Steel Union Holds Constitutional Convention

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LIVING STANDARDS TO SINK TO 1932 LEVEL--HENDERSON

Wage Raises, Union Shop Are Key Issues Facing The SWOC

Delegates to Adopt a Wage Policy to Lay Basis for Negotiating Future Agreements

The eyes of all American labor will be fixed this week on the first constitutional convention of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 19-22. From this convention, the steel workers' mighty organization will emerge as a full-fledged international union with its own constitution and elected officers. Since its formation in June, 1936, the SWOC has been directed by a committee appointed by the CIO.

As stated in the official convention call, the convention is being held "for the purposes of adopting a constitution; providing for the election of officers; adopting a wage policy to provide the basis for negotiating future wage agreements; and to make plans for the future which will lead to complete organizing of the entire steel industry in the United States and Canada, and to consider such other matters as may serve the best interests of the organization and its members."

The three issues which are uppermost in the minds of the steel workers, and which they hope will be the central concern of the convention deliberations, are: 1. the demand for a dollar-a-day general wage increase to offset past price rises; 2. the demand for genuine union security in the form of the union shop; 3. the adoption of a constitution which will ensure the fullest union democracy.

NEED FOR THE WAGE RAISES

There is no disagreement within the ranks or the leadership of the SWOC about the imperative need for a substantial general wage increase. But the convention faces the task of elaborating and putting into motion an effective program to win the steel workers' wage demands. That program will have to take into account the imposing and powerful forces striving to block any wage increases in steel, and throughout all industry.

The big corporations, led by the steel barons, have been conducting a furious campaign to freeze wages. With the aid of their Congressional agents and through their controlled press, they are exerting terrific pressure on the administration and the War Labor Board to deny the justified demands of the steel workers.

The administration has already responded by initiating a "wage stabilization" program, whose obvious objective is to restrict wage increases through the actions of the WLB. That the ultimate aim is wage freezing, whether "voluntary" or by legislative compulsion, is shown by Roosevelt's demonstrative intervention in the national shipyard wage negotiation conference last week, when he stated that the wage raises provided by existing contracts are "irreconcilable with the national policy."

There is no justified basis for expecting, therefore, that the administration will support the steel workers' demands for a dollar-a-day general raise. On the contrary, the only way in which the steel workers can ensure the winning of their wage demands is through a militant nation-wide campaign demonstrating their readiness to fight in defense of their living standards.

UNION LEADERS AND THE ADMINISTRATION

There is no doubt that the wage issue will weigh heavily on the minds of SWOC Chairman Philip Murray and the other steel union leaders at the convention. They cannot fail to recognize that a failure to win a satisfactory upward adjustment of steel wages or the imposition of wage freezing will constitute a real danger to union stability and the future growth of the steel union. Unorganized workers are not likely to join a union which offers little prospect of winning better wages. The newer and less union-conscious elements in the unions may tend to become inactive and cease paying dues if they cannot get some tangible benefits from union membership, particularly in the matter of wages.

Up to now, the policy of the trade union leadership in general, including the SWOC, has been to retreat rather than resist the demands which the administration and the employers have been making. The right to strike, double-time pay for week-end and holiday work and union opposition to the speedup were surrendered by the union leaders without a struggle. They have supported the administration policies all down the line. The wage issue is serving to underline the contradictions of their policy. They are compelled to choose between continued support of the administration, or a strong stand in defense of the workers' interests which would lead to an inevitable break with Roosevelt.

The steel workers' convention should reaffirm in no uncertain terms the determination of the steel workers to win their just wage demands, and adopt a definite program of action to mobilize the full strength and energies of union for an all-out campaign to secure the dollar-a-day raise. Such a program will include specifically the retention of the right to strike, labor's most powerful bargaining weapon, and will reject the policy pursued up to now of placing dependence solely on the WLB and Roosevelt to protect the interests of the workers.

THE UNION SHOP

Side by side with the wage issue, although it is not a substitute for more wages and better working conditions, goes the issue of the union shop. In no industry is union security such a vital question as in steel, the central stronghold of the open shop in America.

The steel corporations have always constituted the spearhead of open-shop force in America. U.S. Steel, by its ten months defiance of the government's "maintenance of membership" ruling in the Federal Shipbuilding case, and Bethlehem Steel, by its uncompromising hold-out during the West Coast shipyard strike last fall, both demonstrate the character of the resistance which the steel corporations, backed by all the other big monopolies, will make against the union shop. The corporation-dominated Congress also can be expected to heed its master's voice and fight against the union shop in steel.

Recent developments in the steel organizing drive have shown what the companies can do if the SWOC does not have a union shop. The companies have not ceased their attempts to intimidate the workers, discourage union membership and disrupt the unions. They have been particularly effective in Little Steel, where as a result of company tactics there has been a noticeable decline in union membership. In Big Steel the corporation is beginning to resist union recognition, demanding that the unions prove their right to represent the workers, etc.

At several large U. S. Steel plants, the union has been challenged. When the locals have proved by a show of membership

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This Is The Answer To 'The Story Of Carboloy'

Exposing Lies Spread by General Electric In Full-Page Ads Throughout the Land

By WALTER FREEMAN

This is the story of Carboloy. This is the story that General Electric tried to whitewash by full page ads in over 120 leading newspapers throughout the country. These are the true facts which those ads tried to cover up with big, black type screaming a flagrant lie, headed, "This Is the Story of Carboloy."

You could scarcely miss reading those lies, bought at so many hundreds of dollars per column of advertising space. What you probably missed were the tiny buried items which the capitalist press carried about the real story of tungsten carbide (which GE tradenamed Carboloy).

GE's ads followed the disclosures last month by John Lewin, special assistant to the Attorney General, before the Senate Patent Committee. Lewin's testimony, based on documentary evidence obtained for a government anti-trust prosecution, revealed the details of GE's patent-pool conspiracy with Krupp, the Nazi steel and munitions trust. Thru this conspiracy, GE was able to retain the American monopoly on tungsten carbide, cheapest, hardest and finest alloy for machine tool cutting edges.

Through its patents monopoly, GE deliberately blocked the production of tungsten carbide. It fixed the price so high as to make it inaccessible to other companies. And it agreed to pay royalties to Krupp on all American production, including war production.

As Lewin stated at the April hearing before the Senate committee:

"Our present drastic shortage of this material (tungsten carbide) is notorious. It has constituted one of the principal bottlenecks in our present production program."

GE hastened to dispute this, not under oath in court or before a government committee, but in bought advertising space.

GE'S LIES NAILED

On May 8, Lewin, supported by L. Gerald Firth, who is the President of Firth-Sterling Steel Company, a GE tungsten carbide licensee, took the ad apart before the Senate Patents Committee. Here are how the most important of GE's statements stack up against the unassailable facts, revealed by its own files, documents and records. The quotations from the ad are in italics.

GE alibi: "Carboloy is used in small quantities; it is difficult to make and difficult to use — but it has never been scarce in modern times. There is no scarcity now."

The facts: German production of tungsten carbide has been 20 times greater than that in the United States. Yet, as a letter written ten years ago and found in the GE files discloses: "It is just about as complicated as making a good grade of concrete for a sidewalk." And Firth testified: "Once you know how, it is simpler than steel making."

Tungsten carbide was and is scarce. Why? "A large number of firms never used it until the present emergency, **because of the price.**" (Firth's testimony)

GE alibi: "Cemented carbide was invented in Germany — it belonged to Krupp of Germany, and this made all the rest of the world Krupp's customer."

The facts: GE in America had its own original and exclusive patents held through Carboloy Co., Inc., a GE subsidiary. It entered the patent pool agreement with Krupp only to strengthen its own monopoly, and make it more difficult for smaller American firms to challenge GE's monopoly of the tungsten carbide process by patent litigations.

Lewin testified: "I refer the Committee again to exhibits Nos. 67, 77, 78 and 79 (GE's own documents) in which it was stated again and again by a number of General Electric representatives that the developments of General Electric could have been commercialized independently of the German product and without any conflict of patents."

GE alibi: "For immediate use in its own plants and for easier availability to others, General Electric undertook the long and arduous negotiations for the American rights."

The facts: The "long and arduous negotiations" were concluded in 1928, after which the price shot up from $48 a pound to as high as $453 a pound, and never lower than $200 until an anti-trust suit was started (still in progress), when the price dropped suddenly to $48 early this year.

A letter from the GE files, written ten years ago, suggested that since the cost of producing tungsten carbide was $6.25 a pound, a "fair price" for it would be about $50. GE also informed Krupp, at the time it first entered the conspiracy, that it desired to limit American licensees "to a small number, preferably not more than two." And that's all there are today.

GE alibi: "Limited rights (for GE) were obtained in 1928 with Krupp continuing to export the material to its United States customers, a business which languished, however, as General Electric painstakingly developed its own Carboloy technique. This paved the way for General Electric to make the United States entirely independent of Germany for its cemented tungsten-carbide supply as early as 1936."

The facts: Even Krupp found cause to complain against GE's price fixing, which destroyed Krupp's own American market. Its business "languished", as Krupp wrote to GE, because the prices fixed by GE "must be considered as illegal usury."

NAZI GIVEN VETO POWER

As for making this country independent of Nazi Germany for its tungsten carbide in 1936, that was the year when GE finally took over all Krupp's American markets, by agreeing to pay increased royalties to the Nazi trust and to export no tungsten carbide, and by "the conferring upon Krupp of the veto power over who could thereafter become American manufacturers." (Lewin's testimony).

In fact, during 1938, at the

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Two Trotskyist Leaders Escape From Ceylon Jail

They Were 'Interned' By British Officials At Beginning of War

Two Trotskyist leaders of the Ceylon masses, imprisoned by the British at the beginning of the war, have escaped, according to a British radio-alarm broadcast about March 25, which was heard by American sailors in Far Eastern waters.

The two are Pereira and Dr. Gunawardine, leaders of the famous Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Ceylon Socialist Party), section of the Fourth International.

