ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY, SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL - 114 WEST JAHN STREET, NEW YORK CITY

MAY DAY, 1940 --

AGAINST BOTH WAR CAMPS FOR THE CAMP OF WORLD LABOR!

Third Camp Unites Workers, Colonial People Against War

Uncensored Report Reveals French Brutality to Refugees

WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES:

May Day, first established by the labor movement of this country more than fifty years ago, is the holiday of the workers in every part of the May Day or M-Day

May Day, 1940, has been turned into a black day for labor by the rulers of the world.

Less than twenty years after a "peace treaty" was signed to put an end to the last world war, the majority of the population of the world has been plunged into the Second World War. Equipped with the most modern inventions of mass slaughter, the armies of the big powers are again marching on every continent on the globe. Land and sea and skies are black with the machines of murder.

Unless the workers and the colonial peoples of the world, who have the biggest army and strength, step in to put an end to the Second World War in their own way, every last shred of freedom and security for the peoples will be wiped out by the plague of war, all civilization will be wiped out, and what is left of humanity will be reduced to a new and barbaric slavery.

Two big rival camps are at each other's throats in the war. The peoples of the countries at war have no quarrel with each other. Their interests lie in friendship, peace and cooperation with each other. Yet millions have already been mobilized for the trenches by means of force and falsehoods, to serve as cannon-fodder in the mutual massacre of the peoples.

The ruling classes of England and France LIE when they say that they are fighting for a noble and righteous cause. They LIE when they say they are fighting for Democracy and against Fascism, for the inde-

pendence and integrity of small nations and against foreign oppression. The American ruling class LIES when it says it is supporting the London-Paris axis for the same reasons.

England and France are and have been the savage, ruthless oppressor of almost half the world for centuries. They are no respecters of the national independence of small countries. They rule with aerial bombs and fire and sword over the hundreds of millions of slaves in their Empires. The peoples of India and Indo-China, of Ireland and Morocco, of South Africa and Syria-they know that Anglo-French "democracy" is a terror and torment of imperialist exploitation and tyranny not one bit better than the terror and tyranny of Hitlerism. The entire world knows that England and France helped Hitlerism come to power and arm for the war.

BOTH WAR CAMPS LIE!

The ruling class in Germany, and its allies Stalin and Mussolini, LIE when they say that they are fighting for a noble and righteous cause. They LIE when they say that Germany is fighting against unjust peace treaties against the Plutocratic Empires which oppress the world, for the freedom

The Stalinist bureaucracy LIES when it says it is fighting for the defense of the Soviet Union and the achievements of the great Russian

Hitler has destroyed all freedom in Germany. He seeks to put an end to the world oppression of England and France in order to replace it with the world oppression of Germany. He has put an end to the infamous Versailles Treaty in order to impose even more infamous "peace treaties" on Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia. He aims to replace Anglo-French despotism by German despotism, the British imperialist whip by the German imperialist whip.

The Stalinist regime has been systematically destroying the achievements of the heroic Russian masses who rose in revolution against exploitation and oppression in November, 1917. It has replaced workingclass freedom by bureaucratic autocracy. It has undermined and corrupted the revolutionary and labor movements throughout the world and betrayed every great principle of international labor. It comes to other lands not to bring liberty but to impose upon the workers and peasants the same slavery they suffer from in the Soviet Union today. It is allied with Germany not to defend the Russian Revolution, but to promote the interests of the rotten Kremlin bureaucracy and to promote the interests of German imperialism. The Russian Revolution can be saved only by overthrowing this rotten bureaucracy and replacing it with true workers' democracy.

THE ONLY WAY OUT: THE THIRD CAMP!

The masses of the people can find a way out of the horrors of the Second World War only under the banner of the Third Camp!

The Third Camp has nothing in common with the two imperialist war

camps-it is their deadly enemy. The Third Camp is the camp of the workers in factory and field, in mine and on railroad. It is the camp of the slaves of all colors who yearn and fight for their independence from imperialism. It is the camp of labor, fighting against the profit-lusting employers. It is the camp of labor fighting against the governments of the employers. It is the camp of the peasants and sharecroppers and farmers fighting against the grasping trusts, the railroad magnates, the bank sharpers. It is the camp of the Irish people, the Indian people, the Indo-Chinese and Moroccan peoples, the Filipinos and the Puerto Ricans, the Chinese people, the Polish and Czech and Slovakian and Scandinavian people, the people of the Soviet Union,—the people who are at war today or will be at war tomorrow against the imperialist tyranny of the United States, England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the bureaucratic dictatorship of the Kremlin.

