ward Beech's letter on China. We recommend that all readers of THE MILITANT who are infight the Minneapolis Trotsky- terested in this very important question read that article, enists and teamsters are making titled "Why We Defend China" by John G. Wright. Here we for their elementary rights. This make only a few remarks on the 9 China of aid from Anglo-Ameri-

China's war is the struggle of a semi-colonial country for its national independence. China's main one imperialist power against anto this war, however, which I do enemy today is Japan, the imper- other - neither of these in and ialist invader; Japan today is the of themselves would change the chief obstacle to the right of the situation so as to warrant a Chinese nation to rule itself. The victory of China over Japan in ists, for neither of these by them this war would be a powerful selves could transform the char blow against the whole imperial- acter of China's war against Jap side and for the same purposes ist world and an inspiration to an. What we oppose is any sub all the oppressed peoples to throw ordination of China's war for free off their chains of imperialist dom to the aims and strategy of slavery. For this reason Marx- imperialist allies of China. sent over to India to ballyhoo the ists consider China's war as procause of the Allies. And I no gressive and have supported it tion toward China's war today, i tice in your March 7 issue the since the beginning of the Japan- is therefore necessary for those ese invasion.

Our support of China's war has December 7 only to look at what nothing in common with political has happened since then and to the Chinese leader is trying to whose interests he represents. On become subordinated to the strat-China in spite of and against the it has, then Marxists can no long reactionary policies of Chiang Kai-shek's regime.

> QUESTION OF MATERIAL AID AND ALLIANCES

We unceasingly criticized and exposed the reactionary policies seems a problem something like which drowned the 1925-27 Chin- world war to the Pacific? The ese revolution in blood, establish- struggle for national liberation in ed a military dictatorship over the most important colonial and I would like to see an answer the people, demoralized the mass- semi-colonial countries in the to these problems in your paper. es and thus opened wide the doors for Japanese invasion and stronger and bolder, rather than still obstruct the successful prosecution of the war against Japan. India, for example, has been loos-

It is clear therefore that our position in support of China's war was not arrived at because of the overtures and promises to the Indacy of Grace Carlson for mayor | slightest confidence in Chiang or

into its history one of its most glorious pages — the victorious for any emergency. But there was wiped out.

It was a battle that should be commemorated as a demon-

stration of the unconquerable strength and courage of the

0.000 Ford workers after years of pickets. Armed with swords of

ed the open shop Bastille at River | picket line it was only a moment-

their organized power they humbled the wall of pickets. To the the spirit of victory.

the orderly activities of the men.

plant one by one. As the Negro

approached them in a friendly

The strike was never in danger.

would be a grim and bloody bat-

tle, was instead a holiday and a

celebration. Squads of picket cars

eye open for trouble; an ambul-

Join the Socialist

Workers Party

What everyone had expected and then some.

union. The victory was sealed.

Later the scabs filed out of the

When Unionism Conquered Ford

One Year Ago This April His Open-Shop Kingdom Fell

One year ago in April the American working class wrote ance cruised back and forth, ready bol of industrial serfdom was

On the first day of April, 1941, ays upon the impregnable mass duty cards were punched, and bosses, exalted in the realization

of enslavement under the most sheet metal, clubs and knives, sands of union men from far and of their class. The unorganized

ruthless industrial tyranny in service men and a small group of wide came to see the sight, to workers lifted their heads, and

America, broke their chains. By misguided Negro workers attack- fight if necessary, and to join in prepared for their own emancipa-

Rouge, and brought Ford, the ary diversion, a slight interrup- Michigan Avenue, which could the world of capitalist tyranny

hitherto absolute monarch of his tion of the singing of union hold only a few hundreds, thou- lost one of its most powerful

songs, the spirited parading, and sands of new Ford members were

way, and signed them up in the hell freezes over" - signed a

Speaker:

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Chief defense attorney in Minneapolis "Sedition" trial

Place: 919 Marquette Avenue, Minneapolis

Celebrate this MAY DAY with the

Socialist Workers Pary

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

signed up.

smashed.

used to be.

