

# Miners Break Roosevelt's Domination Over Their Union

## An Editorial

The miners have weathered the first storm of anti-labor blows and hysteria. They stood firm and united against vilification, threats and false promises. They did not retreat on their wage demands and they have a good chance of winning what they demanded.

They couldn't have done this if they had permitted their case to be buried in that graveyard of grievances, the War Labor Board. They couldn't have done this if they had submitted their case to a court packed against labor. They couldn't have done this if they had entered the fight shackled by the chains of a no-strike pledge.

No, they were able to meet the anti-labor pressure of the White House, Congress, the press and the radio only by asserting their independence of Roosevelt and breaking the grip of his domination over their union. Once they had thrown off the straitjacket of government control which has virtually paralyzed the unions since the war began, they were free to defend and advance their own interests and to hold their own in the first great test of strength with the bosses and the administration.

The events of the last week have demonstrated the power of organized labor when it acts in an independent manner, relying not on Washington but on its own strength. They have pointed the way for the workers to escape from the vise of

frozen wages and rising living costs. Let the rest of labor become as conscious as the miners of their collective strength and let them use it, and there is no limit to what they can achieve.

Now that the miners have taken the initiative in breaking with Roosevelt's policies in the economic arena, they should take the logical next step. They should assert their independence on the political field by breaking with both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party whose representatives are now rushing anti-union and anti-strike laws through Congress.

The actions of these capitalist parties and their spokesmen in the present coal crisis have amply demonstrated that they are the agents and lackeys of Big Business and the mine operators, ready to use every instrument of coercion at the command

of the government in order to protect the profits of the operators and defeat the justified demands of the miners. Defense of the unions' economic struggle requires that the anti-labor government agents be replaced by representatives of the labor movement.

As a result of their militant struggles the miners are in a position to assume the leadership of a regenerated labor movement. They have inspired millions of workers by asserting their independence of Washington's economic policy. They can arouse and activate millions more and lead them toward a better society by breaking politically with the parties responsible for that economic policy and taking the lead in launching a nationwide Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions.

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VII—No. 19

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1943

287

PRICE (5) CENTS

## MINE WORKERS WIN FIRST ROUND

### Davies' Film Whitewashes Stalin's Crimes

By John G. Wright

"Mission To Moscow" is now being peddled to movie audiences as a documentary film of events from 1936 to date as allegedly seen through the eyes of ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies. Nothing could be further from the truth. "Mission To Moscow" is false from beginning to end. More exactly, it is a 100% Stalinist lie.

The resources of Hollywood and of the press have been mobilized

with the blessing of the authorities in Washington

to present as the "truth" the GPU version of the Moscow trials, during which the prosecution was unable to produce a single shred of evidence to substantiate its case.

It is an infinitely easier task to spin the web of a lie than to unravel each of its countless threads. Let us observe more closely how these belated falsifiers of history have set about their work.

#### TRIMMINGS FOR THE BIG LIE

Interspersed throughout the film are newsreel shots, many excellent ones. Also paraded on the screen are prominent personages, some living, others dead: Haile Selassie, Roosevelt, Churchill, Shigemitsu, Shacht, Stalin, Ribbentrop, Kalinin, Molotov, Vyshinsky, Yagoda, Litvinov, Tukhachevsky, Bukharin, Radek, etc. etc. They are all there, including Chamberlain's umbrella.

Settings are elaborately reproduced: Davies' lodge in the Adirondacks; the White House in Washington; the League of Nations in session at Geneva; the Red Square in Moscow; the ship that took Davies to Europe; scenes in Hamburg, Berlin, Prague; the Kremlin; the trains that took Davies from one European capital to another, including Moscow; the ballroom in Moscow where Davies was feted; the American embassy in Moscow, emblem and all; the Moscow courtroom where the frameups were originally staged, etc.

Why is all this so necessary? Because it is that kind of "truth" which when admixed with the lie renders its venom all the more powerful and deadly. It is the old trick of being exact in little things in order to put over the big lie all the better. It is that kind of "truth" about which one English poet has said: "Truth that's told with bad intent beats all the lies you can invent."

#### STALIN'S MURDERS

In the space of three years (1936, 1937, 1938) Stalin murdered the entire generation of Russian

#### Mussolini Also Liked the Frameups

"Mission to Moscow," the motion picture glorification and whitewash of the Moscow trial frameups, shows that Washington and the "democracies" approve of Stalin's infamous murders of his working class political opponents.

But they aren't the only ones. The fascists — above all, Hitler-Goebbels & Co. — also approved of them. In fact, Benito Mussolini was so happy to see Lenin's comrades murdered by the Stalinist bureaucracy that he wrote a series of articles on the trials in the fascist paper, Popolo d'Italia, in which he declared on March 5, 1938:

"Stalin is rendering a commendable service to fascism by slaughtering its declared though impotent enemies in large sweeps."

#### They Lie About Tukhachevsky!

The alleged Moscow trial scene of "Mission to Moscow" shows one of Stalin's victims, Marshal Tukhachevsky, the real head of the General Staff of the Red Army and the man who was responsible for its mechanization, confessing to participation in a conspiracy to dismember the Soviet Union together with Hitler and the Mikado.

This is just one of the many brazen Stalinist lies in the picture which will not even be found in Davies' book, or anywhere else.

Tukhachevsky never confessed to any such conspiracy in actual life. The GPU never succeeded in extorting any confessions from him. He never was brought to public trial, as the Davies film pretends. He was arrested on frameup charges and was executed in the great purge of 1937, along with thousands of others of Soviet officers, soldiers and revolutionists whom no power on earth could force to confess falsely to crimes they never committed.

### 'Mission' Omits An Interesting Scene

One of the scenes in "Mission To Moscow" shows a mass meeting held by the German-American Bund and the Coughlinites in New York's Madison Square Garden on Feb. 20, 1939. The motion picture scene shows a bit of action inside the Garden, but it does not show what was going on OUTSIDE of the Garden.

Outside the Garden that night was an anti-fascist demonstration of more than 50,000 workers —

called to action and led by the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists.

This demonstration would have dispersed the fascist gathering, if the fascists had not been protected by the cops of the same LaGuardia who now presents himself as an exponent of democracy and an opponent of fascism. All the present-day democracy-shouters were absent that night when the opportunity presented itself to deal a telling blow to the fascists. Nothing was heard of people like



### Brown Says Wage Rises Won't Aid The Miners

By C. CHARLES

As we go to press, OPA officials have at last admitted that prices, particularly of food, are "practically out of control." Their statement is also a clear admission of the justice of the miners' demands for wage increases and is in sharp contrast to the assertions and promises made by OPA Administrator Prentiss M. Brown only a few days before.

Brown spoke on a national radio hookup on April 30, with the deadline for the walkout of half a million miners a few hours away. His aim was to convince the miners that had nothing to gain by seeking wage raises.

After asserting that if the coal wage rise were granted, increases could not be denied to workers in other industries and prices would have to

be increased for the farmers, Brown went on to say: "These increases in wages and farm prices can only mean a further rise in the cost of living. 'What will it profit workers to have more dollars in their pay envelopes if it takes all these extra dollars and perhaps more to feed and clothe their families?'"

#### WHAT BROWN CONCEALS

Brown pretends that price increases will FOLLOW the raising of the miners' and other workers' wages. Not true!

The miners are fighting first of all to raise their wages so as to meet the already increased cost of living. Price increases have PRECEDED the miners' wage demands. Brown denies that which every worker and every working class housewife knows: that price increases are lowering real wages; that the legal prices are disregarded on

(Continued on page 4)

The above pictures are scenes of a demonstration by Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party in front of the Hollywood Theatre on the opening night of the Warner Brothers' motion picture, "Mission To Moscow." The demonstration did not attempt to prevent people from entering the theatre; its purpose was to call attention to the lies in the film and to the truth about the Moscow trial frameups. Thousands of leaflets with quotations from the findings of the Dewey Commission were distributed to theatre-goers and passers-by.

(See story on Page 3.)

### CP Tried Hardest To Break Strike

By MICHAEL CORT

Of all the many strike-breaking forces who lined up against the miners' struggle for a living wage, none worked harder at the job than the Stalinists.

