

# THE MULITANT PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# FDR, CONGRESS SEEK TO FREEZE WAGES **MAYDAYMANIFESTO** Carlson Runs For Mayor On A Fighting Socialist Program Voluntary' **Of The Socialist Workers Party Opposes** The

Fellow-Workers of the United States-

Today is May Day, which for more than half a century has been the international holiday of the working class, dedicated to the world brotherhood of those who toil. It is the third May Day of World War II; and within the last three decades this is the seventh May Day which comes amid universal slaughter. That is the kind of world the capitalist rulers have made - a world in which the flower of each generation is sent to its death. May Day is dedicated to ending that world and bringing a world of peace and plenty - the world of socialism.

In the name of "national unity," the traditional May Day parades and demonstrations have been called off this year by the trade union, "socialist" and Stalinist leaders. Leaders of the same stripe did the same thing in all countries during the last war. But despite them, when the time ripened, May Day was celebrated as never before in history. Remember the trail blazed by Karl Liebknecht on May Day 1916, by Lenin and Trotsky on May Day 1917! That is our tradition. The only tradition those who call off May Day parades can point to is that of May Day 1940 in France, when the labor leaders observed "national unity" with Petain and Weygand - and a few days later the "democratic" generals and capitalists capitulated to Hitler, whom they now are serving.

No pressure will ever force us to agree to "national unity" with America's Sixty Families. For we are dedicated to destroying fascism and its capitalist roots, while Rockefellers' Standard Oil, duPonts' chemical trust and General Motors, General Electric and all the other international monopolies, are still doing business with the Nazis. Through their joint patent pool American Big Business plans at the end of the war to pay royalties to the Nazi capitalists on profits from munitions - yet Big Business and its political agents pretend to be fighting a war to destroy Nazism! They are no more fighting against fascism than a fight between two rangsters is a war against gangsterism.

At the Riom Trial, three years too late for the French workers to do anything about it, Daladier revealed how "the cartels did everything to hamstring the spreading out of defense orders among manufacturers throughout the country." Exactly the same thing is now happening here, with 36 big corporations corralling over 80 per cent of war orders, much of which they will not deliver for years to come, while tens of thousands of small plants are closing their doors. This is the kind of "national defense" provided by Big Business and the government subservient to it. When the Senate committee investigating war production heard the facts about the Nazi-Standard Oil tieup, Senator Truman cried out that Big Business was guilty of nothing less than "Treason!" True enough. But this is merely the latest impotent whimper from the Truman Committee. The committee's reports for over two years have proved beyond refutation that war production is at the mercy of a gang of billionaire profiteers and their government agents. But neither the Truman Committee nor anybody else in the government or its supporters proposes any serious solution. At bottom the Truman Committee exposés are nothing but the complaints of small-time bosses who would like to change places with the big profiteers. The working people of this country cannot leave their fate in the hands of any of these business and government groups. The workers must have their own program with which to conduct a serious struggle against fascism abroad and at home. As the first steps along this line we propose:

The rights of free speech, free press and free assembly must be vigilantly guarded above all in wartime. The most dangerous frameup engineered by the government so far against the labor movement is the Smith "Gag Act" conviction in Minneapolis of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO; symbolically enough they were senienced the day war was declared. Many local unions are rallying to aid the appeal to the higher courts, but if this is not to stand as a dangerous precedent the whole labor movement must be united behind the defendants:

Free the class war prisoners and defend the **Bill of Rights!** 

All these tasks which the workers must undertake are political tasks. Indeed, even the most elementary problems facing the workers now are political problems: wages and hours of labor and working conditions are no longer a matter between a group of workers and an individual boss but, as soon as the issue is raised, finds the government intervening through the War Production Board, War Labor Board, etc. Wage-freezing is a major political threat. "Pure and simple" trade unionism is hopelessly outdated. Moreover the major issues, including food-prices and food-rationing, require a united struggle of all the toilers, including tens of millions of workers as yet unorganized and the poor whitecollar workers, against Big Business and its political agents. It is obvious that these tasks require more than the trade

Organize an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions! An end to company unionism on the political field!

Far from telling the American workers to preoccupy themselves merely with so-called "American" problems, we are the first to call upon the workers here to fulfill their duties to the international working class.

Every worker loyal to his class must support the struggle of the Soviet Union against the Nazi invasion. Stalin's crimes should not blind the workers to the fact that the Soviet Union remains a Workers' State, which expropriated the Russian capitalists, nationalized the industries and the land, and thereby laid down the foundations for socialism. It is true that the USSR is today like a great trade union fallen into the hands of a degenerate bureaucracy; but that does not lessen for a moment our duty to defend the union Likewise every worker must stand with the colonial and semi-colonial countries against their oppressors. China, oppressed for so long by all the imperialist powers, is now fighting a war of national liberation against Japan. We support China in spite of Chiang Kai-Shek's autocratic rule. India is now struggling for national independence against the British yoke. We support India. The struggles of the colonial peoples undermine imperialism and speed the socialist victory of the working class in the "mother" countries. Therefore:

## Boss-O. K.'d **Politicians**

ST. PAUL, Minn. -When the voters of St. Paul go to the polls on April 28, the only candidate who will offer them a Socialist solution to the terrible problems which capitalism has placed before them is Grace Holmes Carlson, mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Carlson received a

substantial vote in the March 10 primary election, increasing the Trotskyist vote over that obtained in the 1940 mayoralty race by 89 per cent. This increase in Trotskyist support was obtained despite a 40 per cent DECREASE in the total vote cast. The primary vote this

year was the lightest in the city's history, only 23 per cent of the registered voters going to the polls. A heavier vote is anticipated in

the April 28 final elections, and the Socialist Workers Party is asking the voters of St. Paul to write in the name of Grace Carlson for mayor. Comrade Carlson is well known in St. Paul as a militant socialist, especially since last autumn when as one of the Socialist Workers Party and CIO defendants in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, she was sentenced to 16 month in jail for advocating her ideas in violation of the



## **GRACE CARLSON, WHO SAYS:**

"Because I have opposed imperialist war and because I have put forth the socialist solution to the problems of war and fascism, I and 17 others have been convicted by the federal government.

"But I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism. This is the only road to a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all.

"I stand for international socialism; I am firmly pledged to the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

# 'Voluntary' **Pay Slashes**

**Union Leaders Show Readiness to Make** Another Surrender

A Congressional-Administration squeeze play to compel acceptance by organized labor of a "voluntary" wage-freezing agreement was put into motion this week.

The employers and their political agents are hotly pursuing the advantage they recently won through the week-end and holiday pay concession wrested from the trade union leaders.

Their main strategy of attack on wage standards is following the tested routine used in sending the union leaders into retreat on the right to strike, holiday pay, speedup, etc.

For weeks, Congress and the capitalist press have been paving the way for imposition of a wage-freezing agreement by threats of an all-out anti-labor legislative drive, scheduled to begin April 20.

As was to be expected, at the last moment President Roosevelt summoned his "war labor cabinet" of top AFL and CIO leaders and told them that if they would agree to "voluntary" wagefreezing through War Labor Board action, he would "persuade" Congress to withhold compulsory wage "stabilization" by

Then Roosevelt called in Senator Connally, sponsor of the Senate wage-freezing measure, and other Congressional leaders, an secured from them postponement of the anti-labor bills debate pending his message next Monday covering recommendations for wages, prices and profits. So far as wages are concerned,

Wipe out the Nazi-Big Business patent pool --expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control!

Smash the anti-labor campaign of America's Sixty Families - down with all anti-union legislation! Defend the right to strike! Demand a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living!

The bosses' anti-labor campaign is being waged not only in civilian life but also in the army. By lying stories about fabulous wages in the war industries, blaming the workers for the lag in war production, brass-hat lectures about labor's "unwillingness to sacrifice," etc., the draftees are being incited against their fellow-workers. Unfortunately this vile campaign is meeting with some success, particularly because the trade unions have failed to take up the cudgels on behalf of the needs of the worker-soldiers. The unions must come forward for union wages for draftees, their right to hold meetings, their right to a trial by a jury of their fellows instead of by brass-hats, a moratorium on all debts owed by draftees, training camps financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, including special camps to train worker-officers. Therefore we raise the slogan:

For democratic rights for the men in the armed forces! For military training camps under control of the trade unions!

Labor with a white skin cannot be free so long as labor with a black skin is branded. The great contribution of the Negro workers to the growth of unionism - in Ford's and other auto plants, in the packing house plants, in the coal mines, in steel, etc. - is but the beginning of what can be done if the workers of all races firmly unite. That is why every white and Negro worker must speak out:

Against all forms of Jim Crowism! Equal rights for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries!

Defend the Soviet Union against all the imperialist powers and against the Stalinist bureaucracy! Defend China and struggle for the complete independence of India and all the colonial peoples!

We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and the colonial countries on the one hand, and all the imperialist powers ("democratic" or fascist) on the other. The fact that the Soviet Union and China, which are fighting a progressive war, are allied to imperialist powers does not make the war of those imperialist powers a progressive one. When the 13 American colonies were fighting for their independence, they made an alliance with the feudal monarchy of France; but that did not make Louis XVI's fight against Britain a progressive one. To support Britain would be to betray the Indian people. To give political support to the government of America's Sixty Families would be to betray the real struggle against fascism.

Hitler's chief weapon today is not his army but the fear of the German masses that a defeat for Germany would repeat 1918: another and even worse Versailles Treaty, the post-war blockade and starving of Germany, the French occupation of the Ruhr, the economic strangulation of Germany, Anglo-French threats against the German labor movement if it moved toward socialism. In 1933 British and American Big Business, infinitely preferring Hitler to a workers' revolution in Germany, hailed Hitler as Germany's savior, gave him financial assistance to "stabilize" Germany; today their "democratic" threats of post-war "reconstruction" of Germany are even more valuable to Hitler than their previous financial aid. Day in day out Goebbels raises before the German people the spectre of the consequences of defeat. Nor would that situation change if the Anglo-American bloc now adopted a different set of war aims on paper. No matter what the "democratic" imperialists may say, what they have in store for a defeated Germany (not for Big Eusiness Nazi patent-partners but for the masses) is well understood by the German people. Hence if the "democratic" imperialists remain at the helm, Hitler has little fear of being overthrown so long as German defeat is not certain. That means that the war will last many more years — and its outcome not at all certain - if Britain and the United States remain under capitalist rule.

On the other hand, the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States would spell the end of Hitler. Such a government would provide a progressive way out for the German workers whom it would offer full equality in the Socialist United States of Europe and

notorious Smith "Gag Act." She is now out on bail, pending ap-

Carlson is the only candidate in the campaign who has a program to protect the interests of the workers in the war, and to show (Continued on page 6)

peal.

the World. With the threat of another Versailles removed, and with the aid of an American revolutionary army, the German workers would soon put an end to Hitler and to the capitalist class which backed him.

Remember that, just before the "democrat" Hindenburg handed over the power to the Nazis, there were 13 million German workers who voted socialist and communist - that is the real tradition of the German masses!

A Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States would go all-out on behalf of its sister Soviet Union instead of secretly planning and hoping, as the "democratic' capitalists are, that the Soviet Union and Germany will mutually exhaust and leave each other helpless.

A Workers' and Farmers' Government would not only treat China as a real equal, but by its direct backing of independence for India would help transform the 400 millions of India from sullen slaves into a powerful ally against fascism and imperialism. These are the reasons why we appeal to the American workers:

For the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, which will put an end to fascism at home and abroad!

Our program is the only way out of this capitalist madhouse of unending slaughter. Our program is not a new one. It is the program of Lenin and Trotsky. They showed the way. Their program of peace through socialism worked in Russia and hastened the end of the first World War as the fearful capitalist classes dropped their own quarrels to band together against the first Workers' State. Against the whole capitalist world and the Russian White Guards subsidized by Winston Churchill, the young Soviet republic fought and survived but, exhausted and isolated, fell under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

A workers' revolution in Western Europe would have revived the Soviets in Russia and led to world socialism, but the treacherous policies of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists undermined the revolutionary possibilities. This terrible war is the price that the working class is paying for the failure to spread the socialist revolution from the Soviet Union to the rest of Europe. And a third, and a fourth war, and others until civilization is destroyed, will follow unless the workers put an end to capitalism.

We can,' we must take the road out.

Against imperialist war! For peace through international socialism! For the international solidarity of all workers! For the Socialist United States of the World!

> NATIONAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY negotiations to impose govern-

"The union of the workers will make the peace of the world. Workers of the world, unite!"

(Continued on page 2)

## MARITIME COMMISSION **AIMS BLOW AT UNIONS**

The shipowners-government | ment dictatorship over the marioffensive against the maritime time unions.

unions made a giant sweep for-A UNITED FRONT

ward this week when the Mari-Faced with an imminent threat time Commission chartered the | to their very existence, all the entire American merchant fleet seafaring unions except the NMU. and announced that it will hence- | last week jointly mobilized their forth "direct every phase of its forces in Washington to oppose operation." the operators' union-busting drive.

No longer will the unions be United against the shipownerable to negotiate with the ship- government-Stalinist proposals owners directly; instead they will are the Atlantic Gulf District of face the situation where any de- the Seafarers International Unfense of their union conditions ion, AFL, and West Coast affiliate, will be denounced as a fight a- the Sailors Union of the Pacific, gainst the government. The ship- AFL; the Marine Cooks & Stewowners will now nominally tunc- | ards, CIO; Marine Firemen, Oiltion as managing-agents for the ers, Watertenders & Wipers, ingovernment, although they will dependent; and the Masters, continue to receive the profits Mates & pilots, AFL.

from the operations of their fleets. By turning the authority for the loading and dispatching of their ships over to the Maritime Commission, the operators have passed to the government their end of a running fight with the maritime unions.

This is the latest in the series | merchant fleets. of union-busting maneuvers carried out by the shipowners and government for the past year. Since will be able to crack down when-Pearl Harbor, this campaign has ever it feels the time to be ripe. been intensified, flaring into the The move to rob the unions of open last week when Washington | their hiring halls and contracts threatened the union seamen with | is not being pressed at the mothe loss of their union hiring halls, abrogation of their union | ton indicate that the government contracts and even mass induction | is contemplating doing away with into the Navy, where they would be deprived of all union rights nuses, and plans to disregard the and conditions.

set of proposals put forth both by the Maritime Commission and by the Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union, CIO, who have been conducting secret

When their prompt and united opposition had apparently blocked the NMU-Maritime Commission proposals, the union representatives left Washington. The government then hastily announced the move it had been holding in reserve, the taking over of the

This will place the unions in a position where the government ment, but reports from Washingovertime pay and "excessive" bounion contract provisions in de-

These threats were embodied in termining labor conditions.

THE SQUEEZE PLAY

A triple squeeze play was used against the maritime unions: (1) Secretary of the Navy Knox (Continued on page 2)

## THE MILITANT

- APRIL 25, 1942

# Laval Returns To Power They Still Do Business With Hitler To Help The German War General Electric-Nazi **DuPont Firm Agreed To Pay**

## Hitler Wants French Manpower, Resources in charge of German defense And Fleet to Aid In His Spring Offensive

The most important political event since Petain took office in June 1940 has just taken place in France. Pierre Lavals tions for the spring offensive. The return to power marks the beginning of a new period.

For several months all the world has known that "collaboration' was dead. Petain's interview with Goering at Saint Florentin last December accomplished nothing. In France people | will now support their efforts on were saying: "Petain is the bar- the home industrial front." When one sees -Berlin's desperate atometer of German successes." The German difficulties in the USSR | tempts to find manual labor in gave Petain, within very narrow all the European countries, this which is forced upon the country. limits, a certain freedom of ac- explanation is very plausible. tion. This freedom was reduced, But, of course, Laval's return has other objectives. One of the in the final analysis, to doing nothing, that is, to taking an atti- first consequences was the intertude of waiting instead of activ- ruption of the Riom trial, which ely working for the building of had been revealing the weakness the regime of misery and oppressof Vichy and which Hitler him- ion.

Hitler's "new order." But if the German difficulties self was forced to denounce in permitted Petain to play for time, his March 15 speech. Military considerations seem to have played they at the same time drove Hitan equally important part. The ler to increase his demands. From possibility of a second front in these two contradicting tendencies western Europe, while the Gercome the present crisis and the man armies are occupied in the return of Laval. East, visibly disturbs Berlin.

Hitler's position, although still strong, has become noticeably ag- EFFECT ON MILITARY gravated during the winter. Under OPERATIONS existing conditions, how can he We learn on April 4, that is,

help but draw upon France's rebefore Laval's return, that the sources, her fleet, her colonies? Vichy government had received The future forces him to try a "special permission" to increase grab for all this. When and at its air force and now had approxwhat tempo? That depends above imately 1,000 modern planes. Unall, on military events. But develder the guise of "defense" these opment in this direction is inevitplanes could be used against Engable.

