British Suppress Far Eastern Revolutionists

Outlaw Fourth Internationalist Party In Ceylon

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

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

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

This repressive move is undoubtedly connected with the

growing political crisis in India, . with whose fate that of Ceylon is intimately bound up. The Lanka Sama Samaja is a source of "infection" of major significence for the coming revolutionary developments in the fight for Indian in-

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

The British imperialists took "legal" and extra-legal means to crush the party when the war broke out. The L.S.S.P. stood by the revolutionary position of the Fourth International, declaring the war between Britain and Germany was nothing but a war between two imperialist rob bers for the re-division of the world. The British Governor had the party members in the State cess - the bulk of its activity Council arrested, violating their during the last two years has parliamentary immunity, and been directed among the tea-plant- the proper scope of the study other party members were also ation laborers, the main element such subjects as: taking care of failed, the party papers and press in the island's proletarian popu- tools, preventing breakdowns, reconfiscated. Thereafter the Cey- lation and who come from the Ion Planters Association — which southern province of India. has its own armed Rifle Corps and other vigilante groups - car- the population, these workers wastage, breaking production botgainst the party and the workers, dia as a deliberate "divide and to the fullest extent. In other and a futile man-hunt to round rule" move. They are aliens with- words, any ideas for operating

British Fight Indian Strikers,

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

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

But against the masses the Indian capitalists join with the British imperialists. British bullets shoot down Indian workers with the warm approval of the Indian capitalists. The la. fraud and deception. test massacre serves to remind us again that real national lib- ing set up? Why have the Admineration for India means also liberation from Britain's junior tablish them? partners, the Indian capitalists and landlords.

ried on a terrorist campaign a- were originally imported from In- tlenecks, and using every machine up the remaining party leaders. out legal status, deportable when the plant that will speed up prod-Those arrested are kept in jail ever discharged or unemployed, uction. There is no requirement, and the government had hoped to however, that management accept

Murder Eight

achieved its most significant suc-

(Continued on page 2)

Another Negro Lynched;

THE MULLINA NOTALITY

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LABOR'S RIGHTS WENAGED BY OPENSIOPSWITE B

Murder Eight Joint Conferences Will Result Only In Speed-Up

Workers Will Be Limited to "Advising"; owned by Hindu and Moslem Bosses Still to Run Things Their Own Way

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

will be used.

will be just a joke. For that is

"also are expected to bring home

necessity for the speed-up."

not their real purpose.

The union leaders and the Stalinists are hailing this move as a graciously permitted to make suggreat "victory" for labor. They gestions on how to speed up prodare claiming that the manage- uction. The bosses will continue ment-labor committees are going to have the real say-so about to give the workers a "real share" in the control of production. Such claims are a conscious

Why are these committees beistration and bosses agreed to es-

The employers themselves give the answer. That authoritative

voice for big business, the weekly United States News, in its March 13 issue explains: "The official plan places within

ducing accidents, good lighting, maintenance and repair, adapting Forming more than a tenth of old machines to new uses, cutting Despite these repressions, the create a permanent division belany efficiency proposals that it

ommon denominator, is the real purpose of these com-They are to help the bosses put the squeeze on the workers for more work and more

WHY BOSSES BALKED

It has taken some time and a great deal of pressure to make the bosses agree to accept even this "Up to now," says the United States News, "most em ployers have been reluctant to set up any committees which might serve as vehicles for union interference in management afwhether or not these suggestions fairs . . . Some fear has been expressed that the new joint com-So far as having any power mittees will be used by the unover the operations of industry ions to gather technical knowis concerned, these committees ledge of management techniques - a prerequisite to successful operation of Mr. Philip Murray's "The joint committees," further plan for management of industry

explains the United States News, by national and local councils." The bosses certainly don't want to plant employes by a dozen difthe workers do get any "know ferent psychological devices the ledge of management techniques"

(Continued on page 2)

Imperialist Etiquette

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

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

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

Would Prohibit Union Shop And Overtime Pay

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

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

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

Georgia's poll-tax Representative Vinson, chairman of the powerful House Naval Affairs Committee, announced himself

as a co-sponsor of the Smith proloaded rifles, searching a car, posals. He stated that the bill cov- interrupted production," for "sacering work for the Navy would rifices" and the giving up of "spebe given a hearing during the cial privileges," etc.—have added week by his committee.

> Congress, coming on the heels of gress. the announcement of a disastrous naval defeat off Java, is a sign that to the bosses the main enfeats, the bosses are directing a cost of a contract. further blow at labor.

WHY BILL COMES UP NOW

case, they leave themselves open Post, Flynn and Van Devander, for the bosses might mean a litexaggerated expectations so far the proposal then, with a view to food to go into their bellies. bringing it up later."

The new Smith Bill is brought up now because the Roosevelt adtion that the workers of St. Paul | ministration has created the kind | Just as in Cleveland and other are ready to listen to the Trot- of atmosphere in which new unions for a militant struggle in cities, the Communist Party skyist program advocating the blows can be struck at the worksocialist alternative to capitalist ers. The administration's state- Philip Murray, William Green ments in recent weeks - for "un- and the other CIO and AFL na-

fuel to the fire of the more out-The new reactionary drive in spoken anti-labor forces in Con-

PROFITS LIMITATIONS

To make the bill more palat emy at all times is the enemy at able and disguise its completely home, the working class and par- anti-labor character, its sponsors ticularly its organized section. have included a section covering Seeking to utilize the dissatisfac- profits limitations on naval contion, alarm and confusion that tracts. This would permit a maxhave arisen as a result of the de- imum of six per cent profit on the

But, even if this six per cent profits limitation section were passed by Congress, the pres-The danger of the latest Smith ent huge volume of production bill must not be minimized just would still permit the corporaof voting machines aggravates because Smith's previous measure tions to make billions in war prowas voted down by 227 to 62 in fits they sink into padded tax and the House on Feb. 27. Washing-depreciation reserves, etc. What a matter of strategy the anti-the banks; but what it proposes union forces deliberately scuttled for the workers would mean less

UNION LEADERS' ANSWER

Instead of standing up to the reactionaries and mobilizing the defense of the workers' rights, tional leaders are trying to beg off the anti-labor laws by whining that they have already agreed to a no-strike policy and that they are giving full support to the drive to speed up labor.

