UAW Meets In Midst Of Open Shop Drive

Auto Union Can Lead The Fight For All Labor

Militant Program Will Inspire the Workers And Halt Bosses' UnionSmashing Onslaught

By JOE ANDREWS

The United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers will meet in special convention in Detroit, April 7 and 8. 1200 delegates, veterans of many battles against the auto barons, representing the advance-guard of American unionism, will gather together at a time of crisis for their union and the entire labor movement.

Big business has launched a campaign to weaken the whole edifice of unionism. Each day this anti-union offensive gains momentum, both in the plants and in the halls of Congress.

The top CIO and AFL officials They are surrendering one by one wage standards for Saturday, Sun the most basic union principles. day and holiday work. This is They have relinquished the right another surrender in the face of to strike and double-time pay; administration threats. Donald they are pushing the speed-up Nelson, War Production Board

The UAW-CIO convention can call a halt to this retreat by in- employer demand or face compulitiating a militant drive to save labor's rights and hard-won conditions. This can be done on the basis of a sound and militant union program.

1. Defend the Right

The right to strike has been given away by the union officials without consulting the rank and

Made bolder by the union leaders' surrender of this basic weapon, the employers and their congressional agents are grasping at this chance to strike heavy blows at the trade union movement.

The bosses refuse to settle grievances in the plants because they know that the unions without the strike weapon have no power holidays is intended to pave the to back up their demands.

Congressional leaders are carrying out a systematic campaign of intimidation to wring more con- 3. Fight for the cessions from labor. The Smith Slave Labor Bill, after being 40-Hour Week passed by the House of Repres-Senate Labor Committee as a club basic rights of the unions.

inated board can no more be this demand. trusted by the workers than the, Labor fought bitterly over ma-

was its predecessor. of the bosses. It must be de- be vigorously defended. fended against assault by the enemies of the unions from without 4. For A Living Wage and the appeasers from within.

2. Retain Overtime Pay

Once the right to strike was elimination of overtime pay. The top CIO and AFL officials already are yielding to the demand that

are retreating under this barrage. labor relinquish the established head, personally served labor with a 30-day ultimatum to accept this sory legislation.

This means a wage-cut for the workers and therefore more profits for the corporations.

The auto barons already have amassed huge profits. General Motors alone netted almost hal a billion dollars in 1941. Its war orders guarantee it greater pro fits in the future.

While the workers are ordered by Nelson and the WPB to sacrifice, President Roosevelt has declared a moratorium on anti-trust prosecutions against the monopoly war profiteers and international cartels. Monopoly violators of the law are assured immunity. But more restrictive laws; are proposed against labor.

The attack on the established wage standards for week-ends and way for the destruction of the principle of overtime pay.

The anti-labor drive, aided by entatives, is being held in the administration policy, is already viciously attacking the 40-hour to force further surrender of the week. Speaker Rayburn, a leading administration spokesman in unyielding attitude of the Indian Every key demand of labor is Congress, has demanded the abolnow being mired in the bog of ition of the 40-hour week in favor arbitration. The union leadership of the 48-hour week. The auto is depending entirely on the War barons and other bosses speaking Labor Board to defend the inter- through the New York Times and ests of labor. This employer-dom- their other papers are echoing

thoroughly discredited National ny decades for the 40-hour week. by its compromises and capitula-Defense Mediation Board which Hundreds of union men died to The strike weapon is vital in this gain is to submit to immethe fight to defend labor's gains diate reduction in the standard fact, the Congress leaders, while and half the anti-union offensive of living. The 40-hour week must

wage increase, and a 90-day readcreased living costs. These just the British yoke is removed. given away, the bosses demanded demands are now in negotiations with GM.

The corporation owners, though (Continued on page 2)

CONGRESS 6% PROFITS PROPOSAL IS A FRAUD

The House of Representatives, pausing briefly in its allout-war on labor, on March 28 passed a measure to "take the profits out of war." This was a provision to limit profits on military and naval contracts to six per cent of their face value. The measure, however, is loaded with jokers.

The evidence brought out by the Truman Senate Investigating the real amount of their profits. Committee and the House Naval Affairs Committee has shown that fits into so-called "contingency" many shipbuilding corporations, and "reserve" funds, which are cratic manner in which the proaveraging between six and ten not counted as profits. For inper cent profit on their govern- stance, Bethlehem Steel put aside ment contracts, actually are raking in a volume of profit equal 000,000 in 1941, which enabled to 200 and 300 per cent — 800 per them to show a profit of only \$34, cent in one instance — of the 500,000 instead of their real provalue of their entire original cap- fits of \$59,500,000.

- on a total capital investment reported as profits. of \$40,000,000, from contracts providing "only" ten per cent ment's Reconstruction Finance profit. "I don't care if you put it | Corporation and Defense Plants down to two or three per cent," | Corporation, on March 21 reported | Barnes cynically admitted, "if that up to March 7 his agencies you give us any profit at all, with had authorized or made expendithe magnitude of our business tures for new plants and plant and our investment, we will be expansion to the amount of \$11,-

Just as there are many ways gift to the big corporations. to skin a cat, so the corporations These are the facts which show have many ways of concealing up the fraud of Congressional talk profits. They can, and do, pad out about "profits limitations" on govtheir costs with fictitious items, ernment contracts - whether six and by figuring their profits on per cent, two per cent or no per the basis of phony costs conceal cent at all.

They can, and do, pile their prointo "special" reserve funds \$25,-

James E. Barnes, Washington IT'S A GIFT!

lobbyist for the Todd Shipbuild Actually, if the big corporations prising - British imperialism ing Corp., testified before the Sen- didn't make a cent on their orate Naval Affairs Committee on dinary government contracts, they be. Feb. 5 that his company this would still grab billions through year will do \$200,000,000 in gov- the gifts of new plants and equipernment business, realizing \$20. ment being given them by the 000,000 net profits - after taxes government - but which are not

Jesse Jones, head of the govern-494.439.962. This is an outright

THE WOLLINGSON

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VI-No. 14

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1942

FIVE (5) CENTS

STANDARD OIL-NAZI DEAL EXPOSES BOSS PATRIOTISM

India Congress Heads Reject Cripps' Plan

"Dominion Status" Offer Is Fraudulent; Would Leave British Rulers In Control

By ANTHONY MASSINI

April 1. — British imperialism's hope that its offer of dominion status for India after the war would succeed in mobilizing the Indian masses for support of Britain's war appeared to be dashed to the ground today by reports that the All-India Congress Party and other Indian groups would reject the plan presented by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British War

trol and direction of the defense never kept. of India." It may be that the Congress leaders themselves have little confidence in the kind of war that Britain would conduct. But undoubtedly their decision was influenced primarily by the masses who are so embittered by British rule that even the prospect of a change in masters has for Britain.

Indian capitalist class, has shown pire. ions in the past that win this standard. To give up be depended on to lead the struggle against the imperialists. In place the British as the dominant force in India, fear more than anything else the independent The UAW demanded a \$1 a day steps that the Indian masses will try to take to solve their ecojustment of wages to meet in nomic and political problems once

PRESSURE FROM MASSES

be thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the peasants and workers if they accepted the plan. As interview with Leland Stowe (New York Post, March 28): "Suppose we did come to an agreement with Britain, short of independence. Various political groups immediately say that the Congress was selling out."

The completely anti-democratic character of the whole British plan, symbolized by the undemoposal was discussed, is another sign of the attitude of the masses. Churchill and Cripps presented had originally promised. their plan to the Indian leaders,

- with whom there was at least a chance of acceptance. The 400,-000,000 Indian people — whose fate is at stake - were not cousulted at all. But that is not surknows what their answer would

- is a sign that British imper | Appeal, English Trotskyist organ, ialism, while weaker than it was Feb. 1942). three years ago, is just as reactionary as ever.

ANOTHER PROMISE

Dispatches from India indicated absolutely nothing. In essence, it that the Congress Party objected was a repetition of the same "dochiefly to the demand in Cripp's minion status" promise that Britplan for Britain to "retain con- ain made India in 1917 - and

> This time, of course, the promise was freshened up by the addition of a few "precise and clear" details. But an analysis of these details shows that fundamentally Cripps' offer was as fraudulent as those made by Britain in the past. The plan called for the crea-

tion after the war of "an elected body" to be "charged with the not induced them to want to fight | task of framing a new constitution" for a "new Indian Union" The Congress leadership, which which would receive the status represents the interests of the of a dominion in the British Em-On the surface, this may appear

(Continued on page 4)

St. Louis CIO Council **Endorses Work Of CRDC**

Calls On Affiliates To Give Support to Defendants

After a report by V. R. Dunne, outstanding northwest labor leader and one of the 18 convicted in the Minneapolis case, the St. Louis CIO Industrial Union Council voted to endorse the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee in appealing the convictions. The Council also voted to request all affiliated locals to support the

case financially. The St. Louis CIO Council officially invited Dunne to speak at the meeting on March 25, upon the request of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The meeting was attended by 125 delegates from affiliated CIO locals.

Speaking at the meeting in the course of his nation-wide tour

pointed out that such a precedent endangered labor's fundamental democratic rights.

He also spoke on the great the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Law, by appealing the monopoly capitalism. Minneapolis convictions to the Supreme Court. The fight of the CRDC in this case, he stated, is of all labor.

One of the first responses to Dunne's talk came in the form of a donation to the Civil Rights Defense Committee from the St. Louis Joint Advisory Council of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO.

While in St. Louis, Dunne also spoke at a meeting of colored hotel workers who received his report very favorably.