The Third Camp is the camp of the hundreds of millions who yearn for peace, for security, for freedom, for independence.

The Third Camp is the banner carried by the Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International!

(Continued)



ENTHUSIASTIC MASS MEETING IN **NEW YORK LAUNCHES WORKERS PARTY**

New Party Result of Long **Faction Fight**

Right on the heels of the launching of a mass expulsion drive by the controlling faction of the Socialist Workers Party, which has split the American Trotskvist movement into two parts, the expelled opposition group announced through National Secretary Max Shachtman the establishment of its own independent organization, the Workers Party.

The split comes at the end of a seven-months dispute in which the opposition challenged the policy advocated by the dominant Cannon faction on the question of Russia's participation in the Second World War. The opposition also conducted a sharp fight against the bureaucratic regime by which the party was ruled.

POINTS AT ISSUE

The majority faction, led by James P. Cannon and supported by Leon Trotsky, committed the Socialist Workers Party to support of the Stalinist campaign of expansion in Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Finland under the slogan of "defense of the Soviet Union.'

The opposition, on the other hand, asserted that the Kremlin was and is participating in the Second World War as an integral part of one of the two big imperialist camps-that of Germany. The Stalinist invasions of Poland, the Baltic countries and Finland, carried out by joint agreement with and under the supervision of Germany, could not be given the slightest bit of support, argued the opposition, without at the same time (Continued)

Speakers Say New Party to be Voice of Third Camp in War

NEW YORK-Speaking before an audience of some eight hundred in Manhattan Plaza last Friday night, April 26, leaders of the ousted faction of the Socialist Workers Party proclaimed the formation of a new revolutionary organization, the "Workers Party of the United States, section of the Fourth International"

The meeting, called to explain the recent split in the American Trotskyist

movement, was addressed by Max Shachtman, James Burnham, Martin Abern and Nathan Gould. International, as our obligation to the

workers the world over who are op-In remarks that served as a preface the main speeches of the evening. posed to the war." Nathan Gould, National Sceretary of Touching directly on the central isthe Young Peoples Socialist League sue in the bitterly fought dispute and Chairman of the meeting, dewhich broke out in the S.W.P. on clared, "That the American Trotskyist September 1 and was resolved in movement has been split can best be favor of the Trotsky-Cannon faction understood by the fact that the conwhen it carried the special convenvulsions shaking the world reflect tion in New York April 5, 6 and 7, themselves in the workers movement. Max Shachtman, National Secretary Having been suspended from the Soof the Workers Party and principal cialist Workers Party, we now pro-claim the Workers Party of the speaker of the evening, declared: The dispute in the Socialist Workers Party revolved around the greatest United States, section of the Fourth

Youth Prefers Quick Death to War Horrors

One day last week, Lindsay Crocker, 23, of 445 West 21st Street, came home from a night's work carrying a copy of the morning paper that announced the invasion of Norway.

All night long he had heard dramatic radio reports of fighting at sea and thousands of young bodies floating in the Skagerrak. His shopmates talked nothing else but war.

Before retiring, Lindsay said to his mother, "It looks as if the United States is going to get into the war. I don't like war and I don't want to

That evening when Mrs. Crocker came home, she found the body of her son in a gas-filled kitchen. Lindsay had preferred suicide to war.

WITH THE THIRD CAMP IRELAND

question of our epoch, the second

(Continued)

"DUBLIN, Ap. 25—Dublin was shaken in all sections early this morning with the reverbe rations of a terrific explosion caused by a time bomb set off at Dublin Castle. The bomb had been planted beside the headquarters of the special detective branch that is akin to London's Scotland Yard.

"The general assumption is that the bomb was planted by sympathizers with the two Irish Republican Army prisoners who died on a hunger strike here last week."

> N. Y. Times, April 26, 1940

GERMAN ANTI-FASCISTS IN PRISON CAMPS

French Authorities Give Them

PARIS—The concentration camps for German emigrants in France have been liquidated. Their former occupants have either departed for service in Africa under the Foreign Legion or been interned in special camps pending their incorporation in the forced labor brigade.

The camps of which we are speaking were precisely those which included German and Austrian refugees, of which most

WHO FIRST **INVADED NORWAY?**

A Case of Pot Calling Kettle Black

Ever since the fighting began in Norway, each of the two warring camps has been trying to fasten on the enemy the guilt for the invasion. The latest move in this game is the publication by the Nazis of a number of documents which they claim to have taken off captured British officers and to have found in the British legation in Oslo. These papers -which may or may not be genuine -show that the British High Command had made detailed plans to occupy Norway before the Nazis actually moved in.

