FOR A RISING SCALE **OF WAGES TO MEET INCREASED PRICES!**

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WLB SETS CEILING ON WAGE RAISES **"EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE"**

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1942

Steel Workers Establish International Union

Opposition to Surrender of Overtime Pay Is Voiced On First Day of Convention

By ART PREIS

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 19 (By Wire).—The general wage increases, itself lays six years' aspiration of the organized steel workers | wage freezing. in this country was realized this morning at the opening session of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee's first constitutional convention. Seventeen denly during the reading of the hundred cheering delegates, representing an estimated membership of over 600,000 steel unionists, adopted the first article dation to surrender standard of their new constitution establishing a full-fledged international union, the United Steel Workers of America, CIO. All the key issues still remain to be discussed and voted

upon during the next three days before the scheduled adjournment, including wage policies, 9ment, including wage policies, ever, he did not indicate what union security, and the provisions of the constitution specific democratic safeguards the of the constitution. handpicked constitution commit-

tion.

At the same time, Murray is

Murray's own machine oper-

ates in the guise of the official

There was nothing in the key-

note speech about the decisive

ever, during the report of the

committee on officers' reports,

Murray did discuss in detail the

progress of the War Labor Board

union administration.

Chairman Philip Murray spoke tee would place in the constitufour times and laid the basis for policies which will most likely be adopted by the convention.

sued an emphatic warning: "I The highlight of the day's delishall fight any attempt that is derations, however, was an unex- made to have little backroom caupected opposition which arose cuses while this convention is goover the issue of surrender of the ing on. So if any of the boys are established week-end and holiday thinking right now of midnight pay rates. Although not organiz- sessions in strange places in the ed. the opposition was sufficiently city of Cleveland, just begin to disturbing to force Murray to forget about it right now.

Murray's keynote address this get together and formulate a promorning indicated the main con- gram and seek to win support for it in opposition to Murray. cern of the leadership at the convention. The primary emphasis was that the steel workers must become "missionaries of good will and national unity." He added a reaffirmation of his loyalty to Roosevelt, stating, "I am support- question of the dollar-a-day wage ing my country and I am supportincrease in Little Steel, or the ing its president." fight for union security. How-

with its expressed opposition to DEBATE ON OVERTIME PAY, The flare-up on the week-end and holiday pay issue came sudcommittee on officers' report's

> statement approving a recommenovertime pay when week-ends and holidays fall within the 40-hour week. At least 10 delegates, one after the other, took the microphone to express opposition in the

mate result would lead to the des-

truction of the unions, particular

ly the newer organizations." He

failed however, to point out that

Roosevelt's "wage stabilization"

name of their local unions. Murray spoke twice after the applause showed wide sympathy with the opposition views. He admitted that the only reason he urged surrender of the right was because "the President of the Uni ted States asked the CIO to vote on it favorably." He argued further that all other CIO unions had approved the policy which the

steel workers should follow. He stated that the recent UAW con-(Continued on page 4)



corporations 35 billion dollars to compensate them for past price rises. War Labor Board tells unions they must not expect wage increases to compensate them for past price rises.

which left them at the mercy

of the employers and the gov-

ernment's war agencies. Now

they can see that although they

abided by their end of the con

very same agencies that per-

'equality of sacrifice" program.

But everyone knows that the

shipyard employers are not be-

ing asked to make any sacri-

fices. On the contrary, they are

going to keep on making tre-

mendous profits on the same

cost-plus fixed fee system that

has been in operation all along.

This means that the bosses

will continue to be compensated

in full for all price rises-while

the shipyard workers will be

Some "equality of sacrifice"!

denied such compensation.

suaded them to sign it.

GOV'T



Canadian Wage Freezing Plan Also Being Adopted By Govt.

New Board to Work Out U.S. Version of Plan Which Freezes Wages Over \$25 a Wk.

Washington set a ceiling on wage raises this week and thus moved to prevent the workers from securing increases to compensate them for cuts in their living standards due to price rises. It is also working out a program, similar to the "Canadian plan," to freeze the wages of all workers earning \$25 a week or more.