From St. Louis, Dunne visited unionists in Southern Illinois and acy, as related by Assistant Atsponsored by the CRDC, Dunne appealed for help to the Minto be similar to the demand rais explained the meaning to labor neapolis defense. After a brief ed by the Indian masses for the of the convictions of the 18 rest in the Twin Cities, he will convocation of a Constituent As- leaders of Local 544-CIO and the proceed on the Western half of that the Rockefeller interests, by sembly by universal suffrage. Ac Socialist Workers Party under his tour. He will speak at Fargo, an arrangement first concluded they desire the opportunity to re- tually, it is an evasion of that provisions of the vicious anti- Plentywood, Mont., Spokane, demand, twisted around by cer- labor Smith "Gag" Law. Stress- Tacoma, Seattle, Portland, San tain "provisions" to achieve not ing the significance to the labor Francisco and Los Angeles. Local a free India, but an India so di- movement of the use of govern- CRDC branches in those cities vided that whatever its formal mental agencies, at Daniel J. report plans have been made for status, it would still remain in Tobin's request, to attack Local Dunne to speak at open meetings, 544 for joining the CIO, Dunne as well as before union groups.

Monopolies Put Profits Before Everything Else

Conspiracy With German Chemical Trust Led to Rubber Shortage, Crippled Production

By ART PREIS

Standard Oil's conspiracy with the German chemical trust, I. G. Farbenindustrie, to share between them world control of the chemical and petroleum importance of the fight to test industries, is a devastating indictment of American

This conspiracy, which blocked American synthetic rubber production and seriously crippled all of American a fight on behalf of the rights industry, proves that the American bosses place their profits and monopoly advantages before everything else, in war as in peace, and that their patriotism is a hypocritical cloak for self-

Standard's conspiracy reflects practices and policies pursued

by all the great trusts. It was a conspiracy known for years to the government, which did nothing about it until the rubber shortage threatened to cripple the whole war production program. And even now, the government's exposure has been served up with a liberal coating of whitewash.

The main fact of this conspirtorney-General Thurman Arnold last week to the Truman Senate Investigating Committee, is in Nov. 1929, have agreed with I. G. Farben to give the latter exclusive world rights to the chemical processes developed by Standard, which include the cheapest and best methods for the production of synthetic rubber. In return, Standard has obtained from its German capitalist colleagues exclusive rights in "any patents or discoveries which directly concerned oil production, including synthetic gasoline," according to Arnold's report.

Additional Agreement

At the outbreak of the war in of Lease-Lend goods to Russia, in the continuance of this arrange- talists in the construction of their dated October 12, 1939, from the ard sought to turn over its Hun-The Washington correspond- Standard official in charge of the ents of Common Sense add caus | negotiations with I. G. Farben,

> "They (I. G. Farben) delivered foreign patents, and we did our for a modus vivendi arrangement

"Throughout my testimony I have tried to emphasize the fact that this case (Standard Oil's conspiracy to block synthetic rubber production) is not unique. I do not think it is an extreme statement to say that in most of the basic war materials we find similar car: tel agreements. . . It is obvious that this kind of practice on an extended scale throughout industry has been one of the causes why we are short of basic materials. If it continues it will contribute to inefficiency of production thruout the war. . . From an economic point of view such restrictions lower the standard of living and on a wide scale create an irreducible minimum of unemployment." - Assist-

ler, Jr., was delivering an address in New York's Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in his capacity as honorary chairman of the USO's fund campaign. Among other beautiful

Rockefeller

Discusses War

On the very day when As-

sistant Attorney-General Ar-

nold was giving the details

before the Truman Committee

of the Standard Oil's conspir-

acy to block synthetic rubber

production, John D. Rockefel

thoughts expressed by the chief of Standard Oil was: "This war is fundamentally

a death struggle between the material and spiritual forces in the world. Materialism has run rampant. . . Surely, it is not for things, but for ideals that such sacrifices are made: not for the material, but for the spiritual."

for working together, which would operate through the terms of the war, whether or not the U. S. came in."

Standard's modus vivendi included aiding the German capitane aviation gas industries. As late as in August 1941, Standgarian plants to the Nazis for \$24,000,000 gold. After the defeat of France, at the suggestion of I. G. Farben, Standard sought. to make a mutually beneficial arrangement for the control of hydrogeneration patents in Occupied France.

Standard's modus vivendi operated even after Pearl Harbor and the Far East defeats. Up to last week, Standard refused government requests that it release its patents for manufacturing Butyl rubber, although it had given these patents to I. G. Farben to use for the Nazi war machine and had agreed to their use by an Italian corporation.

"Standard's activities thus frustrated the creation of an American synthetic-rubber industry," declared Arnold. The practical results of the conspiracy were to confront American industry with a crippling rubber famine, strike a damaging blow at all production and force drastic curtailment of essential consumers goods.

Why Deal Was Made

Why did Standard make such deal with I. G. Farben? "These arrangements were (Continued on page 3)

PRESSURE FROM MASSES The rejection of Cripps' plan by the Congress leaders, therefore, must be viewed as the expression of tremendous pressure on them from the masses. These leaders realize that they would be thoroughly discredited in the

Jawarharlal Nehru put it in an C. P. Press Silent On Lag In Allied Aid; USSR Isolated Before Nazi Spring Drive

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

With the advent of Spring the USSR confronts once again the protocol arranged at the time thereafter, regardless of which (Nehru means the masses) would the full might of the Nazi murder machine which has been stalled since last December. What has Stalin's foreign policy accomplished in the way of providing aid to the heroic Soviet soldiers, workers and peasants in their life-and-death struggle

against German imperialism? It 3 can now be established beyond been shipped, does not know that dispute that Stalin's "allies" have they have been sidetracked by failed even to provide the quanthe U.S. Army and Navy for tity of materials and supplies they other uses." In short, the brass

by Shinwell in the House of Commons, which has remained unchallenged, not even a thousand tanks, planes or guns have been sent to Russia by Churchill. "This paltry trickle of aid - less than 170 of each of these vital instruments of war per month - is on For the last few weeks editor- par with the much lauded 'aid' ials in the American press have rendered by the RAF wing in been singing songs about how "the Russia which succeeded in bringold type of British imperialism ing down 15 German planes in is forever gone," but the plan six months! In the Battle for brought by Cripps - designed to Britain 172 planes were brought frustrate independence for India down in a single day" (Socialist

"BAD LAG"

same as the offers of the past - been caused by a conflict among don and Washington. a promise of "dominion status" the ruling tops in Washington. for the future, after the war. For The President, seeing the Lend- DAILY WORKER'S SILENCE

hats in Washington have been According to a recent statement | countermanding even those shipments that might actually have been made.

This report was corroborated on to Russia" (New York Times. correspondent of the Times goes on to add that "officials evidently had to be prodded by the White equipment that is so urgently required by the Russians."

On March 2, the American dared to complain openly about those real allies - in Germany, News-weekly Time reported a this state of affairs. Why? Be in the occupied countries - to and so ballyhooed as the sign of of U. S. war material to Russia." to resort to devious methods of by attacking Hitler from the rear. a new era, turned out to be the This lag, according to Time, has bringing pressure to bear on Lon- To achieve this, however, the re-

the war, it offered India nothing, for granted that the goods have lately, originating in Berne, Trotsky.

Switzerland as well as here in Washington, pointing up our fail- September 1939, an additional ure to deliver promised quantities agreement was made to ensure accordance with the provisions of ment throughout the war and synthetic gaso ine and high ocof the Harrison-Batt mission" group of powers won. A letter, (Common Sense, April 1942).

tically: "There is some evidence states: that these stories were inspired by the Soviets themselves." There to me assignments of some 2000 has been no refutation from Moscow of the stories emanating from best to work out complete plans Switzerland and Washington. It is not hard to understand

why Stalin prefers not to broach the issue openly even in the pages of the Daily Worker. This would embarrass and compromise not March 26 by Roosevelt himself cnly London and Washington in an official letter directing "high whose favor the Stalinists are officials of the government, in- currying, but also Stalin himself. cluding the Secretaries of War The Kremlin's official silence is and Navy . . . to remove all bar- an annihilating commentary on the riers to the shipment of supplies. bankruptcy of Stalin's "realistic" policy. It is with such aid that March 27, 1942). The Washington the Soviet Union has to meet the full brunt of the impending Nazi offensive. Stalin's policies of relying on the "democracies" have re-House to make them release the sulted only in isolating the Soviet masses from their real allies, the revolutionary workers of Europe. Yet the Daily Worker has not It is still not too late to mobilize The plan, so carefully concocted "bad lag in the actual movement cause the Kremlin itself prefers give powerful aid to the USSR actionary policies of Stalinism must be abandoned and replaced by the policies pursued by the the present, from now until after Lease clearance papers, takes it "There have been news stories Bolsheviks under Lenin and

Who Impedes **Production?**

ant Attorney-General Arnold.

Stalinists Try To Suppress Union Militancy, Speed Up Workers, 'Finger' All Opponents And 'Appease' Bosses

Bridges Wants The Unions To Act As Speed-Up Agents

Blames Union for Axis Victories, Urges Workers Not to Worry About Profiteers

By PHILIP BLAKE

The strongest epithet of the Communist Party today is "appeaser." Yet there is no force in the labor movement which is more ready than the Stalinists to knife the interests of the labor movement in the back for the purpose of "appeasing" the bosses and thus securing the "national unity" to which Stalin-

"Anyone doubting the correct-

ask himself where the United

ies except in Russia. Bridges

What Bridges is saying is that

labor's failure to consider every

which is exactly the theme of

the most vicious reactionaries in

Congress! He amplifies this

"'If we place stress on hours

and wages so that we interfere

with the fighting, we're slack-

ers and selling out our unions

a few months ago executive meet-

ings like this in Norway and

shouldn't be doing it all; the em-

ployers should do their share."

you understand why the unions

should become instruments of

In other words, when the boss-

es try to use the pretext of the

war to lower wages and raise

hours, the unions should not re-

sist or they may "interfere with

the fighting" and "sell out the

Bridges is not content to ac-

France were saying,

"We

"The majority of the time of to get the workers in the trade

"'How? Production. I'd rather patriotism—to soften down the

come instruments of speed-up and many Negro organizations

equal rights.