Whether this is true or not, the question as to which of the imperialist war-gangs is "guilty" of the invasion has as little real meaning as the question of "who started the World War." The fact is that Norway has become a battlefield, that its towns are being bombed by both sides and its farmers and fishermen slaughtered by both sides, because it suits the strategy of both sides to fight the present stage of the war on Norwegian soil.

FORCE NEUTRALS INTO WAR

This is a "totalitarian" war in the sense that both the warring camps insist that there is no middle ground between them, that there can be no such thing as neutrality. Just as they try to line up the workers in one or the other of the two camps, so they force one neutral nation after another to choose one side or the other in the

It makes no difference how a nation gets involved in the war, whether voluntarily or by invasion. Thus within three days of the German occupation of Denmark, the Allies announced that all Danish ships are to be henceforth considered "enemy property" and are to be seized and confiscated wherever the British fleet can lay hands on them.

The same policy will also be applied to the colonies of any neutral country that "willingly or unwillingly" enters the German camp. This means, concretely, that if Holland is invaded by the Nazis, the Allies will at once seize the Dutch East Indies; if Belgium is the victim, then the Al-

lies will take over the Belgian Congo.

The charges and counter-charges now flying about between London and Berlin about the invasion of Norway-this is just the pot calling the kettle black. Both the imperialist wargangs cooperated to make Norway a battleground, and they will do the same in the future with any "neutral" nation that suits their military strategy. The kind of "protection" these war camps offer the working masses is dramatically illustrated by the fate of Norway, which is being steadily bombed and blasted into extinction between her two rival "protectors."

Choice of Army or Forced Labor

of the former have been living in France since 1933, and of the latter since the "Anschluss." On September 5, 1939, when the

call for German emigrants to con-centrate was published, thousands of refugees stormed the gates at the Colombe Stadium. Most of them had to decide to serve France in one fashion or another and all were persuaded that it was a matter of sifting out the Nazis among the refugees -which could not last more than a few days. Even at the very entrance to the

Stadium, the future internees began to realize their mistake. Aside from knives and blades, safety razors, stiluses, instruments for opening tins, pocket searchlights were demanded. Nourishment consisted of bread and meat paste for fifteen days. In the Stadium, sleeping quarters were set up under the open skies, in spite of the worst kind of weather.

UNDER NAZI PHYSICIAN

The German doctor who was responsible to the French medical service and to whom the refugee doctors were subordinated was a Nazi. In the course of fifteen days at the Colombe Stadium where the first batch of men from 18 to 50 years of age and second batch of men from 51 to 68 were interned, two men had to be evacuated to insane asylums. From the Colombe, the internees were sent to Blois and set up in a circus tent. It was only from here that they were finally after ten days distributed to more or less permanent camps.

These small camps contain about 300 internees and are installed in small villages. The internees sleep on thin layers of straw in granges and barns, without electricity, without windows and have as their only source of light and air the entrance door. Up to this moment no medical examination has been undertaken and the sick and suffering have been confined among those who are well. An infirmary is installed in the small abandoned house and the only means that it has at its disposal are those which the internees can procure themselves. At the head of the infirmary is a refugee physician who enjoys neither power of evacuating those gravely ill nor of furnishing them hospitalization.

From the first week of internment on, a most intense pressure was exercised upon the internees to accept for five years enrollment in the Foreign Legion. This pressure was intensified more and more since at the same time those interned were treated by the commanding officer of the camp and his officers as "enemy subjects" and "dirty bums."

FORCED LABOR ON FARMS

Under the pretext that it was a matter of voluntary service, some of the men including those ill were lent out to the peasants as farmhands and agricultural workers and returned to the camp without pay, without clothes, complete wrecks. In November, the appeal for a five-year enrollment was reduced in favor of one for the duration of the war. The situation in the camps was almost intolerable because of the cold, the menacing winter and the ever more intensive pressure exerted upon the internees who feared that measures of oppression would be introduced against their families. Thus some enrolled in the Foreign Legion for African service. They were sent to training camps. Others who refused to do service or were incapable of it were sent to special camps for doubtful elements where they now await their incorporation in the forced labor brigade.

ALL OUT!

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

SPEAKERS: Max Shachtman, Nathan Gould, E. R. McKinney, B. J. Widick

AUSPICES: WORKERS PARTY TIME: 4:30 P. M.