For the five days immediately preceding the strike, the *Daily Worker* whipped itself into a veritable lather of vilification against John L. Lewis and the militant members of the United Mine Workers who followed his lead in demanding that the profit-swollen mine owners pay them decent wages. Nor was

(Continued on page 2)

### The Members Stand Solidly Behind Their Organization

By Art Preis

PITTSBURGH, Pa., May 3. — The hope of the mine operators and every other boss in the country that President Roosevelt speech last night would send the coal miners scurrying back to the pits this morning in a demoralized rout has been completely smashed.

Sticking by their guns in a magnificent display of union discipline and solidarity, and in the face of an unparalleled barrage of government threat and intimidation, the miners throughout this key soft coal area today held hundreds of local meetings and in an organized, deliberate fashion voted to return to work tomorrow pending the outcome of the 15 day mine strike truce announced by United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis.

It was my great privilege to visit some of the mining towns in this area today, to talk with local union leaders and to attend the closed meeting of Local 73 in Liberty, Pa., largest local in District 5, an autonomous district of the UMW.

#### A SYMBOLIC GESTURE

The determination, courage and solid loyalty of the miners were vividly demonstrated at the packed meeting of Local 73 in the big red brick building on top of the hill overlooking Montour No. 10 mine of Mellon's Pittsburgh Coal Co., largest coal company in America.

In a demonstrative fashion, the members voted to reopen the mine according to the strict interpretation of their national policy committee's announcement. They finally agreed to permit the night shift to go on, but no sooner than 12:01 A. M., Tuesday morning, the date for the beginning of the truce set by their own leaders, and not by Roosevelt, the mine owners or anyone else.

This was a conscious symbolic gesture. These miners are telling the world that they are more united than ever, ready at the end of the 15 day truce to resume their struggle at the request of their leadership and if they do not get a satisfactory contract.

From my observation and tour today following Roosevelt's appeal to the miners over the heads of their national leaders, I can state categorically that Roosevelt's personal prestige has received a strong blow among the powerful organized coal miners. Many of the miners will still tell you they are still for Roosevelt "as president" although they are greatly disappointed at his latest action. Even those who continue to speak for him and

throw the blame for his strike-breaking actions on the pressure of the mine bosses and the WLB, express an obvious note of uncertainty and doubt.

And not many of them are deceived by the fact that today the American flag and a sign, "U. S. Property," are suddenly being displayed by the mine bosses.

William Pierce, recording secretary of Local 73, said I could quote him as to his opinion on the difference the so-called "government seizure" of the mines has meant.

"So far as I can see," he stated emphatically, "there's no difference. The same management is

(Continued on page 3)

### Roosevelt Failed To Estimate the Miners Correctly

By Philip Blake

NEW YORK, May 5. — By asserting their independence of the Roosevelt administration, the miners won the first round in their fight to obtain wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. The fight is not yet finished but the United Mine Workers appeared to have the edge as this is written. From all indications they have a good chance of winning a major portion of their demands if they continue to follow the militant policy they have pursued up to now.

It was no secret that the Roosevelt administration was anxious not only to deny the miners' economic demands — the winning of which would inspire all the other unions to press for similar gains — but also to smash John L. Lewis and crush

(Continued on page 2)

## UAW Conference Vote Support Of Mine Strike

By John Saunders

DETROIT, May 3. — 1000 delegates, representing 350,000 Michigan members of the UAW, gathered in conference on Saturday and Sunday, May 1-2, at the Masonic Temple in Detroit, overrode the demands of their national leaders and placed themselves overwhelmingly on record in support of the United Mine Workers strike.

Although not formally on the agenda, the mine

strike dominated the conference during the entire two day session. The pressure of the rank and file auto workers asserted itself despite the fact that this conference was called on only three or four days' notice and the delegations were therefore chiefly appointed by the officers.

With the exception of about a dozen Stalinists, the entire conference supported not only the demands of the miners but also the strike which was forced upon them.

The discussion of the mine strike which took place under every point of the agenda reached its climax when a majority and minority resolution were brought to the floor on the second day of the session. The majority resolution called for all-out support. The minority resolution called for support of the economic demands of

the mine workers; condemnation of the strike; and support of Roosevelt.

All the officers and members of the International Executive Board were opposed to the strike action. Speeches against John L. Lewis and the strike were made by President R. J. Thomas, vice-presidents Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen and Executive Board member Leo La Motte, but to no avail. The rank and file representatives could not be moved from their determination to go all the way down the line for the miners. James Lucas, president of the Pontiac Motor Local, received the greatest ovation of the two day conference when he stated:

"I disagree with Reuther. He

(Continued on page 2)

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Michael Cort

The militancy of the mine workers has acted as yeast in the trade union movement and set things fermenting. Top AFL-CIO leaders have been rudely shaken out of their embrace with the administration by explosive pressure from the ranks, and forced to speak out against the government's freeze orders.

On May 1 CIO President Philip Murray blasted the "complete failure of government agencies and Congress to carry out the economic stabilization" and issued a call for a meeting of the CIO Executive Board on May 14. Murray said that the Board would take up the demand to "roll back prices to the Sept. 15, 1942 level or make the necessary wage adjustments to meet the increased cost of living." William Green has issued similar demands on behalf of the AFL executive council.

The line of the top labor bureaucrats is to center their fire on Brown of the Office of Price Administration and McNutt of the War Manpower Commission. For example, UAW President R. J. Thomas sharply attacks McNutt and the OPA, but hastens to add: "There is no implication, however, that we are swerving from our support of the President as the great leader of our war effort and as the best friend of labor ever to occupy the White House." (United Automobile Worker, May 1.)

Many locals, however, have discarded the kid gloves and are demanding wage boosts under threat of strike action.

Typical of the mood of the workers was an ultimatum drawn up last week by Washington Local Lodge 104 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Welders and Helpers, AFL. In a front page editorial appearing in 104 Reporter of April 29, the local demanded a rolling back of prices, a wage increase, "or else. . . ." The paper also reported the calling of a meeting of the Pacific Coast Metal Trades Council for the purpose of formulating a "wage ultimatum" to government and industry. Present Council plans are to give the government until May 10 to meet with the metal workers and discuss their demands, "or else. . . ."

Two New Jersey locals also came into conflict with the government last week over the heads of their international officers. They were: Local 304 of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, in Jersey City, and Local 1041 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, in Plainfield.

On May 3 more than 1200 machinists struck the Air Reduction Sales Company in Jersey City because it had refused wage boosts by hiding behind the "Little Steel" formula. A War Labor Board official and two representatives of the union's Grand Lodge appealed unsuccessfully to the workers to abide by AFL President Green's no-strike pledge. The electrical workers served notice on the Condenser Corporation of American and "all government agencies" that "we shall be compelled to seek other jobs. . . unless a wage boost is granted within 48 hours."

Meanwhile Ford workers in Detroit fought back against management provocations. On May 3 more than 4,500 members of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, struck at the River Rouge plant when the management announced that 141 "ringleaders of a series of disturbances" in the foundry had been fired.

And this is only the beginning, for should the miners receive a substantial wage increase, the pressure on top AFL and CIO leaders will be increased one hundred fold. And all the crumbs thrown labor by the administration, such as the announcement that two vice-chairmanships on the War Production Board would go to labor men, will not satisfy the workers.

The Florida House and Senate completed passage of the notorious anti-closed shop bill by overwhelming majority on April 29. The bill calls for a constitutional amendment which would make it illegal for any employer to grant the closed shop in the state.

This proposed constitutional amendment will be submitted to the voters in the 1944 general election.

Opponents of the bill were able to muster only 17 votes in the House as compared with 66 votes for the labor haters. It looks like an Independent Labor Party is badly needed in Florida.

DEPARTMENT OF UNDERSTATEMENT:

"Fundamentally, the wage-earning masses of America are beginning to feel a sense of discrimination creeping up on them. . . ."

—Editorial in the May 1 issue of Justice, official organ of the ILGWU.

On April 29 Roosevelt ordered the UMW to resume and continue production after the expiration of the mine contract on May 1 and warned that he would use his power as commander-in-chief if they refused. The answer he got on May 1 was a complete shutdown of all the soft-coal and hard-coal mines in the country.