"'When you recall that only

pointed out.

slander as follows:

and country.

speed-up now."

"NOW NOT TIME

TO WORRY"

ism in the United States has de-34 dicated its efforts. No section of Labor Herald, organ of the Calithe labor movement spends less fornia CIO: time than the Stalinists in attacking or criticizing the bosses SLANDERS EUROPEAN who are responsible for lags in TRADE UNIONISTS production; no group spends to speed-up the workers.

Their policy of "appeasing" the membership into a win the war bosses has led them in recent machine. Every single other weeks to such treacherous prac- thing must be secondary." tices as attempts to break strikes (Western Electric plant in Kear- ness of this resolve has only to ny, N. J.); support of boss-inspired attacks on union militants Nations are winning any victorwho try to protect the workers' interests (Alcoa plant in Cleveland); campaigns to speed the workers up to an extent which not even the bosses dare as yet thing else as "secondary" is reto demand (UE proposal for sponsible for Axis victories-15% speed-up), etc.

MURRAY COMPLAINS

The Stalinists are even more ready than the trade union bureaucrats to "appease" the bosses by giving up labor's rights. This was demonstrated at the Extraordinary Conference of the CIO in Washington last week. of which the newspaper PM reported on March 25:

"Murray and CIO left-wingers (Stalinists) clashed briefly for the first time since the Nazi-Soviet war began. The dispute arose over a speech by Harry Bridges, West Coast longshore leader, who charged, it is understood. that the CIO has not fashioned an adequate war program'.

"Bridges is said to have deprecated agitation over current anti-labor legislation and labor's economic status, demanding greater emphasis on

"Interpreting this and a couple of other speeches as excessive cuse the trade unionists of tappeasement of anti-labor forc-france and Norway of respon- Double V Campaign 'appeasement' of anti-labor forc- France and Norway of respones, Murray vigorously reiterated sibility for Hitler's victories. He his conviction that labor could goes on to explain to the workers not afford to yield all along the that it is not their responsibility line during the war era. With to worry about production—the reference to the changed atti- government and the bosses have tude of the left-wingers, he said charge of that. All that they have to worry about increasing is the

"'I've been supporting this war speed-up.

Bridges expresses the Stalinist officers, of grievance committee- unions to give up the struggle ple it is only a cover for unqualtrade union policy in action. The men, of the unions as a whole for their rights, so do they tryremarks he made in Washington must go to winning the war. express only the outlines of this policy; but an examination of say speed-up, and I mean speed- struggle of the Negro people for the speech he made to the San up. The term production covers Francisco CIO Council shortly the boss, the government and so before the Washington confer- on. But speed-up covers the ence shows just exactly what the workers the people who suffer known as the "Double V", which Stalinists mean by "an adequate from speed-up are the workers. stands for "double victory for Eugene Gordon, Negro writer for war program." An account of the speech is made in Bridges' own

paper, the Stalinist-controlled

of the working people of Ame-

Since Bridges believes that production is the responsibility of the bosses and the government, and the unions must spend the majority of their time speeding up the workers, it is not surprising that he cautions the unions against devoting time to the question of boss profiteering,

"To be handled 'at the proper time and the proper place,' Bridges briefly noted such factors as exorbitant corporation profits ... "But now is not the time to

worry about ultimate rewards. When our way of life is menaced by Axis enslavement it is enough to save what we have-'even the present grievances."

Let us not worry about the "ultimate rewards," says Bridg-Said Bridges: "'CIO, AFL and es; let the bosses have their more time than they do in trying independent unions have got to profits—the workers should not turn their officers, policy and worry when they can preserve "even the present grievances."

And what about those who disagree with the Bridges policy, let alone those who want to oppose it?

'Those who don't see this are not Americans-are not loyal,' said Bridges. 'We've got to finger them. We can't take time to explain-we've got to go around 'em or roll over

Murray "bitterly" reminded the Stalinists at the Washington conference that they were Johnny-come-latelies so far as support is clear that they have more than out in a statement in the name made up for lost time since last of the local union, that reprisal distanced even the Murrays and requested by the union" - that Greens. No trade unionist who is, the Stalinist officials. sees the Stalinist trade union line in action can fail to understand that part of his struggle against the boss offensive to undermine union conditions must be a determined struggle against assistant, Peter Zvara, stated that Stalinist "appeasement" of the

Join the Socialist

ByALBERT PARKER

in the name of their new-found

weeks ago, began a campaign

democracy at home and abroad."

Several other Negro newspapers

Stalinist treachery is not con-

it extends into and seeks to torious at home.

The Pittsburgh Courier, a few as the war against the Axis!

C. P. Helps WLB Fire 4 Try To Halt Cleveland Union Leaders Distribution

Their Only Crime Was That They Tried to Protect Members From AlcoaSpeed-Up Drive

CLEVELAND, March 30. - Acting in line with Harry Bridge's recent call for union leaders to "finger" union militants for the bosses, Stalinist officials of the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on March 26 publicly endorsed a War Labor Board decision upholding the firing of four union shop stewards for allegedly "instigating a slow-9-

down" in the Aluminum Corpora- admits that the workers' resist-

ance "started when the Compaint

This new bonus system has re

sulted in a reduction of the aver-

age weekly bonus from \$18 to \$6.

Smelter plant were reduced from

five to three with the three men

being required to do as much

work as the previous crew of five.

ate the workers, and enforce the

company's speed-up and pay-slash-

ing drive, the Stalinist leaders

have called a union meeting

where they intend to engineer the

The stool pigeon and pro-boss

ards from the union.

tion of America's plant here. Before the local union member- insisted on starting a new bonus ship had time to act on the case, system in S plant. It started when Edward Cheyfitz, national execu- working crews were reduced on tive secretary of the IUMMSW, certain operations in the smelter and Alex Balint, Cleveland re- plant. For this the Company gional director, both well-known bears full responsibility." . . . But Stalinists, and Frank Grady, pres- the union job stewards and the ident of Local 55, issued a public workers are the ones who sufstatement which declared that fen! they "fully supported" the WLB decision and that "the men res-

sponsible for stoppages must go." The fired union militants, by the admission of the union officials themselves, had resisted company attempts to institute a vicious speedup and pay-cutting system in their division, Plant S. which employs mostly Negro All four of the fired workers. shop stewards were Negroes.

The most damning part of the Stalinist leaders' actions in this of the war is concerned. But it case is their own admission, put expulsion of the fired job stew-June when they were denouncing against the four militant job the war as imperialist—and that stewards "is the result of an inthey have already far out- vestigation which was originally

STALINIST FINGER-MEN

Another statement, issued by tire plant. of Local 55 and Balint and his "we called upon the Federal Government to send in a special investigator to really get to the bottom of this problem. This investigator is on the job now . . . Let the guilty pay!"

This came of this problem. This investigator is on the job now . . . Let the guilty pay!"

This came of this problem. This investigator is on the job now . . . Let the guilty pay!"

Workers Party This same statement, however,

ified support of the war.

But even so, the Stalinists are

Last week, at a symposium on

the Daily Worker, came out

cause "Hitler is the main enemy

and "the foes of Negro rights

in this country should be con-

The other Negro newspaper-

men present—who also support

Gordon's position on this ques-

that they are more radical than

the Stalinists, but that they are

more dependent on Negro rank-

and-file sentiment than the Stal-

They know how hard it would

be to try to sell the Negroes a

paper, claiming to represent

is "secondary." They know how

iate a paper that tried to con-

vince them that Hitler is their

main enemy when they can still

feel on their backs the oppres-

no way dependent on them.

them not by what the masses

want or need, but by what the

cates of "white supremacy!"

sidered as secondary."

inists are.

ruling class.

fourth of the workers in the en- war as in peace. Considerable opposition was working-class papers. UAW Meets in The Midst negotiations or agree to arbitration; it threatened a strike by March 28 if the company remain-

role of the Stalinist union lead- rights and standards, and an on-

ers has created tremendous re- slaught against the Trotskyists.

sentment in the union rank-and- The Trotskyists are known to be

file, and particularly among the outspoken defenders of the union

Of Militant

The Communist Party's

lynch campaign against Trot-

skyists and all other union mi-

litants who oppose the Stalin-

ist speed-up and wage-cutting

drive gained impetus on March

30, when the Stalinist-dominated

leadership of the Los Angles CIO

Industrial Union Council slipped

over a resolution attacking "trade

unionism as usual" and calling

for the prevention of the distri-

bution of THE MILITANT in

front of the local CIO meeting

Other papers included in this

Stalinist ban on a free press and

free speech for workingclass pol-

itical opponents of Stalinism are

Labor Action and the Socialist

Party Call. These, like THE MIL

ITANT, have attacked Stalinist

treachery in the union movement.

The action was taken on one

of four similar and simultaneous-

ly-timed resolutions initiated by

well-known Stalinist leaders of

Chief target of the Stalinist at-

tack, was, of course, the Trotsky-

ists. It is no coincidence that the

Stalinists combine an attack on

trade unionism as usual," that is,

militant defense of the workers'

Why The C.P. Attacks The mands. They are stalling the negotiations. They have indicated in advance that they will finally Practices In the Industry have endorsed this campaign, saving that a victory in this war shove these demands into the Iap will not be adequate or satisfac- of the War Labor Board, where fined to the trade unions alone tory unless democracy is also vic- there will be more stalling, as in disrupt progressive struggles This is certainly far from a mands.