PLACE: COLUMBUS CIRCLE (59th St. & Broadway)

WITH THE THIRD CAMP

ENGLAND

conscientious objectors among

the 60,000 so far conscripted, against 16,000 among the en-

tire 9,000,000 conscripted dur-

ing the four years of the World

a pacifist received over 6 per

cent of the vote. At Stratford

in December two anti-war can-

didates, one a Communist, re-

ceived 20 per cent. At Central

Southwark in February, the anti-war candidate received 19

percent. At Kettering during

the first week of March the

anti-war candidate received 27

Letter to the N. Y. Times,

April 1, 1940

per cent."

"At Clackmannan in October

"There have been 14,000

Their GOVERNMENT

BY JAMES BURNHAM

When the war began last September, most of the Washington insiders expected that the United States would be in it within a very few months. "War by the first of the year" was almost a slogan during those first weeks. This expectation was shared more or less, by many political analysts outside of government circles. For my own part, I wrote then that June, 1940 seemed an approximate date for United States entry.

Three miscalculations figured in the belief that this country would join the war so quickly.

First, there was the almost universal conception that the war would be fought "all out" from the beginning, that at least continuous mass bombings of the major European cities and most probably also mass war on the western front would start at once. This would have meant an exceedingly rapid depletion of materiel, and a relatively short time for the war to near a decision. Both results would have demanded quick intervention in the full military sense by the United States.

Second, the significance of the thin line that divides war from peace these days was not clearly enough realized. It was overlooked that the United States could, for some while, function as a key part in one of the warring coalitions without being formally at war and without having soldiers killed. Munitions factories do not have to be located near the front; the United States Navy can—for a while —remain technically neutral and still patrol a large percentage of the seven seas as effectively as if war had beer declared. Moreover, in this war living men are only one among many other equally or even more important mechanisms; and there are still millions of men in France and England and their colonies to be killed. All of these factors combined to make it less urgent for the United States to declare war so soon as was expected.

Finally, though everyone knew that the people of this country did not want war, hardly anyone estimated in advance how mighty was the popular sentiment against it. The Gallup polls make a startling record: the latest release shows more than 96% still opposed to entry, unchanged since December, and several percent higher than when the war began.

THE WAR MACHINE CHANGES DATES

To imagine that the delay is anything more than a breathing space, that there is any reason to feel that the danger of entry has been removed or even made less probable by what has happened since September 1st, would be a most terrible il-

Informed Washington opinion now looks forward to a repetition of the Wilson 1916-17 performance. "Keeping out of war" will be the big talk of both parties for the Presidential When the elections are elections. safely under the political belt, the administration will drive ahead into the war by the quickest possible routein a few months after November, at

This prospect is not at all unlikely. But it is not, of course, excluded that the break will come even sooner. After Hull's statement on the Dutch East Indies last week, backed the next day by Roosevelt, no one would be greatly surprised to find the Navy immediately in action if Hitler (or Chamberlain) moves into Holland. And how much longer has Holland

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE MAKING

With the people remembering what preceded entry into the last war, the present Neutrality Act prohibits credits to the belligerent powers, and requires that all goods purchased by them be paid for with cash.

This provision is a genuine difficulty for Britain and France, and irksome to all in this country who regard themselves as allies of Britain and France.

From their side, Britain and France have moved shrewdly. They are confining purchases almost entirely to munitions and a few key goods such as machine tools. In all other fields, they are cutting their U.S. purchases to the bone, cutting them far below the pre-war level. The general boom expected from war buying has never come. On the contrary, U. S. producers of many products - textiles and tobacco and fruit and cars and a hundred and one other items-find their chief export markets, in England and France and their empires, drying up.

Two or three months ago, articles began appearing on the financial pages of leading newspapers, and speeches began to be made before business associations, explaining that the credit restrictions "were not work. ing out" as expected when the Neu-

trality Act was passed. Now the subject is being brought into the editorial and the news pages. Radio reporters, broadcasting from London, ask with tears in their voices. how long the American people will deny their English brothers what they must have if they are not to be destroyed.

A popular formula has been worked out. Credits will be granted for nonmilitary goods only; munitions will still have to bought for cash-like a drunkard who might say to his grocer: I want credit only for food; I'll pay cash out of my wages for my

Preventing credit is not enough to keep out of war. But granting it is one of the surest and fastest ways of getting in, as we learned last time And the war-makers have put credit grants up near the top of their list We will hear a great deal about it before the year is over. The warmakers are serious about their plans. They will go through with this one unless events move so fast that they have to skip this credit stage in order to drive even more directly into the war.

Norman Thomas Party Moves Toward Allies

In a frank and open statement made recently, Norman Thomas, head (and body) of the Socialist Party, reveals the shallowness of his muchpublicized isolationist attitude toward the war by stating his preference for "British and French imperialism."