Roosevelt then ordered Secretary of the Interior Ickes to take over all the mines and fly the United States flag over them, and he directed the Secretary of War to provide "protection" to those who wanted to work, if Ickes requested it. But no miners wanted any such protection; they all stayed away from the mines despite the frenzied attacks leveled on their action by the radio commentators and all sections of the daily press from the most "reactionary to the most 'liberal,'" like PM and the N. Y. Post and the Daily Worker.

After the coal operators hurried away from the New York wage negotiation conference to place their case into the hands of Roosevelt's War Labor Board, the miners began to walk out of the mines. The WLB appealed to them to return. The answer they got was more walkouts.

On April 29 Roosevelt ordered the UMW to resume and continue production after the expiration of the mine contract on May 1 and warned that he would use his power as commander-in-chief if they refused. The answer he got on May 1 was a complete shutdown of all the soft-coal and hard-coal mines in the country.

Roosevelt then ordered Secretary of the Interior Ickes to take over all the mines and fly the United States flag over them, and he directed the Secretary of War to provide "protection" to those who wanted to work, if Ickes requested it. But no miners wanted any such protection; they all stayed away from the mines despite the frenzied attacks leveled on their action by the radio commentators and all sections of the daily press from the most "reactionary to the most 'liberal,'" like PM and the N. Y. Post and the Daily Worker.

After the coal operators hurried away from the New York wage negotiation conference to place their case into the hands of Roosevelt's War Labor Board, the miners began to walk out of the mines. The WLB appealed to them to return. The answer they got was more walkouts.

On April 29 Roosevelt ordered the UMW to resume and continue production after the expiration of the mine contract on May 1 and warned that he would use his power as commander-in-chief if they refused. The answer he got on May 1 was a complete shutdown of all the soft-coal and hard-coal mines in the country.

Roosevelt then ordered Secretary of the Interior Ickes to take over all the mines and fly the United States flag over them, and he directed the Secretary of War to provide "protection" to those who wanted to work, if Ickes requested it. But no miners wanted any such protection; they all stayed away from the mines despite the frenzied attacks leveled on their action by the radio commentators and all sections of the daily press from the most "reactionary to the most 'liberal,'" like PM and the N. Y. Post and the Daily Worker.

After the coal operators hurried away from the New York wage negotiation conference to place their case into the hands of Roosevelt's War Labor Board, the miners began to walk out of the mines. The WLB appealed to them to return. The answer they got was more walkouts.

On April 29 Roosevelt ordered the UMW to resume and continue production after the expiration of the mine contract on May 1 and warned that he would use his power as commander-in-chief if they refused. The answer he got on May 1 was a complete shutdown of all the soft-coal and hard-coal mines in the country.

Roosevelt then ordered Secretary of the Interior Ickes to take over all the mines and fly the United States flag over them, and he directed the Secretary of War to provide "protection" to those who wanted to work, if Ickes requested it. But no miners wanted any such protection; they all stayed away from the mines despite the frenzied attacks leveled on their action by the radio commentators and all sections of the daily press from the most "reactionary to the most 'liberal,'" like PM and the N. Y. Post and the Daily Worker.

After the coal operators hurried away from the New York wage negotiation conference to place their case into the hands of Roosevelt's War Labor Board, the miners began to walk out of the mines. The WLB appealed to them to return. The answer they got was more walkouts.

# UAW Conference Supports Miners

## SWP Branches Hold May Day Celebration

### New York

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party held a two day observance of the traditional working class May Day holiday this year. A city-wide social Saturday evening and a May Day meeting on Sunday night featured the activities that were attended by more than 125 friends and sympathizers of the party.

E. R. Frank, mid-west trade unionist, delivered an inspiring May Day address at the Sunday meeting. After reviewing the militant origins of the May Day in the struggle for the eight hour day in the United States, he showed how May 1 was soon adopted by the workers of other countries as an occasion for demonstrating their hostility to the ruling class and their determination to struggle for emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

The speaker pointed out that Big Business in this country hopes to emerge from the present war as masters and exploiters of the entire world. That the grandiose plans of the American capitalists to rule the world will be beset with difficulties from the outset, is indicated by the trouble that the present governments are already experiencing in curbing the unrest of the masses of Asia, Africa and Europe. That trouble in their own back yard may tie the hands of the American bosses, is evidenced in the growing dissatisfaction of American labor.

This is most sharply exhibited in the current struggle of the coal miners, he said. A greeting from Natalia Sedov Trotsky, companion and co-worker of the founder and teacher of the Four International, Leon Trotsky, was read by the organizer of Local New York, George Grant. A \$90 collection was contributed by members and friends of the S. W. P.

Greeting the striking miners on "this greatest of all holidays of the working class," Comrade Dunne declared, "They are fighting in the true spirit of May Day, facing the greatest odds any group of workers ever faced."

"Reaction has control everywhere the capitalist class cannot bear to have one voice speak out against them," he said, citing examples of capitalist suppression of the truth through the Minneapolis Trial and the banning of The Militant.

As touches our outlook in the Minneapolis election, Comrade Dunne stated, "Our party has been the only one to put forth the idea of independent working class political action. The only way to move toward a solution of the problems of today is to take charge of the governmental apparatus in the interests of the workers."

A collection of \$157.41 was taken at the meeting and an additional \$50 was raised at a social afterwards for the Minneapolis election campaign. Harry DeBoer, campaign manager, was chairman of the meeting.

Chicago

An audience of 80 workers responded enthusiastically to Comrade Vincent R. Dunne's address at the May Day celebration of the Chicago Branch of the SWP on Sunday, May 2, at the Hamilton Hotel.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Lydia Beidel, who traced the history of May Day from the 8-hour day struggle of 1886 and following years to the present time.

demands of the union — but denied that he had made any agreement with the UMW or that he would sign any contract with it. He declared that the War Labor Board could not be "by-passed."

His statement clearly showed that the miners' fight is not yet finished, that the administration is still fighting to maintain the authority and dignity of its labor agency which Lewis had denounced as a court packed against labor. The WLB announced that it would resume hearings on the coal dispute, although Lewis again made it clear this week that the union did not recognize its authority and would not appear before it. His statement also repeated the UMW's position that it was no longer bound by the no-strike pledge.

It is possible that the WLB may rush through its hearings, with the union not participating, and grant some concessions in an attempt to save the whole Roosevelt labor structure and thus get rid of a terribly embarrassing situation. It is also possible that Roosevelt, afraid that even a partial victory for the miners will arouse a tidal wave of militancy in the other unions, may decide to fight it out with the UMW. In that case he is sure to be faced with another crisis when the 15-day mine truce expires on May 19.

The miners have done an excellent job thus far in the fight they are waging on behalf of all labor. But it is obvious that their chances of winning out would be immeasurably strengthened if they had the active support of the rest of the labor movement. It would be to the UMW's own interests to issue a call for common action by all the unions against Roosevelt's freezing orders. Regardless of the response of the official leaders of the national CIO and AFL unions, the ranks would respond today with signs of unmistakable support and the miners' struggle would be greatly advanced.

After the workers returned to the mines yesterday, the union leaders announced that they were preparing to submit their contract proposals to Ickes, the agent of the "new employer." Ickes ordered a six day week for all the mines — one of the minor

The coal strike, commencing appropriately on May Day, was hailed by Comrade Dunne as a symbol of the might of labor, and as a harbinger of the coming upsurge of the workers of the world in their struggle for emancipation. Answering the charges of the capitalist press that the strike was an act of sabotage, he pointed out that the coal bosses were the cause of the strike in their determination to maintain wages at a starvation level.

The older type of avowedly open-shop politicians, Comrade Dunne explained, are no longer adequate to their union-busting tasks and their places have been taken by so-called "friends of labor" who attempt to lull the workers into inactivity by kind words and promises. He added that Roosevelt, the outstanding example of these "friends of labor," is today objectively the leader of the American labor movement, through whom the workers are shackled to the capitalist class. The practical alternative to this situation, he stated, is the formation of an Independent Labor Party with a militant program.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

### Detroit

25 workers attended a May Day celebration here on May 2. Sam Burton spoke. He gave a brief history of May Day and analyzed the current coal strike. Pointing out that although labor had not celebrated May Day in its traditional manner here or in any of the European countries, the workers could not be downed in their struggle for emancipation.