In 1939 Pereira and Gunawardine, leaders of many strike struggles of the workers and peasants, were elected to the Ceylon State Council. In imprisoning them the British violated their parliamentary immunity. Recently the Lanka Sama Samaja, already driven underground in actual fact, was formally outlawed by the British Governor-General.

Despite the imperialist repressions, the party continues its activities and growth. It is now particularly strong among the South Indians (Tamilese) who are imported to work the Ceylonese plantations, and who form a direct connection between Ceylon and India's masses.

There is a danger that the announcement of their escape may be followed by a British announcement that they were "shot while trying to escape" — the old trick of "unofficial" execution of revolutionists.

Advocates Plan To Make Masses Pay Cost Of War

Price Chief Opposes General Wage Raises; Wants "Drastic" Taxes On Lowest Incomes

"In the next twelve to fifteen months we will get a civilian standard of living equivalent to 1932, which was the lowest of all lows during the depression."

That is the immediate future for the masses of American people, as forecast on May 7 by Leon Henderson, Price Administrator and a leading administration spokesman.

In other words, the administration's program for financing the war is to pay for it out of the living standards of the workers and low income earners.

The masses are to get a drastic reduction in the necessities of life, food, clothing, etc. In the literal sense, their flesh and blood is to pay the war bill. **And this is happening at the very time when the financiers and industrialists are making profits, not on the 1932 level, but greater than in the peak year of 1929.**

FOUR POINT PROGRAM

How the government plans to impose the burden of war costs on those least able to pay, was elaborated on May 11 by Henderson before the House Ways and Means Committee. The methods advocated by Henderson are those always employed by the capitalist nations to finance their wars.

His program calls for the reduction of mass purchasing power through the following means:

1. Fixing wages in general at their present level, that is, general wage freezing through the action of the War Labor Board.

2. Large scale government "borrowing" from current income of the wage earners, and, if it cannot be achieved by "voluntary" measures, then the institution of a system of compulsory "savings."

3. Sharply increasing the income tax rates in the lowest brackets, and further reducing the exemption on the lowest incomes, to exact "even more drastic" taxes than the harsh measures proposed by the Treasury Department.

A fourth method, which Henderson did not mention before the committee, but which the government has already employed, is so-called "moderate" inflation.

OPPOSES GENERAL WAGE INCREASES

In a subsequent press statement, the following day, Henderson sought to "clarify" his ideas on wages given to the House committee. "It is essential. . . that wages be stabilized and that general wage increases be avoided. . . I oppose general increases in the level of wages."

Henderson tried to deny that he is advocating actual wage freezing by stating that he thought "sub-standard" wage levels should be raised. However, he did not define "sub-standard," nor suggest how and when these raises are to be given. Does he propose wage increases for the more than 50 per cent of wage earners making less than $30 a week, or even the 25 per cent getting less than $20? Those are "sub-standard" wages according to the government's own definition. It is obvious that the administration has no intentions of raising the wages of over half the American working class.

But it does intend to prevent, if possible, increases in the general wage level, which means at this time the wages of the steel and auto workers, whose demands for a dollar-a-day general wage increase are now before the War Labor Board.

BORROWING AND TAXATION

"Borrowing" and forced "savings" are just another means of cutting down the purchasing power of the masses, on the promise that it will be returned after the war. However, it must be remembered that the money thus "borrowed" goes into non-

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ODELL WALLER WINS A STAY OF EXECUTION

U.S. Supreme Court Is Again Petitioned to Act On Negro's Case

A month's stay of execution, to June 19, has been granted to Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper, by Governor C. W. Darden of Virginia. The stay was obtained to permit presentation to the United States Supreme Court of a petition for rehearing by Waller's attorney, John F. Finerty, acting for the Workers Defense League. On May 4 the Supreme Court, without opinion had refused to review the case.

Waller was sentenced to death in 1940 for the self-defense killing of his white farmer landlord in a dispute over crop shares which were due the Waller family. Workers Defense League attorneys appealed the case on the grounds that Waller had not received a trial by a jury of his peers, and presented affidavits showing that non-payers of the poll tax were systematically barred from jury lists in Pittsylvania County, Va. The affidavits further showed that over 80 per cent of the population of the county were unable to pay poll tax and were thereby barred from serving on juries.

In commenting on the case, Ashley L. Totten, international secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, declared:

"I am astounded at the failure of the high court to review Odell Waller's case. It is the continuity of lack of concern for Negro rights by American courts and other governmental agencies which is causing apathy in the minds of Negroes toward the war for democracy abroad.

"Our entire international union is very much concerned that the right of a poor man to a trial by his economic peers be established by the United States Supreme Court, and we pledge the wholehearted support of our organization to save the life of Odell Waller. The fight to save Waller's life is the fight of all poor people, Negroes and whites, for equal justice."

Other organizations besides the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which are active in the fight to save Waller include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union.

See editorial on "Odell Waller and the Supreme Court" on Page 4 of this issue.

Union-Busting Moves Blocked By United Front Of Seamen

Maritime Unions Win Guarantee Protecting Union Hiring Halls and Existing Contracts

A united front of all seafaring unions of the unlicensed personnel, with the exception of the Stalinist-led National Maritime Union, last week withstood the full force of the shipowner-government-Communist Party union-wrecking drive. The united front won sufficient safeguards to assure, for the time being, the continuance of existing union contract conditions and union security aboard American flag merchant ships. At the same time, however, the operators and government made further headway in whittling down the rights and conditions of the maritime workers.

In a 'Statement of Policy' signed by the unions and the War Shipping Administration, a bureau of the Maritime Commission, the maritime workers received the guarantee that the union hiring halls would be protected and that existing contracts would be respected by the government. This "Statement of Policy" is to be binding for the duration of the war.

The securing of these safeguards, however inadequate they may prove to be in the long run, is an immediate and important gain for the unions in their life-and-death struggle against the shipowners and the government. To win these gains, the unions had to withstand the strongest offensive yet thrown against them, combining the full power of the government, employers and the treacherous Stalinist union leaders.

IMPORTANT UNITED FRONT

Largely responsible for this successful defense of union security and contracts was the united front of the unlicensed maritime unions, which banded together against the union-busting drive. This united front included the Seafarers International Union, AFL; the Sailors Union of the Pacific, AFL; the Marine Cooks and Stewards, CIO; and the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers, unaffiliated.

For weeks, the maritime unions have been threatened by the government agencies with dire repressions. The anti-union drive was led off several weeks ago by Sec'y of the Navy Knox, who let it be known that he was "studying" a plan to induct all merchant seamen into the Navy, on Navy pay and under Navy discipline. This, of course, would have meant the complete and immediate smashing of the unions.

The unions were aroused to bitter opposition. Attempting a squeeze play against the unions, the government, through the War Shipping Administration, then came forth with a different plan, which gave lip service to union security, while actually aiming at destroying the unions. The WSA proposal would have smashed the system of union hiring halls, the maritime equivalent of the union shop, and would have given the government power to disregard existing union contract provisions covering wages and working conditions.

THE NMU PLAN

Support for the basic principles of this union-busting plan was given by the Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union, who came forth at this moment with a set of proposals paralleling in all important respects those of the Maritime Commission. They proposed to eliminate the union hiring halls by placing the hiring of seamen in the hands of special government boards. They wanted to give the government power to disregard any union contract provisions "which interfered with the war effort," an open invitation to the ship owner-dominated Maritime Commission to violate the union contracts. The Stalinist plan went even further than the government's, calling on the government to fire "disloyal elements," meaning, in particular, union militants who dare to defend the interests of the workers.

Only the united front of the unlicensed men's unions, and their correct understanding that continuance of the union hiring halls and the inviolability of union contracts is vital to the very existence of the unions, enabled the unions to block for the time be-

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Black Market To Boost Cost Of Living in U. S.

Bosses Will Bootleg Goods to Beat Price 'Control' As In Great Britain and Germany

By LARISSA REED

The Black Market is flourishing like a scourge upon the masses of Europe. Now, under Roosevelt's price-fixing and wage-freezing program, it is about to be born in the United States.

Wherever capitalist governments have attempted to fix prices, alongside the open and legal market there has sprung up an illegal market.

Inevitably consumers' goods which are restricted in the open market will be diverted to the Black Market where the prices will be uncontrolled.

Where will the Black Market be found? All Americans remember the blootlegging Black Market in the Prohibition era of the 1920's. It was everywhere — in cellars, houses, stores — wherever you had the password and the money. Prohibition did not wipe out the liquor market; its only effects were to skyrocket the prices and supply the people with an inferior product.

HOW THE BLACK MARKET OPERATES IN ENGLAND

Craig Thompson, in the *London Times* of March 7, shows what has already happened in England and will be repeated here. He states:

"The Black Market is not any special place but everywhere; operations are carried on by the biggest department stores as well as the smallest shops."

He shows the tricks and dodges used by the rich to get what they want. All of them cost money. "Buy lots of unrationed meats that are not wanted and get extra shares of the rationed kind." Obviously this is not advice for the workers, whose wages have been frozen under the pretext of stabilizing prices. Thompson points out that bribes are used to get clothes made by tailors doing illegal business. The workers do not have enough money to pay for the cloth, let alone the bribes.

Although the British Government officially has rationed the most essential commodities, there is a flourishing market for stolen or forged ration coupons which can be purchased only by the wealthy. Sellers of the coupons make 500% profit.

Last November the *London Times* announced that "Prices for horsemeat for human consumption have been fixed." The prices were fixed at 20 cents per pound for the better cuts; 16 cents for cheaper cuts. The American workers should take warning from this, as to the kind and qualities of products which will be available to them on the open market. Just as in England, where steaks are being illegally sold at $4.00 each, here too the best and scarcest products will be available only on the Black Market at prices far beyond the pocketbooks of the workers.