#### FRENCH WORKERS IN GERMANY

TWO-

Information from Vichy and Berlin is confused and incomplete. It does seem, however, that the immediate cause of the crisis was the problem of the employ- Field Marshal von Rundstaedt, ment of French workers in Germany. The Petain government is reported to have refused to carry out a virtual mobilization of man power that would have placed 500,000 of France's best mechanics in German war industries. A German spokesman is reported to have mentioned, as the main consequence of the change: "German soldiers are fighting for civilizaissue. tion on the Eastern front; their comrades, the French workers,

along the whole Atlantic coast. The two events are not unrelated. Laval's return to power is clear-

ly one of the German prepara-German demands will become

now on, Laval will undertake to purge and reinforce Petain's wavering administrative apparatus, and to increase the police terror But the wave of violence which greeted the arryial of Laval carbide used as a cutting edge inshows another consequence, a new acceleration of the opposition to

> **ATTENTION!** ST. PAUL VOTERS

See Page 6 of this issue for the election platform of the St. Paul Socialist Workers Party; the text of Albert Goldman's radio speech of April 24 on behalf of Grace Carlson; a short biography of the Trotskyist candidate; and DIREC-TIONS FOR VOTING.

land: after the raids on industrial suburbs of Paris last month,

French government had done (Continued from page 1) nothing to punish Britain for the bombings. Finally, simultaneously front in the USSR, had been put to grant no further wage increas-

considerably higher.\*

ANNOUNCEMENT The MAY DAY article from Argentina arrived too late for publication in this issue. It will appear in the next

# **NAZIS ORDER EXECUTION OF HENRICUS SNEEVLIET**

Henricus Sneevliet, Dutch la-1 half of the Dutch colonial peoples bor leader and former Trotsky- in the East Indies and elsewhere | tary" wage freezing is indicated ious Smith "Siave Labor" Bill. ist, has been given the death sentence on charges of sabotage by a Nazi tribunal in Amsterthe Nazi occupation. dam, an April 15 Associated

**Tieup Bared In Senate** General Electric, one of the biggest of the 56 monopolies about one and a half times the which hold 80 per cent of the government's war contracts, has more precise and will take shape blocked the production of tungsten carbide in conformity with testified. according to military needs. From its patent-pooling agreement with the Krupp steel interests of Germany. The facts about GE's cartel arrangement with the Nazi steel

been sold to this country by Ger-

trust were disclosed last week to 2

John H. Lewin, special assistant with war production." to the Attorney General. Hardest metal known, tungsten stead of steel would increase production in some instances as

much as five times. carbide and heid down its produc-Although last week scheduled to face anti-trust prosecution for the tungsten carbide situation, GE man production. was able to secure a last-minute postponement of the trial through the intervention of the War and although it cost only \$25 a pound Navy Departments. to produce. Tungsten carbide had

WAR AND NAVY DEPTS. HALT ANTI-TRUST SUIT In compliance with a telegram

from Under-Secretary of War Patterson and Under-Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Federal Judge price had not been below \$200. Philip Forman of Trenton, N. J., A further agreement was made postponed the hearing. The telebetween Krupp and GE in 1936. gram asked postponement for at Krupp agreed not to sell to the least a month because: American market, and GE not to

"We desire time to study the export tungsten carbide. Through question of whether trial at this | its patent monopoly, GE was then time of U.S. vs. General Electric able to fix the price at a "figure

value of a pound of gold," Lewin

"Documentary evidence shows," as December 1939, after the outbreak of the present war, the the Senate Patent Committee by Co. and others would interfere American companies were making plans to extend their agreement with Krupp's until afte 1950." According to the documentary He further disclosed that GE's evidence secured by the anti-trust division of the Department of agreement to retarn patents to Justice, GE maintained prohibi- Krupp still "remains unimtive monopoly prices on tungsten | paired."

tion in this country to an amount equal to five per cent of the Ger- antly defended his company a- pany. gainst charges of "unpat-iotism"

Carboloy, a GE subsidiary, fixed by pointing out that relations the price as high as \$453 a lb., with Krupp were broken off "right after Pearl Harbor." The Firth-Sterling Steel Co. in also agreed not to sell tetracene many, prior to the original 1928 patent license restrictions te agreement between GE and charge the War Department \$8750 Krupp, for \$48 a pound. In the 12 for a tungsten carbide order years, after 1928, however, the which it could have filled for \$3375 at a "reasonable profit." When GE was indicted a number of months ago for anti-trust law violations, its tungsten car-

bide prices dropped from \$205 to \$48 a pound. Exposure of GE adds another to the long list of "patriotic" Amerthe countries of the British Emican trusts which have found it to their advantage to "do business

with Hitler" while also profiting trie. from the "war for democracy." DISCOURAGED U.S. But these "patriots" run the

Nazi Royalties On U. S. Government's Ammunition

Remington Arms, subsidiary of E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co., was revealed last week to have a patent pooling agree-

ities.

ler.'

ment with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie which includes an Lewin also revealed, "that as late arrangement for paying royalties to the Nazi interests on ammunition sold the American government even in time of war.

As explained to the Senate Pat preserving a monopoly. ent Committee by Allen Dobey special assistant to the Attorne While disclosing the facts, Do-General. Remington obtained th bey at the same time tried to patents on tetracene from I. G. over up Remington by asserting Farbenindustrie, on condition that its cartel deal with the Nazis that it would not license the U.S. had not "operated to date as a government to make this best type serious impediment to the Allied A GE executive, Dr. Zay Jei- of ammunition priming without war effort." That is only because fries, testified later and indian- the consent of the German comboth American and British mili-

tary officials did not try to exploit the use of tetracene, although it Acting in accord with the demands of the British Imperial is acknowledged to be the best Chemicals company, which was and cheapest and most accessible in on the cartel deal. Remington ammunition priming. No explanation has been given

1940 was forced because of GE's to the British government, and for this failure, and it may be would not permit its sale to the assumed that the attitude of Rem-British Purchasing Commission ington and Imperial Chemicals seeking lend-lease aid. served to discourage interest in tetracene on the part of Ameri-

Seventeen months after the war began, A. J. Greene, patent attor ney for Remington, warned the A. C. Spark Plug Co., which want ed to use tetracene for machine gun priming, that it could not be used in "ammunition sold to the British Government or to any of

pire" because of Remington's agreement with I.G. Farbenindus-

USE OF TETRACENE Like the more than 100 other interests hold probably the largest



(Continued from page 1) first tried to intimidate the maritime workers with the threat of of the "black-ball" system used leaflets are being shipped from inducting the merchant seamen into the Navy. (2.) After the unions had geared themselves to fight this threat, the NMU-Maritime Commission proposals weré sprung on them (3.) The unions then concentrated their fire against these proposals, but were slugged from behind by the government chartering of the mer chant fleet, a strategic move paving the way for putting into effect the NMU-Maritime Commission plans.

militants off their ships. instrument for whittling away union contract conditions and wages. Since this pro-employer board would be empowered to re-

and pave the way for the return a flood of literature. Scurrilous by the shipowners to keep union port to port and distributed throughout the waterfronts. The The proposed government pol- Daily Worker in New York and icy-making board, intended osten- the *PeoplesVoice* in San Francisco sibly for speeding shipments to are publishing huge smears athe war fronts, in reality is an gainst Lundeberg and the other maritime union leaders.

can and British military author-

Thus, the duPont "Dynasty of

Death" which is making hundreds

of millions profits annually on the

sale of munitions to America and

England was at the same time

playing both ends against the mid-

dle and "doing business with Hit-

Through their chemical trust

and control of such corporations

as General Motors, the duPont

share of the government war or-

ders. They have a score of dol-

## ANTI-WRECKERS UNITY

Fortunately, this Stalinist efvoke any contract, it is easy to see how it could destroy overtime pay, bonuses, etc.

## STALINISTS GIVE

fort to soften up the unions through division and dissension has not succeeded. The SUP members have rallied to the defense of their union in a united fashion,

## the New York Herald-Tribune, ident is expected to issue a dies unless the cost of living goes

The workers have already taken a 25 per cent indirect wage cut through war-induced price rises. Under Rooseveit's policy, the workers would be unable to ent.' get an adjustment for reductions

already suffered. In addition, Roosevelt does not say how much higher prices would have to go before he would agree to pay increases, or whether the increases, if finally granted, would com-

openly threatened anti-strike leg-

CIO officials attack the idea of forty hour week and overtime From 1933 to 1936, as a mem- legislative wage-freezing and pay. Roosevelt urged the union

with the return of Laval, General April 21, revealed that "the Pres- to just one thing: "voluntary" former commander of the Ukraine rective to the War Labor Board

pensate for the total rise in the ers agreed to surrender the right cost of living.

ANOTHER RETREAT

That the top union leaders are islation and the House of Repreprepared to accept such "volun- sentatives had passed the notor-After his release, he was elec- by the CIO open letter sent April No sooner was the no-strike ted to the Dutch parliament and 21 to Roosevelt, in which Philip agreement made than the clamor

continued in that post up until Murray and seven other leading arose for legislation against the Press dispatch from London ber of the Revolutionary Social- contend that wage increases are leaders to give up the establishreports. Eight of his comrades ist Workers Party of Holland, he needed to counteract "spiralling ed week-end and holiday double were also sentenced to execution. belonged to the International living costs," but end up assur- time pay. Donald Nelson, WPB The 60-year old Dutch revolu- Left Opposition (Trotskyist). He ing Roosevelt that they are ready head, issued an ultimatum to labor to accept this demand withagreed to this.

## the German-controlled newpapers said that they regretted that the French government had done FDR-Congress Aim To Freeze Wages-ported to be wage-freezing by the | It must be stated and stated

WLB, the CIO statement adds up bluntly, that the workers are in agreement to wage-freezing.

RECORD OF SURRENDER

snare and a delusion. Last December, the union lead-

April 14, indicates that the AFL ers are permitted to retreat once leaders are going to go down the line with Roosevelt's "stabilization" plan, and reveals its true character by stating that it period if the workers do not de-"is not a 'freezing' plan which cisively reject the surrender poli-

would make injustices perman- cy of the union leaders. The workers must reclaim the rights which the union officials have al-

The idea that another retreat ready tossed away, including the by the union leaders, this time on right to strike, and make a lastthe wage-freezing issue, will halt ditch militant stand against givthe present anti-labor drive, is a | ing away any more of the gains they have won over so many de-

cades of bitter struggie. to strike after Roosevelt had STANDARD'S PALS

"After all, Standard Oil is an international company," was the answer W. S. Farish. president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, gave to the Truman Committee in justification of his company's mutually-advantageous conspiracy with

war program. For instance, Philip Reed, chairman of GE's board danger of another shellacking at | holds the key WPB post of head the hands of the bosses - and

Weekly News Service, dated pay envelope - if the union lead- | dustry operations. deal was made in the interest of the War Production Board.

known cartel arrangements beof the Bureau of Industry tween Nazi capitalists and Amer-The latest issue of the AFL right where it hurts most, the Branches in the Division of In- ican corporations, Remington's lar-a-year agents connected with

tionist was a well-known trade separated from the Fourth Inter- to leave the "matters of wages unionist, a pioneer communist nationalist movement because of and other labor-management is- in 30 days. The union leaders and one of the founders of the organizational and political dif- sues" up to "voluntary collective Communist International. He left ferences and affiliated with the bargaining, to the War Labor the Third International in the London Bureau, an international Board and other existing agenmiddle of the 1920's in opposition association of centrist parties. cies and processes. to the policies of the Stalin bu-The brief report of Sneevliet's Since the most decisive wage reaucracy.

fate at the hands of the Gestapo issues have been or are being In 1919 he was jailed by the is the first news of him to be dumped into the lap of the WLB, Dutch imperialist government for received here since the Nazi in- and since the Administration's his revolutionary activity on be- vasion of Holland. program is authoritatively re-

> Two pamphlets that deal concretely with present day problems of the war, the struggle against Hitlerism, trade union democracy, etc., in a language so simple and clear every worker will immediately grasp and understand the fundamental Marxist ideas. . .

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Now the same squeeze play is being pulled again - and again the union leaders are preparing to retreat.

No argument of the union leaders can justify their course. The wage figures released this week by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are truly shocking, even to those who are familiar with the depressed wage levels in this country.

Over 25 per cent of the industrial workers in this country earned less than \$20 a week in December, 1941. Over 50 per cent earned less than \$30 a week. At the same time, corporation profits have soared to a new high. And what Congress is contemplating doing about the astronomical war profits was shown this week, when the House abandoned its own feeble profits-limitation proposal and adopted the Senate measure which leaves the fixing of profits up to the government contracting agencies the very agencies which have been permitting these monumental profits all along.

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numbers professionally presented, a magician,

they lived during the trial.

sistant Attorney General Arnold, over 100 known similar cartel arrangements between American corporations and Nazi.

the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie.

There are, according to As-

The roll-call of these "internationalists" - "internationalists," that is, when it comes to lining their own pockets - includes the following giant trusts and corporations, whose dollar-a-year men right now run the war program. E. I. duPont deNemours Co.,

munitions and chemical trust; General Motors, largest manufacturing corporation in the world; Ford Motor Co.; Anaconda Copper: Atlantic Refining Co.; International Tele-The government's exposure

phone and Telegraph; U. S. Rubber; Armour and Co.; General Electric; Sun Oil Co.; Continental Can; Libby, Mc-Neil and Libby: International Business 'Machines: International Harvester; etc., etc. of the Standard Oil conspiracy has done nothing to halt the basic cartel arrangement with the German capitalists. The other "internationalist" corporations have not even been

prosecuted by the government. 2......

Admission 50c

(1.) A government manning board which would supplant the' union hiring halls and control all hiring. (2.) A pool of all seamen

Both these plans provide for:

STALINIST-MARITIME

**COMMISSION PLAN** 

port of the Stalinist NMU leaders. for the government to draw upon In line with the Stalinist policy in selecting crews. (3.) A governof sacrificing the workers to the ment policy-making board having authority to wipe out all union bosses in return for the crumbs contracts that could be interpret. of aid the government may send ed as "interfering with the war the Soviet Union, the NMU leaders have been conducting a twoeffort."

pronged attack on the maritime These proposals were aimed at workers. eliminating vital union safe-

guards won over many years of The first prong of this attack struggle. The pooling of marine is being aimed directly at the personnel and their hiring maritime unions with the purpose through a government hall would of disrupting them and softening make the unions easy prey to them up for the shipowners' finks and paid agents of the ship- blows. The Stalinists have launch-

gains.

owners. ed a campaign of slander and vili-Union hiring halls, as now constituted, require a man to be in the SUP and other maritime ungood standing with his local be- ions. fore he can receive a job aboard

ship. The union hiring hall is thus the instrument for maintaining a maritime union shop. The substitution of the government hiring halls would be, in effect,

> CHICAGO MASS MEETING MAY DAY CELEBRATION Speaker:

Albert Goldman Attorney for the Socialist

Workers Party

Sunday, May 3 2:30 P. M.

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impose a speedup as "sabotage." The Communist Party is follow-

BOSSES "LABOR" COVER The other unions - the NMU It is certain that the government and shipowners would not have dared come forward at this time with their union-wrecking proposals if they had not received "labor" support, that is, the sup-

excepted - have resisted the Stalinist virus. And now a united front of the unions is being effected against the union-busting p'ans advanced by the Stalinista NMU leaders.

These plans, calling for fink halls and the abrogation of contracts, were never presented openly, even to the NMU rank and file. They were circulated secretly among the government maritime officials and were to be sprung upon the unions when the softening-up process in the un-

ions had made enough headway. The proposals leaked out, how-

ever, and the Pilot, official organ of the NMU, was compelled to openly endorse them.

Thus tipped off, the other unfication against the leadership of ions were able to unite in time and force the shelving, at least

for the time being, of the ship-Through their stooges planted in the SUP, the Stalinists slapped owner-government-Stalinist plan. Now, however, the Maritime Coma civil suit two months ago amission's action in taking over gainst Harry Lundeberg, SUP Secthe merchant fleet has given the retary-Treasurer. The Stalinist agents in the SUP filed a fan- shipowners a springboard from which to launch future attacks. tastic suit charging Lundeberg

with misappropriating the sum of NO ROOM FOR RETREAT

\$150,000. The SUP leaders were The government officials and also aucused of "sabotaging the bosses will probably attempt to war effort" by not cooperating disarm and lull the unions with more fully with the shipowners the promise that the merchant and their Stalinist allies in shackling the unions and robbing fleet chartering "is all." But it maritime labor of its rights and is certain that the anti-union offensive will be renewed

There is no room left for the The Stalinist agents within the unions to retreat further and still SUP, Tom Hampson and maintain their organizations in-"Blackie" Prevost, together with tact. They must make a detertwo fish cannery workers whom mined stand or go under. they induced to initiate the suit,

were expelled from their unions The battle must be carried to for this treachery. Hampson and the waterfront and the rank and Prevost then launched a paper file seamen must be mobilized and called the Rank and File West | readied for a militant strugggle. Coast Sailors in imitation of the | It must be a united struggle of name of the official SUP organ, all the maritime unions against the shipowners, their political the West Coast Sailors. The line, tone and phrases of tools and their Stalinist agents

this "rank and file" sheet show in the unions. the obvious imprint of the Communist Party. Its sole function is to vilify the SUP leaders. It calls the union's resistance to the shipowners' chiseling on contracts 'subversive activities" and denounces the workers' opposition to government Czars attempting to



## APRIL 25, 1942-

THE MILITANT

# Workers Democracy Or Vigilante Assault--

# WHICH SHALL PREVAIL?

Under the above title, the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party has issued the following leaflet, addressed to the members of the CIO and asking for their support against recent hoodlum attacks carried out under the direction and leadership of the Communist Party:

On March 31st. Tuesday night at 8 o'clock a squad of twenty men emerged from the CIO Building and proceeded to beat two young men and man-handle two girls who were distributing two working class newspapers, the MILITANT and LABOR AC-TION, near the CIO Building. One of the men was beaten severe y and the girls were injured when their papers were seized by the hoodlums.