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

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

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

Carlson Vote Highest In Neighborhoods **W** orkers' conducting such a campaign.

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

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The official returns on the St. Paul primary election, made public March 12 by the canvassing the situation. For workers must to suspend the wage-hour laws fits, not counting the hidden proboard, give Grace Carlson 1185 votes, or 3 per cent of the 35,958 votes cast. The official returns vary but slightly from those retheir vote to the clerk; in either ton columnists for the New York the Smith-Vinson bill proposes ported in last week's MILITANT.

Carlson received votes in all but two of the city's 154 pre- to suspicion and attack from re- on March 17 revealed that "as the less for them to salt away in cincts, the two being precincts in

The heaviest vote for the Socialist turncoat, Lockhart, has been en-Workers Party candidate was gulfed by war hysteria. polled in the First, Eighth and Ninth Wards, where white and colored workers are concentrated.

A study of the precinct vote MILITANT reveals a gratifying-5,000 issues of the election edi-MILITANT has been distributed for a number of months, and where the program of the Social-The lynching took place on ist Workers Party is known, also responded with a good number of

votes for the SWP candidate. The 1185 votes for the SWP candidate in 1942 constitutes a 31 per cent increase over the 904 St. Paul votes received by Comrade Carlson as a candidate for the United States Senate in 1940. keep Negroes from living in is the report of the action by the However, the relative increase in homes on the basis of equality Scott County, Missouri, Grand votes this year is much higher, inasmuch as three times as many persons voted in the 1940 fall

> elections. the spring of 1940.

SWP election campaign, the and honest forces in the working Union Advocate in its leading class. story in the post-election issue sneers that "Grace Carlson gar- mittee, which announced last nered in 1,180 votes on a 'I don't like the war' program."

that paper, also, expressed hatred arations for the drive. for the war. The Socialist Work- The Committee is under no ilers Party has stood by its guns lusions about the difficulties of

in relation to the distribution of frame-up artists in St. Paul are riddled it with bullets until the the special election issue of THE trying to launch a lynch campaign against the Socialist Workers Party and Comrade Carlson. tion were insufficient to cover the Rose Tillotson, Stalinist candidate working class neighborhoods, for city council, attacked Comthose districts where the regular rade Carlson's candidacy and charged that "to refuse to support the war is treason.'

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

The decline in the vote cast for the Stalinists over what they received two years ago showed that they have not made much head-The 1942 mayoralty vote for way among the workers since the SWP candidate represents an they dropped their "anti-war" increase of 89 per cent over the propaganda last June and substivote for the SWP candidate in tuted for it a jingo war line that tries to prove its "sincerity" by In an attempt to discredit the viciously slandering the militant

The Carlson Campaign Comweek that it was going to conduct a write-in campaign for Many St. Paul workers reading Grace Carlson for Mayor in the the Union Advocate will recall April 28 regular election, was that not so many months ago proceeding this week with prep-

either ask for a ballot or hand actionary officials. While the Committee has no

Write-in campaigns are always

difficult, and in St. Paul the use

as the vote is concerned, it feels that the vote in the primaries was a very encouraging indicawar and reaction.

'Pittsburgh Courier' Tells 'Times' About New Guinea

New Guinea was invaded by the Japanese last week in their drive toward Australia, which is directly south of New Guinea. The New York Times, March 15, reports that "they met little opposition from the shore." One would find it hard, from the Times' report, to understand why there was little opposition;

"It is a thinly settled land, of liana-locked jungles unexplored and inhabited by little known 'bush Kanakas'; of 15,000-foot peaks; of birds-of-paradise, climbing kangaroos and three-foot-long rats; of a handful of white men prospecting for gold, and a few coastal towns."

A paragraph by George Schuyler in the Pittsburgh Courier,

March 14, sheds much more light on the situation: "One of the most profitable British investments is the Anglo-Saxon end of New Guinea. . . All native labor is under 'contract service,' being forced into it by necessity of paying head tax which amounts to over \$100,000 yearly. These black slaves numbered 41,675 in 1939, the rest of the 627,283 natives being as yet uncatchable. Over 25% of the white planters violated the working agreements in 1938-39. 'Crimes' for which the natives were convicted were 'disobeying a reasonable order', 'failing to show reasonable diligence,' 'absence from quarters between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m., 'being within the town boundaries within those hours without permission,' 'wearing clothes on the upper part of the body without permission,' 'remaining in Raboul (the capital) for more than four days without permission.' It is reported that less than 500 native children receive any form of government-aided education. Half the indentured serfs work on plantations; the remainder work in the gold mines."

By ALBERT PARKER In this war, as in 1917, the Negro people have been promised that their reward for fighting and dying will be equal treatment — after the war. The Negroes had to wait until the over him and shot him till he was ly high correlation. Although the first war was over to find out what a lie this was, to find that dead. their "reward" was more lynchings, "race riots", segregation,

New Lynching In Texas As Missouri Jury

discrimination and insult than 9they had received before the war. Negroes are Jim Crowed, because The chief difference between these are not isolated, accident-World War II and World War I, al cases - they are going on all

so far as the Negro people in this | the time. country are concerned, is that they don't have to wait until after the war is over to find out what lies they have been told by the capitalist press and their own misleaders - they can see what lies they are already!

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

things, you would still know that to run away. Wilpitz shot back,

The Negro press for just the last two weeks tells the same ed until the Call learned the story story all over again: another Negro lynched; some more whitewash by government officials; up, we do not know. But we have another army "riot"; another no doubt that there are many of dramatic example of navy Jim Crow: some more attempts to with whites; some more police Jury on the lynching of Cleo brutality against Negroes; some more evidence showing what the everyone in Sikeston knows the

ANOTHER LYNCHING

reveals some of the facts in the "secret lynching" in Brookshire, a true bill. The jury was com-Texas, of Howard Wilpitz, "which never reached publication in the daily newspapers."