The speech was enthusiastically received. While the friends and comrades waited to hear Roosevelt's declaration on the mine strike, refreshments were served. The meeting was closed with the singing of The Internationale. Greetings were sent to Comrade Natalia Sedov Trotsky.

### Boston

The Boston branch of the SWP marked May Day with two meetings at which William F. Warde, noted Marxist writer and lecturer, was the principal speaker.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the Worker Center on May 1, Warde talked on "Labor's Political Prospects." The consequences of the war were making American workers think in broader political terms and impelling them toward a break with the traditional capitalist parties. The miners' strike indicated how the breach between Roosevelt's administration and the labor movement was widening, he said, adding "The miners' walkout reties the thread of class struggle which was snapped by the no-strike pledge of the CIO-AFL officials."

On May 2 at East Boston Hall Warde spoke on "The Struggle For World Socialism." In a survey of international politics as mirrored by this May Day, he pointed out how the resistance and victories of the Red Army, the struggle of the Indian and Chinese peoples for independence, the growing civil warfare in Yugoslavia and Poland, the leading role of the workers in the underground fight against Hitlerism in occupied Europe, the radicalization of the English masses, and the miners' strike, were signs of a new upturn in the workers' struggle for liberation and socialism.

## The Negro Struggle

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

By Albert Parker

### The Southern White Liberals

The problem of the South is also the problem of the Negro; the first will have to be settled if the second is to be solved. The Negro constitutes only one-tenth of the nation's population, and he is a minority even in the South, although three-fourths of the Negroes live there. The problem of the Negro is also the problem of finding and uniting with the correct allies among the white population. The Negro leaders used to teach that the proper ally was the capitalist; that without his aid the Negro could get nowhere, and that he should line himself up with the capitalist against the white worker. This kind of advice is rarely given today, and if it were it would be little heeded.

But there are still a number of Negroes who look to the Southern liberal coming from the white middle class as their friends. One of these Southern liberals, Mark Ethridge, former head of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, stated at the committee's hearings in Birmingham last summer that "the Southern Negro cannot afford to drive from his side, in his march to a greater fulfillment of his rights, the Southern white men of good will who have been his chief asset and his chief aid." By Southern white men of good will, Ethridge meant Southern liberals. A good self-drawn picture of this species can be found in a book published last month, "The Fighting South" by John Temple Graves (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 282 pages, \$2.75) and should be read by all Negroes who are unacquainted with it.

Of course the Southern liberal is a lot like all the other liberals: he wishes things would be better, he hopes for justice, he sees both sides of a question, he urges moderation. But the Southern liberal has certain characteristics not present in his non-Southern brothers. Chief among these are his tendency to resent any "outside" advice about the Negro problem; to blame "outside" influences for the Southern Negro's dissatisfaction with conditions; and to get mad as hell when people start talking about ending segregation in the South.

This is well illustrated in the new book by Graves, who is a columnist for the *Birmingham Age-Herald*. Take his treatment of the poll tax question. Oh, he is against the poll tax, he assures us, and he has been fighting it for many years. But the non-Southern politicians have no right to try to force its abolition down the throat of the South. In fact, he thinks that in the Senate debate on the poll tax last fall "the greater blame for the disgraceful scene (should be placed) on the incorrigible domestic crusaders who forced the poll tax issue" and not on the filibustering Senators. He asserts chances of abolishing the poll tax in the Southern states would increase if attempts to abolish it by federal law were discontinued.

Lynching? "Lynching is a crime without necessity or excuse, but it was almost extinct in the South until the war-time racial agitators provoked it again, and the realism of the matter is that a federal law would create so much Southern resentment that racial hostility and violence might actually increase."

Is that a peculiar kind of logic, blaming the opponents of lynching for lynching and the opponents of the poll tax for the continuation of the poll tax? Not if you are a Southern liberal. Graves doesn't think that Southern Negroes care very much one way or the other about segregation. He says the issue had already been raised by Talmadge of Georgia when the war came. "It was not a genuine issue then. Talmadge was simply putting up a one-man show. But it became genuine when Negro leaders outside of the South made the war an occasion for intensive campaigning against any and every differential, minor or major, between white man and black." Again, you can see, it is a question of outside subversive influences.

How easy life would be for Graves and his friends if no one would interfere and "put ideas in the heads" of the Negro in the South! Then they could be liberals and "friends of the Negro" and still remain on friendly terms with the lynchers of the Negro and the Talmadges. But since trouble intrudes — and always from the outside — why, the Southern liberals are "driven" (to use Ethridge's term) to take sides and naturally they wind up on the same side as the Talmadges.

War is tough on all kinds of liberals, Northern as well as Southern. But the Southern variety has special troubles. This war is different from the last war in that the Negro masses are much

better organized and have learned the lessons of the first war and the post-war promises they received then. The Negro masses are putting pressure on their official leaders and demanding action now. Graves has a lot of praise for the Uncle Toms like F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute, but he doesn't like the NAACP and the March-On-Washington Movement. He blames the leaders of these organizations, completely failing to recognize that the leaders of these groups are subject to pressure and would lose all their following among the masses if they were to preach a wait-until-after-the-war policy.

Graves quotes all the old figures about Negro progress in education, etc. He does it for the purpose of convincing the Negroes that they needn't struggle—especially during the war—to make progress. Of course if the Negroes had listened to his kind in the past, they'd be even worse off than they are now. Graves doesn't want the Negroes to struggle now because it's wartime and he won't want them to struggle after the war either on the ground that it would create strife and give new ammunition to the Talmadges and other demagogues. If it's up to Graves, not only the Negroes now living won't achieve equality, but their grandchildren won't either.

Fortunately it isn't up to him and his kind. The future lies not in the hands of the middle class liberals, but in the hands of the working class. Significantly enough, Graves' book—which has a good deal to say about business problems—has virtually nothing to say about the labor movement. The Southern unions still have a long way to go and a good many battles to win before they are established as strongly as the American union movement as a whole, but they have already come a considerable distance. Graves says nothing about this or about the tens of thousands of Southern white workers within the unions who are beginning to learn how Jim Crow threatens their own interests.

Not the liberals, but the working class and its unions are the allies of the Negro in his struggle for equality. That is the lesson to be learned from life as well as from Graves' book.

## New York Demonstration Protests Movie's Lies

NEW YORK—The opening gun in a campaign to expose the vicious fakery of the movie, "Mission To Moscow," was fired at its premiere on April 29 when the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party demonstrated before the Hollywood Theatre with signs telling the truth about Stalin and his crimes against labor. Thousands of leaflets containing excerpts of the Dewey Commission report were distributed to the movie patrons as they entered and left the theater on the opening night.

The demonstration and distribution continued from 7:30 to 10:00 P. M. It was the first demonstration that Broadway had seen in many months and hundreds of New Yorkers walking by took the leaflets even though they had no intention of entering the theater. Newspaper reporters from the

(Continued from page 1)

still running the mine and making the same profits." And the opinion of the average miner was put in a nutshell by Alec Fountain, president of Local 3436, who stated: "It's the same old woman in a new dress."

The Pittsburgh daily papers, the paid tools of the Mellon and other capitalist interests, like the rest of the capitalist press, have been attempting a virtual journalistic lynching of the miners. Above all, these sheets tried to broadcast the lie, indignantly repudiated by every miner I talked to, that Lewis had called the men out against their will, that this was "Lewis' strike."

### 100% SOLID

In answer to this, John P. Busarello, elected president of UMW District 5, Western Pennsylvania area, stated strongly to me this morning in a personal interview: "The public press would have

the country believe that these are Lewis' demands. The truth of the matter is that the Cincinnati convention last fall and the meeting of the policy committee gave Lewis the necessary instructions to make these demands. He is simply carrying out orders as given him by the members of our great union. The members today feel he has done a splendid job in carrying out their orders."

This statement was endorsed 100% by local union members and leaders. Joe Mautino, president of Local 4426, said, "We went out last Wednesday. We took the initiative ourselves to show the public that the miners were really behind Lewis."

All the evidence shows that the miners' sentiments were guiding Lewis and that Lewis was not simply dragging them about by their noses.

### A DOLLAR A PECK

And a check-up of prices, weekly earnings and housing condi-

tions in typical mining towns of this area — considered a "good" area compared to most — shows why the miners stood firm as a rock in this strike, and why they will again if they don't get better wages soon.