With prices skyrocketing, a everywhere. Just as they try radical or anti-war slogan. As general wage increase and proadjusted to meet price rises are immediately needed. By organizing militant union pressure, aopposed to it-because it places gainst both the corporation and the struggle against Jim Crow the War Labor Board the UAW in this country on the same plane can win its demands. Such a policy was required before the war. It is doubly necessary now.

the Negro press in New York, 5. Against Piece-Work against the Double V slogan beand Speed-Up

General Motors, supported by the administration, is trying to bring back the hated piece-work system and to reinstitute the dogeat-dog conditions of competitive work and competitive pay. This the war-sharply disagreed with is designed primarily to effect drastic reductions in wages and tion. The reason for this is not to begin a back-breaking speed-

> up in the plants. Such a system - endorsed by Donald Nelson under the name of "incentive pay" - would pit worker against worker, undermine the solidarity of unionism and 9. For Expropriation of turn the clock back toward the days of the open shop in auto.

their interests, which told them "Incentive pay" and competitive that their struggle for equality work would provide for wage the Negro people would repudclassification and reclassification on the basis of company favorsion of the American Jim Crow The Stalinists, on the other hand, don't care a hang about the interests or aspirations of stoolpigeons and company flund trol of the workers. the Negro masses—they are in

Their policies are decided for 6. No Wage Cuts In Transfer to War Work

Stalinist bureaucracy in the companies in converting the in the political arena. The unions Soviet Union wants or needs. Stalin has told them to support plants, which resulted in widethe war and to crack down on spread unemployment, was delib- from boss politicians. A Labor any movement or group that erately calculated to create an Party is more than ever a necesconducts a struggle which might opportunity for wage-slashing. In sity for the labor movement in interfere with the bosses in their the process of rehiring after the order to defend itself against the conduct of the war. That is why mass layoffs, men are being re- union wreckers in Washington. they now have the impudence to classified at lower rates of pay in lecture to the Negro people that the converted plants. Without their struggle for equality is specific contractual provision that "secondary"—a sight which must no worker shall suffer a reduc- have already pledged themselves indeed gladden the hearts of the tion in wages as a result of trans- to give up the right to strike. poll taxers, lynchers and advofer to war production or in the They will attempt to turn this process of reemployment after a convention into a hand-raising layoff, the whole wage structure rally for their program of suris endangered. The restoration render. According to the New of original wage classifications York Times, March 27, CIO Pres-

scheme is needed to prevent deep ary measures against unions fatter than ever with profits, slashes in the standard of living which act contrary to this proof the auto workers. gram of surrender. The leaders of the UAW must not be permit-

7. Against Jim Crow

The corporations have increased discriminatory practices against the Negro workers, attempting to pit white against colored workers centers in order to disrupt the unions. The companies follow a deliberate policy of forcing the worst jobs on the Negroes, segregating them from the other workers, etc. The UAW must put up an effective and uncompromising fight against any and every form of Jim Crow.

8. Demand the Steward System

The UAW has been demanding the steward system in its current negotiations, just as it has since 1937. General Motors has replied by proposing to cut committeeman representation in half, and thereby weaken the shop bargaining

With grievances piling up, shop problems can best be handled by the steward system. The answer to the corporations' scheme is to stand fast for the steward sys tem, the most democratic and effective means of representation

All Auto Plants and Operation Under Workers' Control

The only way to insure efficient itism and the amount of individ- operation of the plants, secure uval production. This would wipe continuity of employment, and out seniority, a keystone of strong stop profiteering and mismanageunionism. Every worker with an ment, is to take the plants out cunce of unionism in his blood of the hands of the duPonts, will fight this plot to bring back Fords and other coupon clippers, the rule of the service men, the and operate them under the con-

> 10. Build A Labor Party Democrats and Republicans alike are laving down an anti-union barrage in Congress. The. workers have no representation

> are reduced to begging favors

The top officials of the UAW Fourth International" and repayment of all back wages | luent Fully Multay Scattle that due as a result of this wage-cut he was prepared to take disciplinand repayment of all back wages ident Philip Murray stated that

What Stalinist Demand for 15% Speed-Up Means

The Stalinists in control of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, have shown that they are not kidding about speeding up the

When they ask for a 15% increase in production by their members, they mean just that: 'this increase shall be by the direct additional expenditure of energy and effort, over and above such increases as will be effected through improved methods or techniques instituted by our war production councils.

It is estimated that this 15% increase would result in a speed-up greater and more intensive than the bosses were able to put through in the old days of the industry before the workers had organized their unions.

voiced against the Stalinist res olution before it was passed by he Council. One auto worker, ac cording to the Daily Worker, re port, called it a "violation of the Bill of Rights" and a "poor policy to follow in any democracy.

But the well-oiled Stalinist ma chine, combining patriotic appeals, threats and mechanical control of votes, succeeded in shov-

as a cover for physical attacks sociation, stalled on all proposals Negro workers who form one- workers' rights and conditions in on distributors of THE MILI- and refused to arbitrate. TANT and other anti-Stalinist

ted to use high-handed methods

which violate the democratic

the very heart of the UAW.

struggles.

all attacks.

crucial problems ahead and mob-

ilize the ranks in the coming

now counts 600,000 loyal members

in its ranks. With that enormous

power fully mobilized, the UAW

can erect a dam will turn back

the flood of union-busting legisla-

tion and the corporation offen-

Militant industrial unionism

unionism can defend it against

All labor looks to the auto

workers to give them a lead. The

UAW convention has the prestige

and the power to inspire the la-

bor movement to a militant course

that will maintain the living

rights of the American workers.

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Defeat the anti-labor drive!

rights of the local unions and

Kearny Workers Label Stalinists As Strikebreakers

KEARNY, N. J. - Since last October the Western Electric Employees Association, an independent union, had been negotiating over wages and the grading system with the management of the Western Electric Company, subsidiary of the giant monopoly American Telephone and Telegraph.

The Association is not very strong or well-organized, and it shows all the weaknesses of indenendent unions or one-time comfrom the domination of the employers who inspired their creation; nevertheless last year by a strike it won some wage gains and other improvements for the workers. Unlike the AFL and CIO leaders it has not declared its intention of giving up the right to strike.

The company, which employs 20,000 workers and supplies the vast network of the Bell Telephone System with its communication and replacement system, has become very "tough" toward the Association since it began to receive war orders and the war broke out. It offered a wholly inadequate wage offer, refused to consider the demands of the As-

Finally at the end of February the Association voted to give the management a month to resume negotiations or agree to arbitration; it threatened a strike by

STALINISTS INTERVENE

As the deadline grew closer, with the management still stand. ing firm, the Stalinist-dominated leadership of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, which has some members in the plant, saw a chance to advance the cause of "national unity."

A day or two before the date set for the strike, the Stalinists The UAW has the richest tradi- came out with a leaflet in front tion of union democracy in the of the plant and huge advertise. American labor movement. Those ments in the local newspapers. in the saddle who attempt to des- They denounced the Association troy that tradition are aiming at for daring to "threaten" to strike

they did not der Only by the fullest trade union company management in any way. democracy can the union meet the They called on the workers to "disassociate" themselves from the "irresponsible threat" to strike — they did not in any way attack the bosses for refusing to The UAW has reached the negotiate further or even arbistrongest point in its history. It trate.

> Finally, the threat to strike compelled certification of the dispute to the War Labor Board, and the strike was called off.

WORKERS INCENSED

Reports from workers in the plant indicate that large numbers built the UAW. Militant industrial, of them - including non-Association workers and CIO sympatizers — were greatly incensed by the Stalinist leaflets and articles, denouncing them as "nothing more than strikebreakers" and "stooges for the bosses."

The Stalinists may have made some headway in their drive to standards, organizations and get Western Electric to regard them as more acceptable representatives of the workers than the Association, but their behavior in this fight has done much to antagonize the workers toward the CIO. But what do the Stalinists care? They can always attack 'Fourth International" | care: They can always as "appeasers."

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The CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KAPL

Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Democracy and the Army

The United States government is building a big army which is supposed to preserve and restore democracy throughout the world. Meanwhile the men who run the army (and the government) are getting into practice for this big

The Negro soldiers of the 25th Infantry, stationed in the state of Washington, have been barred from 20 hotels, cafes, cigar stores, pool rooms, etc., in the town of Walla Walla, according to evidence produced by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

By itself, of course, there is very little novel about such a situation. Negro soldiers and civilians find themselves barred from public places in thousands of cities in the north as well as the south; these Jim Crow practices flourish even in states where there are specific civil rights laws against this kind of discrimination; and Negroes are discouraged from entering countless establishments by slyly insulting signs saying "No shoe shine" or "No bootblack allowed."

But what is especially interesting about this particular situation in Walla Walla is that the soldiers are barred from these places "for any purpose" by their own officers!

An official army order, dated Mar. 21, declares that "upon written requests from each of the following businesses. . . each of the firms listed below are declared OFF LIMITS for all soldiers of the 25th Infantry. . ." Of course, white soldiers are not barred from these establishments.

Democracy is a wonderful thing - for some people to talk about.

The Right to Vote

It does not seem at this time that the Pepper Senate bill to abolish payment of poll taxes as a requirement for voting in federal elections will

The leader of the Democratic Party, Roosevelt, has been silent about the bill, which is no wonder when we realize that it is the members of his own party who are kept in office through the poll tax. The poll-tax congressmen have been silent, but it is authoritatively reported that if the bill ever comes before the Senate, they will conduct another filibuster such as they carried on a couple of years ago to keep, the anti-lynch bill from being voted on.

All opponents of the Democratic Party dictatorship in the south will of course support the bill - weak and full of loopholes as it is and any other measure that even partially lowers the bars that keep 10,000,000 Negroes and whites from voting in the south.

But it would be an illusion to believe that the mere passage of this bill by itself would permit the Negro people of the south to vote. Something happened last week in Columbia, South Carolina, which will demonstrate this.