Wilpitz was ordered out of Wright in Sikeston, Missouri. Brookshire, which is 35 miles out comment. Apparently he was You don't even have to remember from Houston, by a local constable. In the argument that followed, the constable hit Wilpitz they opened their hearings, not over the head with his pistol and | to pay any attention to "outside Even if you forgot all those shot him in the leg when he tried agitation" and "radical talk."

More Soldiers In 'Riot' and knocked the constable's gun out of his hand. An armed lynch Whitewashes the Lynching of Cleo Wright mob was quickly formed, surrounded Wilpitz in the toilet behind a Negro lodge building, and victim fell out. They then stood

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

Feb. 21. No word of it was printlast week. How many other such cases there are which are hushed

In the same issue of the Call Wright in Sikeston. Although government is doing about these names of the people who led and participated in the Wright lynching, the Grand Jury, meeting for less than two days, found no one The Kansas City Call, Mar. 13, to blame, and announced it had insufficient evidence to return posed almost exclusively of merchants, bankers and "retired" farmers. The judge, J. C. Mc-Dowell, accepted the report withsatisfied that they had obeyed

(Continued on page 3)

his warning, given just before

the Eleventh Ward, the city's and stood by the workers. The "Silk Stocking" neighborhood. Union Advocate, edited by the

STALINIST LYNCH CAMPAIGN

In a pre-election statement,

CRDC Expands Activity As Results Of Dunne Tour Mpls. Appeal

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

The national tour of V. R. Dunne, officer of Local 544-CIO and one of the Minneapolis defendants, has thus far covered 19 cities in Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. Throughout this area the active local committees of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, sponsor of the tour, have established consider-

able influence among the labor and liberal circles and report in that most of these trade-unionists creased support as a result of the Dunne tour. Scores of trade union officials, outstanding liberals, representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, clergymen and educators, met with Dunne and pledged their support to the defense of the Minneapolis case.

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

The local committees of the meetings which were arranged the Harvard Faculty Club on the port. by the local committee and on campus, and a luncheon meeting the issues involved. The meetings attended by several educators, the were all well attended and re- CRDC reached a very wide au vealed a profound interest in the dience in Boston during Dunne's sented by the convictions of the Unitarian Center was arranged 18 members of Local 544-CIO and and was followed by a dinner the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith "Gag" Act.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS INTERESTED IN CASE

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

Youngstown, where the Dunne meeting was widely pub-Central Auditorium to hear V. R. Dunne. In addition to this meetfunds for the appeal.

In Buffalo, where Dunne spent liberal leaders attended this meet- movement and the American peohree days, a successful meeting ing and several new friends were ple. was held on Feb. 19 in the YWCA, rallied to the defense campaign. where steel and aircraft workers R. Dunne was introduced and had visit with overflow attendance plans to extend Dunne's tour pre-revolutionary but practically claim before the war that it was standing local and national CIO dollars. While in New York, V. R. west. Details on the western

were sympathetic with the de-

The public meeting held in the Labor Lyceum in Rochester, N. Y., on Feb. 23 was well attended by local workers and served to increase the support already achieved in that city. Dunne reported that in Rochester the ACLU, and local clergymen are actively supporting the Minneapolis case.

fense and pledged support.

Several local influential CIO union officials and workers attended Dunne's meeting in Syracuse. Feb. 24th, and in discussions with Dunne, laid the groundwork for an extension of defense work

IN BOSTON

The active and influential local meeting the next day at the Harvard Union Club, at which students and educators present indicated an intense interest in the significance of Minneapolis case. An interview both with the Harvard Crimson, campus newspaper. and over the Crimson network of new friends were mobilized for the defense work.

As has been previously reportheld for Dunne in Newark, Feb. 28, at which the outstanding state CIO officials spoke, and delegates from many trade unions were present. As a result of the excellent work of the local CRDC in licized, an interested audience of Newark, and the interest aroused active trade unionists in the steel | by the Dunne meeting, new supindustries gathered on Feb. 17 in port is constantly arriving from the entire state of New Jersey. One of the most representative ing, Dunne was able to meet meetings was held in New Haven with two of the oustanding clear- on March 2 in the home of Dr. gymen of Youngstown who agreed | Willard Uphaus, Secretary of the to do active work toward raising Religion and Labor Foundation. Trade unionists as well as noted | ratic rights of the entire labor

In New York two defense afdiscussions with most of the out- which brought in hundreds of throughout the middle and far officials of Buffalo. He reported Dunne met with James T. Farrell, tour will be announced later.

National Chairman of the CRDC, conference with Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Albert Goldman and M. J. Myer, chief attorneys for the defense, to lay the the testimony plus all of the groundwork for the legal steps

From New York, Dunne went dictment. The evidence alone, to Quakertown, Pa., where a condensed into narrative form, meeting was held on March 7 at amounted to approximately 1400 the Union Hall. The workers in typewritten pages. attendance mapped out plans for spreading the news of the Minneapolis case and furthering the work of the CRDC.

In Reading, Pa. a very successful public meeting was held in give him a chance to examine it the hall of the Hosiery Workers and make any objections he Local No. 10 on March 8th. Jacob Englehart, V.P. of Local No.10 of Matthew M. Joyce will rule on the Hostery Workers of Berks the Bill of Exceptions and the County, spoke at this meeting in record will then be filed with the support of the CRDC and the Minneanalis case Several trade union representatives assured the committee of renewed support, following Dunne's speech

Several CIO representatives and a group of AFL Teamsters filed on behalf of the defense to for the commonweal. In short, it CRDC utilized the Dunne tour to committee of the CRDC in Boston attended the Dunne meeting in have the government pay for the proposes to reduce present taxes secure publicity in the local press arranged a very full schedule of Allentown at the Labor Temple printing of the record. and radio. In almost every city meetings for Dunne, Feb. 26 to on March 9th and an excellent the press carried news of the 28. Beginning with a meeting of discussion followed Dunne's re-

As a result of Dunne's visit in thousands of dollars in prosec-Philadelphia, at which a public uting the appeal to the Circuit tile Hall March 10, new groups dangers to civil liberties pre- visit. An open meeting at the of trade unionists and friends when the argument on the appeal general sales tax. Being broad- cent. were attracted to the Committee's work and plans were laid for extended activities.