Who were these twenty men? Who was behind their cowardly attack?

Every member of the CIO must demand an honest answer to these questions. If democracy and workers rights are not simply empty phrases, but rights the CIO workers fought and shed their blood to obtain and preserve, then you will reject any proposal to hush up this outrage. If workers democracy, achieved by years of painstaking struggle, is to be defended ser- , attack because he then opposed America's ious y and conscientiously, then the perpetrators of this outrageous attack must be called to account.

We charge that the attack on March 31st. near he CIO Building, was engineered by the Communist Party clique, who are abusing their positions of responsibility and trust within the CIO.

national and international lynch campaign of the Stalinists against all those in the labor movement who dare to oppose their policy of completely subjugating the unions to Wall Street, Standard Oil and the industrial profiteers. The same profiteers who mouth phrases of patriotism while crippling war production in order to stuff their bulging purses with new "sky's the limit" profits. The Stalinists are not only anxious to appease these profiteers who are conducting an anti-union drive, but have become the foremost leaders of a "witch hunt" against all militants who want to preserve union gains and union rights.

We charge that this lynch campaign of slander, terror and physical assault against workers who oppose the Stalinist policy, is a betrayal of the principles and ideals upon which the CIO was built. If the unions are to continue to express the interests of the workers and not the interests of the bosses, the Stalinist lynch campaign must be stopped!

#### EXAMINE THE FACTS:

Harry Bridges, who a short time ago was the object of a concerted reactionary entrance into the war, is today singing a different tune. A tune very similar to the one chorused by the anti-labor reactionaries who attacked him.

Here's what Bridges had to say in a recent speech to the San Francisco Industrial Union Council about those who oppose his new program to speed up the workers in'

We charge that this attack is part of a violation of all union contracts and "appease" the bosses' anti-labor drive: "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." This is the keynote of the Stalinist drive. Don't try to "explain" to those who stand for the preservation of militant industrial unionism. . . "Roll over 'em," slander them, slug them, frame them!

> Here's how they carried out this line in Los Angeles. On Friday, March 27th, at the Los Angeles CIO Industrial Union Council meeting, the Communist Party clique, utilizing their machine control over a section of the CIO, and in the absence of many delegates, pushed through a resolution "to take steps to discourage distribution of the MILITANT, LABOR ACTION and the SOCIALIST CALL in front of the CIO Bui'ding." The motion also repeated the infamous slander that these publications are fascist and subversive.

On the following Monday, March 30th, the PEOPLES WORLD, which was naturally excluded from the 'ban', carried a smear article on the front page attempting to whip up a hysterical frenzy against the above named publications and lauding the action which the Stalinist machine foisted on the CIO Council.

The day after this article appeared the vicious attack of twenty goons against peaceful distributors of the workers press took place. Here you have the GPU-directed Stalinist machine operating with clockwork precision. First, push through a resolution in the CIO Council to give a union covering to the despicable plans; second, a smear campaign in the Stalinist press; third, cowardly vigilante assault.

The Tuesday attack was a feeler. Can they get away with it? How much can they rely upon terrorizing all those who dare to protest? These are the questions troubling the Stalinist gangsters.

WORKERS OF THE CIO! Many of you do not agree with our program. But all we ask is the freedom to present that program. Isn't this the essence of democracy? But the Stalinist will say: "These people are fascists, agents of the Nazis-you must treat them as such."

How easy it will become to frame-up any worker who disagrees with the Stalinist poicy if they are allowed to get away with this contemptible slander. Call a worker a Nazi agent-and he's finished; this is the democracy practiced by the Stalinists. How about proof? Where is the evidence which permits them to commit an official body of the CIO to such a charge? Some of the editors of the MILITANT were arrested by the Federal government last summer and brought to trial in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" Case. They were charged with being working class revolutionists, fo lowers of the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsby, supporters of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, advocates of a revolutinary defense of the Soviet Union today, organizers of antifascist defense guards. But the Federal government,

who had made an exhaustive investigation of the activities and ideas of the defendants, never dared to so much as intimate that these defendants could be linked with any foreign government or any fascist movement.

But the Communist Party doesn't bother about well established facts; they operate on the assumption that a lie repeated often and loud enough will be accepted as the truth.

The CIO movement throughout the United States was aroused to indignant protest at the indictment and frame-up of twenty-eight CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders in Minneapolis. They rallied to the support of the defendants because it was crystal c ear that these men were being prosecuted for their progressive union activity and socialist ideas.

When you consider the fact that five CIO Industrial Union Councils, including the San Francisco Council, went on record supporting the Minneapolis defense and donated money for legai expenses, doesn't the charge of the Stalinist clique, unsupported by any facts, reveal itself as a vicious lie? When you note that three locals of the

International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, including Bridge's own Local 1-10 in San Francisco, also supported the Minneapolis defendants and donated over a hundred dollars to the defense, doesn't the Stalinist charge appear as a flimsy fabrication?

When twe've locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in every part of the country, including a Los Angelés Local, go

**Communist Party Betrays** 

Indian People's Struggle

on record supporting the defendants on the labor defense issue, and donate hundreds of dellars for the work of defense, doesn't the Stalinist charge appear as so much malicious s'ander?

- THREE

Twenty-seven locals of the Auto Workers in seventeen cities; four locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, including Local 9 in Los Ange'es; three locals of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America: the Marine Firemen in San Pedro and New York and scores of other unions have taken the same action. They have donated money, rendered moral support and passed resolutions of protest.

In the face of this, how does the Stalinist clique dare to hurl the charge of Nazi agents at these defendants who at this very moment are being prosecued as militant unionists and socialists? Don't the Stalinists have enough respect for the CIO to back up their charges with evidence-facts -proof?

Facts-evidence-proof-a fair hearing -this is not their method. Theirs is the method of malicious slanders and cowardly assaults!

WORKERS OF THE CIO! It is in your power to call a halt to the Stalinist jynch campaign. Your action can stop the frameup machine. The CIO is the banner bearer of democratic rights for the workers. Don't allow anyone to change that.

> SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, Los Angeles Local.

# War Intensifies Women's Role Transfer from Kitchen Sinks to Factories Will Develop

## Militant Armies of Class-Conscious Proletarian Women

World War II is tearing women away from the kitchen P sink to put them side by side with men and each other before "tradition weighs like an Alp machines in factories. Unimportant as that may seem to the single individual, it is actually an historic move with a train had meaning in every-day life, of consequences which will finally create a new world - new this one does in relation to the not in the sense of ceasing sim- D-

ply to be "a man's world", but ism needs the way a man needs cancer. in the sense of ceasing to be a No one can belittle the bitter

class world. A female section of the working class had to conduct to establish class, large and more greatly ex- and maintain decent conditions ot molded by a desperate capitalism, | pale before the one now facing | her man's clothes where he can | half for overtime! so sick that everything it does the proletarian women. For they hastens its own end. For the enter the fight as victims not only creation of a class-conscious fem- of class but also of sex exploitaale section of the working class tion. means the release of a new fight- ROLE OF THE WOMAN

ing force which decrepit capital- Karl Marx once remarked that

upon the mind of the present." problem of women.

Woman has always been looked upon by man as a domestic ani-

mal. She cleans the house, cooks struggle that the male working the food, bears the children find them without bother. She worries about the cost of living and scrimps to pay the rent. And no matter how "enlightened" a

male may consider himself nor how demonstratively some femof the upper classes have

on to the job and get as good and the home were not enough to a pay envelope as possible. keep a woman occupied every But the responsibilities of her waking moment, her function as home continue. Dust gathers and an incubator of the population food spoils. The kids run the is consciously brought to the fore.

streets and their clothes wear out. This is especially noticeable Food prices rise, commodities are again in those "have-not" coun-If ever a philosophic statement rationed, and she has to learn to tries where the capitalists have keep the family nourished on sub- resorted to fascism and done stitute products. The old division | everything they can to implant of labor under which the man brought home the pay and the among the masses.

#### "REWARDS"

Both Mussolini and Hitler have ent one is wiped out. They have paid almost embarrassing atten-

EXPERIENCES OF THE

a half million women into its war rewards in medals, money and industry. This took place in ac- | furniture (Mussolini offered : cordance with a log set of hed for each set of twins) of capital

Makes No Objection to Cripps' Plan; Aims fact, so embarrassing to its Their Chief Criticism at Indian Leaders

### By FELIX MORROW

Lenin and the Communist International of the pre-Stalina belligerant war psychology ist years considered it the elementary duty of every class-con-their independence from Britain's scious worker to demand complete independence for all the colonial countries and to fight irreconcilably against the impe- India to gain her independence? rialist powers which refused to grant the colonies their independence.

Apply these principles to the Communist Party's attitude toward India's fight for independence, and the Stalinists stand unmasked as enemies of colonial independence.

To prove this, we need only analyze the record of the tion to the business of increas-Stalinist Daily Worker on India during the last month. When Cripps went to India, it 9-

was the duty of every political the interpretation that they were tendency in the labor movement more in the interest of Britain to state its attitude toward the than of India." Does the Daily negotiations. We did: we solid-Worker share that interpreta The Stalinists know very tion? Heaven forbid! arized ourselves with the Indian that India's independence would mean the end of British capitalpeople's demand for immediate, On the contrary, the editorial ism, which has as its very founcomplete and unconditional indegoes on to say: "It is to be recdation-stone its blood-sucking expendence. ognized, however, that the Brit-But the Stalinists instead p oitation of the great masses of ish plan was a big step in ad-India. That is precisely why vance of anything proposed by Churchill & Co. will never agree Britain in the past." Which is like praising a gangster for to India's independence. In prehaving stopped murdering his tending that the agreement of British imperialism is a possibilivictims and contenting himself ty, the Stalinists are deliberately with merely robbing and beatdispatches. With their tremconcealing the real character of ing them. imperialism. While saying not a word in criticism of Churchill-Cripps, and THE REAL ANTI-FASCISTS he British imperialists, the Sta-By these services to British im inist editorial complains that perialism the Stalinists\*are strik-'among the Indian leaders," ing treacherous blows against the the most important event of the there were some who did not show a statesmanlike approach to really defeat fascism and save only forces in the world that can year, the crisis over India, the Stalinists "reported" through the possibility of using the Britthe Soviet Union. Those forces the eyes of the pro-British ish proposals as a starting point for successful negotiations. .." It class and the co onial peoples, are the international working United Press!

whitewash of British imperial-

ERSATZ INDEPENDENCE The Stalinist editorial does not tell the Indian people to wrest

unwilling hands. How, then, is "The United States, China, India and Britain together" should "work out a settlement."

But it is very clear that Britain will not agree to a settlement on the basis of India's independence. In reality, then, the Stalinists are advising India to yield to a rotten compromise acceptable to Churchill and the British Tories.

woman devoted herself ful-time to the task of worrying through on its meager size is gone. Now the woman alone is expected to paid careful attention to the job whose noses she wipes and diap do both jobs, send her man off of assuring themselves a new ploited than the male, is being living. But that struggle will ers she washes - and lays ou to war and give up time-and-a- crop of soldiers when the pres-

## GERMAN WOMEN Germany has drawn nine and ma es of their countries, offering

| / |  | "emancipat                          |
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|   |  | lead pipes                          |

## "emancipated" themselves, the woman in a working class home is the one responsible for the endless, monotonous and dirty dom-

ism which paid no attention to to the families that could run Hitler's theory about the province | up the biggest total in the shortof women, based upon the three- est time. K concept of the late Kaiser: German women, beside diligent-"Kueche (kitchen), Kinder (chil- ly manufacturing ammunition

groes.

ing the productivity of the fe-

dren), Kirche (church)." These and small arms for the conduct EFFECT OF THE WAR millions of German proletarian of the war, and squeezing their women are now allowed one day's housework into the one-day-in-Now come a war and a draft vacation in every fourteen "to do | fourteen which the Labor Ministo pull the male head of the working-class house out of his job and their laundry." The hours they try allows them, in the first 8 don't spend at work are consum- months of 1940 delivered 1,131,300 into the army; and the wife goes into the factory to earn enough ed, according to the complaints babies to the Reich.

to keep herself and the kids alive of Dr. Robert Ley, head of the The not-so-distant future will till he returns (if he does). What Labor Ministry, in running "like show how much the women of the ever the job she gets, the routine a swarm of hungry bees" from working class will put up with store to store to get provisions. and how well they have learned is new, the physical strain great, and the pay not so good. Her first But capitalism and its politi- the lessons of class struggle from tendency is to work herself to a cians are relentless. As if the their men. We have our bets on frazzle in the shop trying to hold double responsibility of the job them.

# Attacks On Negro Troops **Continue Uninterrupted**

## Mob Assaults Two Soldiers In Tuskegee; Jim Crow Conditions In Camps Revealed

Further details about the violent attack on Negro soldiers in Tuskegee, Alabama, early this month are contained in the April 18 issue of The People's Voice.

Despite the censorship imposed by the Army, the Voice was able to print the following information:

"The incident started in Tuskegee, when a white policeman attempted to arrest a Negro stu-> dent pilot attached to the avia- | the mobsters the error of their tion training base at Tuskegee ways, came to the rescue. The Institute. A Negro M. P. on the soldier is reported as being still scene, having seen no reason for alive at press time.

"Because of a veil of secrecy the arrest attempt, took the student flier into custody, led him shrouding the affair, perfect acto a car for return to the air- curacy cannot be assured. . . port. Then things started pop-

"Whatever the final, true story will be, this confict of cracker ideology and fair play proves one "First there was a shot, which

struck the soldier in the back. er permit himself to be pushed It didn't kill him, and whites sudaround." denly converging on the scene

decided to finish the job. They contains a report made by two comrades. rushed the M. P. and his charge, Brooklyn Negro soldiers about tied them to a tree, prepared them for an old-fashioned lynching bee. Everything was made ready

for a burning at a stake, true Indian fashion.

telephoned the air base, and be- had been stationed: lead pipes, wooden c'ubs, any- treated. Once severa' Negroes, have set up many different com- sals were not presented until the thing formidable enough to show desperately ill, were taken to in- mittees to "investigate."

solidarized themselves with Cripps, the emissary of British imperialism, The Daily Worker during the negotiations "covered" them by publishing only the pro-British United Press endous resources the Stalinists have their own "Inter-Continent News" cable service thruout the world; they spend millions on their own cables. But

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE Like the big bourgeois press blame for the breaking off of the Stalinists concealed the facts about the Churchill-Cripps plan. of India rather than on the de-They did not publish a word about the fact that the plan meant continuation of the autoon India. cratic rule of the "native" prin-

firmary, forced to wait from 7 A. M. to 1 P. M. before admitted ces, Buitain's puppets, over 93 HOW BRITAIN RULES milion Indians; that Britain What that death-grip is like,

for medical attention. "Latrines in camp are clearly would maintain armies in the the Sta inists know very well. To marked 'For whites' and 'For "native" states and thus keep the dominate India the British must Colored.' Negroes dare not use rest of India under continued and do rule by means of shoottoilets 'For white.' Whites often subjection; that the plan's elcc- ing down workers (the Amrituse toilets set aside for Netion-method of choosing the delegates to the post-war "constitu- Meerut Trial), imprisonment of the class-collaboration of the pro-

"In War Department theatre tion-making body" was one which tens of thousands, the terrible war socialists with their "own" in camp on post, Negroes assign- prevents 75 per cent of the popu- lathi beatings of workers, etc., capitalist governments during ed to small section, dare not sit lation from voting. All this the etc. anywhere else. One Negro sol- Daily Worker concealed from its To this day the Communist

dier presumed to forget his readers. 'place.' Large numbers of M. Ps.

On Friday, April 10, the Indian the eve of Cripps' arrival in Inwere ordered out to make sure National Congress rejected the dia, the British in neighboring Negroes understood whites would British "offer," and that afternoon and the next morning the Trotskyists - the Ceylon Sociaibrook no 'smartness.' . . .

world press carried the news and ist Party - but also the Stalin-"Officers treat soldiers 'like dogs.' A Lieutenant Ross often editorial comment on it. But not ist organization, the "United Sothreatens Negroes with physical the Daily Worker. It remained cialist Party" of Ceylon. The thing — the Negro will no long- violence. Said Ross once made silent — Saturday, Sunday, Mon- Daily Worker suppressed this "democratic."

move to hit Negro soldier, was day - waiting for the line to be immediate y surrounded by angry handed down. Finally on Tues-The same issue of the paper threatening group of soldier's day, April 14, came a short editorial in the Daily Worker.

It is things like these — all AN ANTI-INDIA LINE the provocative Jim Crow condi- part of the deliberate and studied Every worker who still has any tions in southern training camps. policy of discrimination and seg-illusions about the Communist These two so diers, connected regation ordered by administra- Party should read that editorial

with the 823rd Engineers, reveal- tion officials in Washington - carefully. ed the following about MacDill which are the real cause of the so The editorial does not attack "But someone in Tuskegee had Field, Tampa, Florida, where they called "race riots" and "brawls" the Churchil-Cripps plan. Its which have taken the lives of at complaint is that the plan should fore the fires could be started "Negroes taken sick can't get least 5 Negro soldiers in the last have been offered earlier! It truckloads of soldiers, armed with into infirmary until all whites are month, and which the brass-hats says: "The fact that the propo-

last minute made them subject to

pretends to blame this on Gandh, whose future depends on destroybut the net effect is to place the ing fascism — and its capitalist roots. The road to wiping out negotiations upon the shoulders fascism is Lenin's road — the establishment of Workers' and termination of the British impe- Farmers' Governments in the rialists never to relax their grip United States and Britain, which would free the colonial peoples, and join hands with the German masses to crush fascism forever. But Lenin's road is not that of Stalin and his agents. Stalin's road is class-collaboration with

the "democratic" capitalists. That sar Massacre) frameups (th, road is as alien to Lenin's as was the first imperialist war.