THE SKY'S THE LIMIT IN ENGLAND—AND HERE

There is no limit to which prices can soar in the Black Market. In England there is increasing alarm that lean rations may be cut still further as huge quantities are diverted to the Black Market. Official spokesmen are urging drastic regulations to curb the Black Market.

What regulations do the capitalists wish, who are themselves the chief purchasers on the Black Market? They are chiefly incensed, not at the pitifully inadequate goods provided for the workers on the open markets, but at the skyrocketing prices which they themselves are forced to pay on the uncontrolled Black Market.

The *London Times* of March 7 carried a statement by Admiral James who said: "I feel it is my duty to call on everyone to fight with vigor in the battle of the people against the (Black Market) parasites. Recently individuals with sinister names have been arrested for conducting a racket to raise the price of liquor served to men in my command at five times its proper value."

Nevertheless Admiral James' officers still get the liquor for their cocktails and stengahs, even though they pay exorbitant prices. But the workers' wives stand in long queus every day at the butcher shops and often go home without even horsemeat to feed their families. They do not have the money to buy what they need on the Black Market.

Everyone is familiar with the immense fortunes made by the big bootleggers. They remember the gangsterism of that period, the hi-jacking, plunder, murders and official corruption. In the 14 years of its existence, it reached a point of organization and finance which defied the government, and top bootleggers became a power which rivalled (and was connected with) the government.

The Black Market now will far outstrip the experiences of those days. Already we have the first signs — illegal markets in rubber tires, sugar. Gasoline will soon follow. In England today the Black Market racket is estimated at a yearly turnover of £156,000,000, about $624,000,000. A large part of these goods are "stolen." The *London Times* of January 16 revealed that the thefts were on such a huge scale that the exact amount could not be revealed, and that it had been going on for more than a year.

Large quantities of meats imported by the Food Ministry from North and South America and the Dominions were stolen from the docks by organized bands. A few of the cases brought to court revealed thefts of 240 tons of molasses from a Thames Wharf, 20,000 eggs, 50,000 fowls, 144 cartons of tomato puree, stolen from a bombed warehouse, 20 tons of corned beef, millions of razor blades. Can such stealing take place without the connivance of the higher-ups?

The *London Times* of March 7 carried a report by Sir Thomas Royden of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, which handles 34% of British railway freight, which stated that there was an "appalling" increase in wholesale robberies and petty pilfering from railway cars, yards and warehouses — one of the major sources of supply for the Black Market. He stated: "Thefts are carried out on a scale impossible without organizations. These require the cooperation of watchmen, goods checkers, groups equipped with trucks, safe dumps for stolen property and channels for quick disposition." These are the same kinds of organizations which operated the bootlegging racket in the U. S.

GOVERNMENT "LEAKAGE" TO THE BLACK MARKET

The tentacles of the organized racket in consumers' goods reach directly into government circles, as is indicated by experiences in England. Last October the *London Evening Standard* disclosed that the food racketeers' "chief source of supply has been the Ministry of Food itself."

The paper stated that the Ministry admitted there had been "leakage" in salvaged goods, among them "big supplies" of controlled foods which are in the greatest demand. It added that Black Market stocks came from Ministry depots where foodstuffs from damaged warehouses were stored. Stocks that should have been consumed immediately were sold by the Ministry and "in many cases successful bidders have been firms and individuals who have supplied the Black Market."

The law, in spite of heavy fines and penalties, was unable to cope with the bootlegging racket. It will be no more effective in stopping the Black Market operations, now in process of formation. This is confirmed by the experiences in England. The Black Market expands and flourishes, in spite of warnings that, as in Germany, the death penalty may be invoked for such illegal operations. Even if some operators are given this extreme sentence, it will not do away with the Black Market, for other operators will take their place and find new devices to escape being caught.

There are two measures that the workers can take to safeguard their interests against the worst abuses of rising prices and the Black Market: (1) As the majority of consumers, the workers and housewives should form committees in each locality to check the speculators and control exorbitant prices. (2) The workers should demand a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

James P. Cannon

Continues his lectures on

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Chicago May Frolic Nets $115 for CRDC

CHICAGO, Ill., May 12. — The "CRDC May Frolics", held here last Saturday night, was one of the most successful affairs ever conducted by the Chicago branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. A total of $115 was netted as a clear contribution toward the defense of the 18 Minneapolis defendants. Trade union locals, fraternal and political groups as well as sympathetic individuals, purchased blocks of tickets and in other ways made possible the successful gathering.

A varied and fast moving program held the interest of those present far into Sunday morning. Dancing, talking, eating and drinking kept all busy and happy.

One of the highlights of the program was a discussion of some of the lighter aspects of the Minneapolis trial by Albert Goldman, chief attorney for the defense. Goldman was not originally billed for the affair, but he recently came to Chicago to collaborate with Attorney M. J. Myer in the preparation of briefs for the appeal of the case.

Another part of the program, the movie of "The Minneapolis Sedition Trial", was also very entertaining. Other entertainment features included a magician, a concertina player who came as a representative of the Connolly Club, and several Negro youngsters who had the crowd begging for more of their clever impersonations and dance and song specialties.

Each person present was given an autographed copy of both of the trial pamphlets, "Socialism On Trial" by James P. Cannon, and "In Defense of Socialism" by Albert Goldman.

Many new friends of the committee, present for the first time at a CRDC function, expressed their readiness to attend the next business meeting of the committee and to assist more directly with the work of the defense.

STALINISTS ATTACK TROTSKYISTS FOR DEFENDING LABOR'S RIGHTS

C. P. Condemns Militant Struggles Against The Employers As "Traitorous Efforts"

By PHILIP BLAKE

"The present war crisis provides labor with the opportunity and the necessity to eliminate the Trotskyites from its ranks," says Elmer Luchterhand, Chicago Stalinist finger-man, in the May 11 *Daily Worker*.

The Stalinists think that they have the opportunity to launch a successful lynch campaign against the Trotskyists now because it it usually easier in war time than in peace to arouse hysteria against the militant opponents of capitalist oppression and of Stalinist treachery. And Luchterhand explains "the necessity" for this lynch campaign by "exposing" the "traitorous efforts" of which the Trotskyists and all other militants in the labor movement are guilty.

"Their press, which finds its way to meetings of Chicago unions in aircraft engine plants and elsewhere, attacks savagely the plan of War Production Board Chairman Donald Nelson, for labor-management committees, as a 'disguised speed-up plan,'" says Luchterhand.

That is, the Stalinists want to "eliminate" the militants who show how the labor-management committees are a deliberate speed up devise and who call on the unions to oppose it as a measure to undermine their union standards.

"CONSTANT HARPING"

Luchterhand continues with his "expose":

"The Equality of Sacrifice Program adopted by the recent national Emergency Conference of the United Auto Workers, CIO, is attacked as a 'cover-up for the union leaders' retreat' before management.

"Coupled with endless attacks on the leaders of the UAW goes open strike agitation — a constant harping on economic demands, 'union standards,' and the 'right to strike.'

"The central aim of this agitation is disruptive, defeatist, pro-Axis. It is flavored to split the forces of labor and the unity of the country."

That is, the Communist Party says the militants should be "eliminated" from the labor move ment because they opposed the surrender of established overtime pay rates for Sunday and holiday work as a retreat before the employers' anti-labor offensive; because they criticize the appeasement policies of union leaders who do not defend the interests of their membership; because they "openly" urge the workers not to permit the bosses to undermine their union standards. Defense of the workers' interests, according to the Stalinists, is "disruptive, defeatist and pro-Axis."

CP DEFENDS MONOPOLIES

"In their effort to stir up resentment and confusion among the people and to utilize every case of justified dissatisfaction, their press is filled with columns 'rediscovering' the manifest fact that finance capital engages in cartels and patent deals with other countries.

"In their fundamental hatred of national unity they neglect the fact which is most important for winning the war, that the large corporations as well as the small ones are a part of this national unity. . ."

That is, the Communist Party wants certain papers and magazines "eliminated" because they expose the monopolies' activities which arouse "justified dissatisfaction;" because they tell the truth about the cartels and patent deals of the most important American corporations with the Nazi trusts (not "with other countries".) The Stalinists are particularly upset about this because THE MILITANT exposed not only the corporations, but also the Daily Worker's contemptible, belly-crawling defense of the monopolies which continue to do business with Hitler.

DON'T WANT STRIKE FUNDS

Luchterhand then complains because "In recent weeks, leaders of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes have been involved in one strike and in preparations for another.

"In the case of the South Center Department Store, they did have the presumption to violate CIO policy and call a strike to settle a jurisdictional dispute with the AFL without troubling to seek a solution by conferences between AFL and CIO leaders or by the Labor Victory Board, as a final resort.

"In openly advocating a strike in one of the important mail order houses, the staff representatives of that union falsely presumed to assure a large meeting of workers that if they struck, they would have the support of the national CIO. They then proceeded to establish a 'strike fund,' later called a 'victory fund' after a question was raised from the floor."

That is, the Stalinists want to "eliminate" the militants who "presume" to strike or even talk about it. And they denounce union leaders who dare to advocate the establishment of strike funds — that's "subversive." Luchterhand is evidently trying by this "expose" to set himself up as a rival of the labor-baiting Westbrook Pegler.

Luchterhand is on the job — and he shows his qualifications for a job with the Rapp-Coudert Committee too — when he calls attention to "the extensive efforts to inject their poisonous doctrines into labor's ranks by tricky utilization of the educational programs of the unions. A case in point is the efforts of the Trotskyites to utilize the educational program of the UAW in the Illinois-Wisconsin District. Likewise, a handful of Trotskyites, with the help of influential connections, have been busying themselves trying to make contacts at the class sponsored by the Chicago Industrial Union Council."

That is, the Stalinists want to "eliminate" those who are interested in educating the workers, in teaching them the history and tactics of the labor movement, in trying, through education, to help develop the militancy and solidarity of the unions.