City officials there ruled, following a long fight, that Negroes have the right to enroll to vote in the Democratic primary, but that party qualifications for voting — as well as poll tax payment — must be met before they can vote in the primary. The courts thus far have upheld the right of party executive committees to determine voting qualifications for their primaries. (The Democratic party, at the present time is the only one that ever wins in elections; if Negroes are deprived of the right of voting in the primary, their right to vote in the regular election is little more than a mockery).

The city Democratic executive committee has decided that Negroes must meet the following qualifications: "Every Negro applying to vote in the city Democratic primary must be known to have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since 1876."

As the Pittsburgh Courier correspondent points out, "According to that, a Negro must be at least 87 years old and must have voted the Democratic ticket for the last 66 years to be eligible now."

This is clear proof that even aside from the poll tax issue, the Jim Crow parties and ruling class will still have plenty of legal ways of keeping the Negroes from voting. They have plenty of devices besides the "white primary" - and if they didn't, they would invent them.

For example, there is the "educational requirement" for voting. In the hands of the Jim Crow state governments, this can be used to disfranchise every Negro, including those who have gone through college. All kinds of abstract and complicated questions can be asked by the registration clerks, and unless they can be answered to the "satisfaction" of these clerks, Negroes can be turned down. At the same time wholly illiterate whites will be accepted into the voting

Then there are property qualifications for voting which still exist in some southern states, and which can be extended to include others. Under this 98% of the Negroes would be automatically excluded from voting.

And it must not be forgotten that the ruling class in the south did not use legal means at first to take away the Negro people's right to vote. The first thing they did was use violence and terrorist bands to murder and beat up the Negroes who dared to want to vote; then, after that, they passed the discriminatory laws. The ruling class in the south would not hesitate for a moment to again resort to use of vigilante mobs, Ku Klux Klan and other such groups.

The Negro people must struggle for more than passage of the Pepper bill; in the final analysis they will secure and guarantee their right to vote only by a victorious struggle against the rule of the Jim Crow bosses and landlords and the whole system of Jim Crowism. That struggle will be just as tough as the struggle to restore democracy for the workers and minority groups in Germany.

STANDARD DEAL EXPOSES BOSSES

(Continued from page 1) not entered into with any desire to aid or assist Germany," Arnold pointed out. "The sole motive was an attempt on the part of the Standard Oil to get a protected market and to eliminate independent competition, and finally to restrict production in world markets in order to maintain control."

Where protecting its monopoly advantages helped the Nazis Standard did not permit consider ations of patriotism to stand in

ts way. Even after 1939, when Standard had received I. G. Farben's consent, in exchange for certain considerations, to enter into negotiations for licensing the Butyl process to American companies. t still "proceeded to further retard the development of synthetic rubber because of its natural monopolistic desire to keep complete domination over this indus-

Government's Attitude

The government did not underand its suit against it with any willingness. This is indicated by the fact that Standard's conspiracy — its existence, if not all its pose or end it.

As early as 1932, the American pipe-lines into the government, had approached Standard for its synthetic rubber patents. In 1939, representatives of the government also unsuccessfully sought information on the Butyl rubber process from Standard.

So well known were the facts of Standard's deal with I. G. Farben, that a New York newspaper, PM, on July 6, 1941 five months before Pearl Harbor and almost nine months before the government took court action against Standard - was able to publish accurate details of the deal.

Over a year and a half ago, the threat of an impending rubber shortage was brought to the attention of Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce and head of the government's Defense Piant Corporation. At that time, Jones was urged to facilitate the expansion of the synthetic rubber industry. Jones then opposed this venture — an attitude most favorable to the Rockefeller interests! - and gave out false information to the effect that there was a sufficient supply of crude rubber on hand, even with all imports cut off, to meet the country's needs for more than a vear of war.

A year after the true situation had been revealed to Jones, he mental" basis, for production of tric to delay the release of samfall, Jones told the Truman Com- | part." mittee that he was making plans for the production of 400,000 tons and General Electric alone in such relationship."

of synthetic rubber — in 1944. As a result of the heat put on him recently for failure of the defeats, the big rubber corporarubber program, Jones tried to tions, Goodyear, Firestone, Goodprotect himself by issuing a rich and the United States Rub. statement two weeks ago dis- | ber, also balked at the idea. They ciaiming personal responsibility had huge investments in crude for the rubber shortages. He ci- rubber plantations and in equipted the fact, since further confirmed by William Batt, Director of Materials for the War Pro- est in seeking to gain synthetic duction Board, that the "president concurred in this course." That is, the policies which were so favorable to Standard Oil and italize by way of high monopoly the rubber monopolies had the sanction of Roosevelt himself.

If Standard Oil had been willing to make a quiet deal to pool its patents with the big rubber I. G. Farben are not unique. They companies as late as March 25 are typical. Arnold himself refinally instituted its anti-trust maintains over 100 known cartel suit to secure the Butyl rubber patents - in all likelihood Standard's conspiracy with I. G. Farben would never have been exposed by the government. But Standard still refused to release its pro-

The government then had no choice but to take action against Standard Oil, because the rubber situation since the loss of Malaya and the East Indies has become so acute as to disastrously impede all war production. Only fear for the very outcome of the war finally impelled the government to challenge the mighty Standard Oil.

Not Just

Standard Oil In terms of the scope and power of Standard Oil alone, and the Rockefeller interests which control it, this conspiracy goes down to the very bedrock of American capitalism.

The Rockefellers control the reatest private family fortune n the world. Two other families vith major holdings in Standard Oil, the Harkneys and Whitneys, stand fourth and seventh respectively in the list of America's Sixty Families. These three families are linked by marriage and business ties with most of the other few families which control

ate wealth of the country.

Through holding companies, interlocking directorates, and other devices, the Rockefeller interests have direct control over tens of billions of dollars of corporate wealth. Rockefeller agents sit on the directing boards of hundreds of huge corporations - mines, factories, railroads, shiplines. They control the richest bank in America, the Chase National, and billion dollar companies like Mutual Life Insurance. The Rockefellers, together with the J. P. financial dynasties in world history. Thus, to speak of Standard Oil is to speak of one of the two major foundation stones of American monopoly capitalism.

Others Involved

But even within the framework of this particular conspiracy to block the production of synthetic rubber, Standard Oil did not stand alone. Other giant corporations, whose agents are even now working directly withtake its exposure of Standard Oil in the government war production agencies, also played a part. Among these were the duPont interests, the notorious "Dynasty of Death" which controls Amerdetails - has been known to ica's chemical and munitions leading government officials for trust, and has the largest single Was "Punished" years. Yet, until last week, the holdings in General Motors Corgovernment made no move to ex- poration. "For instance," Arnold rubber corporations, with many delay in Standard's synthetic also entered into a consent derubber program was Standard's cartel obligations toward duPont" and "Standard and I. G. had obligated themselves not to open the field of synthetic rubber in the United States without first offering a share to duPont."

Just as Standard sought to avoid competition with I. G. Farben on the international arena. so "Standard was seeking to eliminate. . . also competition with the duPonts."

Another giant corporation involved in Standard's withholding of the Butyl rubber process was General Electric, whose chairman, Philip Reed, is head of the WPB's key Busreau of Industry Branches. Reed is now under fire in the Guthrie scandal for using his position to further the "business as usual" interests of his

corporation. Explaining why Standard "held back use of Butyl rubber, even in this time of rubber shortage," Arnold told of "the tremendous pressure which undoubtedly has been exerted upon Standard by various companies who did not wish to retard the development of synthetic rubber sure that they are given priority

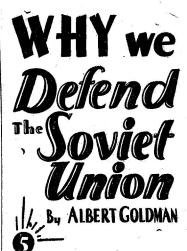
in its development.

holding up synthetic rubber production. Prior to the Far East A Whitewash Job ment for fabricating natural rubber. Their sole immediate interand to be in a position to capprices on any rubber shortages.

"No Difference"

Standard's arrangements with - the day before the government | vealed that I. G. Farben right now

> For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Prices



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the major portion of the corpor- arrangements with leading Amer- Standard had been permitted to ican corporations.

"There is no essential difference," Arnold stated, "between what the Standard Oil of New Jersey has done in this case and what other companies did in restricting the production of magnesium, aluminum, tungsten carbide, drugs, dvestuff; and a variety of other critical materials vital for the war." And Arnold's further state

ments indicate that the greatest impediment to production are those very monopoly corporations Morgan interests, constitute the which are organizing and financtwo most extensive and powerful ing the present anti-labor drive workers who "impede produc-

"So long as such cartel agreements continue to exist, the inevitable result will be shortages in essential materials. It is impossible to accomplish the purpose of a cartel - to maintain high prices, to keep a tight control over the market, to eliminate independent competition - without restricting production.".

Knowing all this, what did the government do about the situation of which the Standard Oil case is typical?

How Standard Oil

On March 26 the Department of Justice finally "filed a criminwas forced to report, "there is al information and a complaint no doubt that one factor in the against the Standard Oil Co. and cree with them." That is, a deal was made with the Standard of ficials. They marched into the federal court and pleaded nolo contendere (no contest of the case) — not a plea of guilty their "war work is more impor-They paid out a total of \$50,000 in fines, about one hour's average profits for Standard and its holdings. The government then withdrew its charges.

Nominally, Standard is now required to license any other company royalty-free for the duration of the war to produce Butyl Still Holding Key rubber and to transfer full knowledge of the process to them. This, in fact, is the single "retribution" exacted of the Rockefeller interests.

The pay-off, however, is that Standard Oil has been "asked to produce a large portion of the synthetic rubber to be turned out in the next two years f r o m government-financed plants." (AP dispatch from Washington, March 28).