Fortunately the great mass-Party is outlawed in India. On es of India did not listen to the Stalinists. They said "No!" to Cripps so loud that even the Ceylon outlawed not only the spineless Nehrus had to repeat it. And that "No!" struck the greatest blow so far during this war against imperialist oppression, both fascist and



### FOUR-

# How Spirit Of May Day Flamed In World War I

#### By ART PREIS

How happy the rulers of every capitalist nation would be on this First of May, if they could only forget the imperishable Today As Then, Working-Class Internationalism Will history of the May Days during World War I.

Darkest reaction holds sway throughout the world, just as Emerge Triumphant Over Suppressions And Betrayals in the first years of the last war. Working-class internationalism, the very essence of Mayo Day, seems almost dead.

But it still lives. It lives on in the concentration camps and dungeons and bloody terror of the fascist countries. The tiny flame is kept alive by courageous handfuls, who like their predecessors of the last war, must meet furtively behind closed doors.

It survives among the Trotskyist adherents of Leninism in the bourgeois-democratic countries, despite the efforts of the bosses and the Social-Democratic and Stalinist betrayers to stifle all manifestations of internationalism and class struggle on this May Day.

It lives in the hearts of the heroic Red Army soldiers and the Soviet workers and peasants, whose revolution was saved from imperialist intervention in 1918-20 by a policy of revolutionary internationalism.

May Day cannot be destroyed. | streets of the capitols of Europe, were silent and deserted. In for-That is the lesson of May Day in mer years they had rung to the World War I. And that is why the capitalists of the world will tread of marching millions not rejoice nor sleep easy at threatening the war-lords if they man victories. His message of night on this May 1, 1942.

#### The First Blow

ed, would the spirit of socialist internationalism rise again. The very day, the very hour But in those darkest hours, can be named when the blow was there remained enduring and unstruck which first began to undermine the ruing class war compromising revolutionists-a machines in the last war. It was few dozen perhaps in all Europe May Day, 1916, in Berlin, Ger- - who kept up the battle. A Lenin, a Trotsky, a Rosa Luxemmany.

Less than two years before, in burg, a Liebknecht. August 1914, German imperial-'The Main Enemy' ism seemed to have swept every-

man Social-Democratic Party, of Italy's entrance into the war, call it.

which up to the last moment had been pledged to oppose the war, joined with the capitalists and Junkers in voting support for the

On August 3, 1914, three days after the Kaiser's declaration of war on Russia, the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag met and voted 78 to 14 to support the war

appropriations. And on the next day, when the majority declaration was read amidst wild cheers in the Reichstag, even the 14 who opposed the declaration maintained party discipline and remained si ent.

Among the 14 was Karl Liebknecht, the most outspoken and courageous of the German socialist anti-war fighters. He, too, was momentarily unable to stand up to the wave of chauvinism that spread throughout the Second (Socialist) International parties of the warring countries. When May Day 1915 came, the

when Karl Liebknecht heard that | For on May Day, 1917, there their rulers, across the border in attempt at an offensive in the the German workers:

"The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjunction with the struggle of the proletarians of other countries against their own imperialists ...

"Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imficulty. perialism, against the war, for a socialist peace!

"The main enemy is in your own country!"

On May Day, 1916, Liebknecht poke to a huge May Day demonstration in Berlin. Almost aone he had summoned the masses, in the very midst of the Gershould go through with their the year before had been heard Thousands turned out to voice known war plans. Never, it seemtheir protest at the war. And the fear-stricken German ruling class brushing aside Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity, rushed him

to jail. But there was no stopping the rising anti-war tide. It affected all the armies, even the victori.

ous armies of the Kaiser. One well panned offensive in 1917

might have won the war for Gerthing before it. The great Ger- In early 1915, on the occasion many; but the generals dared not

The Italian socialists had voted to were monster strike demonstra- France, the French workers were latter part of April 1917, the before not a single worker had continue opposition to the war, tions throughout Germany, im- also rising in struggle against French troops returning to the folded up like a wet rag, and he penned his immortal appeal to mediately inspired by an order their capitalist war leaders. reducing the civilian bread ra- On May 1, 1917, for the first Peace!" and "They have been astions. In Berlin alone, 250,000 time since the war began, Paris sassinating us!"

workers were out. 125,000 witnessed a great demonstration. munitions workers throughout Ten thousand workers attended a the country joined the strike; mass meeting called by a "Com-10,000 downed too's in the chief mittee for the Renewal of International Relations." The strikes naval yards at Kiel. that broke out on May Day, be-

## Mutiny, 1917

And just outside the Kiel har- end of the month almost all Pabor, a powerful section of the ris was out. Of the scenes in the German navy mutinied. The streets and public cafes, Michael This mutiny was finally suppressed, but with the greatest dif-

crews of several ships in Squad- Corday wrote in The Paris Front: ron IV, anchored at Schillig "It made one think of the French Road, set up committees and Revolution, with the populace Men have refused to go into the seized control of their vessels. overrunning the royal palaces .... "

'Viva la Revolution!'

down of discipline in the army The disaffection on the home are multip ying . . . At Dorman And while the German work- front was linked to that on the ers were demonstrating against battle front. After a disastrous a few days ago soldiers cried out:

## **Demand End to Indian Serfdom**



Shown above are a number of Indian peasants marching to a session of the Indian National Congress and carrying their own banner with the slogan, "Away with serfdom."

'Viva la Revolution! Down with

the war!'" But the greatest of all the May Day 1917 demonstrations-in fact, the mightiest the world had ever known up to then-took place in Russia, where but a year lared to speak out openly against

## **Greatest May Days** In All History

rear were shouting "Long Live the war.

be absolutely relied on."

On May 3, paralleling the growing strikes there began a The streets of every Russian wave of mutinies in the army, city were choked with the monuntil, in the words of the then ster mass outpouring. It was the French Minister of War, Paintriumphal celebration of the overleve, "no more than two divisions throw of Czarism in February gan to sweep France. By the between Soissons and Paris could 1917. And it was also a gathering of forces for the final over-Poincare, the French President, wrote in his memoirs of throw of Russian capitalism those days: "Colonel Herbillon which was to come six months later. informs me of new mutinies . . .

Leon Trotsky, in his History trenches . . . Order is menaced of the Russian Revolution, reeverywhere . . . The fever is corded for all time the descripspreading. Symptoms of a breaktion of that historic May Day:

"... All the cities of Russia were drowned in meetings and demonstrations. Not only the industrial enterprises, but the state, city and rural public institutions were closed. In Moghilev, the headquarters of the General Staff, the Cavaliers of St. George marched at the head of the procession. The members of the staff-unremoved czarist generals-marched under May 1 banners. The holiday of proletarian anti-militarism blended with revolutiontinted manifestations of patriotism.

"In both capitals and in the industrial centers the workers dominated the celebration, and amid them the strong nuclei of Bolshevism stood out distinctly with banners, placards, speeches and shouts. Across the immense facade of the Mariinsky Palace, the refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: 'Long Live The Third International." The authorities, not rid of their administrative shyness, could not make up their minds to remove this disagreeable and alarming streamer. Everybody, it seemed, was celebrating. So far as it could the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches, banners and revolutionary songs in the

trenches, and there were responses from the German side."

- APRIL 25, 1942

The Russian May Day celebration in 1918 included no Czarist generals or capitalist politicians. It was the greatest May Day of all-the first May Day to be observed in a workers' state, the Soviet Union. The titanic revolution it celebrated had ended the war for the Russian workers and peasants and speeded the end of the entire world war. The capitalist leaders in every land, frightened at the prospect of preading revolution, patched up heir armistice. And the German nasses, remembering the slogan of Karl Liebknecht, overthrew he German monarchy and made 1 heroic but unsuccessful attempt

to establish workers' power. May Day Lives On

Not merely in Europe, but in America the spirit of May Day urvived the impact of the war. May Day 1917 was marked by remendous anti-war demonstraions and bitter batt es with the police and "patriotic" bosses'

gangs. The government then prohibitd May Day demonstrations in 1918, aided in its attempts to suppress all expression of workng-class internationalism by the reformist socialist and labor leaders who supported the war.

But once more, in 1919, the workers stormed the streets of he American cities in one of the argest and most militant May Day demonstrations ever held in his country.

As the revolutionary spirit and character of May Day, its flame of proletarian internationalism, ourned on through the darkest lays of the last war, so it will continue to burn today. This May Day may be observed in deepest secrecy in the fascist he l-holes of Europe. In the bourgeois democracies it may be perverted by he Social Democrats and Stalinists into a mere jingo rally for "national unity" with capitalist reaction. But the spirit of May Day that lived on through the last war, that broke through the ramparts of imperialism and gave birth to the Soviet Union, will yet triumph. The end of this war is certain to witness a May Day such as the world has never known-marking the victory of the struggle for world socialism.

## introduce "May Sunday" to replace May 1 as a workers' holi-day. He called for the setting aside of one Sunday in May on Were Militant Internationalists which workers and their families could gather in parks, eat their lunches in the open, and listen to speeches. The government which workers and their families to speeches. The government

magnanimously offered and fin-

aly gave the workers the first

Monday in September as a legal

"Labor Day." But all in vain.

The spirit of May Day has never

This year, as in the last war,

the class conscious workers of

every land, those courageous

and will never be crushed.

An Unforgettable May Day--Cleveland, 1919

into the business area. Business

men and white-collar clerks stood

at all the office windows cheer-

ing on the hoodlums and police.

One of the bloodiest incidents

of the day was started by James

Stevens, a crippled veteran who

was being used all over the citv

in the bankers' "Victory Loan"

drive. He was seated in front

of the Olmstead Hotel, and, when

the marchers approached, he gave

the orders for a waiting group of

armed Legionaires to assault the

and trying to break it up.

Public Square.

the rally there.

The workers and war veterant

in the parade, though unarmed,

fought back courageously, defend-

ing their fallen comrades and

A small contingent of 200 led

by Ruthenburg finally fought

their way through and arrived

in the square shortly after noon,

where they were met by waiting

thousands who had come to join

Through the waiting crowd the

Ruthenburg group marched

up to the speakers' platform.

**Bosses Taught Workers and Soldiers What** Kind of 'Democracy' They Fought to Save

May 1, 1919, the first May Day after the close of World War I, echoed to the tramp of millions of feet throughout the centers of world capitalism. Disillusioned with the promises and catchwords of the ruling classes and stirred by the mighty revolutionary events in Russia, the workers and returning soldiers everywhere began to reach out 3-

toward the socialist future. act as inciters of the attacks, hop Fear and fury seized the capi- ing thereby to win public senti-

was the only organized group which had been able to reach the quare through the boss terror.

TWO MURDERED, HUNDREDS INJURED

Into the crowd then charged the club-wie ding Legionaires and police. Mounted cops tore into the jammed throng, riding down all in their path. After a fierce struggle, the meeting was finally

Labor's First May Day Martyrs

talists of all nations. They mobment to their side. They shoved ilized their police and armed forward these poor victims of hoodlum gangs to beat down the their own war for profit to hide rising tide of the masses. the hand of the real forces be-Cleveland, Ohio, was the scene

hind the massacre that was planof one of the most memorable ned. struggles of that historic May Day.

#### THE "VICTORY LOAN"

The bankers of that city had been unable to fill the quota for the government's "Victory Loan,' because the masses refused to be squeezed any further to pay for the war. The war was over, and the workers were turning toward a way out of all future wars. The bankers planned an ons aught against the Socialist-led May Day parade in order to drive the mil itant workers to cover and whip up the necessary patriotic and "anti-red" hysteria to put over the "Victory Loan" campaign.

oncoming workers. He described his own provoca The Socialist and trade-union tions later, boasting: "The first workers had been mobilizing their thing I saw was the red flags. forces for weeks in preparation wheeled my chair as the head of for the greatest May Day demonthe column passed, and I yelled stration in the city's history and 'Get those red flags.' Some of the over 50,000 workers turned out. marchers laughed and jeered at The bankers and bosses had been me. But my comrades in uniform lining up their police reserves came running when I yelled 'Get and organizing, with the aid of 'em boys'." the American Legion, armed

hoodlum gangs. STREET RAN WITH BLOOD At 10 o'clock in the morning, A large group of waiting hoodthe Socialist parade began to form lums, armed with clubs, pounced quarters. at the various party and union on the marchers and began beatheadquarters. Tens of thousands ing them down. Squads of police were in the line of march headed joined the attackers, mercilessly toward the Public Square in the swinging their night-sticks on the downtown business section. There heads of the workers and radical a giant mass meeting was to start at noon.

Heading the parade was an outstanding Socialist fighter who had just served a jail sentence for his anti-war activity, Charles E. Ruthenburg. He was then the Socialist candidate for mayor of Cleveland. Later he was to become one of the first and foremost lead ers of the Communist Party during its early revolutionary pe riod.

From the moment the parade got under way, the hoodlums organized by the local business men and the American Legion begar to make provocative attacks on the marchers, centering their attacks on the workers carrying red flags.

USED CRIPPLED WAR VETERANS AS TOOLS

The reactionaries had secured some crippled war veterans to veterans carrying red flags. This been made to risk their lives.

broken up and dispersed. When the marchers counted up their casualties, they learned that hundreds of their comrades had been seriously injured. And the police had shot dead in cold bloou

wo workers, Joseph Ivany and A concerted and simultaneous Sam Pearlman, as they were tryattack was launched on each secing to defend themselves from a tion of the parade as it marched hoodlum attack.

YOUR ONLY

**PROTECTION**"

eviks."

streets.

international working-class holiday, it is more than ever fitting that we should review the history of that day—a history which up." Ruthenburg and 133 others embodies within itself the entire saga of the trade union and of Illinois commuted the sen- decree forbade any ce ebration Then the police began to "mop were arrested. As the Cleveland revolutionary movement, its victories and defeats, its martyred Press described the scene at the dead, its leaders and misleaders.

May Day began first in the the work time, and some gained police court, "Almost every man arraigned appeared with a band- United States, but has a ways their full demand for the eight his cell rather than give his class aged head or body bound up. This belonged to the workers of the hour day.

Inspired the Workers of the Entire World

By MARVELL SCHOLL

On this fifty-second anniversary of May Day, the historic

been met.

was the result of blows from polworld. The idea for a one-day The greatest struggle took ice maces or of clubs in the hands mass strike in the fight for the place in Chicago. There, for two LABOR MARTYRS of the loyalist crowds (as the capeight hour day was born in the italist press described the bossminds of men who were interna-

led and incited hoodlum gangs)." The smashing of the May Day unbreakable class bonds which The repeated brutalities of the parade was the prelude to a vitie together all workers no mat- police had aroused the masses of cious drive to destroy the whole ter what their race, color, sex, Chicago. They came out in full

Socialist movement. That very re igion, or nationality. night, police and armed gangs in-May Day, 1886, was decreed by vaded the various neighborhood resolution in the 1885 convention headquarters of the Socialist Parof the Federation of Trades and strikers decided to continue their tv. destroying everything they Labor Unions of the United could lay their hands on, every States and Canada. On July 14, window, every stick of furniture, 1889, the International Congress every bit of literature. The press of the Ohio Socialist, edited by in Paris which laid the basis for

Ruthenburg, was wrecked. Over the Second International adopted 200 more Socialists were injured the May Day idea and issued a in the fight to defend their head- call to the workers of Europe to

join another demonstration, called by the American Federation to protest the police murders. of Labor for May 1, 1890.

The response by workers all The following day the arrested over the world to the call proved workers were brought to trial. that the international working soldiers. Hundreds of the march- Fifty-five were given 30-day jail class had taken unto itself the ers were felled; the street ran sentences; the others, sentenced traditions and the martyrs of with blood. Army tanks were only a little less harsh. Those of that first May Day in the United brought into action, racing up the prisoners who were foreign-States in 1886. and down, tearing into the parade | born faced deportation as "Bolsh-

For the very words-May Day -recalled to the workers' mem-The next day, the elated bankers put forth their call for the ories the names of the immortal purchase of "Victory Loan" bonds fighters for the working cass. containing the warning: "It August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, dead, and scores more injured. fearlessly pressing on toward the means a hair trigger spirit from George Engel, Adolph Fischer, now on. A victory button is your Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, only protection." In plain words, Samuel Fielden and Oscar Neebe ATTACKED

they threatened that anyone who -the Havmarket martyrs. did not wear a button indicating

POLICE VIOLENCE he had bought a bond would be

physically assaulted on the dreds of thousands of workers downed tools on that first May Parsons, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, In this fashion, the Amer-

impressed upon the workers and with police violence, and every- chosen to be the victims of bosswar veterans of Cleveland and where they defended themse'ves class "justice." There Ruthenburg was guarded the nation the real nature of the fiercely. As a result of their de-

on both sides by a number of war democracy for which they had termined struggle, workers in which the judge openly voiced his approach of May Day. They have

Their Supreme Sacrifice for the 8-Hour Day and where not one shred of evi- formist labor leaders, to destroy dence was produced to connect the May Day tradition. The comthe defendants with the bombing, bined weight of the government, seven of them were sentenced to the AFL leaders and the Second International right-wingers failbe hanged and one, Oscar Neebe,

ed to halt the 1917 May Day anwas given fifteen years in prison. Just before the date of executi-war demonstration in the Unition, the governor of the State | ted States. In 1918 a government | tences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment. Lingg, defiant the order. But on May 1, 1919 heard above the roar of the occurred one of the largest striketo the last. committed suicide in demonstrations in American his

enemies the satisfaction of his meeting printed on this page.) hanging.

months prior to May Day, the These men had lived for the workers at the huge McCormicklabor and revolutionary movetionalists, who believed in those Deering plant had been on strike. ment, and they went to their deaths still strong in their belief that eventually the proletariat of the world would replace a system force on May Day. of exploitation and oppression

After a day of bloody battles with a socialist system of peace between police and workers, the and brotherhood.