WANTS SILENCE ON JIM CROW

Luchterhand's eagle eye is everywhere, so he is able to report some more "treasonous" activity:

"In the great Negro communities of Chicago, there has lately been an increase of activities by the Trotskyites. Playing upon the Jim Crow conditions and attacks upon the Negro people in the armed forces of our country, the Trotskyites carry on their cynical campaign against the war, trying to convince the Negro people that they have no interest in a victory of the United Nations. . .

"Leading the campaign against the real interests of the Negro people are individuals connected with the Chicago Youth Fellowship of Reconciliation, the United Transport Service Employes Union (reported to be seeking a CIO charter), as well as the Midwest Labor Service Bureau, of which George F. McCray is the Director. In the meetings of the latter group, in which Negro Trotskyites have been playing an active role, efforts have been made to draw in workers from such CIO unions as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, the United Auto Workers, and the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee."

That is, the Stalinists want the Trotskyists "eliminated" because they fight against Jim Crow conditions and the brutal attacks on the Negro people, and because they urge the Negro people to organize to protect their rights, and because they dare to try to win the support of the trade unions in the fight for Negro equality.

Luchterhand set out in this article to show the "necessity" for driving the Trotskyists out of the labor movement. What he succeeded in doing was to show how the Stalinists are betraying all of the workers' interests. And he also shows the necessity for a bitter struggle against the treacherous policy of Stalinism which gives aid and comfort to the monopolies, the anti-labor offensive, the red-baiters and the enemies of the Negro people.

British M.P.'s Hit Stalinist Drive Against Refugees

Opposition to the Stalinist-inspired lynch campaign against five anti-fascist refugees in Mexico was expressed by six Labor Party and Independent Labor Party Members of Parliament in England last month, according to London newspapers received in New York this week.

A letter addressed to President Camacho of Mexico, signed by the M. P.'s and a number of writers, declares that "from our knowledge of their past records, it is impossible to believe the allegations made" against Gustav Regler, Victor Serge, Marceau Pivert, Julian Gorkin and Grandizo Munis. The letter points out that each of the five has a record of anti-fascist activity in European countries, and continues:

"The fact that all these men are refugees from fascism in Europe is sufficient to disprove the charges which are made against them.

"We ask you to protect them against these attacks and to resist every suggestion that they should be deported to Europe where they would undoubtedly be imprisoned and would perhaps suffer death at the hands of the fascists."

The Stalinists are behind the lynch campaign to imprison, deport or otherwise get rid of the refugees, accusing them of being "agents of Hitler." Actually, the only crime of the refugees is that they continue to express opposition to the reactionary policies of Stalinism.

Among those signing the London letter are A. Creech Jones, Rhys Davis and James Barr, Labor Party M. P.'s; J. Maxton, John McGovern and Campbell Stephen, I. L. P. M. P.'s; H. N. Brailsford, Vera Brittain, Ethel Mannin, Frank Horrabin, Jon Evans and other writers.

Morgenthau For Higher Tax on Lowest Incomes

Treasury Secretary Asks Tax On Wages of $11.60 a Week; Wants Taxes On Lowest Incomes Increased 250 to 1000%

Another concretization of Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" 7-point program came when Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau on May 7 proposed to the House Ways and Means Committee a drastic increase in taxes on the lowest income brackets.

The Treasury proposal delivers two further sharp blows at the living standards of the subsistence earners.

1. It would lower the present exemptions of $1,500 for married persons, $750 for single and $400 for each dependent, to $1,200, $600 and $300 respectively. It would reach directly into the pockets of 6,500,000 more of the poorer workers and farmers, striking at incomes of as low as $11.60 per week.

2. Those in the present lowest non-exempt income brackets, ranging downward from $2500 to $750 annually, would face tax increases of from 250 to 1,000 per cent.

At the same time, Morgenthau's proposal fails to carry out Roosevelt's half-promise for a maximum limit of $25,000 on personal income. Those in the $75,000 to $5,000,000 income brackets would be permitted to retain incomes of from $27,000 to over $550,000 a year — with no fixed maximum limits.

Proposed increases for those in the million dollar a year bracket would amount to only 20 per cent, ranging down to just 14 per cent for those raking in $5,000,000 or over. Compare this with the 1,000 per cent increase for those in the $750 a year group!

WHAT HE SAID MARCH 3

The character of the Morgenthau proposals is plain in the light of his own previous plan and statement put forth on Mar. 3, when he opposed lowered exemptions and proposed "only" a 100 per cent increase in taxes on the lowest taxable incomes.

At that time, Morgenthau stated:

"Our studies at the Treasury indicate that the very lowest income earners have all they can do to feed and clothe themselves and their families. Their buying habits are governed strictly by the need of maintaining nutrition and health, and I cannot recommend a direct tax upon them until we have exhausted every possible source of revenue from those who enjoy higher incomes."

But now Morgenthau is attacking nutrition and health.

Study the following comparative tables, to see in dollars and cents what the administration's "equal sacrifice" tax plan is going to mean to the lowest income earners (80 per cent of the population):

MARRIED PERSONS — NO DEPENDENTS
AMOUNT OF TAXES

Net Income	Present Law	March 3 Plan	May 7 Plan
$1,200-1300	...	...	$16
1,400	...	...	32
1,500	...	...	48
1,700	13	32	80
2,000	42	80	137
2,500	90	175	241

SINGLE PERSONS — NO DEPENDENTS
AMOUNT OF TAX

Net Income	Present Law	March 3 Plan	May 7 Plan
$600-700	...	...	$16
800	3	8	32
900	11	24	48
1,000	21	40	64
1,200	40	72	99
1,500	69	128	156
2,000	117	230	263
2,500	165	345	381

The latest Treasury plan would take an additional total of $1,100,000,000 in income taxes from the masses over the several billions which Morgenthau last March proposed to be added to the low income earners' tax bill. This is in addition to billions in hidden taxes, which are to be levied from the masses through increased excise and amusement taxes.

CALLED AN ALTERNATIVE!

The ostensible purpose of the administration in putting forth its drastic income tax measure aimed at the lowest incomes is to head off the House Ways and Means Committee's scheme to draft a sales tax program which places the burden of war most completely and directly on the low-income consumers.

The differences which the administration and Congress are having over the tax question revolve around merely the most expedient method for taxing the workers. The National Association of Manufacturers, U. S. Chamber of Commerce and their Congressional stooges prefer the sales tax method, because they oppose in principle the whole system of graduated income taxes.

Thus, a day after Morgenthau outlined his plan, the joint Congressional Tax Committee countered his income tax schedule with one of its own, which, while it does not hit the lowest incomes so hard, reduces the amount of proposed taxes on the highest personal incomes. This, however, is not a move reflecting any sympathy for the needs of the masses. The committee is paving the way for a sales tax plan, which will put the squeeze on the masses a "little at a time," so they "won't notice it."

These plans for greater taxes on the workers, farmers and lower middle class are in extreme contrast with the profits tax measure approved two weeks ago by the House Ways and Means Committee. This plan would set no limit on the amount of war profits it would be possible for the corporations to make. It would actually bring in $700,000,000 less profits taxes than provided for in the weak proposal of the Treasury Department last March.

The corporations and their political agents have shown in two weeks time the kind of treatment Roosevelt's "equal sacrifice" program is going to get. Neither the administration spokesmen nor Congress is putting forth any programs other than those calculated to protect the profits and luxurious incomes of the bosses and to fuel the war machine with the flesh and blood of the workers.

Drive Launched to Repeal California Income Tax Law

By GORDON BAILEY

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—Fearful of losing even part of their war-swollen profits, California capitalists have formed a Tax Repeal Association to launch a drive against the state income tax.

The Association claims to speak for "the average wage earner and industrious citizen;" among the "average wage earners" belonging to it are Earl Gilmore, millionaire oilman; Bing Crosby, $3000 a week radio crooner; and Joseph Scott, notorious pro-fascist attorney.

The Association complains about rising federal income taxes, and declares that the state income tax is a second blow at the same pocketbook. Naturally it expresses solicitude for the pocket book of the "little taxpayer." Actually those earning less than $50 a week pay no state income tax at all.

The state income tax law was passed in 1933 mainly through labor's pressure, at a time when most states were facing bankruptcy.

The bosses strongly opposed the law, calling instead for a sales tax on the people's necessities to meet the state's deficit. The income tax was adopted, but the bosses also succeeded in pushing through a 3 per cent sales tax bill by presenting it as a purely "temporary" measure to save the schools.

If tax receipts are building up a surplus while the cost of living continues to rise, then the workers must ask themselves this question: Shall the poor continue to be deprived of necessities, or shall the rich be deprived of a few of the many luxuries they enjoy?

The answer of the labor movement to this question — and to the boss-controlled Tax Repeal Association — should be: Repeal the sales tax! Maintain the income tax law! The answer of the labor movement must be the creation of an independent labor party to carry out such a policy.

Living Standards To Go To 1932 Level-Henderson

(Continued from page 1)

productive and destructive war purposes. After the war, the government will have to "borrow" more money to pay back its debts, or resort to even greater taxes. In the meantime, mass living standards are further reduced.

Taxes on low incomes are one of the chief methods of war financing. The Treasury Department is now calling for taxes on incomes as low as $11.60 a week, and increases of 250 to 1000 per cent in taxes on those low incomes already being taxed. Henderson stated "my own thoughts carry me to even more drastic reductions in income exemptions."

Henderson claims he proposes such staggering income taxes because he opposes sales taxes at the present time. However, by calling for drastic taxation of the masses, he supplies the chief argument for the Congressmen who are right now readying a steep general sales tax bill. They logically argue, what's the difference if we take it from the masses a bit at a time, or all in one lump — just so we get it?

Henderson puts forth this program, the administration's program, as an "anti-inflationary" plan. However, the government itself has not opposed, but encouraged, what Henderson has called "mild" inflation. In his price fixing order of April 28, Henderson admits there has been a "mild" inflation in which retail prices of food, clothing and house furnishings, chief living expense items, have risen since September, 1939 by 25 per cent — an indirect average wage cut of one-fourth.