As for the basic question of Standard's cartel arrangements but nevertheless wished to make with I. G. Farben, Arnold sadly confessed that "the decree does not have in it a provision allow-"It may be that the pressure of ing either the Attorney General ard) was not co-operating with finally contracted, on an "experi- such companies as General Electron or the court to pass upon the the Government on the Butyl pat-40,000 tons of synthetic rubber. ples of Butyl by Standard to Farben and Standard Oil, I think When Singapore was about to other companies has played its the committee can understand why I have been worried about Nor were Standard Oil, duPont | the resumption or continuance of

When asked by one member of

the Truman Committee why the conspiracy, and who con-

get off so easily, Arnold answered, "We felt that getting those patents loose was more important than years of litigation," and added that Standard's court settlement "was on a take it or leave it basis" and that "rightly

or wrongly I took it." But the government's treatment of Standard Oil was not merely a matter of the government's lack of power. The government did not want to press Standard any harder than it did. In fact, having obtained the Butyl rubber patents, the government is now seeking to whiteunder the pretext that it is the wash and protect Standard's "reputation".

Arnold deliberately used no term more severe in characterizing Standard's activities than that this immensely shrewd and powerful corporation has maintained an "ambiguous position." This characterization was used continuously a n d exclusively throughout Arnold's testimony.

At one point, Arnold spoke of the "conduct patriotic American companies may be forced into by these cartel arrangements." In response to a question, he described Standard's relations with I. G. Farben as "commercially simple-minded," attempting to give the impression that this second most powerful financial group in the world is run by foolish, though fundamentally patriotic, gentlemen who permitted themselves to be "taken in" by the

end, according to Arnold, Standard Oil emerges as an example of pious rectitude!

Government Posts

Having "paid the penalty" Standard's agents still remain in their key government positions. There is its dollar-a-year man. Ralph Wolf, assistant director of the Synthetic Rubber Laboratory of the Standard Oil Development Co., who is assistant chief of the WPB's Synthetic Rubber Section. There is its staunch protector. Frank Carman, a dollar-a-year patriot from the Armstrong Cork Co. and chief of the Synthetic Rubber Section, who after Arnold's testimony heatedly said; "I won't be a party to the statement that the company (Stand-

And there is Walter C. Teagle, chairman of the Board of Standard Oil of New Jersey, who blandly paid \$5,000 wrung from the blood and flesh of the Standard workers to get a clean bill-of-health for his part in

tinues in his government post as a MEMBER OF THE WAR LABOR BOARD.

Teagle, who aided the Nazis and whose efforts on behalf of Standard's monopoly and profits helped produce the present crisis of American production, still sits on a government board with pow er to make decisions of tremendous importance for the welfare of American labor. And, the workers of Standard Oil still labor under completely open shop company union conditions. Standard's seamen, compelled to work under a company union set-up, are daily facing death on fiam ing oil tankers, torpedoed by Nazi U-boats run by oil which Standard so helpfully provided the Nazi war machine. In 1909, in an attempt to

break up the Standard Oil trust for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, a federal court fined the company \$25,000,000. It was never paid. In 1912, the Supreme Court decreed the "dissolution" of the trust. Today, any one of the Standard companies, like Standard Oil of New Jersey, is greater than the whole trust in 1911. And the program of Arnold and the government now, after the latest revelations about Standard Oil, indicates that Standard, and all the other huge monopolies, have nothing to fear from the Roosevelt reg-

What Future Holds

In the conclusion of his testimony, Arnold had nothing more In his summation, Arnold made | to recommend than that the govspecial point of giving a boost ernment encourage research to Standard Oil "which has paid which would be available for all the penalty." He said: "We need to use, that there be some minor with the brazen declaration that Standard Oil. . . to help us win reforms made in the matter of the war. . . We may well be granting patents and in the regtant than court vindication." grateful (sic!) to that company ulation of patent licensing for putting its arrangements in agreements, that companies be writing and thus to furnish an required to register their foreign object lesson of the results of agreements, and, finally, that international cartels." In the there should be "eternal vigilance and. . . a wide awake investigating agency to enforce the Sherman Act.

The character of that "eternal vigilance" and "wide awake" enforcement of the Sherman Act was made clear in a letter to President Roosevelt, sent March 20 and pointedly made public on March 28, one day after Arnold's testimony before the Truman Committee. This letter was signed by Attorney-General Biddle. Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Knox - and Arnold.

It informed Roosevelt that some of the pending court investigations, suits and prosecutions under the Anti-Trust statutes by the Department of Justice, if continued, will interfere with the production of war materials. . . In those cases we believe that continuing such prosecutions at this time will be contrary to the national interest and security."

To which Roosevelt replied, as of the same date, "I approve the procedure outlined in your memorandum to me. . ."

See editorial on the Standard Oil case on P. 4.

Tobin Urges Locals To est in seeking to gain synthetic rubber patents was to forestall the rise of a competition the rise of a competition that th

His Answer to Offensive of Employers Is Counterattack -- With Convincing Figures

By JACK RANGER

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. - President Daniel J. Tobin, dictator of the AFL Teamsters International, has proposed a brilliant substitute for such union weapons as strikes and picket

'To prepare for a new era in labor relations when all strikes may be virtually outlawed," according to the March their demands before "arbitration

issue of the AFL Teamsters' Teamsters in the country to employ a first-class statistician in order properly to present its demands before arbitration boards." Tobin, like his fellow bureauerats in the top leadership of the AFL and the CIO, long ago "outhis own organization, acting as policeman for the government and the bosses to prevent drivers from striking in defense of their wages and conditions.

A ROTTEN SUBSTITUTE

have taken advantage of the rubing restless and are demanding mands. action against the chiseling bosses. But Tobin has handcuffed

they hire "statisticians" to argue over for them, and that he won't that!

To justify this proposal Tobin tions with Iowa Teamster organmonthly magazine, Tobin "advises claims that "victory" in the re- izations in the not-too-distant fu every district organization of cent arbitration of the over-the- ture," threatens Ray Mills, presiroad contract covering Midwest drivers "was obtained principally Joint Council (in the March 19 through the efforts of the statistical department recently created by the International." However, the fact is that the

over the road contract, which exlawed" the strike weapon within pired last Nov. 15, has not been settled yet, and is still before the The statisticians are our 'anti-air War Labor Board.

There is nothing wrong with all the usual high-flying claims union negotiators having at their of the employers. finger-tips statistical information wage increases, etc. But classy In recent months the employers statistics, no matter how good, are not sufficient to defend work-

government labor boards are not the unions by his no-strike pol- impressed with statistics. The Teamsters' Union in order main thing that impresses them breach contracts.' Forced to give some answer to about Tobin's unions is that Tothe membership, Tobin hands bin has assured the government them a stone — the proposal that that he will lie down and roll employers that they can't do

permit his membership to strike The bosses and the boss-domin ated war labor boards only laugh at unions who can't fight for their rights, no matter how brilliant a case a union statistician can make out for the workers' demands.

"ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS"

Tobin's lieutenants throughout the country are trying to sell the membership on the Tobin substi tute for the strike weapon. "Employers who enter into negotia dent of the Des Moines Teamsters issue of the Des Moines Federationist), "may find themselves matching wits with union representatives who know as much, if not more, about their business af fairs than they do themselves. craft guns' set up to shoot down

That expert statisticians do to support their demands for NOT provide the answer to the needs of the drivers is revealed by Tobin himself, who complains bitterly in the same issue of his ber shortage to lay off thousands ers' rights. If statistics are magazine of "unpatriotic employof drivers and to violate their enough, then workers would not ers (who are) attempting to inunion agreements. The ranks of require picket lines or strikes, or crease their personal profits the Teamsters Union are becom- even unions, to enforce their de through the rubber emergency," and of "certain employers (who) Unfortunately, employers and are conspiring to take advantage of the no-strike policy of the

> What the hell, Tobin! Call out your statisticians! Prove to the

The Russian Phase Of The Pacific War

By A. ROLAND

Japanese Strategy In the Pacific

Military strategy at its best pursues longterm aims and wide objectives. The immediate tactics in a campaign are most useful when they fit into and further the main aims of the high command. Japanese success in the drive southwards has focussed most attention on the southwest Pacific. The American navy is busily engaged in protecting the far-flung island bases leading to Australia. It is following a plan that envisages the building-up of large forces on the Australian mainland, later to be used for an offensive against the Japanese from that far-off corner of the world. Once such plans are set in motion, they require prolonged effort and the maintenance of fairly strict schedules for keeping open the routes and for supplying the growing armies.

The Japanese could have wished nothing better than this. It should be noted that American strategy has been a forced strategy, not based, so to speak, on its own volition, but on that of the enemy. The Japanese pursue a vast plan, a plan that was worked out in its essentials years ago in the Tanaka memorial to the Japanese Emperor. The exact steps as first outlined in the Tanaka document had to be modified somewhat in the light of later developments. One of the first campaigns outlined by this general, was to be directed against the Soviet Union in order to enable Japanese imperialism to seize the Maritime Provinces of Siberia and as much more of the Soviet Far East as could be swallowed up. The few brushes between Japanese troops and the Red Army, intended as feelers to test the strength and fighting qualities of that army, convinced the Japanese militarists that they had a tougher nut to crack than they had bargained for. They were forced to pursue a waiting game, waiting for the inevitable war in Europe which would weaken the opponent. Meantime the Japanese went to the next imperialist order of business, expansion southwards.

Japanese Await Best Moment

But the Japanese merely postponed the part of their agenda dealing with the Russian question. They will seize on what they consider the best moment to launch their long-planned all-out attack against the Soviet Union. And that is why the Japanese must be greatly pleased by the present alignment of forces in the Pacific. If the United States can be deeply involved away off at the antipodes, in an effort from which it cannot easily extricate itself if it desires later to do so, then the Japanese will have succeeded in keeping their two major opponents separated the whole width of the earth. It can then fight a defensive struggle against the United States in the south, holding on to what it has already grabbed, and turn its major attention to Vladivostok and Siberia. The opportunity for such a blow will hardly present itself in quite the same way again, and the Japanese have been clever enough to miss no opportunity.