When Spies stood up to be senstrike until their demands had tenced, he uttered these undying words: On May 3 the police opened fire

"I say, if death is the penalon the picket line at McCormick-Deering, killing four workers, ty for proclaiming the truth, wounding scores. then I will proudly and defiant-On May 4, a huge mass meet-

ly pay the costly price. Bring on your hangman!" ing gathered in the Haymarket

On May 1, 1890 the workers of The meeting was just about to the entire world downed their adjourn when a large body of too's and took to the streets. police marched upon the crowd, Again the police came out in full clubs swinging. force, and again heads were Some one-just who it was has cracked, blood flowed. But when

never been established, but the evening came an international evidence points to a boss provo- tradition had been born. cateur-threw a bomb from the Since that time May Day has roof of the Marsha'l Field warebeen celebrated with strikes, dehouse, located opposite the spot monstrations and parades, and

where the meeting was held. each year new, significant politic-When the smoke cleared, seven al slogans have been raised. Apolice and four workers were mong those raised in the early vears and more than ever fitting for this war-torn year of 1942

was arrested. The capitalist press set up a rabid cry for the Throughout the nation, hun- blood of the workers' leaders.

In this country, as in every

capitalist land, the employing After a farcical trial, during class has dreaded and feared the

many cities won a reduction in class hatred for the prisoners sought, with the aid of the re-

fighters for international socialism whose voices will yet be bombs, will take courage from the imperishable words of August tory. (See article on Cleveland Spies, spoken just before the hangman adjusted the black

Many other attempts have been | hood: made in this country to stop the continued celebration of May

"There will be a time when our silence from the grave will Day. Samuel Gompers, founder be more powerful than the of the AFL, tried desperately to voices you strangle today."

Los Angeles Mass Meeting in defense of the Minneapolis defendants

Speakers:

## V. R. DUNNE

Northwest Labor Leader

ASSEMBLYMAN PAUL RICHIE

DR. CLINTON J. TAFT

of the American Civil Liberties Union

SOUTH HALL EMBASSY AUDITORIUM

**Grand and Ninth Streets** 

Sunday, May 3, 8 P. M.

Admission 25 Cents

Auspices: Los Angeles Branch, Civil Rights Defense Committee

# LABOR LEADERS

Every labor leader in Chicago

Eight strike leaders, Spies,

ican bankers and industrialists Day. Everywhere they were met Schwab, Fielden and Neebe, were BOSSES HATE MAY DAY

form their own political and economic organizations. etc.



### APRIL 25, 1942-

## THE MILITANT

# The Trotskyists Continue Struggle For Socialism In Lands Oppressed By Both The Axis And 'Democracies'

Seek To Create Workers' Govt. In Great Britain

May Day will dawn on England with that country in the greatest crisis of its history.

The British ruling class has shown its utter inability to answer the problems facing the nation.

The bosses and their government are not able to secure the support of India in the struggle against the Axis. They are far as well. Over 30 labor members of Parliament voted against the more concerned with holding on discipline of their party for "conto the sources of the profits to scription of wealth." be secured from the exploitation The leaders of the so-called left of India than they are in getting wing, figures like Emmanuel the support of the colonial masses Shinwell, do not give a socialist for an effective struggle against answer to the problems facing the Axis.

England at the present time. The English capitalist class has Their hope is to capitalize on the also shown that it is not able growing opposition of the workto organize industrial production. ers to the policy of the Labor In the words of a capitalist re- Party leaders for their personal porter, speaking of production in ambitions. But this does not de-1941: crease the great importance of the

"The City of London-heart of fact that the masses are beginning financial England-with confiden- | to oppose the Labor Party policies. tial sources of information, de-TROTSKYISTS clined to accept at face value ADVANCE optimistic governmental claims The centrist Independent Labor regarding rising production.

Party offers the only electoral op-"On the contrary, there was portunity at the present time for gloomy agreement with the the masses to express their oppocharges of C. A. Gordon, chairsition to the capitalist class. In man of the Engineering Industhe elections where this party has tries Assn., that Britain's rate of presented its candidates-alwar production actually has dethough on a program that has clined this year." serious shortcomings-the I.L.P.

#### PROFITS ROLL IN

has secured substantial numbers of votes, ranging from 15% to But while they have not been successful in producing arms, the 29% of total votes cast, in opposi-British bosses have been very tion to the Conservative-Labor successful in filling their pockets. Party-Stalinist unholy alliance. For instance, the 2018 companies which had reported their profits by the first of this year showed ous delegates from shops and a total of 389 million pounds for unions pointed out that it is the 1941 as against 375 million pounds | capitalist class which is the main for 1940.

uction, and that the way to in-The bosses also take excellent crease production was by estabcare of their precious bellies, and lishing workers' control of proddon't hesitate to flaunt their own uction. The Stalinists, horrified, laws to do so. While the food rathat such an idea should be put tions and living standards of the forth, attempted to stifle the demasses of England are becoming legates representing tens of thouever more meager, the ruling sands of workers. class is dining and wining very well in their fancy restaurants 40.000 Bristol aircraft workers inand night clubs where ration formed the Conference that the cards mean nothing to the posworkers of this huge aircraft facsessors of the necessary money.

The leaders of the British Labor Party, section of the Second International, delivered themselves in chains to the Conservatives for a few cabinet posts at the be- mittee pledged to "investigate and nomic relationships within the expose capitalist mismanage- country. ginning of the war.

French Trotskyist Paper " L'UNION DES TRAVAILLEURS FERA LA PAIX DU MONDE "

15.SEPTEMBRE 1941

In the second the Canada reaction of a large second "tain, da-

The above is a reproduction of the first page of an issue of La Verite (The Truth), French Trotskyist newspaper. Put out under the most difficult conditions, with the Gestapo and the French police searching everywhere to catch its publishers, the paper testifies to the continued activity and growth of the Fourth International in France. One of the few anti-fascist organs printed in France, this issue was recently smuggled out and sent to this country.

# **Masses Alone Will Win** At a recent London conference on production problems, numer-

## Ghandi, Nehru Are Incapable of Leading Successful Struggle Against Imperialism

### By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Can the Indian bourgeoisie, led by Gandhi, Nehru and other spokesmen of the All-India Congress Party, be entrusted with he leadership of the struggle against British imperialism? The outcome of India's struggle in the next period hinges upon the way in which Indian peasants and

workers answer this question. There are fundamental reasons remain in British bondage be- tion. why the Indian bourgeoisie is incause of the overwhelming pretory had given up trying to "co- capable of conducting a genuine dominance of British capital in operate" and in the future would struggle for emancipation. The the most vital spheres of the turn their Production Committee political unreliability of the prescountry's economic life. into a Workers' Production Com- ent leadership flows from the eco This economic subservience of

the Indian bourgeoisie has reulted in still another crucial de

velopment. For lack of fields of

investment, a large part of native

capital has gone into land, or

more correctly, into the purchase

of feudal rights to land Because

of this, the native capitalists find

themselves tied directly with the

mortal enemies of the peasantry

i.e., the feudal princes whose rule,

in turn, depends upon British bay-

onets. It is impossible, however,

to conduct a determined struggle

for independence without rousing

the peasants who constitute the

Yet the program of the All-India

Congress Party for the peasantry

is Gandhi's program: to democra-

tize the existing feudal autocra-

sies by "representative govern-

intolerable conditions as under

the British rule, with this differ-

ence, that the native bourgeoisie

would replace the existing British

bureaucracy. Such a program

can serve to strangle a struggle

but never to unfold it. But once

again the native capitalists dare

not offer another for fear of los-

8. Clear out the reactionary

pro-fascist officer caste in the

Army and Home Guard. Election

of officers by the soldiers. Trade

union wages for all workers in the

bulk of the population.

French Party Is Growing GESTAPS CONTRA PRATERNINATION **Despite Gestapo Terror** GRESTAPO CONTEM PRATERNINATION Une ordeninge de police allemande, datant de férsier, punit de 120 marke d'amende of de prison allemande, datant de férsier, punit de 120 marke d'élablit des relations avec les prisonnies de lucre "par paroles, par signee des fort battes mayre ". Mais la police n'asrivers pas à empècher la fraternisation entre travaillent allemands et prisonniere français.

## Forced to Carry On Illegal Activities, Group Wins New Members, Including CPers

## By MARC LORIS

Political life in France is much more intense in the occupied zone than in the zone called "Free." There are many causes, the principal one being the direct collision with the invader.

Like the political life in general, the Trotskyists are more active in the Occupied Zone.

In the Paris region is found the largest number of the Trotskyist cells. The organization Dhas groups in most of the large vanished. The Radical-Socialist towns, but the reader will excuse Party, biggest bourgeois party, us for not giving more details disappeared in 24 hours. In the Stalinism, but is tending ineviton this subject. The great major- | camp of the bourgeoisie, nothing organized remains except the fasity of the members are extremely young. cist cliques and, illegally, some

new organizations, groups of re-The whole party is organized sistance without direct connecon a conspirative basis, for the tions with the old parties. slightest imprudence may cost Of the once enormous Socialist dearly at the hands of the Gestapo. Regu ar liaisons are established between the two zones as well as with other European perceive signs of a renewal of accountries.

DESPITE THE GESTAPO But it is still very small. For one and a half years, since THE STALINISTS a little after the arrival of the Nazis, the organization has been publishing a paper, La Verite. At more left. But it is undoubtedly All this is a sign of profound first reproduced in divers ways, the Stalinist party which reprethe paper has now been printed sents, by far, the principal orsince September, 1941. It appears ganized force of resistance. as regularly as the ilegal con-One can consider it an estabditions permit, about once every lished fact that the largest part been firmly united for the de-15 days. Its run is about 3,000 of the terrorist acts are commitcopies, limited because of the dif- ted at the initiative of the Staficulties in securing p a p e r. linists. The party itself advocates Pamphlets are also frequently individual terror in its publicapublished.

The organization held its national convention last September | without a trace of socialism. with the representatives of the THE TROTSKYIST POLICY two zones participating. Many resolutions were adopted on the

tie Ouvrier Internationalist (Internationalist Workers Party), Fourth International.

tionary act. A month and a

half later there developed the

great strike of the spinners and

weavers that began and grew

precisely under the influence of

the May Day leaflet and only

waited for the occasion to go

forward in more active form. . .

those places where accidentally

our leaflets had been particular-

Out of those strike struggles

inspired in part by Lenin's May

Day leaflet grew those greater

battles culminating in the 1905

runner of the Bolshevik Revolu-

The following is the text of

Lenin's historic manifesto:

tion of 1917.

The strike began precisely in

The military defeats and the adventurist methods which, in the united on the basis of Marxism the rights of workers, and free occupation of the country pro- long run, don't do much damage and carry high the banner of the ists, her freedom would be merely the country politically and eco- found y altered the political to the oppressors, but cost the Fourth International. The future a formal one. India would still nomically from British domina- physiognomy of France. The lives of a large number of mili- will show what a formidable force traditional bourgeois parties have litant revolutionists.

The POI supports all forms of sabotage of a mass character, for example slow-downs in the factories, but opposes all merely individual acts as sterile products of impatience.

-FIVE

The adventurist methods of Stalinism have produced inside the Communist Party a muffled and confused opposition, but one that is already very extended. Resentful of the absurd and criminal policies imposed from above, this opposition as yet has failed to raise a political criticism of ably to such criticism.

That is why the French Trotskyists have been trying to help the development of this opposition. One of their ways is to make united fronts with the Stainist organizations. They have Party, not a great deal remains. already obtained some success. It is only now, nearly two years They have been able to publish after the debac e, that one can an illegal journal in common with a whole section of the Stalinist tivity in the socialist groups. party in one area. Joint meetings have taken place in different towns. In Paris the Trotskyists can easily approach and dis-

> changes. We do not forget that these successes could not have been possible had the Trotskyists not

The internal political life of the questions of the present period are discussed. One can say that

Difficulties are not lacking. posing to individual terrorism the ent situation teaches quickly. In organization of the masses. It the midst of the greatest persecushows the emptiness of all the tion, ever-growing numbers are is concentrated in them.

#### remains in the hands of the pres- political problems, and the party ent leadership. India's salvation can be gained only by the selfaction of the peasants and workers themselves on the basis of a program which will guarantee OLD PARTIES DISAPPEAR land to the peasantry, safeguard

Lenin's 1896 May Day Manifesto

The significance of May First accomplishing a great revolu-

of their country's independence is

permanently took the name Par-

tions. As for its political ideology, it is absolute nationalism

The Internationalist Workers politically united. Party (POI), on the other hand, subscribes to the Marxist criti- Our French comrades have much cism of the political adventurism to learn. Their leadership must of the Sta inists, constantly op- acquire experience. But the pres-

Of the unions, there is a little cuss with young Communists.

fense of the Soviet Union.

Trotskyists is extremely intense. Discussion bulletins are frequent-

ly published. All the complex

the whole organization is really

The Labor Party leaders agreed to a par iamentary truce. This was a promise that they would not oppose the Conservative Party in the elections.

The Labor Party is content that the capitalists control production. When India is denied its freedom, the labor leaders echo the reactionary arguments of Churchill. When the war aims of Churchill are made public, based on a continuation of imperialism and a super-Versailles, the Labor Party leaders shout Amen. Their role is that of yes-men to the enemies and exploiters of the workers.

Marked by the same sell-out that they immediately implement gain real freedom only by breakrole in England as elsewhere, the their talk of "Public ownership" ing the British stranglehold on Stalinists campaign for the To- by some determined action. This ries in the elections; they resist means that they must at once inand obstruct the workers' efforts stitute a campaign for the exproto better their economic condi- priation of the war industries tions. without compensation: for work-

ment.'

As the Labor Party leaders ers control of the industry under agreed with the Conservatives on state ownership; and for the the political field, so the trade planning of profitless production union duplicates of the Labor in the interest of the commun. the threat of their own expropria-Party leaders agreed to an eco- ity . . . " nomic truce with the capitalist class.

#### WORKERS OPPOSE BOSSES, FAKERS, STALINISTS

The leaders of the unions, with their no-strike, compulsory arbitration policy tend to hamstring the workers' struggles. But in spite of the desperate efforts of the labor fakers and the Stalinists, a whole series of militant strikes in various industries have taken place in England.

In spite of the efforts of the Stalinists and labor union officopies. cials the resentment of the workers against the mismanagement and corruption of the capitalists is shown by the increasing number of strikes.

Sunday Dispatch. This paper was During 1940 there were 850 close to Hitler and the appeasers strikes involving 284,000 people. before the war. Work days lost numbered 894.000. In 1941, 334,800 persons struck in 1162 walkouts with a total of 1,034,000 workdays lost. The in their frenzied attempt to im-

New York Times reporter savs: pose their treacherous policies on "Thus far, 1942 shows no dim- the masses, are also trying to inution of labor stoppages." stifle the Trotskyists as well as Within the Labor Party the the Independent Labor Party by

workers are stirring in opposition physical force. to the policies of the Labor Party The following program For

leaders. For example, in Decem- Power is reprinted from the ber when the government propos- Socialist Appeal: ed a labor draft law, the left wing 1. Immediate despatch of arms of the Labor Party, in response to and material to the Soviet Union

rank and file pressure, came out under the control of the trade with the demand to draft wealth unions and factory committees.