Thomas explains his "unneutral neutrality" in the following state-ment: "Our abhorrence of Hitler's and Stalin's widespread use of bestial brutality as a means of government and our preference for British and French imperialism with all its faults must not blind us to the plain facts that our entrance into war will not change war's cruel inefficiency . . ." (Call. March 30.)

Prior to the above statement, Thom-

Workers Party

(Continued)

World Imperialist War and the role

We are against the U.S.S.R. in this

war because it is an agent and an

integral part of one of the war camps

The U.S.S.R. at the present time is

fighting not a progressive war but a

reactionary war. We urge and will

continue to urge, despite the out-

come of the war, the world struggle

of labor against the ruling classes and

castes of all countries. We summon

you to the tireless crusade for the

SEES THIRD CAMP ON MARCH

James Burnham, editor of the New

International, after a review of the

war aims of the two contending camps

in the war, stated, "The Third Camp, the camp which includes the bitterly

exploited masses of the world, is the

WITH THE THIRD CAMP

SOVIET UNION

in Russia that the 'women say what the men think.' And dur-

ing the periods this winter

when the temperature fell at

times to 45° below zero, women

in the queues were heard to

say 'We've had enough of this:

we'll not go through this again.

Such remarks I never heard in

Russia, even during the days of the 1933 famine."

camp that during the last war nearly

brought an end to world capitalism.

Today, even before the world war is

a year old, the third camp is already

on the march. In Australia, in India,

in Canada and in Ireland the work-

ers begin to make their voices heard

and raise their fists against the

slaughter. Although Trotsky and his

followers have abandoned the Third

Camp and rely for their policy on the

Kremlin, we declare that the only

chance for mankind lies in the vic-

Martin Abern, National Organiza-

tion Secretary of the Workers Party,

exposed the war drive of American

Imperialism. Our slogan, declared

Abern, is the slogan of Karl Lieb-

knecht in the last war, "The Main

The meeting, which began with a

singing of the International, was at-

tended by a Color Guard composed of

members of the Young Peoples So-

cialist League. Slogans in the hall

read, "Down With the Imperialist

War, The Main Enemy is at Home,"

"Against London-Paris, Against Mos-

cow-Berlin, For the Third Camp of

World Revolution," and "Long Live

the Fourth International." Telegrams

of solidarity were received from va-

rious branches throughout the coun-

try during the meeting.

tory of the Third Camp.'

Enemy is at Home."

Time, Mar. 18, 1940

"It's always been remarked

Socialist Revolution and liberty."

Launches

of the Soviet Union in it.

as indicated the one-sided nature of his alleged isolationism by supporting Finland against Russia, despite Finland's close ties with the London-Paris Axis. Following the invasion of Norway by the imperialist armies, the Socialist Party called upon the Norwegian labor movement to defend its country against the Germans, but remained silent about the Allied invasion of Norwegian territorial waters which preceded.

The present attitude of Thomas makes him the "isolationist" spokesman of the London-Paris Axis in the same sense that Earl Browder, Communist Party chieftain, is the "isolationist" spokesman of the Moscow-Berlin Axis.

Mass Meeting NEW PARTY RESULT OF FIGHT IN S.W.P.

(Continued)

giving support, however radically worded and intentioned, to the Ger-

"MINORITY" HAS A MAJORITY

man imperialist camp.

The majority faction sought to gain support among the membership by claiming that it represented the traditional position of the party and the Fourth International. This faction could also claim the support, from the very beginning of the dispute, of Leon Trotsky, whose authority and prestige in the Fourth International are well known. In spite of these difficulties, the opposition succeeded in getting forty percent of the votes cast in the branch elections for delegates to the national convention of the party which took place in New York on April 5. No less important is the fact that the entire central leadership and seventy-five percent of the membership of the party's youth organization, the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International), rallied solidly to the support of the opposition. In actual numerical strength, he opposition in the two branches of the Fourth International in the United States represented more than fifty percent of the combined membership.

Also significant is the fact that a majority of the members of the functioning International Executive Committee of the Fourth International support the viewpoint of the opposi-

STALINIST METHODS

The dispute in the ranks of the S.W.P. took on an especially sharp and bitter form due to the attempt of the Cannon faction to switch the political discussion into vicious personal attacks and to restrict the discussion by bureaucratic means.

The initial attempt of the opposition to have a discussion of the Russian question opened in the ranks of the party, which were greatly disturbed and confused by the events accompanying the outbreak of the war. was resisted by the Cannonite party leadership. When a discussion was finally forced, the Cannonites sought to confine it to New York City and to a single membership meeting. Opposition spokesmen were prevented from appearing before such branches of the party as Minneapolis and Flint, strongholds which the majority faction controls and keeps hermetically sealed from "alien and subversive"

The opposition proposed to open the columns of the official party press to the discussion of the conflicting views. This proposal, although quite in accord with previous practises of the party when a question was under discussion, was violently rejected by the Cannonites.