When I entered the meeting hall in Library and stated I wanted to know some of the real facts about prices and conditions, a dozen workers immediately gathered around me excitedly talking all at once. About all I could gather for the moment in the clamor was "Potatoes a dollar a peck!" and "The papers've been printing a pack of lies about prices in this town."

After the meeting, Recording Secretary Pierce took me to his home, in one of the four-room rickety frame company houses which many of the men rent, to show me the local price figures collected by the miners' committee. While we were climbing up the hill, I asked about the so-called OPA investigation. One of

the men with us burst out laughing and said:

"Why, as soon as they announced the OPA investigation, the stores immediately dropped prices seven and eight cents on everything. And after this blows over, they'll shoot them up again."

### WHILE WAGES ARE FROZEN —

Here are some of the figures of price rise percentages at the company store, the Federal Supply Co., which boasts a big sign, "You too can save when you buy at Federal Supply Co." The latest prices are based on the listed "ceiling prices," but as Pierce remarked, "they put a jack under the ceiling."

### Percentage of Price Rise from Jan., 1941 to Feb. 1943

Round Steak	74%
Chuck Roast	106%
Veal Chops	17%
Pork Shoulder	120%
Butter	63%
Eggs	75%
Milk	45%

These are just a few examples based on the company store's price ceiling list posted for the benefit of the OPA "investigators." Add many cents to each item to get the prices really charged. Prices at the so-called "private" store are just as bad or worse. Meanwhile wage rates have been frozen at 15% above the Jan., 1941 levels.

### MINER'S PAY

The local press carried stories about the miners' paying only \$10 a month rent. The lowest rent in Library, for a four room company house exposed to the winds on the top of the hill, is \$13.70. It is \$22.50 over in Hammerville. These "houses" are flimsy "shells," as one miner expressed it. They have no cooking stoves, no heating, no plumbing, no nothing. If the miners want these things, they put them in themselves out of their own pockets. The company won't even patch a roof. "When it rains at night," I was told, "you better sleep with a wash-tub on your chest."

I saw one "good," "better-than-average" pay check. It was for \$111.59 for two weeks. But \$34.67 of this was overtime, which a great many do not get. The hitch was in the "off-takes," which reduced the cash received to a mere \$65.33 — and this miner has seven children to feed and clothe. The actual cash a miner takes home with him when he works a full 6-day week is around \$33.00.

Over in Hammerville, the men have lost so much time that just a few weeks ago some of the men got checks as low as \$13 for one week. One miner summed it up: "We live like kings, according to the papers. But the company's got a hook in everything."

After meeting with and talking to these miners personally and seeing some of their conditions first hand, I can testify that every American worker owes them a debt of gratitude for the great battle they have put up for their courageous strike in spite of all the vile slander and tremendous boss and government pressure. They came out solid and they went back more solid, and their fighting example has given a powerful boost to the morale of the organized workers everywhere.

## Davies' Film Whitewashes The Crimes Of Stalinism

(Continued from page 1)

Bolsheviks, Lenin's collaborators, lifelong revolutionists, builders of the Bolshevik Party under Czarist illegality; men and woman who passed through three revolutions (1905, February 1917, October 1917); carried the young Soviet Republic through the terrible years of the Civil War, imperialist blockade and intervention.

Next to fall under the executioner's axe was the generation that grew up after the seizure of power and the Civil War—the generation that lifted Stalin himself to power, his own closest collaborators, those who bore on their shoulders the brunt of the first two Five-Year Plans. The number of victims is incalculable. Hundreds of thousands were killed, literally millions were sent to concentration camps, exile or prison. Every sphere of the country's economic, social and cultural life was affected. The Red Army was beheaded.

### STAGE FOR THE CRIMES

The stage for these monstrous and unprecedented crimes was set by the Moscow Trials, in which

the chief defendants were Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov. The whole flimsy structure of these frameups was laid bare by the Dewey Commission in 1937. Leon Trotsky appeared in person before it and proved, documents in hand, the utter falsehood of the confessions extorted by the GPU.

The Dewey Commission sifted, examined, and verified a mass of material evidence and literally thousands of indisputable documents, and on the basis of these passed its verdict: NOT GUILTY! The blood purges of 1936-1938 cleared the way for Stalin's own deal with Hitler. Then in August, 1940, Stalin crowned his crimes by the assassination of Leon Trotsky, Lenin's closest collaborator, the organizer and leader of the Red Army, the real projector of the Five-Year plans, the unswerving defender of the Soviet Union, and the mortal enemy of fascism. All these are irrefutable historical facts.

Hollywood, in the person of Warner Brothers, gets around these facts by simply ignoring them; surpasses itself in reproducing on the screen all the vile slanders that Stalin and his GPU were able to invent; improves on many of them, and adds others for good measure.

### THE FILM AND THE BOOK

The screen version of "Mission to Moscow" is likewise an improvement on the printed one. In his book, of which the film is purported to be an authentic reproduction, Mr. Davies wrote (after the Radek Treason Trials): "In conclusion, I wish to say this whole trial and surrounding circumstances shock our mentality." ("Mission to Moscow," Pocket Book Edition, pp. 40-41.) In the film, Mr. Davies is represented as completely recovered from shock and virtually ecstatic during the trial scenes.

In 1937, Mr. Davies wrote: "The secret police is the personal agency of Stalin and the party. It is in the saddle and riding hard" (Page 179.) By 1943, Stalin and the GPU had become transformed into the impersonal agency of truth and justice and the greatest power for good on this earth. A volume could easily be written on the discrepancies between the Davies' book and the Davies' film alone. But we readily grant that in both it "is history exactly as he (Mr. Davies) saw it."

### THEY FORGOT YESTERDAY

Hollywood, Davies and Co. needed this 100% falsification for their 100% whitewash—not only of the Moscow frameups and blood purges that shocked the conscience of the whole world, but also of Stalin's other crimes which dealt additional terrible blows to the Soviet Union and untied Hitler's hands for the assault. It now turns out that Munich, Chamberlain and his umbrella, and unspecified "appeasers" were really responsible for the Stalin-Hitler pact, but not Stalin. Cynically omitted from this Hollywood "history" are such trifles as the fact that Stalin and Stalin's policy bear no small part of the responsibility for Munich. Hypocritically forgotten are the equally hypocritical protestations of indignation, aversion, horror, etc., etc. by Messrs. Roosevelt-Churchill and Co. at the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Cynically expurgated from this "documentary record" are Molotov's pronouncement that "Fascism is a matter of taste," Stalin's proclamation to the Nazis that "our friendship is cemented with blood;" and innumerable other abominations of this period.

Even in the case of "poor little Finland" over which all these honest people raged and clamored for military intervention against the USSR not so long ago—yes,

here too, it appears Stalin was a sadly maligned man.

What they all said formerly suited their purposes at that time. It suits their purposes now to say just the opposite. "They change their minds 'in a flash,'" like Mr. Davies, to further their own interests. And if in the process Stalin is rendered a service, so much the better, especially today when they find it expedient to pose as "friends" of the Soviet Union and to help frame up the Trotskyists, the most consistent and genuine defenders of the USSR.

### WASHINGTON BLESSINGS

The Office of War Information and other agencies in Washington, including the State Department, will never be able to wash their hands of the responsibility for this film and its contents. To be sure, approval was not granted "officially." The State Department, it appears, merely permitted the use of its official files. Roosevelt, impersonated by an actor, is made to say: "You have my blessing, Joe!"

There is a sinister note in this "unofficial" blessing which is thereby indirectly extended to that "other Joe" in the Kremlin, to his system of frameups and GPU executions of all political opponents. Stalin has long tried to extend this system to the American soil. Are others perhaps preparing not only to aid him but to follow suit?

Why do all these gentlemen find it so necessary to vilify the Trotskyists? Why are they willing to stoop to any contemptible means, even those provided by the Kremlin? Because it fits in with their war plans. Because they fear what Trotsky and Trotskyism really symbolize today: the struggle for socialism, the abolition of all tyranny and exploitation from the face of this earth. This is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that attempts have been made to discredit the genuine revolutionists in the eyes of the masses. But there is no power in the world that can stop truth that is on the march.