British capitalism is the dom-The delegates from Napier's No. | inant power in India today not 1, Park Royal, from London Num- only politically but economically. bering, Stoke Newington, from The bulk of India's national debt T. E. C.'s, from Renault's, Park is held by British investors. Sim-Royal came to the Conference to ilarly, in British hands is more present a resolution which the than half of the capital in indus-Stalinists summessed. It reads trial, mining and transport enter. in part as follows:

obstacle to the increase of prod-

The elected representative of

prises and almost two-thirds of "Recent investigations into the the capital in banks, insurance mismanagement and productive companies, plantations and comcapacity of the war industries merce. India's foreign trade is have completely demonstrated to almost completely controlled by many workers the inability of Britain. Only 13 percent of ships capitalist methods to overcome engaged in coastal traffic and ? the prevailing anarchy and chaos. per cent of those in oceanic trade "We therefore demand of our are now owned by Indian compa-Labour and Trade Union leaders nies. This means that India can her economy.

ments in the native states under But the Indian capitalists will the aegis of the ruling princes." never dare to accomplish this in Such a "democracy" is democracy the one way it can really be acin words only. It would leave

complished, namely, by leading a the peasants in exactly the same movement to expropriate British holdings. Such a movement would immediately confront them with tion by the Indian workers and

The growth in the forces of the peasants. Small capitalists must Trotskyists must be included a-| always submit to big ones. So mong the factors showing that the | long as British capitalists remain British workers are beginning to dominant in India, the native capunderstand the necessity for re- italists would have to obey — as ing an important part of their inplacing capitalism with socialism. they have in the past - the dic-The revolutionary internationtates and desires of their su-

papers, Socialist Appeal and The Militant. A theoretical magazine called Workers International

Limited only by the supply of paper, the press run and sale of the Socialist Appeal is over 15,000

The work of the British Trotstion. kyists has been so effective that 3. Confiscation of all war proit has met the opposition of such capitalist newspapers as the

not labor alone. The Stalinists, ed through workers committees. 5. Equal distribution of food

> modities under the control of committees of workers elected from the distributive trades, factories. housewives committees and small

shop-keepers. 6. Sliding scale of wages to

workers of Germany and Europe meet the increased cost of living on the basis of this program in with a guaranteed minimum. Britain to join the Socialist strug-7. Repeal of the Essential gle against Hitler for the Social-Works Order and all other anti- ist United States of Europe.

a day of international work ing-class struggle is shown by the great stress which Lenin put upon its militant observance. One of Lenin's earliest ap-

gravely endangered so long as it

peals to the Russian workers is the May Day manifesto which he wrote in 1896 for the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-class. This was written in prison, from which it was smuggled by ly well distributed." Lenin's comrades, mimeographed and distributed to workers of forty factories in St. Petersburg, now Leningrad. B. Gorew-Goldman, a partici-Revolution, which was the fore-

pant in this early May Day struggle, wrote of it in his "Out of the Party Past": "In preparing and distributing

### COMRADES!

Let us consider our position very carefully - let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives. What do we see? We work long and hard. We produce endless weath, gold and apparel, satins and silk. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood. And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? If things were as they should be, we would be living in fine houses, we would wear good ciothes, and would never have to suffer any need. But we know well enough that our wages never suffice for our living. Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us — in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado.

We have convinced ourselves only too often that all those to whom we turn for help are the servants and the friends of the bosses. They keep us workers in darkness, they keep us ignorant so that we shall not dare to fight for an improvement of our conditions. They keep us in slavery, they arrest and imprison every one who shows any signs of resistance against the oppressors - we are forbidden to struggle. Ignorance and slavery - these are the means through which the capitalists and the government that serves them oppress us.

#### **Rely Only Upon Ourselves**

How can we then improve our conditions, raise our wages, shorten the working day, protect ourselves from insuits, win for ourselves the opportunity of reading good books? Everybody is against us - and the better off these gentlemen are, the worse off we are! We can expect nothing from them, we can rely only upon ourselves. Our strength lies in our unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize of course in what our strength lies and they try in every way to divide us and to hide the identity of interests of all workers.

But it's a long road that has no turning - and even the best of patience comes to an end. In the past few years the Russian workers have shown their masters that the cowardice of slaves has changed into the courageous stubborness of men,

series of strikes has swept through various Russian cities. Most of these strikes ended successfully, especially in that they threw the bosses into terror and forced them into concessions. They showed that we were no longer cowardly paupers but that we had taken up the struggle.

#### Workers of All Countries, Unite!

As is well known the workers of many shops and factories have organized the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-class with the aim of exposing and removing all abuses, of struggling against the shameful oppressions and swindles of our conscienceless exploiters. The League distributes leaflets at the sight of which the hearts of the bosses and their servants, the police, tremble. They are not frightened by these leaf ets - they are terrified at the possibility of our united resistance, the sign of our great power that we have already manifested more than once. We, Petersburg workers, members of the League, call upon all the rest of our comrades to join the League and cooperate in the great task of unifying the working class in the struggle for their interests. It's time that we Russian workers smashed the chains that the bosses and the government have placed upon us. It is time that we joined our fellow workers of other lands in the struggle - under a common flag bearing the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In France, England, Germany and other lands where the workers have already closed their ranks and won important rights, the First of May is a general holiday of all labor.

The workers leave the dark factories and parade the main streets in well-ordered lines with flags and music. They show their masters their power grown strong and join in numerous crowded assemblies to listen to speeches in which the victories achieved over the bosses are recounted and the plans for future struggles are developed.

Because they are afraid of strikes, no individual boss dare fine or punish the workers who are absent from work on this day. On this day the workers also fling their chief demand into the teeth of the bosses: "For the Eight Hour Day."

#### **A Society Without Masters Or Slaves**

In other countries the workers are already proclaiming this. There was a time — and not so long ago — when they also didn't have the right we are deprived of now, the right to give voice to our needs, when they were in such slavery as we are in now. But through relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice they have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor. Let us wish our brothers that their struggle soon lead to the desired goal, to a society in which there will be no masters and no slaves, no capitalists and no wage workers, but all will work together and all will enjoy the good things of life together.

Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the working class.

#### LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE **EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING** CLASS.

Petersburg, May 1, 1896.

alist socialists publish the news- periors. News also appears each month. mines, banks, transport and all laws. big industry without compensa-

> fits-all company books to be open for trade union inspection. 4. Workers' control of produ-

9. Establishment of military ction to end chaos and mismanacademies by the trade unions at But the Sunday Dispatch does agement in industry to be exercis- the expense of the state for the training of worker officers.

10. Arming of the workers un der control of committees of workclothes, and other consumers comers elected in factories, unions and in the streets against the

> danger of invasion or Petainism. 11. Freedom for Ireland, India

and the colonies. 12. A Socialist appeal to the

Because of these basic reasons the Indian workers and peasants Therefore, even if India were can place no confidence whatever to gain her political independence in the leadership of the Indian through negotiations under the bourgeoisie. That is why we warn

leadership of the native capital- the Indian masses that the cause

armed forces.

2. Nationalization of the land. working class and strike-breaking

vestments.

THEMILITANT

# **Goldman Speaks Over Radio For Grace Carlson**

## Noted Labor Attorney Asks St. Paul Workers to Support Socialist Program of Write-In Candidate for Mayor

Grace Carlson for mayor of St. Paul, delivered over Station WMIN on April 24 at 8:45 P. M.

The speaker, Albert Goldman, attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, is best known in Minnesota labor circles as the counsel for the defense in the recent Minneapolis "sedition" case, which resulted in the conviction of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO, including both Goldman and Grace Carlson.

Goldman's brilliant concluding argument in that case has been printed under the title "In Defense of Socialism," by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York City. It is a 96 page paper-covered book, and sells for only 10 cents.

#### Ladies and gentlemen:

I ask you to support Grace Holmes Carlson in her write-in campaign as a candidate for mayor of St. Paul because she represents a program which alone is capable of solving the tremendously important problems facing the people of St. Paul, the people of this country and the people of the whole world.

A candidate must be judged primarily by the program he or she represents, and it is the platform on the basis of which Grace Carlson is appealing for your support that you must examine, study and analyze in order to determine whether or not she deserves your support. You must, of course, examine and study and analyze the platforms of all other candidates. Weigh them side by side with the platform of Grace Carlson and arrive at your conclusion on the basis of that examination.

Someone may remark that this is simply an election for the mayor of St. Paul and has nothing to do with any issues confronting the people of the whole world. Someone may assert that all the people of St. Paul are interested in is to elect as mayor a person capable of running the affairs of the city of St. Paul. Such an attitude would be wrong, for in the period of turmoil, in the period of great conflicts in which we live, the people of St. Paul must look upon an election, even for mayor of St. Paul, as a chance to align themselves for or against certain conceptions that the various candidates represent.

The election in St. Paul should not be determined by narrow, local issues, but should be looked upon as part of a great national and international political struggle in which an opportunity is afforded to vote against the world as it exists at present, to vote for a change in this world as proposed by the platform upon which Grace Carlson is running, the platform of the Socialist Workers Party.

The terrible conflict that has engulfed the whole wor'd is a reality from which no one can escape, and it is this conflict which constitutes the background of the election in St. Paul.

Below is the text of a speech in behalf of the candidacy of To forget this all-important fact is to make a very serious blunder. The war is something that affects every human being whether he likes it or not, whether he knows it or not. Necessarily it affects those who suffer and die on the battlefield and on the sea more than those who stay at home, but whoever and wherever we are, we cannot escape its clutches. The housewife who finds that almost daily her do lar is shrinking by virtue of the increased cost of living; the worker who is urged to give up the extra pay for his overtime; the small businessman who is being squeezed out by priorities - none of them can escape from the effects of this all-embracing catastrophe.

### **Carlson Demands Workers Control**

The statement is made and repeated over and over again that all sections of the population will have to sacrifice. But sacrifice is a relative term. Let us suppose that the man who makes \$50,000 a year will sacrifice one-half of his income and the man making \$2000 a year will sacrifice one-third of his income. The first will be left with \$25,000 and the second with about \$1340. The sacrifice of the 660 odd dollars in the second case means a thousand times greater sacrifice than the one of \$25,000 in the first case.

The undeniable fact is that proportionately the common people will sacrifice infinitely more than the bankers and industria ists. What is more, big business is doing its utmost to shift the burdens of the war onto the shoulders of the working masses. The hue and cry about extra payment for overtime, for work on Saturdays and Sundays, the attempt to put over a federal sales tax are all indications that they who make huge profits out of the war are determined to make the people pay for the war.

As the war will continue, and the probability is that it will continue for quite a long time, the standard of living for the masses will become lower and lower. We have been warned by persons high in administration circ'es that the masses must be prepared to live under a standard lower than that which prevailed in the darkest days of the Hoover depression. But remember this: that the persons controlling the 350 corporations that have received war orders amounting to 85 billion dollars wil not suffer any by virtue of the war. Their profits will continue.

In 1941 the corporations made a profit of more than 7 billion dollars. If this profit would be taken by the government it would do away with the necessity of any sales tax and it would enable the government to pay trade union wages to all soldiers and leave many billions for other purposes.



## **ALBERT GOLDMAN**

There is a great deal of talk about an offensive. There is one already — a real one and gaining momentum. It is the offensive of the representatives of the capitalists in Congress who are determined to take away all the social gains from labor.

The central point of the answer of labor to the offensive taken by reactionaries should be the point stressed in the patform upon which Grace Carlson is running — the point that demands the confiscation of all war profits, and the expropriation of all industries by the government, to be operated under the

## **ELECTION PLATFORM Of St. Paul S. W.** ing freedom of speech, press, petition and assem- decaying capitalist order. To crush domestic and trade unions incorporate in all contracts provi-

The Socialist Workers Party asks the voters' support for its candidate, Grace Carlson, on the following platform:

The people of St. Paul together with the people of the U.S. and the entire world are today engu fed in the Second World War. In this period of terrible conflicts, mass misery and slaughter, the people of our city, as everywhere, are grappling with two great problems. 1.) They are striving to maintain the social gains and standards of living they have won over decades of strugge, through their trade unions and other organizations. 2.) At the same time they are anxiously seeking a solution to eliminate war, fascism and all the other evils which a decaying capitalist system inflicts upon them. These two problems are really one. The working masses can defend their welfare only by their own independent efforts directed towards the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government and the institution of socialism. The employing class is attempting to place the full burdens of the war upon the working masses, and to wipe out whatever advantage labor has been able to secure for itself in times of peace. They are attacking wage and hour laws, the right to strike, social security, unemployment relief, old age pensions, and child welfare. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Roosevelt and other government representatives promised the workers that their social gains would remain intact. It is now clear, however, that unless the workers offer organized and militant resistance to these reactionary moves and measures, they alone will be compelled to make all the sacrifices demanded in the prosecution of this war. The steep, uninterrupted rise in the cost of living, increased taxes, the rationing of certain, consumer goods and the stoppage of production of others - all these economic consequences of the war - strike most heavi'y at the workers and their families. Wage increases won in recent months have already been nullified by the far more rapid rise in the cost of living. The 20 per cent advance in the cost of living by this March has not only wiped out all 1941 wage gains but will inflict an additional ten per cent cut in real wages. The monopolies and their owners are the sole beneficiaries of this war. While over 80% of all war contracts are awarded to about a dozen giant corporations, small business men are squeezed out of existence. While millions are drafted to fight and die on distant battlefronts or compelled to work long hours in the factories and fields. the monopolists pie up exorbitant profits and live in wasteful luxury.

sions for a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living.

II. The ruling capita ist class and its government attempt to justify their demands upon the workers with the pretext that these sacrifices are necessary for war production. The reports of the Truman and Tolan Congressional Investigation Committees have demonstrated with irrefutable facts and figures that big business has deliberately refused to utilize its full productive capacity in order to safeguard profits and

bly.

V.

In the 1940 elections our candidate warned the St. Paul workers that the platform of the Labor-Progressive Association wou'd be sabotaged by the Democratic politician, John McDonough, None of the progressive features of that platform have been put into effect during the 2 years of his, administration. The progressive features of this year's platform will meet a similar fate.

Since we fight for full socia, economic and political rights for the Negro people, we agree with the St. Paul Recorder in condemning the candida-

foreign fascism, to achieve peace and security, the workers must establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States.

The heroic resistance of the Soviet workers against Hitler's war machine has demonstrated that the masses will fight to the death under the banner of a workers' state for industries and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and landlerds. We defend the Soviet Union unconditionaly.

We oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy because it has deprived the Russian masses of all their democratic rights and by its policies mortally endangered the Soviet Union. The Red Army would

not have suffered such defeats in the first five

menths of the war had Stalin not murdered the

political and military leaders who played such

great roles in the success of the Russian Revo-

Stalin sells out the world's workers and co'onial

peoples for the sake of temporary alliances, one

time with Hitler, now with Churchi'l and Roose-

velt. These betrayals have alienated the sym-

pathies of millions of exploited people and dea't

the heaviest blow of all to the Soviet Union itself.

international socialism, which alone can bring a

system of enduring peace, freedom and plenty

for all, we ask the support of the St. Paul voters

Vote Socialist. Your vote for Grace Carlson

will signify your desire to build a Socialist Uni-

ted States of America and a Socialist World.

As the on'y party pledged to the principles of

control of the workers. Let the government confiscate all of the profits of the corporations and let it set a limit to the salaries which corporation officials are paying themselves and the need for additional taxes on incomes of workers will disappear. The government does not hesitate to take millions of men and send them to fight and die; it should not hesitate to confiscate profits.

And what will result from this war? This is the question uppermost in the minds of every thinking individual. Only 25 years have passed since the United States entered the first world conflict. Must we then look forward to more wars, to bigger and better conflicts? Must millions of lives be sacrificed every generation? It is this question that is the most important of al questions confronting us, and this question cannot be solved except through an understanding of the real causes of the last war and of this war.

### **Fascism Destroys Workers Rights**

The members of the Socialist Workers Party, commonly known as the Trotskyists, have for many years predicted the coming of this war. Were we able to do so because we are more intelligent or more far-sighted? Not in the least. We were able to predict this war because the theory of socialism teaches us that the basis of all modern wars is conflicts between the various nations controlled by capitalist groups struggling for colonies, for markets, for raw materia's, for spheres of influence, and by virtue of that socialist theory, we could state definitely that at one time or another, if the capitalist system is permitted to exist, wars must come.

The people of this country and the people of every other country want peace, but their wants and their desires have no effect so long as the present economic order exists. This is our fundamental proposition. It has been verified by the last war and by this war. There are many sincere and honest people who think that by a victory over Germany and Japan, peace will ultimately be brought to this world. But socialists who understand the real nature of war must say frank'y and openly that permanent peace can come only when the peoples of the world will unite in a word socialist confederation with the object of producing the things that are required to satisfy the needs of human beings.

In such a confederation no one and no group will be permitted to make profit out of the labor of others. Economic rivalries will be abolished and the cause of wars will be abolished. Permanent and real peace will come only through socialism and it is this fundamental idea which Grace Carlson represents. The millions of honest people who believe that fascism will be destroyed through a victory of the United States and Great Britain, will discover after the war is over that fascism is a result not of the evil mind of Hitler or of Mussolini, but a result of the terrible conditions brought about by the failure of the capitalist system to satisfy the needs of all the people.

### Trotskyists Predicted This War

What is fascism in essence? It is the destruction of all the rights and liberties of the working people in order to assure the continuation of the profits of monopolists. Every congressman who speaks against labor, who introduces a bill against labor, is trying to do exactly what the fascists in Germany and Italy have done. When the war will be over, the dreadful economic dislocation which must inevitably result will afford an opportunity for all the demagogues to make an attempt to introduce fascism in this country. They may not call it fascism, but these demagogues will try to suppress a l the rights of labor, and I repeat: this is the essence of fascism.

What can assure the defeat of fascism is a government which will socialize all of the industries and operate them for the use of the people and not for profit of the monopolists. Such a government can on y be a Workers and Farmers Government.

Against a Workers and Farmers Government Hitler and the Mikado will have no chance whatever. Such a government will arouse the enthusiasm and the initiative of the masses who will feel certain that their sacrifices will bring them and their children a world of peace and plenty. Such a government will a so be able to appeal successfully to the masses of Germany, Italy and Japan to throw their rulers out and help establish a socialist world. The German, Italian and Japanese workers will have nothing to fear from socialist governments and they will refuse to support their present rulers. Grace Carlson stands for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government and it is because of this that every worker, every farmer, every man and woman interested in bringing peace and plenty to this world should write in her name on the ballot.