The New International was finally opened to a factionally-controlled discussion only when the Cannonites had reached a definite decision, even prior to the convention, to expel the entire opposition from the party. The one-sided discussion opened in that magazine was calculated, by the Cannonites, to discredit the opposition and its views in adWITH THE THIRD CAMP RHODESIA

"NDOLA, Northern Rhodesia, April 3-A contingent of 250 troops was sent from Bulawayo tonight to Nkana to reinforce troops who today killed ten natives and wounded twenty by firing on copper mine strikers in the Nkana concession of the Luangwa district of Northern Rhodesia.

"The trouble started when 3,000 strikers, who have been out since March 17 to enforce demands for a 25 per cent increase in wages with a further 5 per cent to cover the rise in the cost of living, tried to interwith 150 other natives while they were drawing their

N. Y. Times, April 4, 1940

vance in the eyes of the party sympathizers.

With the threat of a split hanging over the party, the opposition proposed, before the April convention, that in order to maintain party unity under conditions of two politically irreconcilable positions, the group that would be in a minority at the convention be given the right to issue a political journal of its own, under its own control, in which the general party point of view would be de-

fended and the special standpoint of

the minority on the Russian question

THE "LOYALTY OATH"

advocated

The Cannonites, exploiting this proposal as a pretext for carrying through their decided-on split by which they aimed to rid themselves of the critics of their disastrous policy and their intolerable party regime, declared that any attempt to issue such a journal would be met with expulsions. This threat was incorporated into a decision of the April convention by the vote of the Cannonite supporters.

However, the Cannonites were so anxious to split the party by expelling the oppositionists, that before the latter had issued any independent journal or taken any other "overt act"-they were confronted in the S.W.P. Political Committee and in the arty branch borrowed by Cannon from the practises of the Stalinists, for it was never known before in the history of the Trotskyist movement. Upon their indignant refusel to take such a "loyalty oath," the opposition leaders and members were immediately declared to be "suspended," but suspended from positions and membership in such a manner as made the action a cowardly equivalent to expulsion. Thus, though "suspended" members are usually permitted to attend party meetings, the Cannonites promptly excluded all oppositionists even from

attendance at meetings. The following statement was made by Max Shachtman:

For Stockholders

War is Heaven—

"War is hell," said General Sherman. But he was merely a soldier, and not up to all the fine points. Any accountant in Wall Street could tell him different. Already the second world war, even in its "inactive" stage, has worked* miracles for the profit system.

In the first quarter of this year (January through March), the first 250 big corporations to report their earnings show a fifty per cent increase over the same quarter of 1939. The exact figures are: \$181,400,000 for 1939, as against \$272,300,000 for 1940. It takes the hot sun of war to make profits bloom!

That it is the war which is chiefly

responsible for this rise in profits is shown by the contrasting records of the food and the steel industries. Fourteen food companies reported for the first quarter practically the

same total earnings as a year ago. Twenty-six steel companies, on the other hand, reported profits four times bigger this year than last. The U. S. Steel Corporation paid a dividend on its common stock for the first time in over ten years. And Bethlehem Steel Corporation-whose President Grace never loses a chance to tell the public about his hatred of war and love of peace-reported the best first quarter earnings in its en-

War is hell? Maybe. It all depends on whether you own any war stocks.

Stalinist Press Backs Hitler's War Moves

The Stalinist press in this country continues its loyal defense of Stalin's military partner, Hitler, by justifying the German invasion of Norway with the argument that the British had acted first by violating the neutrality of Norway's territorial waters.

That Hitler is aware of the tremendous service rendered his cause by the press of the Communist International was revealed in a story on the front page of the Daily Worker of April 17 which denounces the Norwegian Social Democrats for fleeing from Oslo before the German invasions and goes on to say, "The labor movement can legally continue its work, and despite the strict military censorship, can publish its newspapers. Up to the present time, only the communists continue publishing their newspaper."

The Stalinist press in Oslo will, in all probability, find few readers. Those people interested in getting Hitler's viewpoint will prefer to read the Nazi press directly.

"This is not just another faction fight, not just another split in the left-wing movement. The issues involved here go far beyond any personalities. In the disputed questions Trotsky may be faithful to the letter of revolutionary Marxism but not to its spirit. We look at the issue concretely and can find no evidence that supporting Stalin's plundering ex-peditions advances the interests of the workers, either in the Soviet Union or in America.