He states further that until six months ago, price control was not "desirable" and that, in fact, the war economy "was aided by flexibility in the price structure." In other words, the administration considered a "mild" inflation of 25 per cent as "desirable."

Henderson's statement to the House committee, expressing the sentiments of the administration, helps to strip the veil from Roosevelt's 7-point "anti-inflation" program and show its real aim — to finance the war by driving down the living standards of the masses.

Significantly, Henderson, like Congress, ignores that portion of Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program directed at limiting war profits and fixing maximum levels on the incomes of the rich. Within a week of Roosevelt's announcement of his program, Congress had buried his call for effective taxation of corporate profits and fixing personal incomes at a $25,000 annual maximum. The present Congress plan would permit "sky's the limit" profits.

Labor, the poor farmers and lower middle class must oppose this "skin the masses" scheme for financing the war. The workers must demand a rising scale of wages to meet price rises, as the only means of protecting themselves from capitalist inflation. The organizations of the workers, farmers and lower-middle class consumers must themselves control price regulations and rationing, to ensure against price profiteering. And the rich, the bankers and industrialists who are profiting from the war, must be made to pay for the war.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Albert Parker

"Jim Crow-As-Usual"

"Jim Crow-as-usual" is the motto of the Democratic Party and the ruling class of South Carolina. These gentlemen are willing and eager for Negroes to get killed for a war that is supposed to bring democracy to Poland or Madagascar, but they turn thumbs down on the idea that Negroes should have the right to vote in. . .South Carolina.

As we reported in this column last month, Negroes in Columbia, S. C., were told by city officials after a long fight that they do have the right to vote in the Democratic primaries. But, they were also told, before they can exercise this right, they have to meet the Democratic Party's qualifications for voting, which say, "Every Negro applying to vote in the city Democratic primary must be known to have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since 1876."

In other words, according to this ruling, not every Negro is barred from the primaries, oh no — only those who aren't at least 87 years old and who haven't voted the Democratic ticket continuously for 66 years!

Negroes are now trying to get the South Carolina state executive committee of the Democratic Party to revise this ruling. As part of this move, they succeeded in getting five white people to take the matter to the Richland County Democratic convention on May 4. But the convention turned it down.

The Greenville **Piedmont**, a local newspaper, then summed up the situation in the following "kindly" and "moderate" manner:

"That is why we present the practical point that an effort to start Negroes generally voting would bring injury first of all to the welfare of the Negroes themselves. The situation for years has been working itself out satisfactorily to both races as a whole. Why not let it alone?"

The ruling class in South Carolina claims that the kind of democracy they have down there has been satisfactory both to itself and to the oppressed, disfranchised Negro people. But apparently it doesn't want to take any chances that the Negroes may become dissatisfied with this satisfactory situation. That's why it pointedly hints, for the benefit of Negroes who may be thinking that democracy is something that might be good at home, too, that an effort to vote will bring "injury" to them first of all. That's the "nice" way to say, "You'd better not try it if you know what's good for you."

No One Reminded Edison

In New Jersey they have just passed another one of those anti-discrimination bills, which most employers laugh at and disregard.

Last week Governor Charles Edison signed the bill in the presence of some labor leaders. He used six pens to sign the bill and then graciously gave one to each of those present at the "ceremony."

Then he delivered a little oration. To the sponsor of the bill he said, "The central purpose for which we are fighting this war is to defend the rights of men as men. We are combatting nations and forces that seek to do the very things your bill forbids."

Nobody spoiled the ceremony by reminding Edison that pretty speeches come a dime a dozen nowadays, but that he had never done anything about these pretty sentiments he now expresses when he was Secretary of the Navy a couple of years ago and had a real chance to do something about the vicious Jim Crow treatment of Negroes in that branch of the service. . .

In the North, Too

Brutal treatment of Negro soldiers by civilian and military police doesn't take place only in the South. It takes place in the North too. Camp Dix, New Jersey, showed that early in April when two Negro soldiers were shot to death and several others wounded. New York — yes, "enlightened" New York — showed that also two weeks ago when Hempstead, Long Island, cops brutally assaulted a Negro soldier and thus began a fight involving many Negroes living in the Hill section of town.

The Negro soldiers at Mitchell Field don't have a USO hall like the white soldiers; they meet and chat in a bar and grill on South Franklin Street. Here on May 2, a soldier named George Dixon got into an argument with another soldier. It was all over by the time the cops arrived, the other soldier having already departed. The cops seized Dixon and began to manhandle him. They began to beat him about the head when he protested, and handcuffed him. Even after he fell, they continued to beat and kick him.

When bystanders protested, the cops pulled out their guns, threatened to shoot anyone who came closer, one of them hit Dixon on the head with his gun, and they dragged his body into their patrol car. Someone put in a riot call, and carloads of civilian and military police began to arrive.

The Negro bystanders fought back, hurling bricks and stones. A few cops were hit, patrol car windshields were broken, and some Negroes were arrested. After half an hour of struggle, the police managed to clear the streets and restore the kind of "law and order" which recognizes the right of cops to peacefully assault Negro soldiers without interference.

The authorities had won another "war for democracy."

Not Ready Yet

It won't be long now before Negroes will be permitted to begin training for Navy service outside of the kitchen. In another month or so, the first volunteers for the Jim Crow navy jobs will be sent to the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Illinois. They can't go now, because the Jim Crow barracks to separate the Negroes from the whites at that training station haven't been completed yet. . .

Steel Workers Hold Convention

(Continued from page 1)

cards that they represented the majority of workers, the management has then called for NLRB elections. The purpose of the corporation is to gain the opportunity for a heightened campaign against the SWOC and to mobilize its stooges to undermine the unions.

SO-CALLED SUBSTITUTES

The administration has indicated that it is willing to grant some sort of "union security" if the union leaders will go along with the "wage stabilization" program. William Davis, head of the WLB, has publicly suggested that such "union security" be granted in view of the fact that the government expects the union leaders to put over the program against general wage increases.

What the administration means by "union security" is probably some sort of "maintenance of membership," such as was granted in the Federal Shipbuilding Co. case. This it must be recognized is a far cry from the union shop. It does not make union membership a condition of employment. It does not protect the union from employer attacks. It merely enables the union to collect dues from those members it has at the time of the contract signing. In the steel industry, where the bosses have developed the art of union-wrecking to the highest degree, mere "maintenance of membership" would prove to be a very insubstantial bulwark against the corporations' offensive.

To protect the very existence of the union, the SWOC convention will have to reject the various "middle-of-the-road" formulas which the administration is cooking up as a substitute for genuine union security. The steel workers must have the union shop, and they must fight for it, yielding to no persuasion that something else "almost as good" will give them the kind of protection they need.

UNION DEMOCRACY

Everything the steel workers have gained in the past six years has been won through struggle and their own organized efforts. Only the threat of strike, and the lesson which the steel bosses were able to draw from the sit-down battles of the workers, won the first contract in Big Steel. The strike upsurge in Bethlehem Steel last year brought the first concessions from the Little Steel barons. It paved the way for the last wage raises a year ago, but these gains have since been wiped out by price rises.

The principal internal organizational guarantee for a successful struggle in defense of the steel workers' rights and conditions, is union democracy. Only through complete union democracy will the rank and file have the opportunity to participate fully in the union's activities, to develop initiative and leadership, to check abuse of powers and to rectify wrong policies.

Up to now, it must be pointed out frankly, there has been no real opportunity for complete rank and file expression. The SWOC has been run entirely from the top. It has gone along for its six years of existence without a genuine constitution and has been directed entirely by non-elected officials.

It is not yet known what precise constitutional recommendations will be made at the convention. It is vital to the union to ensure that the constitution there adopted will provide for the fullest democracy in the union, that will protect freedom of expression and give the members the means for correcting any bureaucratic abuses, and that will enable the rank and file to select the leaders who will most truly carry out the policies the members desire. Above all, the constitution must ensure that the final policy-making power rests in the hands of the membership.

NEED LABOR PARTY

It is understandable that the economic struggles of the steel workers should occupy much of the attention of the convention. But more and more the workers are coming to recognize the necessity for a sound political program. Today, every economic issue is tied up with governmental policy and demands political solutions.

The political policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies" has proved to be a blind alley. Today, despite the fact that the unions represent over 11,000,000 workers, organized labor is confronted by a completely anti-labor Congress. During the labor-baiting, labor-hating Congressional drive, the workers have had not a single representative to defend their interests in Congress.

The time is ripe to end the policy of seeking to protect the unions by currying favor with this or that capitalist-minded politician. The workers need a party of their own, an independent labor party based on the unions and responsible to the unions, which will fight to put genuine spokesmen for labor in Congress.

The steel workers are the backbone of modern industry, as steel is the basic industry in the nation's economy. This convention will provide an opportunity for the establishment of that program and organization which will help inspire and lead the whole of the industrial working class toward a successful defense of their rights and living conditions. As a part of the CIO, which is today the main-stream of the organized union movement in America, the steel union, through a militant and democratic program, can play a tremendous and decisive role in turning back the attacks of the employers and advancing the interests of labor.

On the Workers' Bookshelf

A Novel About The Great Steel Strike Of 1919

BLOOD ON THE FORGE by William Attaway. Doubleday, Doran and Co., Garden City, N. Y. 1941. 279 pages. $2.50.

This novel tells the story of the three Moss brothers, Negro sharecroppers recruited by an agent of the steel interests to leave the red-clay hills of Kentucky and come to Allegheny County, Pa., in 1919. They were part of that great wave of Negro migration from South to North which took place during the war and post-war years. The northern capitalists sent for them during the war when production was expanding and men were being conscripted into the army; and after the war, when workers in the steel industry began to organize into unions and talk about strike.

The story of the Moss brothers is the tragedy of three men who had been starved, discriminated against and spit upon by "the white man" down south, who did not understand that they were being used by the bosses to maintain the open shop against their own interests, who were groping toward class consciousness but could not overnight wipe out the memory of all those years when they had been treated as dogs because their skin was dark.