Make the rich pay for their own war! We urge the passage of legislation necessary to confiscate all war profits.

We recommend to organized labor that the

monopolistic positions.

Proper'y utilized, managed and controlled, American industry could provide even in wartime a high standard of living for the American people.

We therefore propose that the government take over the basic industries and operate them under workers' control.

According to official estimates, over 10,000,000 men will soon be serving in the armed forces. They are entering an institution where they will lose what democratic rights they have enjoyed in civil life: the right to express their ideas, to elect representatives of their own choice to petition for a redress of their grievances, etc. It is farcical even to talk about a war for democracy without democracy in the armed forces.

We are opposed to all discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces as in industry. Down with Jim Crow wherever it exists!

The militarized character of our times demands that every worker be given military training. We propose that the trade unions undertake to provide such training for their members under their own supervision and control. Worker-soldiers should be led by their own elected and trusted worker-officers.

We propose that the federal government appropriate the necessary funds for the establishment and equipment of camps for military training of workers under the control of the trade unions.

IV.

The conviction of 18 men and women, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis last December, has imperiled the civil liberties of all. These are the first convictions under the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940 which has been condemned by all leading labor and progressive organizations as the most vicious anti-labor and anti-free speech legislation in the statute books. The war-time Espionage Act is also a threat to free discussion.

We demand the observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time as well as in peace-time, guarantee-

**Directions for Voting** 

Push up the metal cover of either slot 4 or 5 of the voting machine in the row of slots immediately above the names of the other candidates for Mayor. Write or print the name of GRACE CARLSON. The cover will drop back automatically.

Bring a pencil with you, or ask the election judge for one. Take these directions to the polls with you April 28.

cy of Labor-Progressive John Mauer, who practices race segregation.

All the candidates for Mayor except Grace Car son unite in support of the war and thereby take responsibility for its terrible consequences. This is equally true of the Councilmanic candidates including those of the Labor-Progressive Association and also of the Communist Party which claims to speak for the interests of the St. Paul workers.

The war question dominates and overshadows all other issues. The support given the war by these so-called labor representatives renders them incapable of defending the interests of the St. Paul workers.

Not a single workers' vote should be cast for these false and treacherous politicians.

#### VI.

War and fascism are the foul products of the

Grace Carlson Has Always **Defended Labor's Interests** 

lution.

The daughter of an Irish railroad worker, Grace Holmes Carlson was born in St. Paul on Nov. 14, 1906. Through the experiences of her father who took part in the militant Shopmen's Strike of 1922, she learned early in life the meaning of the class struggle.

In 1934 she campaigned actively as a Farmer-Laborite for Floyd B. Olson and the radical "Cooperative Commonwealth" platform of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The contacts which she made with the Marxist leadership of the progressive labor movement while she was engaged in labor defense work during the strike wave of 1934-35 led her to a Marxist analysis of political problems

In 1935 she took a position as a vocational rehabilitation counselor in the State Department of Education and became known as a militant fighter for the rights of the much exploited, physically-handicapped people.

As a state employee she became a charter member of Local 10. Minnesota State Employees Union, AFL. She served on the executive board of this local for two years; as a

"seditious conspiracy" to overthrow the government by force and violence and of violating the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act.

On Dec. 1 the jury found all of the defendants not guilty of the charge of "sedițious conspiracy" and 18 of the defendants, including Grace Carlson, guilty of the charge of violating the Smith Act.

A week later, on Dec. 8, at the same time President Roosevelt was reading his war declaration message to Congress. she was sentenced to 16 months in jail. The case is now being appealed to higher courts, and in the meantime she is out on bail.

On Feb. 17 she filed as a candidate for mayor of St. Paul; the City Clerk ruled that her name be placed on the ballot despite reactionary attempts to keep it off.

In the March 10 primary election she received 1185 votes, or 3 per cent of the total number of votes cast. This encouraging response to the clear-cut socialist program of Grace Carlson induced the Carlson Cam-

paign Committee to run her as a write-in candidate for the coming election on April 28.

## CARLSON FOR MAYOR

(Continued from page 1) y manufactured several tenth-rate the people a road out of the capiand depressions every generation. All the other candidates support the capitalist war program. and are ready to subordinate the workers' interests and hard-won

gains to it.

advocates:

Union, etc.

issues in an effort to distract attalist system which breeds wars tention from the skyrocketing cost of living and the growing boss-inspired drive against the labor movement.

> Ironically, Fallon, the "business" candidate, is charging that the "labor" candidate. McDon-

ough, is a "tool of the power in-Carlson is pledged to the elec terests" and the "darling of the tion platform of the Socialist kept press." The reactionary St. Workers Party of St. Paul, which Paul Pioneer Press in an editorial on April 16th, admits that it

Confiscation of all war profits: gave "vigorous and whole-hearted a rising scale of wages adjusted editorial support throughout his to meet the rising cost of living; administration (1938-1940) and the demand that the government his campaign for re-election in take over the basic industries and 1940 . . . In 1942 the Pioneer operate them under workers' con-Press believes that Mayor Mctrol; a federal appropriation for Donough has done a good job." the establishment of camps where This boss paper praises McDonworkers can be given military ough for smuggling a five-year training under the control of the franchise to the Northern States trade unions; observance of the Power trust, behind the backs of Bill of Rights in war-time; oppothe people and without a vote sition to Jim Crowism wherever Fallon has seized on this as an it exists; defense of the Soviet issue; but the only difference between him and McDonough is that The other two mayoralty candihe is out now and McDonough

dates are incumbent John Mc- is in. The only candidate who merits Donough. Democrat who has been endorsed by the Labor-Progressive the vote of the workers in St. Association, and William Fallon | Paul in this election is the candi-"Republican" Democrat. These date of the Socialist Workers two candidates have laboriously Party, Grace Holmes Carlson.



delegate to the St, Paul Trades of Minneapolis on charges of and Labor Assembly for four years; as a member of the As-

for our candidate, Grace Carlson.

of her local to state conventions of the AFL for three years in succession Grace Carlson's interest in the

cause of the oppressed early led her to support the struggle of the Negro people for social, political and economic equality. She is a member of the St. Paul branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

Active in labor defense work, she is now a member of the National Executive Board of the Workers Defense League. She resigned from the State

Department of Education on Sept. 1, 1940 and has since devoted her full time to the work of the Socialist Workers Party. As candidate of the "Trotsky-

ist Anti-War Party" for United States Senator in 1940, she received 8.761 votes, more than the combined vote cast for the Socialist and Communist Par-

In July, 1941, she was indicted together with 28 other members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO

sembly Education Committee for three years; as a delegate

III.



### The Last Straw

The Riom trial was the last straw for Hitler. It underlined the failure of Petain to carry out the "coordination" of France with Nazism. Hitler looked to this trial as the climax of the rise of the "new" France. It was to be preceded by a cold pogrom that would pave the way for more bloody deeds. It was furthest from the thoughts of the German conqueror to permit Blum and Daladier to put in any real defense of themselves in open court. The conducting of the trial was to symbolize that France had "arrived" at its new status. Instead, the trial showed up the weakness and hesitancy of the Petain regime. Hitler could not even use the trial for home consumption, to show that it was the French and English whose plotting had brought on the war.

The failure of Hitler's plans for France comes at an awkward time. Hitler had granted a cer-

position in support of China's war P. S. Good luck to the candiwas not arrived at because of the overtures and promises to the Indacy of Grace Carlson for mayor | slightest confidence in Chiang or | of St. Paul. She is a courageous his policies. and spirited woman.

now find it necessary to make AN ARGUMENT FOR dian nationalist movement: and the answers they receive from the China's war to the reactionary

In other words, it is completely

false to reduce the question of We do not oppose acceptance by native capitalists are not the sub-policies of Chiang Kai-shek. We



of coffee and doughnuts. Picket proof of the fearsome power of the

spread sentiment among the On the first day of April, 1941, ays upon the impregnable mass duty cards were punched, and bosses, exalted in the realization auto workers generally, was taken in spite of the pressure

**Buick UAW Local OpposesSurrender** 

**Of Overtime Pay** 

The members of the large



But the recent UAW conference in Detroit completely exposed Tenerowicz's filthy trick. President Thomas reported what the congressman has said, and then called on everyone in the hall who was in agreement with Tenerowicz's position to stand. Not a single delegate arose. Thomas then asked the delegates who agreed with the official UAW stand, for the unqualified right of the Negro people to move into their homes, to get up. Everyone of the 1500 delegates stood up.

only for me, but for 3,000,000 Negro mothers.

They are burying my son today.

**UAW Opposes Housing** 

troit which had been built for them.

to move into their homes.

Jim Crow

There has been such a furore about an article on the Jewish question in the Saturday Evening Post that very little attention has been called to another interesting article printed in the April 11 issue of that magazine. The author of this article is Brian Fenton, editor of The Daily Telegraph, a newspaper published in Sydney, and among other things he says the following:

\* \* \*

"One side of Australia's case for America's aid I have not mentioned because I do not think I need to tell Americans that this wholly white democracy of 98% British stock looks with horror at any change in its status vis a vis the little yellow man. We think the country could support four or five times its present population, but we want newcomers to be of our own color and race."

Now you can understand how generous are the Australians who hold Fenton's point of view, to permit Negro newcomers in the form of United States Army labor battalions to serve in Australia until the war is over. . .

Marjorie McKenzie, Pittsburgh Courier columnist, has touched on an important aspect of Knox's April 7 order announcing that Negroes from now on would be able to serve in a Jim Crow section of the "reserve components" of the Navy, Marines and Coast Guard.

Her point is that from now on it will be even more difficult than it was before to compel the Navy — and the Army — to stop segregating the Negroes from the whites.

Many people who don't understand the nature of the Negro struggle will say: "Well, segregation is not a nice thing, but now the Negro people can serve in the Navy, and that's what really counts."

But that's not what really counts. The issue is: not the mere right to serve in the Navy, but the right of complete equality in every sphere of life. Those who do understand this will see that Knox's move was intended to do just that - cut the ground from under this protest movement, without at the same time making a single concession to Negro equality.

of enslavement under the most sheet metal, clubs and knives. ruthless industrial tyranny in service men and a small group of their organized power they humble ed the wall of pickets. To the the spirit of victory, ed the open shop Bastille at River | picket line it was only a moment-Rouge, and brought Ford, the ary diversion, a slight interruphitherto absolute monarch of his tion of the singing of union empire, to his knees.

the orderly activities of the men. The strike was a dramatic de-Later the scabs filed out of the monstration of the irrepressible plant one by one. As the Negro militancy and innate resourcefulness of organized workers. The approached them in a friendly Ford strikers in swift decisive strokes delivered their strategic union. The victory was sealed. blows with military precision and The strike was never in danger. drove Ford's thug army of 5,000 What everyone had expected and then some. armed Service Men to uncondiwould be a grim and bloody battional surrender. They silenced tle, was instead a holiday and a the roar of the production lines, celebration. Squads of picket cars emptied the plant of its workers, patrolled up and down in front and drained the mile-long plant of its life-blood, leaving it silent and dead as a corpse. The day before the workers

down; the B. Building is down; | captain soberly kept a vigilant the Foundry . . . Assembly . . . paint shop .... " By midnight of April 16 the call to "down tools' had passed from plant to plant. Strike captains were chosen, and the headquarters of the United Automobile Workers - CIO was contacted. No one touched a tool until the headquarters summoned all men to walk out. **OUTWIT SERVICE MEN** 

All but a handful left the plants. Barricades of automobiles were placed at the four main highways. the arteries of traffic leading into River Rouge. No one without a union pass could get within a block of the plant. Traffic was stopped. Picket captains policed the highways. Gradually a picket line began to form, numbering tens of thousands. This simple and effective strategy outwitted and beat the most powerful strike-breaking army in the world.

A conquering union army marched on Miller Road as day dawned. The strategy of the barricades had prevented any scabs from reaching the plant gates. Later, as the picket lines grew, each plant gate was guarded by thousands of union men. Ford's little band of scabs, 1500

in all, who had remained inside the plants, made a few futile for-

90,000 Ford workers, after years of pickets, Armed with swords of saved as badges of honor. Thouof the strength of unionism and sands of union men from far and of their class. The unorganized wide came to see the sight, to workers lifted their heads, and America, broke their chains. By misguided Negro workers attack- fight if necessary, and to join in prepared for their own emancipation. At the small union hall on With the surrender of Ford

Michigan Avenue, which could the world of capitalist tyranny hold only a few hundreds, thou- lost one of its most powerful songs, the spirited parading, and sands of new Ford members were open shop strongholds.

signed up. In the battles t ocome, labor Ford - the man who had said will recall the conquest of Ford, he would not bargain with a un- and draw from it henewed inspirworkers came out, UAW members ion, and if he was forced to bar- ation, optimism, and courage to gain would just bargain "until face their enemies.

way, and signed them up in the hell freezes over" - signed a Remember that picket line at closed shop check-off agreement, River Rouge. It symbolized the granting all the union demands, power of the workers and was a herald of the approaching victor-But something far greater than ious struggle for workers' freea contract alone was won. A sym-I dom.

of the union's national leaders who were able after a day-long battle at the UAW conference to pass a motion to recommend the relinquishing of this traditional wage standard. Similar opposition was vo-

ted last week at the membership meeting of the Bell Aircraft local in Buffalo, New York.

John McGill, Local 599 president, stated that "the membership has reaffirmed its position as opposed to relinquishing any overtime provision existing in the present contract."

of the plant, bedecked with union banners. Loud speakers bellowed instructions and news alternately Seek Freedom for Seamen The day before the workers walked out, an avalanche of sit-downs swept from department to department. The news was quick-ly spread: "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and there a picket "The rolling mill is "Road. Here and The Committee to Free Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown,

the pardon application.

break the strike.

created to win freedom for three seamen framed-up by the person before the fight. The po Hague machine and sent to jail in New Jersey for their activi-had not found the money on ties during the 1936-37 seamen's strike, has issued an appeal them. None of the witnesses of for support from all trade unions and progressive organizations. the fight saw the money The men - Anthony Panchelly, Edward Woodworth and Schwartz himself testified that he

Donald Brown — have already had not seen it taken from him, served five years of a fifteen claiming that it was stolen while year sentence. An application he was unconscious. for pardon has been placed be-On the basis of this evidence.

fore the New Jersey Court of the three were sentenced to 14 Pardons, and the Committee re- to 15 years in prison - for alquests that letters, telegrams and legedly having stolen \$21.80! petitions be sent at once to Gov- This is a typical example of Jerernor Charles Edison, Trenton, sey justice. N. J., asking favorable action on

Their appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court - controlled The three West Coast seamen, by Hague - was lost; their first members of the Marine Firemen, request for a pardon was denied. Oilers, Wipers and Watertenders The defense committee, created Association (unaffiliated), joined at the initiative of the Workers the strike as soon as their ship Defense League, is composed of docked in December, 1936. On labor leaders, educators, etc. Its New Year's Day, 1937, they were work for a pardon has been enarrested in Hoboken following a dorsed by the three prisoners, street fight with Frederick many local unions, the last na-Schwartz, a scabherder trying to tional convention of the CIO, the New Jersey CIO and the Amer-

The strike committee had to be ican Civil Liberties Union. The released for lack of evidence, but Marine Firemen's union has guar-Panchelly, Woodworth and Brown anteed employment for the men were sentenced to prison. The immediately upon release and for charge was - robbery! the next ten years.

On the unsupported testimony Bring up the case in your union of the strike-breaker Schwartz, this week, and after taking acmen were convicted of stealing tion, notify the Committee, whose \$21.80 he alleged he had on his address is 30 Nairn Pl., Newark.

tain time to France because his "time-table" for German conquest of Europe seemed to permit this. Russia was to be overrun in a matter of weeks, the German armies were to slice through the Red Army "like a knife through cheese." But the Soviet masses knocked Hitler's timetable into a cocked hat. The question of France has assumed a far greater importance in this second year of the Soviet campaign. If tomorrow the "United Nations" should attempt to open up a second front in Europe, France would be as likely a choice as any for a landing of armies. The attitude of the French government then takes on the greatest significance. Would it attempt to repel the invader? Would it on the contrary welcome its old allies and seek the chance to re-enter the conflict? Hitler wants this question resolved in no uncertain terms. He wants somebody in the saddle whose fate depends entirely on a German victory. Hence his choice of Laval.

Role of Laval Now — And Before

This despicable figure is a fitting symbol for the task of making France a vassal state in a fascist Europe. It is the same Laval who gave Mussolini the necessary assurances for the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The same Laval who plotted with English reaction (the Hoare-Laval deal) to give fascism its way. What the capitalist press will fail to note, however, is that this figure emerges perfectly naturally from the epoch of French parliamentary democracy. This man was a premier of France under the democratic regime. In that there is no accident. The forces that gave rise to fascism existed in dormant form right in the heart of the democratic regime. Laval is willing to stake all on Nazi success. He is taking over in particular the entire police power of France. In this he will no doubt cooperate fully with the Gestapo. But Petain, unwilling to take the full measures which Laval will no doubt utilize, remains as a power in the background. No doubt he gave way to Nazi pressure in placing Laval back in power. But evidently he is willing to give the Laval experiment a try. If it succeeds, then it will be a Petain success as well. If it fails, then Petain can always step forward once again - so he hopes - and repudiate the failure.