DUNNE SUMS UP

Summing up his experiences in the first 19 cities of his tour Dunne reported to the CRDC that an ever increasing support may Harvard, was arranged. Dozens of of approach have been opened up to local unions, whch have been hitherto closed to our work. The work of raising funds from the ed, a trade union luncheon was trade unions and especially the CIO will now be pursued with new vigor, I am sure," he said. Thanking the Committees for their excellent work in connection with this tour, Dunne said, "Speaking for myself and all the defendants, I am fully confident that the Civil Rights Defense Committee and all its branches will succeed in mobilizing the support necessary to carry on this fight for civil liberties and to de fend the Bill of Rights. We are figthing not only for ourselves but for the freedom and democ

tour of V. R. Dunne, the CRDC

Attorneys Are Preparing the

For the past four weeks Mr M. J. Myer, one of the attor-Carlo Tresca, Vice-Chairman, and neys for the 18 defendants concussed with them the new plans "Gag" Act in Minneapolis, has for the appeal of the case to the been busy in preparing the rechigher courts. He also held a ord of the case to be filed in the District Court in Minneapolis. The last day for filing is April 1.

The record consists of all of pleadings and motions filed by both sides beginning with the in-

A copy of the Bill of Exceptions, consisting of the record of the testimony, has already been furnished Mr. Victor Anderson, District Attorney at St. Paul. to deems fit. In a week or so Judge elerk.

Because of the huge sum of money required for appeal pur-

printing of the record, the defense will be obligated to spend and small business men. It is as yet impossible to state

Hitler enslave the French

by the man who knows the an-

Standing before Petain's Su-

the workers off from taking power

kept his election promises but

restrained striking workers," re-

a far more imminent threat than

Indignant that the French capi-

talists whose hides he had saved

should now turn against him,

Blum reproached his accusers for

"At the time certain elements

cessfully undertaken the task

which the bosses were powerless

Thus, Blum confirmed to the

of the Popular Front made by

the Trotskyists in 1935 and 1936.

tion of reformists, trade union

impending workers' revolution

capitalists who were headed to-

INDUSTRIALISTS BLOCKED

FRENCH WAR PRODUCTION

Just a week before Blum's

ward fascism.

Leon Trotsky had then pointed

that of war with Germany."

BOSSES' "SAVIOR"

their base ingratitude:

me as their savior."

Front government.

The Kind Of 'Sacrifices' Ruling On Sunday N.A.M. Is Eager To Make To New GM Move

Its Tax Program Asks Lower Taxes for Big George Novack, Secretary. He dis- victed of violating the Smith Business and 8% Sales Tax for the Masses

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

statement, hailed in the capitalist purchases. press as an earnest of the patriotic attitude of big business, J. eliminate profits."

able to pay for the printing of pressive of the readiness of the the record. A motion has been big capitalists to "give their all" on big corporation incomes and. Besides the expenses for the figuratively speaking, to slit the throats of the workers, farmers

The main NAM proposal, to

Blum Admits Preserving

iberately impeded war production

He described how the big steel

Rule Of French Bosses

It is well known that in 1940 the French capitalists made?

a deal with Hitler and welcomed the defeat of France rather

than permit a seizure of power by the French workers. But

The answer to that question before the Riom court that the

was given on March 10 in Riom. big French industrialists had del-

swer best, Leon Blum, "socialist" and sabotaged the military

preme Court during the third nationalization of the French ar-

ing that his policies had headed munitions and armaments pro-

Premier of the 1936 Popular strength of France.

The statement affirmed that the gracious gesture, the NAM "all corporations and individuals offers its victims a "choice." It with income should be taxed to advocates either: 1. A combinathe maximum of their ability to tion 4 per cent manufacturers tax pay for the terrific burdens of paid at the point of final sale this war" and that "no unwar- (that is, by the consumer) and ranted profits will be permitted to a 4 per cent sales tax on all retail purchases; 2. a straight 8 Two days after this preliminary per cent sales tax on all retail

As for corporation profits taxes - hrumph! - let's see, said Cheever Cowdin, spokesman for Mr. Cowdin. We dont want anythe NAM, revealed before the thing dangerous and unrealistic, House Ways and Means Commit- do we? We don't want anytee the practical details of the thing that would make the big monopolists' tax program "to corporations run into "the law of diminishing returns" now do we? And we must take into account the question of "really adequate The plan - as was to be ex- relief" provisions for the "unfair" poses, the defense finds itself un- pected - is simple and fully ex- taxes on the "war baby" industries - like say, the aircraft corporations making a few thousand and permit the continuation of fore the war.

So? So the NAM spokesman proposed - purely in the spirit of capitalist self-sacrifice, of course — a 40 per cent tax on "normal" profits, based on the raise some \$4,800,000,000 of the highest take in any three of the meeting was arranged in Mercan- Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit. \$7,600,000,000 of the impending four years from 1936 to 1939, with tax bill, is the imposition of a an "excess" profits tax of 90 per

Worked out in dollars and

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

Representative Cooper of Tennessee, who speaks for the smaller business interests, worked out poration snaring \$100,000,000 profits would pay under the NAM the situation," and added that if low tax rates.

tion "to the limit" would take \$40,000,000 of the \$100,000,000 profits. At present, the same corporation is paying \$47,000,-The NAM plan permits the mon-

opoly giants like General Motors.

U. S. Steel, etc., to make twice the profits they did in the best pre-war years - with reduced taxes. The Treasury Department's tax program, which would place the weight of the war tax burden on the low income groups. per cent more profit now than be- handsome corporation war profits aside contracts at will, so can the would bring in a maximum of some \$3,000,000,000 in new cormore than \$1,500,000,000. Much of this, it was brought out at the hearing, would come from small companies making less than \$20,000 annual profits, who would pay higher taxes than even the Treasury plan advocates.