### CONTENTS OF THE MAY

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

### THE MONTH IN REVIEW:

- All Honor to the Fighting Miners!
- "Mission To Moscow": Frameup
- U. S. Capitalist Dreams of World Hegemony
- Wendell Willkie's Program ..... by Felix Morrow
- What the Peacemakers Did to Europe ... by Terence Phelan
- Europe and America ..... by Leon Trotsky
- Roosevelt's "Hold the Line" Order .. by William F. Ward
- The Shipbuilding Scandal ..... by Joseph Hansen
- The Dutch East Indies ..... by P. van Vliet

Price - 20 Cents

Order from Business Manager

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK

## The Basic Meaning Of The Soviet-Polish Break

By M. Morrison

For a revolutionary Marxist the most significant aspect of the break in diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish Government in London is the fact that, thus far, it is the clearest indication of the underlying and deep hostility that exists between the Soviet Union and all the capitalist countries in the coalition against the Axis powers. We have contended all along that a defeat of Hitler will not eliminate the danger to the Soviet Union and that the possibility of a continuation of an armed struggle against the Soviet Union by all or some of its present allies is very great. Molotoff's note breaking diplomatic relations with the Polish government confirms this contention.

It goes without saying that in any armed struggle by any capitalist power against the Soviet Union, regardless of the immediate cause of that struggle, revolutionary Marxists would consider the victory of the Soviet Union as a victory for socialism represented by the nationalized property existing in the Soviet Union. With our position clear on this fundamental point, we can proceed to discuss other interesting aspects of the diplomatic break.

It is clear, as Molotoff asserts in his note, that the Polish government seized upon the accusation of the German government, to the effect that thousands of officers of the Polish army were executed by the Stalinist government, as a means to discredit the Soviet government and to strengthen its claim to the territory which was part of Poland until its seizure by Stalin in 1939 after his pact with Hitler.

Molotoff is also correct when he asserts that the request of the Polish government for an investigation of Hitler's charges by the International Red Cross, without first requesting the Soviet government for an explanation, shows a hostile attitude and constitutes a form of pressure on the Soviet government to have it recognize Polish claims to the disputed territory. Molotoff's note is a form of counter-pressure and serves notice on all the capitalist allies of the Soviet Union that Stalin does not intend to yield the territory which he annexed, unless absolutely compelled to do so.

As I have indicated in a previous article, it is not the part of revolutionary Marxists to favor either Stalin or the Polish government of landlords and capitalists in this dispute about territory. We are completely on the side of the masses inhabiting the territory and for their right to determine their own fate. We urge the masses to establish independent Soviet Republics and to struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. This alone will give them national and social liberation.

Can one believe Hitler's accusation that the Stalinist government executed thousands of Polish army officers while they were in a concentration camp? Any accusation made by Hitler against an enemy of his must be taken with a spoonful of salt. A liar and frameup artist by policy, Hitler is not to be believed in anything he says of his enemies unless supported by overwhelming proof. That Hitler is capable of executing the Polish officers and then blaming the Soviet government is quite in keeping with his nature and policy.

Were Stalin to be accused of murdering ten thousand revolutionists in a concentration camp it could easily be believed. He has in fact murdered many more than ten thousand loyal and devoted revolutionists. Personally I would not take sides in any controversy of this nature between Hitler, Stalin and the Polish government. Since an impartial investigation is impossible — such as is the case of the present moment — I am content to leave the question undecided until it is settled by an impartial commission.

A feeling of horror is unavoidable at the thought of the deliberate murder of thousands of human beings even though they were Polish army officers who, in the vast majority of cases, are as cruel to workers, peasants and Jews as officers of the Nazi persuasion. The feeling of horror is not so much at the fate of the officers as at the thought that society permits not only this horror but one on a far vaster scale, the extermination of millions of human beings by the pestilence of war. I get a little impatient with humanitarians who go into fits at the execution of some prisoners of war and calmly accept a social system that permits the horror of war.

Stalin has seen fit to reject flatly the demand of the Polish government for an investigating commission. Technically he may be correct but that does not at all help to allay the suspicions of

a great number of people. Were the Soviet government headed by revolutionists interested in dealing a blow to Hitler and to the Polish government and in creating great confidence in the Soviet Union on the part of the masses, its reply to a request for an investigating commission would show that it does not fear one and thus strengthen the belief in the frameup character of the accusation. Naturally it would insist on ample guarantees for an impartial investigation; it might reject an investigation at a time when Hitler occupies the territory where the investigation is to be made. But in principle it would accept the idea of an impartial investigation.

What a blow to Hitler and to the Polish government and what a strengthening of the Soviet Union with the masses, if an impartial investigation were to be made and it was found that Hitler himself was guilty of the executions or that there were no executions at all.

Even if Stalin, in this particular case, is the victim of Hitler's frameup, and not the originator of a frameup against revolutionists, he has decided to reject flatly the proposal for an investigation without making a counterproposal for some commission to investigate in the future. He fears to create any precedent for impartial investigating commissions. If he should consent to one when he is innocent, his refusal to do so, when he himself is guilty of a frameup, would be all the more noticeable.

Why is there a suspicion in the minds of great numbers that there is a basis of truth in Hitler's charges? Because Stalin's record of murdering tens of thousands of revolutionists for mere political opposition predisposes people to believe any charge of murder against him, no matter who the accuser is and who the victims are.

To preserve an appearance of unity against Hitler, the capitalist press is playing up the angle that Hitler cannot be believed. The American and English governments are exerting all efforts to prevent a complete rupture between the Soviet Union and the Polish Government at the present time. Hence the press, following the line of these governments, is careful not to be too openly hostile to Stalin.

But underneath the careful formulations there is evident the inference that Stalin is quite capable of murdering thousands of people. Let the political situation change so that hostility to Stalin is politically advisable and the capitalist press will not find it difficult to show that Stalin must be guilty of murdering the Polish officers. And the undoubted murder of tens of thousands of revolutionists gives the capitalist press a plausible argument.

Thus does Stalin by his actions give the reactionaries weapons against the Soviet Union.

### A NOTE ON NATIONAL LIBERATION SLOGAN

In an article dealing with the question of the raising of the slogan of national liberation for the European countries occupied by Hitler, and which appeared in the January issue of *Fourth International*, I said that the slogan implies the support of a struggle for national liberation even under capitalist leadership.

To this Max Shachtman replied: do we not raise the slogan, "For an Independent Soviet Ukraine" and does this not show that the slogan of national liberation does not mean supporting a struggle for national liberation under bourgeois leadership? In his gibberish, Shachtman completely ignores the fact that I was dealing with the slogan for capitalist countries in Europe and that the slogan for an independent Soviet Ukraine cannot possibly have anything to do with any relationship to a capitalist class in the Soviet Ukraine. Does Shachtman believe that there is a capitalist class ruling in the Soviet Ukraine?

Shachtman also finds it exceedingly amusing that one can be for the idea of national liberation and against the slogan under certain circumstances. For the benefit of people who may be impressed by the debating points made by Shachtman, it has to be pointed out that the use of a slogan depends not only upon the fact that one favors the idea contained in it but also upon the particular circumstances.

Lenin, for instance, certainly favored the idea of national liberation. But he agreed with the Polish revolutionary socialists that the use of the slogan would be inadvisable at a particular period in the First World War.

But Shachtman must make his points though they may be the points of a high-school debater.

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the  
Working People

VOL. VII—No. 19 Saturday, May 8, 1943

Published Weekly by  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editor:  
GEORGE BREITMAN

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.



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

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## The 'N. Y. Times' On 'The Militant'

When the Post Office Department revoked the second-class mailing privileges of *The Militant* early in March on the ground that an effect of reading its criticisms of the government's foreign and domestic policies might be to discourage enlistment in the armed forces, we warned that the administration was trying to establish a precedent whereby it could silence or intimidate all papers, labor, liberal and conservative, which voiced criticism of the government.