But their personal tragedy takes on significance only against the background of the greater tragedy of the labor movement of that day, of how it was defeated and smashed because among other things it had failed to concern itself with the problem of winning over the Negro worker.

To the brothers $4 a day was big money, more than the three of them could make in a week by cropping. Back in Kentucky they never even had known how much they made because their landlord kept the books — and he kept them to himself — and merely told them at the end of the year how much they owed him. The work was hard, backbreaking, and the hours were long — but this was nothing new for men of the soil; a 12-hour day was shorter than they were used to. In fact, Big Mat, the oldest brother, took to the work in the steel mill like a duck to water; he was so powerful that the Irish workers proudly called him "Black Irish."

They Faced the Same Problems

But after they had been there for a while, they began to experience the same problems as the other workers. The early suspicion of the white workers that they had been brought in to split the men along racial lines began to disappear as they made friends with Italians, Slavs, Irish workers, learned that they had common complaints, desires and aspirations.

They began to think of themselves as men equal to all others, they saw that they were doing the same work, getting the same pay, working the same long hard shifts. They began to resent racial epithets, and would not permit the whites to use them. They lost the fear of talking to a white woman which had been bred into them down south.

But they did not have a chance to become integrated. The workers began to talk about strike again, to join the union in greater numbers. The whites began to view the Negroes with suspicion once again, because they did not know where the Negroes stood; and as strike talk increased, union men were laid off, and the freight trains continued to pull into the yards with more Negroes from the south to take their jobs.

Chinatown Moss never thought much about the union at all — before the big fight between the union and the bosses came, there was an explosion, 14 workers were killed and he was blinded.

Melody Moss said "Sound all right" when he was told that the union wanted an eight hour day, more money and union security. But the only Negro foreman in the mill warned him that that was no way to talk, told him that the only reason Melody and the other Negroes had jobs in the mill at all was because of "trouble," that the only reason he himself was a foreman was that he had stuck to the job when the rest had struck.

Negro politicians were brought in to speak to the Negro workers, to tell them that a victory for the mill owners would be a victory for the Negroes, to assure them that the Negroes had never advanced through unions, to remind them "that the men who now ask for your help in a strike are the men who have spit at you on the streets because of your color."

Melody and Big Mat were deeply impressed by these Negro speakers, until they learned that they had been paid by the steel interests to make those speeches, and that they could be bought to tell the workers the opposite story. Then they were disgusted. "Lots of these hunkies who gittin' fired is all-right guys," said Melody. "Now them (Negro) talkers gittin' paid off. I reckon us best git along home an' stay there." "Yeah," said Big Mat, who was also confused, "the more I hears 'bout this here mess the less I know."

Big Mat Fights On Wrong Side

But although Big Mat did not learn any more about the issues of the strike, he himself became involved in it. The tension grew greater as the strike date approached; Negroes did not join the union, many of them stayed at home, stones were thrown at them when they went out into the street, even their white buddies did not trust them. The mill owners began to bring armies of thugs and petty gangsters into town, to arm and deputize them.

By accident, because of his strength, Big Mat too was deputized. He wanted to know what he had sworn to uphold, and the sheriff answered, "You uphold what I tell you to uphold. That's all to it." One of the thugs told him, "You're the boss in this here town. Anythin' you do is all right, 'cause you're the law. So don't you take any back talk."

These words took hold of him like "a new green whisky." He remembered his whole life of insult and poverty, and though he retained a basic distrust of whites, he felt his opportunity to get even for now at last he was "a boss, a boss over whites."

So when the strike came, Big Mat was among the deputies, fighting like a demon, trapping the strikers in alleys, beating them senseless, terrorizing them off the streets. The other deputies were fighting for money, for whisky and women — Big Mat thought he was fighting against the oppression of the Negro. He was sorry he did not have his farmer landlord and the landlord's riding boss in front of him. In the end he was killed by a striker. As he fell, he wondered: wasn't there something wrong, wasn't he in the wrong place, didn't he belong with the others who were fighting against oppression?

When the novel ends, the strike has been broken, Melody is laid off because now there are too many men for the jobs available, and he and Chinatown leave to live in the Pittsburgh slums with the $250 check they had for Chinatown's accident.

The Lesson of 1919

The author of this novel, a Negro writer who is still young but writes with great talent and honesty, has told his story very simply, refusing to glamorize his characters and leaving the reader to draw the conclusion.

The labor movement of 1942 is very different from what it was in 1919. The open shop in steel has been pushed down. There must be a quarter of a million Negroes in the CIO alone, many of them in the Steel Workers Organizing Committee where they are active and militant union members and officers. Nevertheless, the conclusion to be drawn from "Blood On the Forge" retains much of its validity for the labor movement today.

Labor leaders and rank and file union members must remember that they owe a responsibility to their Negro brothers, that they must take special steps to win the colored workers over to the unions or face the danger of having the bosses use them to smash the union movement. Lip service to equality for the Negro people is not enough; the unions must show the Negro people that they are in the forefront of the struggle to abolish discrimination and segregation. Let us not forget that only a year ago Ford tried to use the Negro workers against the United Auto Workers.

"Blood On the Forge" teaches a bitter lesson. The militant, self-sacrificing struggle of Negro workers who were won over to the unions since 1919 and shown in action that their interests lie with the labor movement and not with the bosses, teaches another and a very different lesson. The labor movement must forget neither lesson — nor the fact that so long as the South remains unorganized and dominated by the labor-baiters and Negro-haters, so long will unionism in other parts of the country remain menaced.

Reviewed by Albert Parker.

SWOC Locals Donate Aid To 18 Defendants

Two more locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in New Jersey were reported this week to have made contributions to aid the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

The Committee has been organized to secure union and public support for the 18 members of the CIO and the Socialist Workers Party who were convicted in Minneapolis last December for alleged violation of the 1940 "Gag Act" sponsored by labor-baiting Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia.

The SWOC locals which made donations to the work of the CRDC last week were the Roebling Lodge 2111 of Trenton, N. J., and Lodge 2106 of Bloomfield, N. J.

These two bring the total of SWOC lodges supporting the CRDC up to 16; these lodges are located in Ohio, Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and California. Scores of locals from most international CIO unions have also shown their support of the CRDC in recent months.

Further information about the Minneapolis trial and its significance can be secured from the national office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Inflation And Price Fixing Are Analyzed In May Issue Of 'Fourth International'

The May issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International,* which is on sale this week, takes up a number of extremely important problems of American workers.

The main feature of the issue, *Inflation and Price Fixing* by Felix Morrow, is a general analysis of the present inflationary trend in United States economy and the General Maximum Price Regulations issued by the Office of Price Administration.

Morrow's article will be a real eye-opener to most workers. It explains what is at the bottom of the cause of inflation in time of war and shows why the price-fixing program of the administration is not going to stabilize the living costs of the workers.

Albert Parker's article, **Roosevelt and the Negroes,** draws the balance sheet of what has happened to the Negro people and their conditions since A. Philip Randolph called off the March On Washington almost a year ago. All advocates of Negro equality, Negro and white, will be interested in Parker's account of the Roosevelt Executive Order 8802, the status of the Negro in the armed forces, and the problem of leadership for the Negro Struggle.

The Crisis In American Agriculture by C. Charles, surveys the concentration of capital on the land, and shows that the dominant tendency in agriculture is toward huge factories in the field. This is the first of a series of articles.

Terence Phelan's article, **Washington's Offensive in Latin America,** is a report from Chile on the inroads United States capitalism is making in Latin America as a result of the war.

Other articles in this excellent issue of the magazine include:

The Murder of Robert Sheldon Harte by Walter Rourke: the aftermath of the GPU machine gun attack on Leon Trotsky two years ago.

The Program for Peace by Leon Trotsky: a famous pamphlet in a new translation.

On the War Fronts by Joseph Hansen: bringing past articles of the same nature up to date.

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116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK CITY

A New Political Crisis Is In The Offing For France

By A. ROLAND

The position of France in the war since its defeat has been contradictory to the extreme. The war began in an atmosphere of complete apathy among the masses. That did not mean at all that the workers and peasants had the slightest sympathy for fascism, but that they distrusted the French ruling class and its aims. That distrust has been amply justified by all the events before and after the defeat by Hitler. The speed of capitulation by the French generals, as the French people now know, was a clear indication — indeed an outspoken one — that the French bureaucracy preferred capitulation to fascism to a French proletarian revolution. If the French capitalists could not win the victory, they wanted to assure the victory of Hitler sooner than face the risk of defeat of both the German and the French capitalists by a working class revolt.

Sympathy for fascism existed not among the masses, but up at the top in a thin layer consisting of the two hundred wealthy families and their hirelings, including the French general staff.

There was only one trouble with the program of collaboration. A home-bred fascism which rises to power with the support of a vast section of the middle class — that is one thing! But a totalitarian state brought about by defeat in war, a state whose government is nothing but a puppet regime for the victor, acting in the interests of the foreign conqueror and against the interests of the masses — that is quite another thing. The fascist movement in France before the war never won any kind of real mass support. What chance does it have of gaining such support when it represents the iron heel which grinds all among the masses alike into the dust?

Battered From Both Sides

If the Petain regime did not move with seven league boots along the road of collaboration, that was due to uncertainty concerning the war's final outcome. The French regime has been caught squarely between the hammer and the anvil. But the war now enters a critical phase with both imperialist camps straining every nerve and mobilizing every force. Neither Hitler nor the Allied nations can afford to permit the existence of uncertain quantities at critical points on the globe. Japan forced France to yield up Indo-China much to the detriment of the "democratic" camp. Now England forces her to give up strategic Madagascar. The United States quickly follows suit with regard to Martinique and other French islands in the western hemisphere, as well as French Guiana. The real fight will soon follow over French Africa, especially Dakar. The French Empire is in process of complete disintegration. The more one side presses, the more the other side demands in return.