MASSES TO GET IT IN

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

The Treasury wants to raise the bulk of new taxes through doubled income taxes from the lowest income brackets and excise taxes - hidden sales taxes - on selected commodities. Such "violent upsetting of homes and lives and over-time. If the dispute by oppressively high taxes" is re- then goes to the WLB, which is pugnant to the NAM. It right- likely, the road will be clearer eously proposes a lower schedule only power that was willing and Treasury has proposed which, cials, Blum replied to the accusa-ment-private industry combine to able to fight fascism to the death, purely coincidentally, would be tion that his 40-hour week re manufacture arms in North Afri- the revolutionary working class, far more favorable to the millionforms in 1936 were responsible ca, had stolen and hidden the rec- and restored the power of the aires than the Treasury's sched-

the masses is concerned, the chief as "painless" extraction. Congres-After this, Blum could still tell difference between the NAM and sional sentiment, it is reported, his trial judges with a straight the Treasury plans is one of leans in this same direction. face: "I am not a politician. I method. Both methods would The NAM put it mildly when am a Socialist." The French place the greatest tax burdens on it said it, was for taxes "leaving workers, however, ground under the low income earners. The only enough for survival." But it the heels of Hitler and Petain, NAM, like the advertisng dent- wasn't the big war profiteering would scarcely subscribe to this ists, describes its proposed sur-monopoly corporations it had in gical butchery of living standards mind.

The NAM program for taxa-

NECK UNDER BOTH PLANS

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

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

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

ISSUE NOT SETTLED

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

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

Dash's decision about "reform ulating such provisions as soon as possible" may be the formal basis on which GM after April 28 will refuse to bay double-time for the board to rule against the

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

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NEW YORK

"By his attitude at the time of Conferences Only taking power (by the Popular Front government) when in the Mean Speed Up spirit of a republican Minister he

(Continued from page 1) - because that might give the ports the New York Times, March workers a clearer idea of how 11, "M. Blum took credit for hav- useless and unnecessary the bossing saved France from civil war, es are to the operation of inwhich, he said at the time, was dustry.

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

The bosses obviously can and will wreck these committees the the relatively better-off and litamong the employers regarded instant they feel the workers are erate native Sinhalese. Instead getting any "wrong notions" from thanks to the L.S.S.P., these Ta-Blum boasted that he had suc-

hour week, which his government dustry council plan." There is a adopted as a means of halting the "slight" difference between the refusals to work and of evacuat- two, however. Murray's plan was ing occupied factories. In fact, to place the control of industry Blum said, the big employers' as- in the hands of joint committees. sociations asked him to speed up "But Mr. Nelson has refused to its inauguration so the factories transfer any control of industry could get back to work." (A. P. to the joint committees," states dispatch from Riom, March 10). the News.

It won't take long after the realize that they are just another out that the Popular Front coali- ploitation through the speed-up. They will realize more than ever leaders, Social Democrats and that it is impossible for two Stalinists, with the "left" bour- classes in irreconcilable conflict. geots Radical-Socialists led by Da- the workers and employers, to ladier, was a move to behead the "share" control of industry. They will learn that so long as a handand to preserve the rule of the ful of private capitalists own the industries and run the government, that the workers will remain powerless to effect operation of industry in the interests of the masses of American people.

And they will see more clearly statement, his Popular Front col- than they do now, that the anleague, successor as Premier and archy of capitalist production, its co-defendant, Daladier - who had greedy exploitation of labor, will completed Blum's work when he not end until the basic industries smashed the General Strike in are taken over by the governforms by decree on the grounds control and management of the that they were an obstacle to "na- workers.

The Riom trial to fix "responsiwho is responsible for the fact that the French industrialists bility" for the French defeat is

and bankers and military bureaucrats were in a position to aid an effort to give an appearance tional defense"—bitterly charged ice-government of Petain. That of authority to the unstable polit will achieve its aim now appears very unlikely. But what the Riom trial has

accomplished so far, has been to show the masses through the admissions of Blum and Daladier manufacturers had blocked the how the "Socialist" and "labor" and "democratic" leaders of Reweek of the so-called "war guilt" mament plants, had turned down publican France undermined the trial of former government offi- such ventures as a joint governfor the French defeat, by assert- ords and blue-prints for various French capitalists, who preferred ules. a victory by Hitler to the victory cesses, etc. This was an outright in a situation which was "not contradiction of Daladier's lying of the workers.

self-judgment.

Outlaw Ceylon Party Of ourth Internationalists

(Continued from page 1) tween these largely-illiterate Tamil (South India) workers and mil workers have become a revo-Philip Murray has offered the lutionary link to the great masses "enthusiastic co-operation" of the of India. All the more desperate, to perform. "One of his solutions CIO to this plan, stating that it therefore, is the latest governfor strikes, he said, was the forty- is "directly in line" with his "in mental repression against the

From the first the L.S.S.P. has found its way the short distance to the mainland of India and was the recent formation of the Bol- in India. shevik-Leninist Party of India letter the analysis of the role management-labor committees get and, more recently, the establishinto operation for the workers to ment of the Federation of Bolshevik-Leninist Parties of India, boss device to intensify labor ex- Burma and Ceylon, adhering to the Fourth International.

Workers Party of the United sure index of colonial oppression, States and the Fourth Internation rate of maternal and infant tional on the Russian question, mortality, recorded 197 deaths taking an uncompromising stand per 1,000 births in the ten-year for the defense of the Soviet Un- period ending with 1936. In 1933 ion against imperialist interven- there were a million cases of maltion, making a fundamental dis- aria in an epidemic, in which tinction between the USSR as a 250,000 died. General conditions workers' state and its imperial- on the plantations are indicated ist "allies"

This question has decisive importance for the Far East where only Soviet defensists can combat the attempts of the Stalinist parties to keep the colonial peoples 1938 and abrogated the labor rement, to be operated under the chained to the "democratic" im- raw-material producing colony de despite the fawning of the Stalaid to the USSR and China. world for its finished products, ish.

and China, declare the Trotsky- Ceylon's export trade, the other ists of the Far East, is the na- items being rubber, cocoanut and tional liberation of the colonies, rice.