Our warning was taken up and repeated by wide sections of the labor and liberal press and organizations who understood that the administration's attack on *The Militant* was the beginning of a general attack on the freedom of the press, and who consequently expressed support of *The Militant's* intention to challenge Postmaster General Walker's decision in the courts. Now, almost two months later, the *N. Y. Times* has also felt moved to make some comment on the case. On April 28 its editorial writers note that the Post Office Department, "on recommendation of Attorney General Biddle," has cancelled *The Militant's* second class privileges, and continue:

It is difficult to sympathize with The Militant editors, who admittedly do not approve of the present war. We can get along nicely without this insignificant and cantankerous sheet. But encroachments on freedom of the press always begin with publications we can do without, and affect individuals with whom most of us do not sympathize. The Government's case against The Militant has been made on dangerous grounds.

In hearings held by the Post Office Department the Government introduced statements to show that the accused periodical had discouraged enlistment in the armed forces. Post Office Attorney William C. O'Brien then went on to say: "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything The Militant said is true. We believe that anyone violates the Espionage Act who holds up and dwells on the horrors of war with the effect that enlistment is discouraged by readers." It was not shown that this effect had actually been intended or has actually been produced.

With the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union the case will be carried into the District of Columbia courts. It deserves close attention. If the O'Brien thesis is sustained any criticism of the conduct of the war — for instance, the assertion that "island-hopping" in the Pacific involves a needless waste of life — would be punishable. In that case any newspaper could

be coerced, and published opinion would be at the mercy of the Attorney General and the Postmaster General. We don't believe this is the intention of Mr. Biddle and Mr. Walker, and we do believe they will be wise to amend their pleadings in this case.

Thus no one can justly accuse the *Times* of becoming infected with liberalism and no one can rightly charge it with defending *The Militant's* right to express its views. Not only do the *Times* editors, reflecting the views of Wall Street, find it difficult to sympathize with us — they find it quite easy not to sympathize with us at all and they make it quite clear that they are willing to see us suppressed. They even go further and try to whitewash the administration by referring to its position as "the O'Brien thesis" — as though O'Brien was not a minor official in the Post Office carrying out the orders of his superiors, who was counseled during the hearing on *The Militant* by Henry A. Schweinhaut, Biddle's emissary, and whose "thesis" was upheld by Postmaster General Walker when he cancelled *The Militant's* mail privileges. And the *Times* editors express the opinion that Biddle and Walker don't really want to attack freedom of the press generally although all their actions in this case definitely point to the opposite conclusion.

But in spite of their avowed dislike of *The Militant* and their support of Biddle and Walker, the *Times* editors are disturbed by the administration's case. In the concern expressed by this conservative journal of American capitalism is reflected the sweepingly reactionary position taken by Washington. They don't like the way the case has been handled; they have to admit that the administration did not prove that *The Militant* had either violated or intended to violate the Espionage Act; they have to admit that the administration's position in this case opens the way for the coercion of all papers. What better proof could there be that the administration's attack on *The Militant* is an attack on the freedom of the press as a whole when even the *N. Y. Times* feels threatened by it?

Of course the *Times* editors do not reach the same conclusions reached by us or by our defenders among the labor and liberal press. They do not urge support for *The Militant's* court case to reverse Walker's decision — they urge only "close attention" to the case, they believe that a neater job can be done in suppressing *The Militant*, and they in effect ask Biddle and Walker "to amend their pleadings." Nevertheless the *Times* editorial should be called to the attention of working class and liberal organizations as another indication of the importance of *The Militant* case and of the need for supporting it against the administration's attacks.

## Wage Problem Comes First

The miners' struggle has shed a great deal of light on many things, and, in particular, has focussed attention on the stand of trade union officials of the whole organized labor movement.

Do they support the miners? Do they act to protect the living standards of all workers by demanding higher wages to keep pace with the rising prices? By no means. The overwhelming majority are busy advising the workers not to fight for higher wages but to accept instead the OPA's empty promises, to keep prices under control and to "roll them back" to previous levels.

These union officials are merely echoing the propaganda of the bosses and the OPA, which is designed to defeat the workers' attempts to get wage increases.

The *Militant* of course is in favor lowering prices and opposes price increases. However, as we have pointed out ever since price fixing schemes began to be dangled as a panacea, the capitalist government will not and cannot keep prices from going up. To succeed in even partially checking prices, price control and rationing must be placed under the control of mass committees based on the trade unions, consumers and dirt farmers organizations.

This position has been borne out to the hilt. Today even the OPA officials admit that food prices are "practically out of control."

So long as the present social system remains, the workers can have little hope of being able to overcome the decisive influence exercised by the capitalists over the government bodies in charge of regulating the various economic functions, including price fixing.

The workers can, however, not only hope for wage increases to cover at least in part the skyrocketing costs of living, but can actually secure such increases through their unions and by militancy.

Yes, the workers should fight and utilize the most effective measures such as we advocate, to keep prices down and "roll them back" as much as possible. But first of all the already greatly increased prices must be countered by wage raises. The workers must vigorously place as one of the key slogans at the present time:

A rising scale of wages to meet all increases in the cost of living.

A Marxist Record of the first year of  
World War II

THE BOUND VOLUME

of  
THE MILITANT  
for 1942

Now Available at  
\$3.00 each

116 University Place — New York City

# Why Cordell Hull Liked Stalin's May Day Order

By M. Stein

Stalin's May Day order of the day has met with the universal acclaim of the press. Secretary of State Cordell Hull has praised it as "a stirring speech by an able leader that is most helpful at this time."

Mr. Hull's endorsement of Stalin's order of the day does not flow from any Stalinist leanings on his part. Not even Martin Dies would accuse him of that. In fact, he has been classed among the most conservative in the Roosevelt cabinet. Hull has been held responsible for the policy of appeasement toward the Vichy regime in France and the fascist Franco regime in Spain. For that he has been under the continuous fire (or shall we say, whimpers) of the liberals.

What is it then in Stalin's May Day order that Hull found "most helpful at this time?"

## WHY HULL LIKES IT

Cordell Hull is old enough to have witnessed a good many May Days. He knows that May Day has been traditionally the internationalist holiday of world labor. The workers of all nations — wherever conditions permit their voices to be heard — dedicate themselves on this day to the common struggle for a socialist world. Hull knows, because May Day has always reminded the capitalist class of its impending doom. Even the treacherous Social-Democrats would on this day clamber up to their attics to take down the dusty red flags and to find their stock speeches for "socialism" stored away for holiday occasions.

Hull's elation over Stalin's order of the day on May 1 is due in no small measure to the fact that not a single word in it even faintly hints at socialism as the way out for bleeding humanity.

But doesn't Hull know that Stalin had long ago renounced

world revolution? Didn't Stalin prove it by his bestial extermination of a whole generation of Russian Bolsheviks? Isn't the strikebreaking conduct of the Stalinist party in this country assurance enough? Perhaps it is but Hull, in the words of Shakespeare, likes to "make assurance double sure," especially since the Soviet Union, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, has an inherently explosive, revolutionary character. Its very existence without capitalists is a standing challenge to capitalism.

## CRIME OF COMMISSION

But Stalin's crime of omission — the omission of any reference to socialism in his order of the day — is far outweighed by his crime of commission. For in this same order of the day Stalin commits the Soviet Union to war aims which are not by one iota different from those of Roosevelt and Churchill. He even repeats the self-same "unconditional surrender" formula of Casablanca fame.

Stalin makes no effort to fill the "unconditional surrender" formula with any content of his own. All that the world has before it is the interpretation given that formula by various capitalist politicians and journalists, who vie with each other in devising diabolical schemes that would reduce Germany for generations to the status of a colony.

The despicable, Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda chief, is no doubt elated over Stalin's May Day order even more than Hull. Goebbels is now able to replenish his arsenal of monstrous lies for the deception of the German masses with a few truths that will go a long way in prolonging the war and in claiming countless additional victims. The Nazi propagandists can point to Stalin's order of the day as proof that he is in league with the cap-

italist countries to forge the chains that would keep Germany in bondage.

## AN OPPORTUNITY THROWN AWAY

Stalin's order of the day comes after a winter of telling blows dealt the Nazi war machine by the heroic Red Army. The German soldiers suffered heavy casualties and those who survived the Red Army bullets plus the tough Russian winter could not possibly have remained with a high morale or a fervent desire to continue the war. The time is now most propitious for a revolutionary appeal to the German masses to lay down their arms and to join the Soviet workers in the struggle for a socialist world.

But Stalin is not capable of such an appeal. Nor would such an appeal coming from him ring true. As the head of a bureaucratic clique interested in self-preservation alone, Stalin knows only how to try to stifle the revolutionary initiative of the masses.