There are certainly signs that the Japanese may launch an overwhelming attack in the direction of Siberia to be timed with Hitler's drive against the Soviet Union this spring. The main Japanese fleet has hardly been involved in the Pacific war thus far. It is held close to its bases at home. This is not merely for purposes of de fense, but it fits also into the anti-Soviet strategy. It cuts off, too, the possibility for Vladivostok to secure aid from the United States. The armies in Manchuria, built up over a period of years precisely for the move to the north, have not been weakened by many withdrawals for the southward expansion. Some seasoned troops were withdrawn from China, but if anything the Manchurian garrisons have been strengthened by new forces. The Chinese, who have the best means for getting information, report the presence in Manchuria of thirty-three divisions, or well over half a million men,

Then there is the air force. The United Nations now claim air superiority in the fight to the south. The Japanese do not seem to be pressing forward towards Australia with anything like the strength of their attacks on Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. Evidently the air strength is being held in reserve for the task that is more important immediately. Here again the Chinese report insistently that the Japanese air force is being concentrated up north, and there is no reason to doubt their word at all.

Dangerous Period for the USSR

The recent attacks in China, particularly in Shansi and Suiyuan, are very much like similar attacks made just before the Nipponese made their move southwards. These attacks were then intended to destroy Chinese concentrations and bases of resistance, so that it would take a long time for the Chinese to rebuild and regroup their forces. The Japanese then proceeded to withdraw a large section of their army from China. The present scale of attacks have a similar purpose, to weaken the Chinese sufficiently, destroying as much of their material as possible, in order to withdraw Japanese troops for another

Most significantly of all, the press reports an article on the possibility of the co-ordinated attack by Germany and Japan, in the Goering newspaper, the Essen National Zeitung. The paper quotes the Mikado's premier as saying: 'The Red shadow of the Soviet Union looms threateningly over our frontier. It must be forced back." The similarity of the change in ambassador to the USSR with the sending of Kurusu to the United States before the attack on Pearl Harbor has been widely commented on in the world press and with justice.

The Soviet Union will thus be faced with the most trying and dangerous period of the war. The attack on two fronts which threatened for so long and was so much dreaded, is becoming rapidly inevitable. No doubt Goering mentions it in his paper to encourage the German soldiers with the idea that now not only their own might will be pitted against the Soviet Union but also that of the Japanese who have shown such phenomenal success in the Pacific.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People.

VOL. VI-No. 14

Saturday, April 4, 1942

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

> Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle pricers: 8 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Stalinist Drive **Against Militants**

To understand the lynch campaign which the Communist Party is trying to incite against the militants in the labor movement, it is necessary only to read the account on Page 2 of this paper of some of the most recent activities of the Stalinists in the trade unions.

As Harry Bridges made clear in his recent speech before the San Francisco ClO Council, the Stalinists are bent on completely perverting the character and function of the trade union movement. From independent organizations created to protect and improve the conditions of the workers, the Stalinists want to change the unions into servile adjuncts of the war machine and instruments for speeding up the workers. This is their way of repaying the American capitalists for the trickle of aid which the government has sent the

The steps which the Stalinists have taken in recent weeks are only the beginning; they intend to go much further along this path. At the CIO conference in Washington last week, PM reports that "Bridges is said to have deprecated agitation over current anti-labor legislation and labor's economic status, demanding greater emphasis on production." The Stalinists are not satisfied with the step-by-step capitulations of the official union bureaucracy, which is still trying to make a pretence of protecting the workers' conditions; they want to speed up the process and get the union bureaucrats to go all-out all-at-once in the drive to shackle the unions.

But before the Stalinists can completely achieve these objectives, they have to dispose of the opposition to their treacherous policies.

They seek to beat down and silence the trade union militants who want to preserve the unions' gains and rights. Undoubtedly this is what the Stalinist union leaders had in mind when they publicly and demonstratively endorsed the dismissal of four union stewards at the Cleveland Alcoa plant for resisting an admittedly provocative company move to speed up the workers in violation of the agreement with the union. They hope that actions of this nature will serve as object lessons to terrorize other union militants into not fighting back against boss attacks.

Above all, the Stalinists want to suppress the Trotskyists who, although small in numbers, are the most articulate and consistent opponents of Stalinist betrayals. The Communist Party cannot answer the argument of the Trotskyists. That is why it slanders and tries to frame up and incite mob violence against them.

Read what Bridges had to say about those who oppose his program to speed up the workers and 'appease" the bosses:

"Those who don't see this are not Americans - are not loyal. We've got to finger them. We can't take time to explain — we've got to go around 'em or roll over 'em."

In these three sentences, reduced to its most reactionary essentials, is contained the formula of the Stalinists for framing up their opponents. Here is the basis for their charges that the Trotskyists

are "Hitler's agents." Here is the Stalinist directive to act as "finger men" against the union militants. Don't try to "explain" what the Trotskyists stand for and why the Stalinists want them out of the way - "roll over 'em", slander them, denounce them, suppress them, slug them, frame them up, prevent the distribution of their paper, as the Stalinists tried to do in Los Angeles and in this way, incidentally, prove how "American" and "loyal" the Stalinists are.

Workers! Trade unionists! Fight back against the Stalinist slanders, provocations, frame-ups. The Stalinist lynch campaign is part of the drive to destroy your unions and rights. Fight back against it if you want your unions to express your interests and not those of the bosses.

They Feel At Home With The Fascists

Standard Oil's conspiracy with the German I. G. Farbenindustrie shows that the leading representatives of American monopoly capitalism find nothing in the ideology of Nazism which prevents them from "doing business with Hitler." They feel perfectly at home around the international conference tables with the heads of the German trusts. The I. G. Farben representatives may be Nazis, and the Standard Oil men may be "democrats", but their way of life, their outlook, their objectives - profits and monopoly - are identical. They are class brothers.

It is no secret that the American capitalists have always found much to admire in Hitler's "internal" regime, above all, the "efficiency" with which the Nazi terror machine smashed the German workers' organizations and delivered the masses over to capitalist super-exploitation.

Today, American monopoly capitalism is having some "unpleasantness" with German capitalism. That, however, has nothing to do with ideologies. That is a business conflict. And business competitors — when they find it mutually advantageous - can always come to some "understanding", just as Standard Oil came to an "understanding" with I. G. Farben.

Standard's conspiracy proves conclusively that American big business is not interested in a war for democracy against fascism. It is interested in one thing only — profits. Tomorrow, when they think it essential to their interests, the American capitalists will tear a leaf from the notebook of German capitalism and try to establish a fascist dictatorship in America.

Yet, it is these same monopolists who run and control the war production program and whose spokesmen dominate the government war agencies. It is Standard Oil and the other big corporations which hold the economic and political power in this country today.

If Roosevelt were really concerned about waging a war to destroy fascism, his first move would be to destroy the power of America's own monopoly capitalists. He would remove the war production program from their control. He would take over the basic war industries and place them under the control and management of the workers, the only class able to run industry in the interests of the masses, and the class most truly concerned with defending democracy and destroy-

The administration's treatment of Standard Oil, however, shows where Roosevelt really stands.

An ordinary espionage agent caught with the stolen plan of a new automatic pencil would be shot or given long-term imprisonment. Standard Oil gave the Nazis indispensable industrial processes worth whole armies. Standard's "patriotism" helped cripple American war production. But the Standard officials were let off with a total of \$50,000 in fines — a drop in the ocean to them — and the government withdrew its charges. Standard, and all the rest of the monopolies, are free to continue business as usual. Their agents continue to exercise just as much power as ever on the War Production Board and other govern-

In fact, immediately after the exposure of Standard's conspiracy, the administration hastened to assure the monopolies that anti-trust prosecutions which "interfered with war production" would be postponed until after the war.

The Standard case has shown the compatibility of the American monopolists with fascism, and the real nature of their "patriotism." But Assistant Attorney-General Arnold took pains to represent the Standard officials as merely "commercially simple-minded" but fundamentally "patriotic." His basic conclusion? "We need Standard

But we don't need the "Standard Oil" that Arnold refers to. We don't need the Rockefellers and Teagles, all of whose efforts are in the realm of financial and political manipulation to gain greater corporate wealth and profits. Without these monopolists, all that is essential to production would still remain — the plants, facilities, raw materials, technical skills, and, above all, the

When the workers have control of the basic industries and can operate them in the interests of the American masses, then they will be able and eager to fight a genuine war for democracy that will never be halted until fascism and all its works are wiped from the face of the earth.

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Bethlehem Steel To Get \$50,000,000 Plant Gift

Far Cry From \$100,000,000 Proposed To Aid 165,000 Small Business Firms

Last week Congress made a business men who are being small firms in this country. shoved to the wall by the big monopolies which have hogged most of the war orders. The Senate Banking Committee on March 25 approved an administrationsponsored measure to establish a \$100,000,000 fund to aid those to secure war orders.

the government's Defense Plant Corporation secretely signed recently with the Bethlehem Steel Co., as revealed on March 19 by the New York newspaper, P.M.

That contract, whose terms

tens of thousands of small- about for aiding some 165,000

How Bethlehem got this conon the extent of the government's at government expense. concern about aiding small business and curbing the monopolies.

For a year and a half before profits in plant expansion.