CONDITIONS IN CEYLON Pre-war conditions in Ceylon

tution left all final powers in the will be so understood by the adhands of the British-appointed Governor, but nevertheless the election of a State Council by published its propaganda in three universal franchise made possible anguages: Sinhali, English and full-scale electoral propaganda Tamil. This literature quickly and through it certain concessions. As the immigration of workers from India indicates, ecolargely instrumental in inspiring nomic conditions were better than

But Ceylonese conditions appeared better only as compared to the vast misery of India. The average wage for workers in Colombo was 30 cents a day and half lialists. that for the landless proletarians The parties of the Federation on the plantations, 85 per cent of sided with Trotsky, the Socialist which are British-owned. That by the fact that anybody visiting a plantation worker without permission of the planter thereby commits a criminal offense.

Economic conditions were worsened by the war, for Ceylon is a legalized in 1934, remains illegal perialists under the pretext of pending completely on the outside inist leadership toward the Brit-

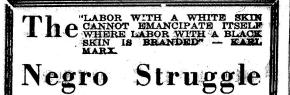
The best aid to the Soviet Union Tea forms over 60 per cent of

The formal suppression of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party coincided with Sir Stafford Cripps' were quite superior to those in trip to India. An appropriate India. The Crown Colony constitution with the colony constitution with the colony constitution with the colony constitution and the colony colony constitution and the colony col vanced sections of the workers and peasants of India.

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

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

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



Another Negro Lynched: More Soldiers In 'Riot'

(Continued from page 1)

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

NEW ARMY "RIOT"

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

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

"Colored troops were armed only with sticks

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

NAVY JIM CROW

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

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

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

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

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

WHAT GOVERNMENT IS DOING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

British Miners Continue Strike, Win Demands, Free Jailed Leaders

Refusing to end their strike until the government agreed to Tasks of the Indian Revolution release their imprisoned leaders and to grant them their legal minimum wages, 1600 workers of the Betteshanger coal mine, Kent County, England, have scored the "first really important victory to be won by the workers since the outbreak of the war," reports the February So-3-

ish Trotskvist group.

This is the first on-the-scene nificant struggle, news of which has been limited to a couple of was the original cause of the brief and unintelligible dis- strike. patches in the capitalist press.

sential Works Order," states the sweeping the mining areas in par- quashed." ticular was sufficient to force the government to beat a hasty re- the government and the mine

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

1017 SUMMONED

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

On January 23, the case was heard before three magistrates of the Kent County Court. In order to prevent a public hearing of the conditions which provoked the strike, the company's solicitor withdrew the breach of contract summons and the case was tried entirely on the basis of the Essential Works Order, which filed 21 days notice illegal and subject to prison penalties.

After a farcical trial, in which the local strike leaders made a agreed to their victimization, heavy fines and hard labor sen-

LEADERS SENTENCED. WORKERS FINED

Describing the sentencing of these militant workers, and the reaction that followed among the

miners, the Socialist Appeal said: "Lord Howerden, the chief magistrate then passed the sen-Two months hard labor for William Powell, the secretary. One month hard labor for Tudor Davis, the chairman, one month for Isaac Methuen, member of the Branch Committee. Three pounds or one month for the 35 men who were working on No. 2 for all the others, making a grand total of 1.017 miners who were BRITISH LORDS EXPRESS VIEWS ON ST total of 1,017 miners who were

"There they sat - those three comfortable, well-dressed, well in the foul atmosphere of a mine: they had never suffered the vanas of an empty stomach — and they passed their sentence without blinking an eyelid.

"Before being taken away in back until I come out!' The men men, women and children man- to put out to sea, despite the were absolutely furious at the decision and there was a determilinated Central Europe and they pieces. The destination? Back ration that they would not go were headed for the promised to the hell which the unfortunate back to work until their demands land. had been fully satisfied and until THEY DID NOT HAVE VISAS their leaders were released."

WORKERS VOTE

the Miners' Welfare Hall, Deal, unanimously voted to continue the strike. Their resolution adduntil the wages deducted from

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

"Accompanied by Ebby Edwards, Secretary of the National trying to secure from the British estine. The Patria suffered the about that they have lost their as well as the earth, the bour-

cialist Appeal, organ of the Work- neved to Deal where an agree ers International League, a Brit- ment was arranged with the bosses. This agreement accepted the demands of the men, includreport received here of this sig- ing back payment for the men on shift by the management, which

"But it took the full weight of "The widespread anger which Grenfel, Edwards, and the Comswept the labor movement at the mittee of the Kent Miners' Assosavage sentences under the Es- ciation to get the men to go back to work. This after 4 hours and Socialist Appeal, "and the move- on the promise that the leaders ment of solidarity which was would be released and the fines

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

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

LEADERS' DEFENSE

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

"Tudor Davis asked the magis trates to 'give due consideration makes strikes without previously to the reason why we took the action we did; the strike was enforced upon the men by the actions of the employers; they, and not the men, should be standing courageous and militant defense, in the box; the miners are fully while the representative of the aware of the serious situation national mine union leadership which the war had brought to the country, but we were fighting for three of the leaders were given something that we hold sacred and which we have achieved only after years of struggle - the minimum wage.' " Unless this was conceded, "I could not possibly ask the men to go back to work."

> Most of the miners at Bettescountry," are drawn from other areas and "constitute the cream families in other sections. of the mine workers." They were "once praised by Winston Churchill for working under continuous fire during the Battle of Britain and . . . have in past achieved a

The Role Of Democratic Demands In India Today

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

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

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

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

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

The Indian proletariat can rise to its role as leader of the nation only by becoming the standard-bearer of its revolutionary democratic tasks. A campaign for the convocation of the Constituent (or National) Assembly provides, as we have already pointed out, the best opportunities for advancing the basic demands of the first stage of the Indian revolution, i.e. the revolutionary-parliamentary stage. What are these demands for India?