Those familiar with the early days of the Russian Revolution know that Lenin and Trotsky won their victory in the trying years of Civil War and German intervention, followed by Allied blockade and intervention, not by force of arms alone. The most powerful weapon in their arsenal consisted of a ceaseless exposure of the capitalist system of exploitation and war as well as the ringing call for the victory of socialism.

Hull has indeed every reason to be elated with Stalin's May Day order of the day. In it Stalin not only deprives the Soviet Union of the powerful weapon of revolutionary propaganda — he has done this a long time ago — but he extends to capitalism his helping hand for its survival. This, without a shadow of doubt, is "most helpful at this time" when capitalism is undergoing its severest crisis.

# Brown Says Wage Raises Won't Help The Miners

(Continued from page 1)

every side; that actual prices are far above OPA prices. He attempts to give the impression that the OPA ceiling prices — which themselves have been climbing rapidly — are the prices really charged for food, clothing and shelter. As a matter of fact, ceiling prices, especially in miners' communities, are a complete fiction.

Above all, Brown's speech carefully left unsaid something which he desperately wants to keep hidden, namely:

Wage rises do not have to mean increases in prices. Wages can go up and prices remain stable . . . if profits go down.

It is true that if the government operates — as it does — on the principle that profits must be maintained at their present near-peak levels, the capitalists will be permitted by the OPA to meet every increase in wages by an increase in prices.

But is the government's principle correct? Must profits be maintained at their high figure, no matter what happens to the workers' standard of living? The capitalists want the workers to

believe that profits must be guaranteed, that the capitalists are necessary and that without the capitalists a catastrophe would take place.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The capitalists perform no useful function. They are complete parasites and live off the labor of the productive members of society, primarily the wage workers and working farmers.

## HUGE PROFITS

However, the government, as a capitalist government, will always act to protect the profits of the capitalists, which are its first concern. That explains its brutal stand toward the miners, that explains Brown's statement, which is directed not only against the miners, but against any group of workers who demand wage increase. The capitalist government — and that means either a Democratic or Republican administration — will set prices that will guarantee to the capitalists their profits.

And these profits are by no means small. They are at near-record heights. The figures on the profits of the capitalist class show that the year 1942 was as

prosperous for the bosses as the year 1941 which was a banner year.

Besides, the government has built over \$20,000,000,000 in manufacturing plants, which will be sold after the war to the large corporations at a fraction of their cost. For all intents and purposes these government-financed plants represent additional profits for the capitalist class.

If, instead of trying to maintain profits at their present heights, the government were to take a position for the lowering of profits, or better yet, their total abolition, the income of the workers and the toiling farmers could go up without raising prices of commodities.

## WHAT LABOR NEEDS

But it is an illusion to expect from a capitalist government, party, or politician anything but actions which favor capitalism.

To meet the situation the workers must demand:

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

In this way, every increase in prices will be met by an increase in wages and the standard of living of the workers will not decline.

# Civil Rights Committee Launches Postal Week

The period from May 6 to May 15 has been designated as Kelly Postal Week by the national office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is mobilizing public support on behalf of the Minneapolis union leader who was convicted a year ago on a frame-up charge and is now out on bail. Postal's appeal against the conviction will be heard by the Minnesota Supreme Court on May 17, at which his attorneys will show that he was guilty of no crime but obeying the directives of his union,

Drivers Local 544, when it voted to leave the AFL and join the CIO.

Kelly Postal Week will see intensified activities by the local branches of the CRDC to raise money for Postal's appeal. The New York branch will close the week by holding a big social on May 15, and other branches are making similar plans as well as visiting friends and sympathizers to secure donations.

The CRDC reports that there has been a most encouraging response to its appeal on behalf of

Kelly Postal from trade union locals in all parts of the country. The most recent contributors for Postal case were:

United Auto Workers Local 735, Detroit, which wrote: "Please accept our small contribution toward the winning of the Kelly Postal case."

Journeymen Tailors Local 1 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York, which says: "We are exceedingly sorry that we cannot contribute more, but we are trying to do our part. Wishing you every success in your endeavor."

## Bankers Try to Distort Truth About War Profits

The latest monthly bank letter of the National City Bank in New York City tries to make it appear that the industrialists are not profiteering in this war and charges that those who claim so are either "prejudiced or (have other motives)." The bank's letter arrives at this conclusion by examining the profit reports of 40 large corporations and declaring that net income for 1942 "fell 23% below that of 1941 and 17% below 1940."

The charge of "prejudice or other motives" may well be hurled back at the National City Bank for its figures are way out of line with those released by the U. S. Department of Commerce. In the March 1943 issue of "Survey of Current Business," this conservative government agency reveals that nationwide "corporate profits after taxes were approximately the same in 1942 as in 1941 when the total was \$7.7 billion."

As a matter of fact, it was only taxation which prevented 1942 from even surpassing the 1941 figures. The Department estimated that profits before taxes was 19.7 billion dollars in 1942 compared with 14.6 billion dollars in 1941.

When it is remembered that 1941 profits rolled up by Big Business were the highest in the history of the country, the 1942 record is something to warm the hearts of the Wall Street manipulators. And with a long war ahead of them, they no doubt foresee a "good year" in '43.

## Churchill and the Polish Government-in-Exile

May 2 was "National Day" for the Poles and the occasion was celebrated in London by the sending of the warmest greetings to the Polish government-in-exile from Prime Minister Churchill. The British government expressed close friendship and said "we all look forward . . . (to the restoration) of a great and independent Poland."

This sudden display of solidarity with the Poles might seem on the surface at variance with the British government's previous concern over the rupture of Soviet-Polish relations, but it is not.

While the British and American leaders are genuinely concerned over the Polish-Soviet split because of its possible adverse effect upon the prosecution of the war, nevertheless they essentially support the Polish capitalists against the Soviet Union. The hope expressed for a "great and independent Poland" shows that they have not given up the hope of establishing a series of buffer states between a capitalist Europe and the workers' state.

On the other hand, Churchill's friendship for the Polish capitalists does not guarantee that he will not sell them down the river if Stalin should demand it as part of his price for suppressing the European revolution. In the game of power politics the weak nations can expect short shrift from their larger capitalist neighbors and rivals.

Poland remains a pawn in the hand of the British, to be used against the Soviet Union either as a weapon or a bribe.

## Fighting Anti-Labor Propaganda in the Army

Last month the United Automobile Workers, CIO, sent a delegation of its members to an army camp to undergo a brief period of military life and see how the soldiers live and work. In return, an equal number of soldiers spent time in Detroit factories in order to become acquainted with the problems of the workers.

This was done by the union in an effort to forge a closer understanding between soldier and worker and to counteract the attempts of the employers and their Rickenbackers to set the one group against the other.

This is an entirely correct and necessary aim. The reactionary capitalists and officers are working day and night to turn the gigantic new American army, predominately working class in composition, against organized labor. Typical of this drive was the recent "riot" demonstration conducted at Ft. Snelling, where troops with drawn bayonets were ordered to disperse a demonstration of "rioters" carrying signs asking for higher pay.

But the UAW plan, good as far as it goes, doesn't go far enough. What is needed in addition is a program for defending the rights and interests of the worker in uniform. The unions must stop washing their hands of members the minute they don khaki.

The worker-soldier must win the democratic right to present his grievances to his officers through a democratically-elected committee. To win this right he must have the vigorous support of all organized labor.

Once the unions demonstrate to the soldier that they are ready to fight for his rights when he is in uniform as well as in overalls, then the anti-labor propaganda directed to the armed forces would become completely ineffective.

## SUNDAY NIGHT FORUM

This Week: SUNDAY, MAY 9, 8 P. M.

"ROOSEVELT AND THE COAL CRISIS"

Speaker: WILLIAM F. WARDE

Auspices:

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
116 University Place (cor. 13th Street)  
Question-Discussion Period - Refreshments

## SPRING SOCIAL

of  
Civil Rights Defense Committee  
New York Branch

featuring:

EXHIBITION AND AUCTION

of Contemporary American Paintings and Modern French Reproductions

DANCING - REFRESHMENTS - ENTERTAINMENT

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 15

116 University Place, New York

Subscription 25 Cents