"The appearance of Stalinist methods in our own party has made us realize that many in our movement have not taken sufficiently to heart the lessons of the Moscow Trials. We of the Workers Party intend most earnestly to do so in the future. We propose to build a party of a new kind in the American revolutionary movement: disciplined yet democratthoroughly internationalist yet oriented primarily not towards Russia but towards the struggle in this country, and, above all, steadfast in the revolutionary fight against both warring imperialist camps and for the worldwide victory of the masses in the Third Camp. Our expulsion does not signify a break from the Fourth International, to whose program and spirit of world socialism we remain as firmly attached as ever.

"The Workers Party will be the bold and uncompromising spokesman for the great masses of the American common people who say to both war camps, 'A plague on both your houses!' Our press will be the only serious revolutionary anti-war press in the country, the genuine voice of the Third Camp!"

British Soak Poor With New Taxes

"Taxation on the luxuries of a few, does not produce the vast sums of money with which we are dealing in connection with the war budget," said Sir John Simon in his budget speech last week to the British Parliament. Therefore he proposed no further taxation on the luxuries of the few.

And so with a light heart and a full purse the millionaire, in these dark war days, spends his spare time and cash going to Sotheby's and Christies, buying up rare stamps, rare books on animals and flowers at \$235 the volume and George I bullet teapots at \$34 the ounce. The N. Y. Times of April 27th reports that London art prices are booming and that the rich are buying up books, silver, small works of art and jewels in preparation for a possible inflation. Stamp collecting has become a favorite "blackout relaxation" for those who can afford it.

The poor, however, are those who are expected to keep this war going. Their luxuries are worth taxing. Cigarettes are now 28 cents for 20, beer 12 cents a pint, matches 3 cents a box, and whiskey, in its homeland, \$3.20 a bottle. Automobiles, one of the most important of the American workers' luxuries, are out of the question for the British working man. who must pay \$148 for a license.

PROPOSES "MYSTERY" TAX

But hold on, says Sir John, you're not going to get away as easily as all that. Your necessities are also worth taxing, Mr. Working Man. And so, in order to balance the new war budget of 2,667,000,000 pounds (only 667,000,000 pounds of which is for

WITH THE THIRD CAMP CANADA

"Montreal police recently burned three tons of 'red' literature seized in raids, including, it is supposed, the copy of Time with Trotzky's picture on

The Canadian Forum, Ap. '40

civil purposes), he proposes a purchase or "mystery" tax to help cover expenses. This may be a mystery tax to the rich man who is so busy in the auction rooms that he can afford to be patriotic when it comes to invisible taxes on clothes, furniture, domestic utensils, etc. (This is, in reality, a hidden sales tax, which the wholesaler will collect for the government when he sells to the retailer.)

But there is no mystery as to which class really pays this tax. The Daily Herald, organ of the Labor party points out, "The principal sufferers from the budget are people with small incomes. Every one of the new or increased taxes is an indirect tax and indirect taxes always fall most heavily on those with the smallest resources. Why? Because such taxes are levied on articles of common consumption and the rich spend a comparatively small part of their income

Social Democrats for Open Support to Allies

With the passage of an outspoken pro-Allied resolution at their recent convention, the Social Democratic Federation forged into the lead of the open war-mongerers who are seeking to bring America into the war on the side of the British and French

The resolution repeated all the British and French propaganda lies to the effect that "the Allies are fighting not only for the preservation of their empires, but for their very existence, and in doing so, they are fighting to put a stop to international

States do everything possible to support the Allied forces, without, however, openly asking that the country go to war immediately.

RATES: One Year-\$1.50

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Labors **INQUIRING REPORTER**

QUESTION-Do you think the workers have anything to gain by supporting either the Allied side or the Stalin-Hitler side?

PLACE-In front of the Rockwood Chocolate factory, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Clarence Murry

(A.F.L. Warehousemen) Brooklyn, N. Y.

Let Stalin and Hitler themselves fight the Allied big shots. All the workers get out of it is a bullet. The trouble is the majority lets the rulers do what they want. I don't see any difference in this war and gangster war. Was it right to force those poor Russians into Finland and freeze them to death?

T. Alcantra (Local 452, A.F.L.) Brooklyn, N. Y.

No. Nothing to gain by supporting either side. It's not a question of defence. If we had united action we could control our rulers. Generally all war is to help the monopolies. War is inevitable. The question is-if it is a war of monopolists. would I fight? No! I'll only fight a war against those who crush labor. When I say labor I don't mean the Dubinskys and that sort. They're the same as the Rockefellers.