CONTRACT DENOUNCED BY GOV'T COUNSEL

Even when the steel shortage became very acute, they held out | inal contract was "modified" when originally disclosed to the against expansion in order to get that is, even worse features were Truman Senate Investigating free plants from the government, added — and was finally signed Committee were called "outrage Last summer. Bethlehem began last month — on the quiet — by ous," would provide Bethlehem to negotiate with the government the Defense Plant Corporation, A Steel with a government-financed for a \$50,000,000 plant to be built \$50,000,000 contract with Bethle-

property. The contract, as drawn up by Bethlehem and approved by the OPM, gave the company a 35 year lease. The government could cancel this lease only if producgesture in the direction of the half of the total sum being talked tion during a five year period averaged less than 25 per cent capacity, and then the government had the right only to move tract is a sufficient commentary the plant off Bethlehem's land

The counsel for the Defense Plant Corporation reported that "either Bethlehem did not desire the war, the big steel corpora- to expand and has therefore subsmall-business men lucky enough | tions issued reports, cited approv- | mitted a proposal which it beingly by Roosevelt himself, that lieved would be rejected, or Beth-Just how "generous" this pro- they already had ample capacity lehem was using the defense proposal actually is can be judged to meet the steel needs in time gram to obtain at government exby comparing it with the single of war. The steel barons did not pense, modern facilities which plant expansion contract which wish to invest their monumental would have a material value in peace-time operations."

Signing of this contract was held up a few weeks because of the repercussions of the Truman committee disclosures. The orig plant costing \$50,000,000 — one on its Sparrows Point, Maryland, hem Steel — and it's all gravy!

India Congress Heads Reject Cripps' Plan

(Continued from page 1) effect a colony of Britain.

MASSES WOULD HAVE NO VOICE IN CONSTITUTION

The plan provided for the election of only part of the "constitution-making body" - but even that part was not to be elected by the masses. The masses were asked to die in the war in return ity as they do in Ireland. for a constitution to be drawn up by a body which the masses were not to be permitted to elect.

One part of this body was to be elected by the members of the lower houses of the legislatures of the 11 provinces of British India - who themselves are elected under limited suffrage - on the basis of proportional representation for various political groupings. The constitution-making body would thus be twice removed from the control of the voters and in this case the voters would by no means be synonymous with the masses.

(In this country United States Senators used to be elected by state legislatures: the experience always was that such Senators were far to the right of Senators elected directly, because they control of the voters).

STRONG REPRESENTATION FOR BRITISH PARTNERS

The second part of the constitution-making body was to be chosen to represent the Indian native states, which constitute from one-fourth to one-third of the total population of India. These representatives would not be elected — they would be appointed by the despotic native princes and feudal lords. The exploited peasant masses were to have nothing at all to say about who would represent these states. It can be taken for granted that this large section of the population would not have had its interests represented when the constitution was drawn up.

These native princes are the agents and partners of British imperialism; they remain in power only by the support of Britain and realize that without the aid of British bayonets they would be overthrown by the peasant masses. As recently as March 22, a New York Times story from Bombay reported that 'The Princes fear that if the British-Indian link is broken, they will ultimately be swept

Thus, in the person of the princes' representatives and the representatives of reactionary minor ities in some of the provinces, Britain was providing for itself a strong minority of British agents in the constitution-making

THE CLUB OF A WALK-OUT THREAT

This was not all. Cripps' plan contained an even stronger club to force the writing of a constitution which would be acceptable to British capitalist interests. And that was the provision that any of the provinces or native states which did not like the constitution after it was drawn up, could withdraw from the "new Indian Union" and be granted by Britain the "same full status as the Indian Union."

What would this mean? That Britain's most direct agents in the constitution-making body would be able to walk out of it if they didn't get what they wanted for themselves and for Brit-

The result would have been in

effect the establishment of a This treaty would "make pronumber of Indian Ulsters. Such visions in accordance with una set-up would have placed Brit- dertakings given by His Majes ain in the position where it could ty's Government for the protec maintain its rule in an India tion of racial and religious midivided into two or more parts; norities." That is, Britain init could play one part against tended to use its tools who repthe other, and use the British- resent only a minority of a miinspired demands of a minority nority - the Moslem League, to thwart the will of the major- for example, does not represent

by Britain's agents in the constitution-making body would have strengthened their influence there tition of India, Britain would all out of proportion to their size, and undoubtedly would have re- veto power. In this way British sulted in the adoption of various imperialism expected to preserve provisions - subservience to its power to exploit India and to British capital, maintenance of guarantee the continuance of the feudal regimes, etc. - which whole present economic structure British imperialism and the most of India. reactionary elements in India would want adopted.

ALSO DEMANDED SIGNING OF TREATY

Reactionary and anti-democratic as these features of the plan name they are expected to fight were, British imperialism was and die. They will not be satisnot willing to stake its future fied with any fraudulent plan on the effectiveness of them whether it comes from Cripps or alone. It further demanded the Nehru — they will not be satiswere further removed from the "signing of a treaty which shall fied with anything short of the be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the con- stituent assembly, directly electstitution-making body."

the majority of the Moslems The mere threat of such a step to maintain its hold on India.

Through this treaty and through the provisions permitting the parhave retained what amounted to The Indian masses are concern-

ed with solving their own social economic and political problems - not with winning the war for a Britain which refuses to grant them the democracy in whose ed by universal suffrage.

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IS EVERYBODY HAPPY?

The Soviet Union and Its Democratic Allies By M. STEIN

New Attitude Toward the Red Army

The racket of cashing in on somebody else's success is a very old one. Ask any prize-fighter who had the good fortune of rising to the top. He is an unknown, trading punches with his opponents, pretty lonely while on his upward climb. While he's receiving and meting out punishment, there are very few friends rooting for him in his corner. But as soon as he is proclaimed champion, he is surrounded by all sorts of would-be friends, seeking to bask in his reflected glory. The people who had no use for him, and had no hope that he would ever amount to anything, are the very ones who become the loudest in their praise, the ones who say, "I always knew he had it in him."

The Red Army won the championship in the early winter on the longest continuous battle line in the history of warfare. Against great odds the Red Army maintained this championship throughout the winter. Not only did this heroic Red Army fight a powerful, we'll-equipped enemy, but it was at the same time burdened with an incompetent General Staff, which was responsible for the early and very costly defeats. This army was furthermore weakened by the policies of a corrupt regime in the country - a regime which systematically exterminated all the leaders and inspirers of the revolution who made the Red Army possible.

The Red Army's climb to championship has been a very difficult one indeed. Many were the times when it looked down-and-out, and many were the people who said it would never come up before the count of ten.

Everybody Seems Happy

How different everything is today. Everybody is a friend of the Red Army! Everybody seems happy at its successes!

Is the Conservative Mr. Churchill happy? Why, certainly. He above all! This most class conscious opponent of the Soviet Union is not averse to cashing in on the successes of the Red Army. When the storm broke loose over the inglorious defeat of Singapore, Mr. Churchill was quick to run for cover under the victorious banner of the Red Army. His words drip with honey in the message on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Red Army, which he says "is being celebrated today after eight months of a campaign which has reflected the greatest glory on its officers and men and has enshrined its deeds in history for all time." (New York Times, Feb. 24).

And our own President does not merely join in the sentiments of the Prime Minister at the successes of the Red Army - his is a greater mission. His is the heavier responsibility. He speaks not in his own name alone, not in the name of his country alone: ". . . ail the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly." (New York Times,

Yes, how much water has run over the dam since "its assembly." We even remember the circumstances under which it occurred. We recall the dispatch of American troops in Siberia to cooperate with the Japanese troops and to coordinate their efforts with the British troops in Archangel and the French in Odessa — all there to help in "its first assembly."

Mr. Roosevelt has the distinction of setting polititime had the distinction of setting the fashion for ladies' hairdos and dresses. It is no wonder then that the President's apparent enthusiasm for the Red Army should become the fashion. The Red Army is hailed in the most unexpected circles. Everybody seems to be for the champ; businessmen, industrialists, army dignitaries, clergymen, and even the socalled labor leaders, the Greens and the Woils.

Stalinist Business Booms

There is, of course, in addition, that gang which has been exploiting the prestige of the Soviet Union as a profession. For them business is truly booming. All the pent-houses which since the Stalin-Hitler Pact had shut their door in the face of the Stalinists, have been opened wider than ever. What a chance to rub shoulders with the elite of society and to drink toasts of oldest champagne to the Red Army soldiers and the guerrilla fighters who know of no limits in their sacrifices. After a few toasts intermingled, naturally, with toasts for the President or the Prime Minister or Sir Stafford Cripps, one gets perhaps the feeling of being a participant on the far flung Russian battle field.

In the midst of all the cheers for the Red Army, there are nevertheless some people who insist on bringing in a sour note. We refer here to none others than the Soviet Ambassadors in Washington and London. Mr. Litvinov made a speech at the Hotel Astor in New York on March 16; Mr. Maisky echoed his remarks in London on March 25th. The two ambassadors keep on harping on one thing, they ask for a diversion, such as the opening of a western front, and they want this done immediately. Says Maisky, "The decisive moment is 1942."

A reading of the text of these two speeches gives one the feeling that the Ambassadors are polemicising against somebody. And then it occurs to us that Mr. Churchill after his Washington conference with the President was the one who spoke about decisive action in 1943 and not 1942. Would it be too impertinent to inquire what is the difference between the two dates? Is it merely a difference in temperament, a tendency towards restlessness and impatience on the part of the Soviet representatives? Or is it purely a question of strategy?

But here too our memory serves us in good stead. We remember an address made by Wendell Willkie, unofficial ambassador of Wall Street, who sometimes speaks out what others dare not say. Said Wilikie at the Conference of Mayors (New York Times, January 14): "But democracy cannot be saved by the armies of Russia. Democracy must be saved by the

democracies themselves." So you see, while they are cheering for the champ and their hearts, yes and their purses, are with the new contender for the championship, they are now in the process of training. This is the meaning of the different dates. The question of who is to defeat Germany is to them the decisive one.