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

Land to the Landless

SIGNIFICANCE OF FIGHT

this struggle the Appeal declares:

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

having been evacuated from the more production, the management ards — the strike, that Mr. Bevin. area, most of the miners were of Betteshanger close a rich and backed up by the full weight of hanger, which is in "the most | compelled to keep up two separ- | productive seam of coal and open | the Government steps in and uses bombed mining district in the ate living establishments, for up another wall which produces this reactionary law against the . But the Essential workers Works Order is not used against

the coal owners!

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

Confiscation of the land — Land to the landless!

Centralizing the Peasant Movement

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

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

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

(Next week: The Native Princes)

Mines." Due to their families mand from the workers more and they have to defend their stand-

"While the workers relied upon the Trade Union bureaucrats who "Even when the management had sold out to the Government Summing up the significance of violate the County minimum and temporized with the bosses wage agreement and cause indus- they gained nothing. But where

"In a period of 'national' dan- trial strife, the EWO is not used they took the traditional militant record output far exceeding the ger, and when the Government against them. It is only when stand of the fighting miners they target fixed by the Ministry of and owners are combining to de- the workers use the last weapon gained a success."

The British Parliament in both its Houses — the House fed country gentlemen, their of Lords and the House of Commons — had the opportunity last their glimpse of the "promised with political meaning — they hands covered with woollen mit- week to express its sentiment on the tragic catastrophe in which | land." tens; they had never known a 768 Jews, refugees from the terror of the Nazi-dominated Ruhard day's toil, much less a shift manian anti-Semites, lost their lives. The members of Parliament indicated in no uncertain terms where the responsibility

for this gruesome incident rests. But let us first recapitulate the in vain. Here at last was a facts: The steamship Struma, small, the police car to the County Jail, only fifty feet long, entirely uning determination. The ship with Bro. Powell shouted 'Don't go seaworthy, and packed with 769

aged to get away from Nazi-dom-

So what if they were packed like sardines? So what if they Two days later a meeting of were denied the ordinary comabout 900 strikers, jammed into forts of life? One had to grit his teeth and bear this purgatory.

Behind them was the Nazi hell ed "that we do not return to work to which there was no return. And ahead? Ahead was the councertain of our members' pay try that the mighty British Empackets are refunded; and that pire had designated as a Jewish in the meantime we use every homeland in the year 1917 768 perished when the ship means at our disposal to get our through the solemn declaration of three members released from pri- His Majesty's then foreign minister, Lord Balfour. And the "Immediately the news got out," Struma with its cargo of refugees

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

Mineworkers' Federation, Mr. authorities permission to land in same fate as the Struma, except balance like that village fool who geoisie has managed to convert Grenfel, Minister of Mines, jour- Palestine. But all efforts were that it had been turned back after made it a practice to cheer at fun- our planet into a foul prison."

chance for the British authorities to show a firm hand and unswervthe refugees aboard was forced warning that it would go to refugees thought they had left behind. They did not even have a glimpse of the "promised land."

ONLY ONE CAN TELL THE TAIL

One can easily surmise the agony of the 769 men, women and children - the agony of a tortured spirit, crushed hope, cruelly approved by the British Governshattered illusions. But there is only one of the 769 left who could ever possibly tell the ghastly tale; exploded on February 24 in the mine-infested Black Sea, seven miles north of the Bosphorus. Two ships with Jewish refugees

fate of the Struma. On Dec. 12, 1940, another small vessel carrying 380 Jewish refugees from Bulgaria, went down in the sea of Marmora with a loss of 223 persons, after striking a reef during a storm. On Nov. 25, 1940 only cal Lords who have made a pro-populating the globe, that is, less eighteen days prior to this dis- fession of deceit and chicanery, than one per cent, can no longer aster, the steamer Patria with call it uncivilized and barbarous. find a place on our planet! Amid 1904 homeless Jews from central And why the cheers at this grue- the vast expanses of land and the Europe aboard, exploded and cap-For weeks it lay at Istanbul, sized in the harbor of Haifa, Pal- Lords have had so little to cheer also conquered the skies for man

it had reached its destination, and | erals and weep at celebrations the unfortunate refugees had had No, those cheers are pregnant

Let no one say that the British ruling class is entirely devoid of | Churchill had to go out of his human feelings. Two Lords, Lord tine are biased against the Jews. Perhaps these two Lords thought | have any illusions either. it good politics to place responsibility on the authorities in Palestine and thus absolve the home government. This, however, was not the opinion of Viscount Cranborne, Colonial Secretary. Here is how the New York Times, March 11, reports the speech of the Viscount in reply to the critical two Lords:

"Amid cheers Lord Cranborne asserted that the Palestine High him were carrying out a policy ment and added:

"'They have done it and are doing it with complete integrity bolic of the fate of the Jewish and great courage in circumstances of extraordinary difficul- the words of the Fourth Internatv and to suggest anything else is tional in its manifesto on the both undesirable and dangerous because we can thus only injure the authority of the administraaboard previously suffered the tion and than can only lead to dis- of the ghetto and utilized them affection and unrest."

are the rebuke to the hopes of the persecuted Jews. Just as way to make it clear that the so-Davies and Lord Wegdewood, bes- called Atlantic Charter does not tirred themselves and made the apply to the many millions of colcharge in the House of Lords that onial slaves, the Lords took the the British authorities in Pales to uble to emphasize with their cheers that the Jews should not

POLICY REMAINS SAME

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

The Struma incident is sympeople as a whole. How true ring war (May, 1940): "In the epoch of its rise, capi-

talism took the Jewish people out as an instrument in its commer-Indeed it took "integrity and cial expansion. Today decaying great courage" to send the de- capitalist society is striving to fenseless refugees to their doom. squeeze the Jewish people from When Hitler does anything sim- all its pores; seventeen million ilar, the sanctimonious hypocriti- individuals out of the two billion some tragedy? Is it because the marvels of technology, which has

Guthrie Resignation Shows Bosses Can't Plan Production

By A. ROLAND

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

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

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

What Guthrie Is Revealing

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

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

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

Boss Attitude to Joint Conferences

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

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

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

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

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

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Program. For Detroit Labor Movement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WLB Offers Study In Contrasts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOUND VOLUMES

MILITANT

1941

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Commune Charted Way To Workers' Freedom

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

citizens capable of bearing arms had to belong

as the sole force with the right to have arms.