Hitler was compelled to force a change in regime in France because of his fear of the establishing of a second front in Western Europe while his armies were completely occupied in Russia and the East. But the entry of Laval into the government merely hastened events. Petain was tolerated by the "democracies", particularly since they could not see any regime to replace him either immediately or even after the war. The Churchills would find no difficulty at all in supporting a totalitarian regime in France after the war. Churchill no more than Hitler wants a revolutionary France. Petain might at least have been able to hand on the power to a "legitimate" regime, no better than his own, but this time supported by the victorious Allies.

The Laval regime meant too immediate a threat to the Allies to permit its being tolerated. The "democracies" lost no time in frustrating as much of Laval's program as they could foresee.

Prospects for the Future

The French workers also barely tolerated the Petain regime. Petain was too cautious to rely entirely on the foreign bayonets. He gave the appearance of being driven unwillingly along the path chosen by Hitler. Laval has taken no such precautions. His regime is no better than that of a German general placed in power by Hitler. This regime is intolerable to the masses and they have responded by increasing manyfold all the forms of sabotage practised in the occupied countries.

This turn in affairs presents the strangest and most ironic of all spectacles. Both Stalin and Churchill urge the French masses to sabotage all help to Germany. But it is Churchill who calls openly for revolt against the Laval regime! No doubt Churchill relies on the mood of the French as shown at St. Nazaire when the Commandos raided that town. Churchill wants the French people to be ready to fight when the English finally arrive in strength and start to arm those Frenchmen who are willing to fight the fascist conquerors.

The situation among the masses, and especially among the workers, is momentarily confused indeed. Any change would be for the better, they feel.

But let there begin some change that would give the masses the impression that their views and voices count once more, and the whole question of program and future regime will be raised. In what direction will the French then move? The French capitalist class has exposed its rottenness to the last dregs. Is it possible that the masses will enter into the fight against Nazism for the sake of replacing in power a senescent French capitalism? To whom will they permit the power to pass? To Petain? Hardly. Then to Daladier, or perhaps to Blum? A new popular front could come into being for the briefest time only. All regimes would be unstable except that of the proletariat.

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2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
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4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**

'Equal Sacrifice'

The steel, auto, shipyard and other unions are demanding wage increases to compensate for the increased cost of living in the last year. The employers, who are now making more profits than ever before, are of course bitterly opposed to any wage increases. From all indications the administration, acting through the War Labor Board, will also reject the unions' demands outright, or at best offer some unsatisfactory "compromise."

In this connection we wish to call editorial attention to a point made in an article on Roosevelt's anti-inflation program in last week's MILITANT.

The General Maximum Price Regulations issued by the Office of Price Administration on April 28 reported that, "The price rises which have occurred since September, 1939, will increase by 35 billions of dollars the money cost of the war program now authorized."

This is another way of saying that the government is going to pay an extra 35 billion dollars to the corporations to compensate them for past price rises.

But to the workers who have suffered cuts in their living standards because of price rises and who are asking for wage increases of a dollar a day, the government says no. Roosevelt tells *them:* "You will have to forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war." And he tells the shipyard workers: "The situation that now confronts you is that the full percentage wage increase for which your contracts call, and to which, by the letter of the law, you are entitled, is irreconcilable with the national policy to control the cost of living."

This evidently is what the administration means when it talks about "equality of sacrifice" and "equality of privilege."

But talk cannot feed or house or clothe the workers. The government compensates the employers for price rises. It must be made to do the same for the workers.

How Churchill's Speech Aids Hitler

In speeches last week both Churchill and his Foreign Secretary Eden called on the German people to overthrow Hitler's regime. But one has only to read their speeches to see that these appeals for German revolt are only made for the record, that they are not sincere and that they will not be effective.

On May 10 Churchill urged the civil population of Germany to stop work and "go out in the fields and watch their home fires burning from a distance" when the British bombers come.

"In this way," he said, "they may find time for meditation and *repentance.* There they may remember the millions of Russian women and children *they* have driven out to perish in the snows and the mass executions of peasantry and prisoners of war which in varying scale *they* are inflicting upon so many of the ancient and famous peoples of Europe."

And on May 8 Eden said in Edinburgh:

"The longer the German people continue to support and tolerate the regime which is leading them to destruction, the heavier becomes *their* own direct responsibility for the damage they are doing to the world."

What hypocrites and slanderers these men are! They know that the German people were the first and greatest victims of Hitlerism, they know that Hitler came into power smashing the organizations of the masses, that Hitler rules against the will of the masses, that they hate the war as much as the masses everywhere.

They know too that Hitler was helped into power not by the German masses, but by the German monopolists — and the British capitalist class. The British Tories and bankers helped Hitler into the saddle; their loans stabilized his power. They cooperated with him in cutting the throat of the Spanish Revolution. They threw Czechoslovakia to Hitler and strove to divert his war machine against the Soviet Union at Munich.

The same Churchill who now tells the German people to "repent," himself said on Nov. 6, 1938, "I have always said that if Britain were defeated in war, I hope we would find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among nations." And the same Eden who now tells the German people about their responsibility for Hitlerism was himself on Jan. 4 of this year excusing the rise of Hitler to power: "The trouble with Hitler was not that he was a Nazi at home. The trouble with him was that he would not stay at home."

It is easy to see why the appeals of Churchill and Eden will not arouse or inspire the German masses to rise up against Nazism. As a matter of fact, the German people, who overthrew the Kaiser in 1918, are deterred from doing the same to Hitler and his gang because they fear that England and the United States will inflict the same punishments upon them as they did after 1918. The fear of another Versailles Treaty and its consequences — of which Goebbels continually reminds them — restrains them from revolutionary action; and the speeches of Churchill and Eden, placing responsibility for Hitler's crimes on them, only serve to further restrain them.

The German masses can be aroused to revolt not by threats and slanders but only by a revolutionary socialist call summoning them to overthrow their capitalist oppressors and to join the workers of Europe in the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. Such propaganda from the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky kindled the revolt in Germany in 1918. It can be equally powerful in 1942.

Odell Waller And The Supreme Court

The United States Supreme Court refused last week to review the case of Odell Waller, a Negro sharecropper scheduled to be executed in Virginia on June 19 for the self-defense killing of his white landlord who had tried to cheat the Waller family out of their share of a crop.

The Workers Defense League, supported by many labor and Negro organizations, presented evidence to the Court showing that Waller had not received a trial by a jury of his peers because of the Virginia poll tax law which not only bars non-payers of the tax from voting but also from serving on juries. The evidence given the court also showed that more than 80 per cent of the population in Pittsylvania County, where the trial was held, are unable because of the grinding poverty in which they live to pay the poll tax.

Waller's attorney, John F. Finerty, reminded the Court of its previous decision in the case of *Strauder vs. West Virginia:* "The very idea of a jury is a body of men composed of peers or equals of the person whose rights it is selected or summoned to determine; that is, of his neighbors, fellows, associates, persons having the same legal status in society as that which he holds."

And as the Workers Defense League pointed out, "Odell Waller is a sharecropper. Most Virginia families like Waller's earn less than $600 a year. Of the many Negroes in his county, only one in 125 cast a ballot. A citizen would often have to pay more than a week's income in order to vote. There were no sharecroppers on Odell Waller's jury."

But the Supreme Court has refused to act on the Waller case. So far as it is concerned, Waller can die. There were two legal grounds on which it could have refused to rule on the appeal, but the Court did not even bother to explain on which ground it was turning the case down.

The Court did not say that Waller should die because it thought there was nothing wrong in trying a man by a jury from which his economic peers have been deliberately excluded.

And the Court did not say that Waller should die because formal proof had not been made in the trial court of the undenied fact that there was such deliberate exclusion of his economic peers.

But our purpose is not merely to get the Supreme Court to admit the reactionary reasons for its refusal to review the case — reasons which are already obvious to everyone who knows the facts. Our main concern here is to save the life of Odell Waller, as an innocent victim and as a symbol of Jim Crow oppression.

It must be the concern too of every other advocate of equality for the Negro people, and every other opponent of the poll tax, and every other force for whom democracy means something more than a nice sounding slogan to cover up the character of a reactionary war.

The Workers Defense League has presented the Supreme Court with a final petition for re-hearing. Every worker and every worker's organization in this country should now speak up loudly and aggressively to let the Court know that they want the Waller case reviewed, and to show they are determined that the whole rotten system of Negro oppression shall be destroyed, and not Waller.

This Is The Answer To 'The Story of Carboloy'

(Continued from page 1)

time of Munich, GE agreed to supply Krupp with full details of royalties, and where they came from, both in the United States and England.

In this way, the "patriotic" American trust gave the Nazis complete information about the extent and sources of the American and British production of tungsten carbide, a vital war material.

NAZIS GOT IT CHEAPER

GE alibi: "For purposes of fair comparison, a typical German cemented carbide tool, in 1928 cost $22.26 in the United States, while a comparable American Carboloy tool cost $11.11."

The facts: GE slyly refrains from speaking of the price comparison after 1928, when its patent pool deal with Krupp was in operation. Lewin stated, "Carboloy's product has always during the period of the restraints (since 1928) cost the American consumer many times more than a tool manufactured in Germany using the same amount of material."

GE alibi: "For a time the Company (Carboloy) lost at the rate of $1,000 a day, and once had an operating deficit of more than a million dollars.

Over the entire period of its existence up to January 1st 1942 the total net profit of Carboloy Company was 2.5 per cent of sales."

The facts: Part of Carboloy's alleged "loss" was the interest on investment which it paid to parent GE — that is, it was a book-keeping "loss."

GE speaks of a 2.5 per cent profit on "sales" — not on capital investment. Lewin, reciting the figures from the company reports, stated:

"A substantial item of expense in these early years consisted of one-third the cost of patent litigations, that is, money paid in order to protect a monopoly which was in fact founded upon invalid patents.