But Petain is grossly in error. His task, willingly or unwillingly, has been performed. It was to pave the way for a more reactionary regime which could more openly cooperate with Hitler. This regime no more than that of Petain, will have mass support. No more than Petain will Laval be able to set up a really fascist state. That is done not by the fiat of a foreign conqueror, but by civil war in which the proletariat is vanquished. Laval's regime, even more than that of Petain, will rest on German bayonets.

Twin Cities MAY DAY Celebration

## Speaker:

## ALBERT GOLDMAN

Chief defense attorney in Minneapolis "Sedition" trial

Place: 919 Marquette Avenue, Minneapolis

Time: Friday, May 1, 8 P. M.

eye open for trouble; an ambul-

Join the Socialist

Workers Party

Celebrate this MAY DAY with the

Socialist Workers Pary

## -APRIL 25, 1942



"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Warch 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' Government.

## Getting "Tough"

A few weeks ago a petty junk dealer in a small Indiana town retused to sell the government 100 tons of scrap metal he had managed to accumulate in his back yard.

The government did not plead with him. It did not fuss around with suits and delaying court action. It sent Army and FBI agents to the spot, seized the scrap metal, and hauled 'it off in trucks. What a fanfare the capitalist press made about how the government was going to get "tough" with violators of the metal priorities and hoarding that the government intends to tread very lightly where the interests of the big corporations are concerned.

If the government really meant business about expediting production, if it really were more concerned about production and priorities regulations than about stepping on the toes of the big monopolists, it would long ago have cracked down on the steel companies and all the rest of the monopolies just as it cracks down on a petty scrap hoarder, who also possesses "sacred" property rights.

It would have moved into the steel plants, taken them over-yes, expropriated them-and placed them under the control of the workers.

Or is it too much to expect that from a government so preoccupied with cracking down on small-time junk dealers that it hasn't the time and resources left to effectively curb those who are really impeding production?

## **Pity The Poor** \$1-A-Year Men!

Pity the plight of the poor dollar-a-year men! Their lot is truly a hard one. All they get besides their fat corporation salaries for steering war orders to their companies is one lone government buck a year — and criticism.

It's the criticism! That's what get under their tissue paper skins. People don't seem to appreciate what it means for a corporation agent to sacrifice himself for his country. Some of them say pretty nasty things. And how much do you think a sensitive individual, nurtured in the genteel cut-throat atmosphere of "Big Business," can stand?

The situation is becoming so acute that Donald Nelson, War Production Board head, is complaining that "exerienced businessmen" don't want to serve their country in Washington. It's so bad, he says, that it may become necessary to draft them for government service.

And when you have to draft businessmen for a job of sitting around the gravy bowl in Washington that's really bad. It's almost a crisis.

However, we have the feeling that Nelson is agitating himself needlessly.

From what we have learned about Washington the problem is not how to get dollar-a-year men there, but how to keep them away.

As a matter of fact, we have men like Philip Reed, chairman of the General Electric board, who cling leeches to those "dollar-a-year" jobs ---even when their companies are caught doing a little business on the side with Hitler.

Last November, for instance, there were 250 "official" dollar-a-year men in government war agencies. Twenty-two of them, mostly small fry, have left since — and they had to be booted out. But that hasn't seemed to discourage the corporation agents any. 'They've braced their shoulders and marched unflinching into the fires of Washington. At the last count, on March 26, there were 395 of them giving their all for their country -and the corporations which are paying for their maintenance in Washington.

## The Workers' Bookshelf

# The Two Pamphlets That **Came Out Of The Trial**

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. C., January, 1942. 116 pages. 10 cents.

IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM, by Albert Goldman. Pioneer Publishers. March, 1942. 96 pages. 10 cents.

One of the important results of the Minneapolis "sedition" trial of union leaders and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party is the pair of pamphlets entitled Socialism on Trial and In Defense of Socialism. The first of these contains the official court record of the testimony of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the S. W. P., while the latter is the transcript of the closing address of Albert Goldman, chief attorney for the defense and himself one of the defendants.

This is not the first time the class struggle has found its way to the juridical plane in this country. Other leaders of labor in other periods have been summoned to defend their ideas in the capitalist courts. There were the Haymarket anarchists, Eugene Debs, and the leaders of the I. W. W., to mention a few. But these men were not provided with a clear and worked-out program. Their ideology reflected the immaturity of the movements they represented. In this, Cannon and Goldman were far better equipped than their predecessors. Armed with the program of Trotskyism, the most advanced form of Marxist socialism, they were able to present a comprehensive picture of the future of American capitalism and the intentions of modern revolutionary socialism.

Cannon's testimony ranged over the whole field of the socialist movement. In it, he explained the nature of the everlasting crisis of capitalism, and the road out of it and towards the Workers' and Farmers' government.

## They Stuck to Their Guns

Goldman's address was more limited in scope, but its main point was a worthy one. It was designed to explain the fundamentally democratic nature of the socialist program, and the dictatorial resistance of the ruling class to it. This idea is worthy of propagation at the present time, in view of the persistent efforts of apologists for the decayed system of private property to demagogically paint every movement in opposition to it as an opponent of democracy. Goldman's address to the jury is an effective antidote for this poisonous slander. The well-known

evidence of its potency.

In a dispatch to THE MILITANT from the courtroom during the trial, Felix Morrow wrote of Cannon's testimony:

"Long after this trial is settled one way or another, the stenographic record of this courtroom dialogue between Albert Goldman and Jim Cannon will be read as a primer by new generations in the socialist movement.'

Here is the great value of this record of a courtroom struggle between the ideologies of two classes. With it, "new generations in the socialist movement" will be educated. They will be taught the history of the movement, its purposes and program, and the promise of its future.

### Goldman's Main Point

But there is another lesson implicit in the booklet which they can learn. For Cannon and Goldman to hand on their courtroom words to the party as educational instruments, signifies they said in that courtroom nothing which they would not care to teach to the new socialist militants. They did not water down their principles! In the heat of the struggle, with the Damocies sword of years of imprisonment hanging from the courtroom ceiling, these fighters stuck to their guns. Yes, this is perhaps the greatest lesson of all to be learned from these two pamphlets, the lesson of the Bolshevik method of struggle; the principled method.

There is no doubt but that the Cannon testimony and Goldman address will long survive ordinary pamphlets explaining the views of the socialist movement. They will become historic evidence, of the worth of the Trotskyist party, which on the eve of the war, flung the challenge of revolutionary socialism into the teeth of the ruling class. But these pamphlets are not museum pieces yet. Like all dented armor and hacked swords lying in museum showcases today, these weapons of socialism will bear the marks of a thousand battles before they become relics of our epoch.

Every advanced worker must read the program of Trotskyism as explained in these pamphlets. Every revolutionary socialist must work to give the widest possible circulation to them. In their content, in their lucidity, and in their dramatic form of presentation they are eminently suited for the education of new workers everywhere. They should be put to the greatest possible use for that purpose.

Reviewed by HARRY FRANKEL.



The April issue of the monthly article and subjects it to a search-1 Marc Loris. This piece reviews magazine, Fourth International, ing analysis, shows how Minor the French trial and draws sevfeatures four extremely educa- deliberately distorted Lenin's eral important conclusions from tional articles on current prob- words and ideas, and presents the revelations made by Blum Lenin's real views on national and Daladier. lems of national liberation.

wars. E'very Stalinist worker The Auto Workers Conference, 1. The Editorial Comment



Even though we are rapidly approaching the state of total war, and the regimentation of the people is growing from day to day, there is nevertheless a great difference between the fascist brand of total war and that of bourgeois democracy. Who could possibly conceive of a fascist regime taking the masses of the people into their confidence on the conduct of the war or any of its phases? Thinking is the exclusive prerogative of the bureaucratic hierarchy. The Fuehrer and the immediate clique around him maneuver the people into war, they name the war, they lead the war, and they expect to benefit from it. The people are not to ask the reason why, theirs is but to do or die.

Could anyone conceive under fascism of such a magnificent gesture as the one made by the President April 3, when he appealed to the people - yes, to you and me - to find him an appropriate name for the war. "He explained," says the New York Telegram, April 3, "that he does not want to coin the phrase himself. He wants it to come from down below and not from the top." This is democracy in action. This gives the plain folk, the average citizen - Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones - a chance to use their heads not only to wear a hat or any army heimet, but also for some deep thinking. Since April 3 it has become our responsibility as citizens of a great democracy to find a name for the war. We have got to vindicate the trust placed in us by the President, but even more important than this, we simply must have a name for the war.

We have been participants in this nameless war for over four months. But how much longer can we go on without a name? Even if we should manage to pull through as at present, we would still need a name for the war. Imagine trying to explain to your grandchildren the medals on your chest, received for bravery in action in the what's its name war? It might not be so bad if we were sure that this would be the only nameless war. But there is no guarantee that another war will not follow shortly after this one, and if we fail to find a name for this one, and the one following, such a situation might easily lead to a breakdown of civilization. History books without names for wars would lose all meaning, just as the development of science would be impossible without terminology, and language in general would be inconceivable without names for persons and things.

### Names and Aims

The truth of the matter is that there is a much more immediate and pressing reason why we cannot go on much longer without a name for the war. So far we have neither an aim for the war nor a name. If we cannot have both, at least let's have one. Which shall it be? Difficult as it may be to find a name for the war, just think of the difficulties the authorities run into when they try to define the aims of the war. England has been in the war for over two and a half years. During this period there have been numerous demands from various sources for a declaration of the aims of the war. This has met with the most stubborn refusal on the part of the British Cabinet. In reply to such demands in Parliament Mr. Churchill replied, "The moment

regulations! Confiscation - expropriation those were the words!

Now the War Production Board has been forced to reveal that the big corporations, U. S. Steel and Jones & Loughlin, producing one-third of the steel in this country, have been engaged in "repeated, deliberate violations of priorities regulations" from the time the government established these regulations on through Pearl Harbor and up to the present day.

These "patriotic" corporations, disregarding and dismissing the explicit instructions of the government, diverted tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of tons of vital steel from war production, given high priorities ratings by the government, to production for their regular private customers.

This was going on a long time, since the establishment of priorities ratings. The government managed to ferfet out an obscure, small town junk dealer and settle his hash in a few days. But somehow, the government didn't seem to be able to get around to checking the monster steel corporations working on huge government war orders. Or if the government did, it acted with utmost discretion and caution. Month followed monththe companies snapped their fingers at the WPB, brushed aside the pleadings of the government officials, and issued instructions to their officers and employees to handle orders giving first consideration to private customers "on the basis of their past purchases' and "regardless of the priority ratings."

Maybe you think the government is going to get "tough" now-maybe you think the government is going to move in on U. S. Steel and Jones & Loughlin like it descended on the petty Indiana junk dealer. Guess again!

Confiscate U. S. Steel? Expropriate Jones & Loughlin? Not on your life!

These corporations don't take orders from the government. They give orders. They're continuing to tell the government to go to hell-right now, today.' And the government blusters and-institutes a suit.

Maybe in a few months or a few years a decision will be made. Maybe the government will win-maybe the corporations. Maybe it will be decided by the U.S. Supreme Court twenty years after the war, like the Bethlehem Steel case of World War I. Maybe it will all be settled out of court finally, with the corporations being advised to do their priorities chiseling a little more circumspectly.

It is plenty obvious, from the contrast between the way the government treated the Indiana junk dealer and the way it is treating the giant trusts,

We strongly suspect that what Nelson means by a draft is a "selective service." There's so many big and little fat cats trying to muscle their way to a choice spot around the gravy bowl, that the WPB head is forced to set up some "standards." We'll bet that only the biggest fat cats will get caught in the draft.

## Who Protects The Soldiers' Interests?

The reactionaries are trying to beat down the standards of the workers under the pretext that the maintenance of union rights and conditions is against the interests of the soldiers.

An appropriate answer to this vicious and lying claim was given at the recent United Automobile Workers Conference by one of the militant delegates who spoke in opposition to surrender of the workers rights.

"Many of our members are fighting abroad," he pointed out. "We must protect their rights at home."

These words express the real truth of the issue. The fight to maintain and improve the workers' conditions at home is part of the fight to defend the interests of the soldiers.

For the soldiers are mostly workers in uniform. Many of them have fought in the union ranks to establish decent conditions for themselves and their fellow workers. They have left behind them families and dependents whose living standards and rights they expect the unions to protect. And they themselves, if they survive the war, will some day return seeking jobs and a chance to live in comfort and decency.

Who then are the enemies of the soldiers? It is those who are attempting to pave the way for super-exploitation of the workers in uniform upon their return to civilian life. It is those who are going behind the backs of the soldiers, while they face deprivation and death, and trying to undermine their future working and living conditions.

The unions, for their part, have the stern obligation and duty not merely to defend the interests of the soldiers as soldiers, but to defend their interests as workers.

Let the organized labor movement see to it that those who will some day come back from the hardships and horrors of war do not return to an open-shop America, to a boss-dominated America of low wages, long hours and vicious exploitation.

analyzes the British offer to In- who wants to learn what Lenin by Joe Andrews who attended said and fought for will find it the recent Detroit conference of dia of "dominion status" after the UAW-CIO, emphasizes the here. the war, and the reason for the

Indian Congress Party's rejec- FOR DEFENSE OF CHINA 3. Why We Defend China, by sition at the meeting. tion of the plan carried by Sir Stafford Cripps. The editorial John G. Wright, discusses the ef-

ably answers the lying pro-British fect of the extension of the world BOLSHEVIK DIPLOMACY propaganda in the American cap-A Soviet Note To President war to the Pacific on the Chinese italist press and the anti-Hindu war against Japan, and shows Wilson is a brilliant example of speech recently made in New why the workers of the world revolutionary diplomacy and pro-York by Lord Halifax. should continue their policy of paganda. It was written by Sov-

2. Lenin's Teachings On Na- supporting the Chinese struggle. iet Commissar of Foreign Aftional Wars by Felix Morrow, is In addition, he reviews the ar- fairs Chicherin in 1918, and conan answer to the latest Stalinist guments of the Shachtmanites stitutes a starting contrast with and Ochlerites, who have aban- the present diplomacy and polforgeries committed in Lenin's doned support of China, and itics of the Kremlin. name. Those who are in touch

Two book reviews round out shows how they have revised and with the Communist Party know that while in public and in the distorted the teachings of Leninthis issue:

Stafford Cripps' biography by ism on the national question. Daily Worker they offer only pa-Eric Estorick is reviewed by Latriotic explanation of their sup-4. The Road To Freedom for port of the war, in private and Ceylon is part of the program of rissa Reed, and The Remaking of the Ceylon Socialist Party, ad- Italy by Pentad is reviewed by at their meetings and in their theoretical magazine they try to herent of the Fourth Internation- Jack Ranger. The cost of a single copy of

offer quotations from Lenin to al, which was recently suppressed by the British. justify their position. this issue is 20 cents; the cost of Other articles in the April 15a year's subscription, \$2.00. For The outstanding example of the present period is Robert Mi- sue are: either, write to Business Man-

The Riom Trial: The Truth A- ager, Fourth International, 116 nor's article, Lenin on the Junius Pamphlet. Morrow takes Minor's bout French "Democracy," by University Pl., New York City.



WERDERMAN'S HALL 160 3rd Avenue, corner 16th Street 500

Friday, May 1, 8:00 P. M.

**Admission 25 Cents** 

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party

descend into the arena of heated controversy." Right you are. Here, for example is one British view: significance for the whole labor movement of the militant oppo-

"With respect to war aims, it is useless to talk vaguely of new orders or of making the world safe for democracy. The job our statesmen are paid to do is to see that the world, as God made it, is safe for Great Britain." (From Everybody's Weekly, reprinted in The New Statesman and Nation, London, Feb. 14, 1942.)

you leave the arena of pious platitude, you will

And here is one American view:

"We must make this nation so strong that, when peace finally comes, President Roosevelt will be able to sit down at the conference table and tell every other nation in the world to go to hell." (Ed Kelly, Mayor of Chicago.)

Imagine if the above two views on the aims of the war were openly proclamed as the views of their respective governments. We would then indeed "descend into the arena of heated controversy." This is why the authorities must stick to "the arena of pious platitude" for the time being and jockey for positions and hope to be able to enforce the real war aims later on.

## Some Suggestions That Have Been Made

Here are a few of the names suggested. "We take them out of one day's crop in the World Telegram: "The Anti-Aggression War," "The War of the Millenium," "Last War," "Allies Anti-slavery War," "The Emancipation War," "War for World Democracy."

All the above names, we fear, will be rejected by the President. They are just a bit too expressive of the illusions of the masses. Not that it's bad for the masses to entertain illusions. It helps in the war effort. But to commit the government officially to any of these illusions - to sign a postdated check in the name of any of these illusions that is a bit too dangerous. When the time for settlement comes, it may be too embarrassing to be presented with the need of making payments on these illusions.

Take the Atlantic Charter for example. It certain'y stuck to the "arena of pious platitude." Nevertheless it has created plenty of trouble. The people in India want to know why it couldn't apply to them, why they couldn't have their independence and freedom. And there are voices rising in China demanding a Pacific Charter and freedom for all the people of the Orient.

"The Anti-Aggression War"? Will one be able to square it with the terms of the peace treaty? "The War of the Millenium"? "The Emancipation War"? After the war is over some people might get the notion to continue fighting until the millenium has really been realized - until the emancipation has really been achieved.

More on this question next week.