CHINA BOLDER NOW

Similarly, the grip of Washington and London has been loosen ed on China. The Chinese regime feels freer than ever before to resist dictation of China's military struggle by the United States and Britain. Even less than on December 6 do the wishes and desres of Roosevelt and Churchill

Wm. P. Simms, Scripps-Howard Foreign Ed., told on Apr. 18 of "the rising demand on the part of the Chinese, Indians and others for a Pacific Charter." He reports: "In the East, observed Ta Kung Pao, one of Chungking's leading a coionial or quasi-colonial stat :s The Roosevelt-Churchill declara-'ion (Atlantic Charter) is applicable to independent nations which were overrun by the Ax : powers.

"The spirit of the proposed Pacfic Charter," paper said, should aim at the liberation of Korea, the Liuchu Islands and Formosa from Japanese domination and the India, the Dutch East Indies, Malava. Australia. New Zealand and imperialism.

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

WHAT CHIANG'S ROLE IS now find it necessary to make AN ARGUMENT FOR

In other words, it is completely dian nationalist movement: and false to reduce the question of the answers they receive from the China's war to the reactionary We do not oppose acceptance by native capitalists are not the sub-policies of Chiang Kai-shek. We

The myth of Ford's invincibil-

ity dissolved with the smoke of

of the strength of unionism and

With the surrender of Ford

In the battles t ocome, labor

Remember that picket line at

power of the workers and was a

herald of the approaching victor-

open shop strongholds.

Strike canteens which were set battle. Everywhere workers to

up at every corner dished out tons | whom Ford had seemed the living

of coffee and doughnuts. Picket proof of the fearsome power of the

Ford — the man who had said will recall the conquest of Ford.

he would not bargain with a un- and draw from it henewed inspir-

closed shop check-off agreement, River Rouge. It symbolized the

But something far greater than lous struggle for workers' free-

gain would just bargain "until face their enemies.

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

struggle for independence. But this is no argument against supporting China's progressive war - it is only an argument against placing any confidence in Chiang, it is only an argument today determine the course of for the continuation of the polit-China's war. The Chinese gov- ical struggle against Chiang by ernment is demanding more, not the Chinese masses, while they continue to direct their fire at the main enemy of Chinese national existence, Japan.

#### PROBLEM OF ETHIOPIA

The situation of Ethiopia is not at all like the situation in China today. It is more like the situanewspapers, 'many nations are of tion in India, because Ethiopia is today a coleny of Britain.

In 1935 we supported Ethiopia's war against Italy as the war of a backward country for independence from an imperialist power. 't has made no provisions con- We said it was correct for the serning the postwar positions of Ethiopians to accept aid from ruch countries as India and Bur- the British in order to drive the Italian conquerors out of their land. We warned the Ethiopian people then, as we warn the Chinese masses today, to be on guard against their imperialist "allies." We predicted the Ethiopian peofreedom from Allied control of ple would have to fight the British who would try to take over That Britain was not fighting for the Philippines. China, it added. Ethiopian independence was is certainly not helping one im- shown two months ago, when perialism fight against another Britain forced the signing of a British-Ethiopian treaty which gives Britain control of the police, courts, military forces, railroad, etc.

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

tomobile Workers, C I O, Flint, Michigan, last week backed the position of their delegates to the recent UAW conference and voted continued opposition to giving up the established wage rates for weekend and holiday work.

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

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

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

### **Ruick UAW Local OpposesSurrender Of Overtime Pay**

The members of the large Buick Local 599, United Au-

ditional wage standard.

#### patrolled up and down in front of the plant, bedecked with union banners. Loud speakers bellowed instructions and news alternately Seek Freedom for Seamen with victory orations and swing music. Workers danced with their wives and sweethearts on Miller Road. Here and there a picket Road Up In '37 Strike walked out, an avalanche of sit- with victory orations and swing downs swept from department to music. Workers danced with their ly spread: "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket down; the B. Building is down; captain soberly kept a vigilant

created to win freedom for three seamen framed-up by the person before the fight. The po-Hague machine and sent to jail in New Jersey for their activities during the 1936-37 seamen's strike, has issued an appeal them. None of the witnesses of for support from all trade unions and progressive organizations. the fight saw the money

year sentence. An application he was unconscious. for pardon has been placed before the New Jersey Court of Twin Cities MAY DAY Celebration quests that letters, telegrams and

ernor Charles Edison, Trenton, sey justice. N. J., asking favorable action on the pardon application.

members of the Marine Firemen, request for a pardon was denied. Oilers, Wipers and Watertenders Association (unaffiliated), joined the strike as soon as their ship Defense League, is composed of docked in December, 1936. On labor leaders, educators, etc. Its New Year's Day, 1937, they were work for a pardon has been enbreak the strike.

charge was - robbery!