Granted full rights to all foreigners since the

"flag of the Commune was the Universal Re-

public." Destroyed the column erected by Napo-

leon I in 1809 as a monument of national vanity

and international jealousy. These were symbols

of the internationalist character of the Commune.

Decreed the strict separation of Church and

Fixed the maximum pay allowed to an official

On May 28, the Versailles troops, now over-

of the Commune at 6000 francs per year (\$1200).

whelming in number, crushed the last heroic bar-

Terrible revenge was wreaked upon the Com-

munards. From 20,000 to 30,000 working men,

women and children were killed either in Paris

or died in exile. Their crime: striving for a free

Commune Showed Road to Socialism

of how the transition between capitalism and

socialism will take place. It proved that the

workers cannot use the machinery of the capital-

ist state as an instrument of this transition. Even

the most democratic of capitalist governments

abounds with checks and hindrances of the pop-

ular will, has artificial divisions between the vari-

ous departments of governments, creates a strong

bureaucracy and army separated from the people.

The capitalist state must be replaced by a

workers state, a true democracy. According to

Lenin, who made a deep study of the Commune

and its lessons, proletarian democracy, or pro-

letarian dictatorship, has the following character-

"(1) The source of power is not law previous-

ly discussed and enacted by parliament but the

initiative springing straight from the underlying

"(2) It involves the replacement of the police

and army, which are separated from the people

and opposed to it, by the direct arming of the

whole nation; peace and order are maintained

under such a government by the armed workers

"(3) The bureaucracy is either cashiered (fired)

The Commune was the first expression of the

The greatest promise for the future is in the

recent news we have received from France. Not

only has the fighting spirit of the French work-

ers not been broken by Hitler and Petain, but

the great weakness of the Commune is being

remedied. That historical weakness was the ab-

sence of a revolutionary Party. This shortcom-

ing in 1871 was inevitable. It was the price the

Parisian workers paid for being the great pion-

eers. We are informed that the Bolshevik Party

of the Fourth International of France is func-

tioning and gaining new support among the

The French workers will reconstruct the Com-

mune on stronger foundations under the lead-

ership of the Fourth International.

dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviets un-

der Lenin and Trotsky was the second historical

in favor of representatives of the people or held

mass of the people, on the spot. . . ;

themselves, by the armed nation;

example of the rule of the workers.

Commune Will Be Re-established

strictly under popular control."

The Commune gave the answer to the problem

Publicly burned the guillotine.

ricade of the Commune.

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

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

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

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

Soldiers Go Over to Workers

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

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

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

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

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

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

Commune Upholds Workers Internationalism

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

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

workers.

the press last week, again demonstrates that this monthly maga- administration, "national unity" zine is indispensable to every worker interested in obtaining a and the attacks being made on Marxist analysis of the important developments in the war and the workers' living standards and the class struggle on an international as well as national scale. Almost half of the March issue

is devoted to the question of In- bourgeoisie, peasantry and workdia, to which the eyes of the ing class. whole world are now turned. Three articles analyzing the question in detail provide the reader ent struggle for Indian independence and an understanding of the recent "offer" of Churchill to the Indian ruling class.

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

INDIAN THESIS

A second article on the question is a thesis of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India entitled The Classes of India and Their Political Roles. This document, adopt- etc. ed by the Indian Trotskyists last year, is an analysis of the role

Articles On India Feature Of

March 'Fourth International'

Particularly interesting are the sections dealing with the development of the peasants' unions, and the growth of the working class with the background of the pres- in India since the first world war. other of her penetrating book reviews, this time on My India, My who have kept themselves acbankruptcy and treachery of In- prised if not shocked at the decline dia's bourgeoisie, "the weakest of the three parasitic classes that and the permanent crisis of agrifeed upon the blood and toil of culture pictured in these, the govthe Indian workers and, peas- ernment's own figures. ants." Particularly interesting is the discussion of the reactionary character of Gandhi's non-viol-

TROTSKY'S SPEECH

The remaining articles in the issue are of the same high standard. Leon Trotsky's Speech to the Czarist Court in 1906 is a brilliant defense of the 1905 Revolution (never before printed in English), in which the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet gave a that Revolution. Among the ques- to as many of these workers as tions he discusses are: who ini- possible. A single copy costs 20 tiates violence?; what is the arm- cents; a subscription for 6 ed uprising?; what determines months only \$1. Write Business the legality of the revolution?; Manager, Fourth International,

Roosevelt and the War Crisis by William F. Warde is a probplayed in the Indian struggle by ing survey of the position of the native princes, the landlords, American capitalism after three the Indian bourgeoisie, petty months of war, the domestic and

The March issue of Fourth International, which came off foreign policy of the Roosevelt

Frances Willard's The Farmer After the New Deal is an analysis of the claims so often made in Washington about the improve ments in the lot of the American farmer in the last nine years. Her answer to these claims is not based on guesswork, but on those portions of the 1940 Census deal-Larissa Reed contributes and ing with agriculture which have thus far been released. Even those America, a book by Krishnalal quainted with general agricul-Shridharani which exposes the tural developments will be surin the farmer's living standards

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

The March F. I. is a splendid issue to introduce to many workers who never before have heard fighting answer to the charges of of this magazine. It is the duty the prosecutors of the leaders of of MILITANT readers to get it months only \$1. Write Business 116 University Pl., New York

> Subscribe to the 'Fourth International"

The Jewish Worker And The Struggle For Socialism

Fighting Traditions of Jewish Workers

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

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

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

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

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

Stalinist Influence

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

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

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

A Mood of Restlessness

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

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

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

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

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