J. Monti, (Local 452) Brooklyn, N. Y.

> Absolutely not. If we fight we should fight only for our own jobs

Nicholas Dima Brooklyn, N. Y.

> It isn't going to help us. This war is not going to do any side any good. For example, we lost a 50,000 lb. order because of this war. We should mind our own business. To hell with both sides.

Name and address refused I am an American citizen. I don't

want America to go to war, but if she does, I'll be the first to volun-

John Sachof, c/o Restaurant Brooklyn, N. Y.

The workers have nothing to gain from this war as they gained nothing from the last war. On the contrary, we will lose all the trade union gains we have made. We will have the most abject slavery ever seen. The bandits that direct these wars are intent on exterminating the working population. The workers should say, the hell with both sides. We should even say that about both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. We should form real unions. Workers need confidence in them-

The resolution asked that the United

WITH THE THIRD CAMP

"As an indication of what can be expected in India, factory workers early in March were staging serious strikes in Bombay, where nearly fifty textile mills were closed when 135,000 workers demanded a 25% wage increase. The strikers, representing 90% of those employed in the industry in Bombay, had been offered a 10% increase, but refused. . . Wages in Bombay are the highest in India, and men get 27d a day, women 20c and children 7c."

Six Months-\$1.00

subscription to the New International.

Living Age, April

MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY

Roosevelt and Company have developed the New Deal into the War Deal. They have spent billions, with more billions to come, on the biggest peace-time military and naval budget in American history. They have already committed the United States to support of one of the two war camps. They are already working overtime to supply the Anglo-French camp with material aid to make possible its victory, which they mean to convert into the victory of American capital. Their promises to "keep America out of the war" are LIES, just as Woodrow Wilson's promises in 1916

Side by side with these cynical preparations to hurl the country into war, goes an increasingly sharp campaign against labor. Unemployment still rages in the country and the millions of jobless continue to exist on the verge of starvation, with their miserable doles cut into more deeply every year. A wave of government prosecution and persecution against the trade unions and their leaders has been launched throughout the land. The billions of dollars cut off from the standard of living of the workers have been used to prepare a potent military machine for war. Meanwhile, the M-Day plans are completed so that the day war is declared the country can be converted into a thoroughgoing military dictatorship.

JOBS, NOT BATTLESHIPS!

The American masses do not want war! They have shown it in a hundred different ways. That is why the entire capitalist class, Roosevelt included, refuses to give the people the right to vote on war.

To fight under the banner of the Third Camp means not only to fight against war. It means that the main enemy of labor is at homeright here in the United States. It means, therefore, a fight against the employers and their government, first of all, FOR A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER!

The war boom that has started in industry has left millions still unemployed. Labor demands the opening of the idle factories and their operation under workers' control. If the employers will not operate them because they cannot make a profit, the workers will operate them themselvs. The working-week of labor must be reduced and the weekly wage of

labor must be increased for the benefit of all workers-a 30-hour maximum working week and a 30-dollar minimum weekly wage!

A vast program of housing and public works must be undertaken by

the government with an initial appropriation of Twenty Billion Dollars, to provide work and a minimum of comfort for millions. Labor must demand this appropriation instead of an appropriation of billions for a war that produces corpses and destruction.

FORWARD TO A WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

Where is the money to be obtained?

In the first place, by expropriating the Sixty Families of the American Plutocracy. Take the billions from the parasites and use them for the masses! In the second place, by using all war funds for the unemployed.

To those who argue that the Roosevelt government will not take these measures, let labor reply: If it does not take these elementary steps, that only proves that we must have a government of our own, a government we can have full confidence in because we have full control over it. Labor must fight not to die in the trenches for the greater glory and profit of Wall Street: labor must fight for a WORKERS GOVERNMENT!

Workers of the United States! You have shown your power and militancy on a hundred occasions! You can accomplish anything you want if only you will it and organize for it with determination.

The trade union bureaucrats are already working hand in glove with the government, as they did in the last war, to prepare for the coming

The Social-Democrats, like their brethren of the Second International in Europe, are howling for support to the camp of the "democratic" im-

The Stalinists of the so-called Communist party, like their fellow-serfs of the Kremlin in other countries, are singing the praises of the other war camp, the camp of Berlin-Moscow-Rome.

A plague on both their houses!

Down with the war-mongers in both camps, the assassins of the people! Unite around the banner of the Third Camp and its spokesman in this country, the Workers Party, Section of the Fourth Internationalthe Camp which fights for World Peace, for World Security, for World Freedom, for World Socialism!

> NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS PARTY, (Section of the Fourth International),

MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary

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