Donald Brown - have already had not seen it taken from him, served five years of a fifteen claiming that it was stolen while On the basis of this evidence

the three were sentenced to 14 legedly having stolen \$21.80!

at the initiative of the Workers

### Laval Will Try To Make France Part Of Hitlerite Order

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

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

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

#### The Last Straw

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

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

#### Role of Laval Now — And Before

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

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

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

The men - Anthony Panchelly, Edward Woodworth and Schwartz himself testified that he

of the strike-breaker Schwartz, this week, and after taking acmen were convicted of stealing tion, notify the Committee, whose \$21.80 he alleged he had on his address is 30 Nairn Pl., Newark.

Pardons, and the Committee re- to 15 years in prison — for alpetitions be sent at once to Gov- This is a typical example of Jer-Their appeal to the New Jer-

sey Supreme Court - controlled The three West Coast seamen, by Hague - was lost; their first The defense committee, created

arrested in Hoboken following a dorsed by the three prisoners, street fight with Frederick many local unions, the last na-Schwartz, a scabherder trying to tional convention of the CIO, the New Jersey CIO and the Amer-The strike committee had to be ican Civil Liberties Union. The released for lack of evidence, but | Marine Firemen's union has guar-Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown anteed employment for the men were sentenced to prison. The immediately upon release and for the next ten years.

On the unsupported testimony Bring up the case in your union

Names and Aims

Some Reflections On

The President's Request

By M. STEIN

Even though we are rapidly approaching the state

of total war, and the regimentation of the people

is growing from day to day, there is nevertheless a

great difference between the fascist brand of total

war and that of bourgeois democracy. Who could

possibly conceive of a fascist regime taking the

masses of the people into their confidence on the

conduct of the war or any of its phases? Thinking

is the exclusive prerogative of the bureaucratic hier-

archy. The Fuehrer and the immediate clique around

him maneuver the people into war, they name the

war, they lead the war, and they expect to benefit

from it. The people are not to ask the reason why,

Could anyone conceive under fascism of such a

magnificent gesture as the one made by the President

April 3, when he appealed to the people - yes, to

you and me - to find him an appropriate name

for the war. "He explained," says the New York

Telegram, April 3, "that he does not want to coin

the phrase himself. He wants it to come from

down below and not from the top." This is democ-

racy in action. This gives the plain folk, the av-

erage citizen - Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones - a

chance to use their heads not only to wear a hat

or any army he met, but also for some deep thinking.

Since April 3 it has become our responsibility as

citizens of a great democracy to find a name for the

war. We have got to vindicate the trust placed in us

by the President, but even more important than

We have been participants in this nameless war

for over four months. But how much longer can we

go on without a name? Even if we should manage

to pull through as at present, we would still need

a name for the war. Imagine trying to explain to

your grandchildren the medals on your chest, re-

ceived for bravery in action in the what's its name

war? It might not be so bad if we were sure that

this would be the only nameless war. But there is

no guarantee that another war will not follow short-

ly after this one, and if we fail to find a name for

this one, and the one following, such a situation might

easily lead to a breakdown of civilization. History

books without names for wars would lose all mean-

ing, just as the development of science would be

impossible without terminology, and language in gen-

eral would be inconceivable without names for per-

The truth of the matter is that there is a much

more immediate and pressing reason why we can-

not go on much longer without a name for the war.

So far we have neither an aim for the war nor a

name. If we cannot have both, at least let's have

one. Which shall it be? Difficult as it may be to

find a name for the war, just think of the difficulties

the authorities run into when they try to define

the aims of the war. England has been in the war

for over two and a half years. During this period

there have been numerous demands from various

sources for a declaration of the aims of the war.

This has met with the most stubborn refusal on the

part of the British Cabinet. In reply to such demands

this, we simply must have a name for the war.

theirs is but to do or die.

### THE MILITANT

Working People.

VOL. VI-No. 17

Saturday, April 25, 1942

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

> Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILI-TANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months Foreign: \$3.60 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1341 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Warch 3, 1879."

#### JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

### Getting "Tough"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, we have the feeling that Nelson is

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

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

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

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

### Who Protects The Soldiers' Interests?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Workers' Bookshelf

## The Two Pamphlets That Came Out Of The Trial

Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. evidence of its potency. C., January, 1942. 116 pages. 10 cents.

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

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

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

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

#### They Stuck to Their Guns

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

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

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

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

#### Goldman's Main Point

But there is another lesson implicit in the booklet which they can learn. For Cannon and Goldman to hand on their courtroom words to the party as educational instruments, signifies they said in that courtroom nothing which they would not care to teach to the new socialist militants. They did not water down their principles! In the heat of the struggle, with the Damocies sword of years of imprisonment hanging from the courtroom ceiling, these fighters stuck to their guns. Yes, this is perhaps the greatest lesson of all to be learned from these two pamphlets, the lesson of the Bolshevik method of struggle; the principled method.

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

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

Reviewed by HARRY FRANKEL.

## April 'Fourth International' Features National Question

lems of national liberation.

1 The Editorial Comment analyzes the British offer to India of "dominion status" after the war, and the reason for the Indian Congress Party's rejec- FOR DEFENSE OF CHINA tion of the plan carried by Sir propaganda in the American capspeech recently made in New York by Lord Halifax.

forgeries committed in Lenin's name. Those who are in touch with the Communist Party know that while in public and in the Daily Worker they offer only patriotic explanation of their support of the war, in private and at their meetings and in their theoretical magazine they try to herent of the Fourth Internation- Jack Ranger. justify their position.

The outstanding example of the present period is Robert Mi- sue are: nor's article, Lenin on the Junius

The April issue of the monthly article and subjects it to a search- Marc Loris. This piece reviews magazine, Fourth International, ing analysis, shows how Minor the French trial and draws sev-Lenin's real views on national and Daladier. who wants to learn what Lenin by Joe Andrews who attended

3. Why We Defend China, by Stafford Cripps. The editorial John G. Wright, discusses the efably answers the lying pro-British | fect of the extension of the world | BOLSHEVIK DIPLOMACY war to the Pacific on the Chinese italist press and the anti-Hindu war against Japan, and shows 2. Lenin's Teachings On Na- supporting the Chinese struggle. iet Commissar of Foreign Aftional Wars by Felix Morrow, is In addition, he reviews the ar- fairs Chicherin in 1918, and conan answer to the latest Stalinist guments of the Shachtmanites stitutes a starting contrast with and Oehlerites, who have aban- the present diplomacy and poldoned support of China, and itics of the Kremlin. shows how they have revised and distorted the teachings of Lenin-1sm on the national question.

4. The Road To Freedom for Ceylon is part of the program of rissa Reed, and The Remaking of offer quotations from Lenin to al, which was recently suppressed by the British. Other articles in the April 1s-

features four extremely educa- deliberately distorted Lenin's eral important conclusions from tional articles on current prob- words and ideas, and presents the revelations made by Blum wars. E'very Stalinist worker The Auto Workers Conference,

said and fought for will find it the recent Detroit conference of the UAW-CIO, emphasizes the significance for the whole labor movement of the militant opposition at the meeting.

A Soviet Note To President Wilson is a brilliant example of why the workers of the world revolutionary diplomacy and proshould continue their policy of paganda. It was written by Sov-Two book reviews round out

this issue:

Stafford Cripps' biography by Eric Estorick is reviewed by Lathe Ceylon Socialist Party, ad- Italy by Pentad is reviewed by

The cost of a single copy of this issue is 20 cents; the cost of a year's subscription, \$2.00. For either, write to Business Man-The Riom Trial: The Truth A- ager, Fourth International, 116 Pamphlet. Morrow takes Minor's bout French "Democracy," by University Pl., New York City.

in Parliament Mr. Churchill replied, "The moment you leave the arena of pious platitude, you will descend into the arena of heated controversy." Right

sons and things.

Names and Aims

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

And here is one American view:

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

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

#### Some Suggestions That Have Been Made

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

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

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

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

More on this question next week.

# New York May Day Rally

Speakers:

JOE ANDREWS LYDIA BEIDEL

Mass Singing of Labor Songs WERDERMAN'S HALL 160 3rd Avenue, corner 16th Street 000

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

Admission 25 Cents

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party