"The standard thing to do is to compare profits with capital investment and not with sales volume. Making the usual comparison, Carboloy in 1935 reaped a profit of 187 per cent of the money invested in its capital stock, and in 1936 a profit of 160 per cent."

GE alibi: "Thus, the story of Carboloy . . . a sturdy and inspiring example of public service born of private enterprise, and characterized by hard work, ingenuity, investment, research, risk and courage . . ."

The facts: Thus, the story of Carboloy, of a conspiracy to maintain a monopoly and curtail production born of the lust for profits and characterized by practices which if duplicated on a tiny scale by an obscure individual, say a Nazy spy, would gain him a life imprisonment sentence or a quick and painless demise in front of a military firing squad.

* * *

EPILOGUE

It is quite fashionable for stories to have epilogues these days. The story of Carboloy is no exception.

GE and 10 other electrical corporations are conducting a suit against the 20,000 members of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, for $1,750,000. GE charges acts "in restraint of trade" — that is, attempts to organize and maintain a union in its plants. GE doesn't hope to win the suit; but it does hope to tie up the union in a long and costly litigation.

But what of GE's own particularly dirty and smelly hands? There's a real epilogue for you!

GE was scheduled to stand trial before a federal court during the latter part of April, on long pending charges involving its monopoly conspiracy with the Nazis.

Just before the case was finally to come to trial, Federal Judge Philip Forman of Trenton, N. J., received a telegram from Under-Secretary of War Patterson and Under-Secretary of the Navy Forrestal. This telegram requested an indefinite postponement of the trial because: "We desire time to study the question of whether trial at this time of U. S. vs. General Electric Co. and others would interfere with war production."

Judge Forman readily complied with this request. Some persons choose to believe that the request for postponement is in some way related to the fact that Judge Thatcher, who is representing GE, happens to be a law partner of Under-Secretary of War Patterson. Perhaps. But the treatment which the government has accorded Standard Oil, the Aluminum Company of America and the other big trusts caught in the same type of practices as GE's indicates that GE would have obtained its postponement regardless of coincidental factors, such as the relationship between Judge Thatcher and Patterson.

Despite all the evidence against GE, it is still maintaining its cartel agreement with Krupp. It still has a monopoly stranglehold on tungsten carbide. It is still getting hundreds of millions in war orders to fight the "war against fascism," while continuing its side line business with Hitler. And the GE dollar-a-year men still retain their powerful positions on the War Production Board agencies.

Thus, the story of Carboloy can be completed not merely by reference to GE's actions, but also to the unwillingness and failure of the government itself to do anything to effectively halt those actions.

UNION-BUSTING MOVES BLOCKED BY SEAMEN

(Continued from page 1)

ing, the union-busting employer-government schemes.

The fight against this anti-labor offensive could have been immeasurably strengthened, however, had the union leaders conducted a real, militant mobilization of the rank and file seamen on the waterfronts. As it was, the fight was confined largely to the conference rooms in Washington. Such conferences, of course, are necessary; but the bargaining power of the union leaders is determined by the degree of mobilized union strength behind them and the readiness of the rank and file to militantly defend their rights and conditions.

As a consequence of the failure to properly carry the fight to the waterfront, the hand of the union leaders was weakened and they felt compelled, while holding firm on the union security and contract issues, to make some dangerous concessions to the shipowners.

DANGEROUS CONCESSIONS

If it is true, as first reported, that the union leaders agreed to wage freezing for the duration of the war, it must be pointed out that this is as absolutely unjustifiable concession. Prices are skyrocketing. Wage freezing means a drastic cut in the real wages of the workers. The only way the workers can guard themselves against future price rises is through leaving the way open for the winning of wage increases. Price increases are bound to come, despite any "price regulation" by the government, because of the growing scarcity of consumer goods. The smallest concession in the right of the workers to demand higher wages to meet rising prices, opens the way for the employers to undermine living standards.

It is vitally important, therefore, that the unions reopen the wage issue and return it to the realm of collective bargaining. They must continue to oppose any form of wage freezing.

Another concession which the unions are reported to have made to the bosses is the agreement that no more mass meetings be held aboard ship. While the principle of department delegates is still upheld, this sharply curtails the right of the men to meet and discuss grievances. No grievances may be ironed out with the ship's captain until the return of the ship to the home port. Thus, the captains are in a position to violate the contract provisions on working rules, with the crew being unable to get satisfaction until the very end of the voyage.

These, we repeat, are dangerous concessions, which the added strength of a mobilized rank and file behind the union leaders could have forestalled.

STALINIST DEMAGOGY

The Stalinist union leaders, who proposed a program to destroy the unions altogether and who are giving unconditional support to the government's general "wage stabilization" program — that is, disguised wage freezing — are demagogically seeking to make capital out of the concessions which the other union leaders are reported to have made. The NMU Pilot hypocritically tries to hide its own treacherous game by attacking the other unions, which have conducted a successful fight against the very union-busting program advocated by the Stalinist NMU leaders.

This piece of cheap Stalinist demagogy will not fool the maritime workers. The maritime workers know that the fight to protect their union hiring halls and contracts was a fight against the coalition of shipowners, government — and Stalinists. They know that the Stalinists prevented a complete united front of maritime labor against the boss offensive, and are working hand in glove with the operators and government to stab the maritime workers in the back. The Stalinists are the worst betrayers of maritime labor.

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Stalin's May First 'Order Of The Day'

By M. STEIN

We always read the text of Stalin's speeches and pronouncements with great trepidation. This trepidation does not come from our eagerness to catch the pearly drops of wisdom as they come from his mouth. Anybody who has been around as long as we have, knows that just as you cannot get blood out of a turnip, so you cannot get wisdom out of Stalin. The trepidation comes from our anxiety for the Soviet Union, our great concern for the first workers state. Experience has taught us that every one of Stalin's speeches and pronouncements contains within it some new abomination, a new vile crime committed against the working class and peasantry of Russia. Stalin's Order of the Day issued to the Red Army and the Soviet people in celebration of May Day was no exception.

When Stalin usurped his position at the helm of the Soviet ship, he threw away the Leninist compass and discarded the Marxist charts, and ever since he has been navigating the dangerous seas of world politics blindly. With every catastrophe he changed the course sharply, and always managed to find some underling whom he could blame for the old disastrous course. But on his new course he proceeds just as blindly; ahead of him lie only new disasters, new sharp turns, new scapegoats, etc. It is impossible, therefore, to make a study of Stalinist theory in order to learn the guide to his course; a new theory is improvised for each new line. Stalin's intuition comes first, and only afterwards an attempt at "theoretical" justification.

A "Theoretical" Justification

Stalin's May Day pronouncement is an attempt at a "theoretical" justification of his present course. That he should choose May Day for this task is only natural. The Russian masses have been educated to conceive of May Day as the day of international working class solidarity in the struggle against world capitalism. Even though Stalin abandoned this struggle many years ago, he had to go along with the tradition and mouth revolutionary slogans on ceremonial occasions. May Day, 1942, however, found the Russian masses involved in a life and death struggle against the hated Nazi invader. Every nerve of the worker in the factory and in the army is strained towards a successful conclusion of this struggle. What better chance is there for Stalin to discard even the ceremonial revolutionary slogans? By discarding the revolutionary slogans, he gives added assurance to the ruling class of the United States and Great Britain that he is entirely trustworthy, that they need have no fear of a socialist Europe as long as he, Stalin, is at the helm in the Soviet Union.

Stalin's May Day pronouncement does not contain a single reference to capitalism. The only time the word socialism is mentioned is when he denies that the Nazis are socialists. But he makes up for it all very amply. He evolves a new "theory" which gives us a new slant on life. We have lived under the impression that fascism is the outgrowth of decaying capitalism, and that capitalism resorts to it in order to smash the working class organizations, to crush working class resistance to unbearable exploitation. But read what Stalin has to say:

"In actual fact, the German fascists are reactionary feudal barons and the German Army is an army dominated by feudal barons and shedding its blood to enrich the German barons and reestablish the rule of the landlords." (We take the quotations from the "authorized text" in **The Worker**, May 3, 1942.)

Now everything becomes clear. These clear, sharp words pierce through the fog of confusion like an arrow and they strike right at the heart of the problem.

This war, so far as one side, the Axis side, is concerned, is a war for feudalism. On the other side? "All freedom-loving peoples." "Among these freedom-loving countries, the first place belongs to Great Britain and the United States of America."

The Feudalism Theory of Fascism

We had been led to believe that feudalism was dead and buried on the European continent for many, many decades — in some places for more than a century. Under the influence of Marx, Engels and Lenin, we dedicated our lives to the task of burying the successor to feudalism — capitalism, which we believed could no longer serve any progressive purpose in the epoch of imperialism and could bring about only increased suffering, wars and destruction. Believing this, we had dedicated our lives to the establishment of socialism, the next stage in the development of mankind. But all these ideas of ours apparently had only served to lull us to the real danger that was all the time lurking in the dark — feudalism.

While, like Don Quixote, we were tilting away at windmills, feudalism has arisen again, more powerful than ever, and embarked upon the conquest of the world. Now that we understand this, everything else becomes very simple. Now we know why there is no mention of socialism in Stalin's order of the day.

We had thought that Germany was the most highly developed industrial country on the European continent. But you can't fool Stalin. Germany's industries have been developed only for the purpose of creating so many smokestacks behind which feudalism could hide and gather strength for the conquest of the world.

Isn't it therefore incumbent upon Stalin to throw himself into the arms of Churchill and Roosevelt, and make common cause with them first to defeat feudalism and then to build the new order of free capitalist enterprise?

All this would be very funny if Stalin wasn't in deadly earnest, or if he wasn't at the helm of the Soviet Union. Stalin first distorted, then discarded the theoretical system of Marxism-Leninism, and murdered a whole generation of Bolsheviks who had laid the foundations for socialism in the Soviet Union. Is he now evolving the "theory" for capitalist restoration?