These moves, in line with Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" program, were announced at a press conference held on May 19 by William H. Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board. Davis revealed that any wage increases that may be granted

by the Board will be limited to D increased cost of living since wage scales were last fixed. He also announced that all such increases will be given in the form of war bonds rather than cash. War Labor Board policy on wage increases would, for the time being at least, follow the pattern of the Chicago shipyard wage negotiation conference. The Chicago conference, acting under pressure from President Roosevelt, voted to accept only a 7 per cent

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not more than 50 per cent of the contracts signed under govern-ment supervision a year ago provided for pay increases ranging from 13 to 16 per cent.

FIVE (5) CENTS

Davis declared that the Chicago formula would be considered "the ceiling," which means that Davis thus indicated that the the War Labor Board will deny the workers increases to bring their living standards up to the levels of a year ago, even in violation of present union contracts. Davis' remarks, however, made it clear that the government regards even this reactionary program as temporary. For it has wage increase, although their set up a special board, composed of Price Administrator Henderson, War Man Power Board Commissioner McNutt and Labor Secretary Perkins, to work out and present to Roosevelt a United States version of the "Canadian plan" which freezes wages

> or more. This would affect most of the workers in the country, and practically all the workers engaged in the important industries producing material for the war.

for workers making \$25 a week

Davis declined to state at what figure the board would propose

Murray dwelt at length on Roo-

sevelt's war labor policies reaffirming his commitments to a nostrike policy and the settlement of all disputes through the War Labor Board, and gave support to the management-labor speedup plan.

MURRAY ON DEMOCRACY

A significant section of Murray's keynote address was a pointed repeated reference to his intention to establish a "democratic union" and a "democratic constitution." It was apparent that these words were addressed to allay the widespread undercur-

lay. He outlined the involved steps taken by the union leaders on the issue. His words suggested impatience and concern about the WLB attitude. He reaffirmed his support to the dollar-aday demand. but failed to offer a program to win the increase

other than continued dependence on the WLB and Roose

rent of dissatisfaction among the Murray strongly attacked wage increase in the Gulf zone, because freezing, and declared that it price rises in the year ending rank and file with the past undemocratic conduct of the union "would definitely discourage April 1 have reduced the workers' by the appointed leaders. How-¹ membership in unions. Its ulti-|real wages and living standards

velt.

entitled by the contracts nego-Dcases, seeking to allay the growtiated last year under government | to that extent. ing disquiet due to the long desupervision. This formula may be adopted by the War Labor Board in its campaign to keep the unions from

getting wage raises to compensate for price rises. It was conceded at the conference that under the existing contracts the shipyard workers were entitled to a 13 per cent wage increase on the Pacific coast and a 16 per cent

Thus government and employer pressure have resulted in a substantial cut in the real wages of shipyard labor. Roosevelt himself intervened at the beginning of the conference on May 2 to warn the unions that they could not have the full wage increases provided

bonds

ployers and the War Production Board, came to an agreement

on May 17 which denies 600,000 workers in the private ship-

yards approximately half the wage increases to which they are

for in their contracts. The government is also expected o exert pressure on the respective unions involved to effect ratification of the Chicago decisions. Previously it was reported that sentiment among the workers in the sbipyards is strongly opposed to making any big concessions.

But under the agreement now

signed, there will be an average

increase of only about 7 per

cent, or 8 cents an hour, with

the increases to be paid in war

Early reports last week that the final "compromise" would provide a six cent an hour increase "are said to have aroused wide-spread dismay within the ship unions," according to

Previously withheld information about the war in Burma has When they signed these connow been released by war correspondents arriving in India. tracts pegging their wages to This information from Burma confirms what was demonstrated

rises in the cost of living, they by the Cripps negotiations in India - Britain's colonial policy regave up the right to strike. their mains what it always was. strongest bargaining weapon,

The story of Burma was the story of Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaya all over again. The British were more afraid of independent action by the colonial people than they were of the prospect of defeat at the hands of their imperialist rivals. The British proved incapable of winning the support or confidence of tract, it is being broken by the the colonial slaves they have so long oppressed.

> The AP's staff correspondent on May 15 summed up the ease with which the Japanese had seized Burma as follows:

Furthermore, Roosevelt and his "By the maximum use of an army authoritatively estimated agents in Chicago demanded that not to exceed four divisions (about 72.000 men) and an air force the unions forego the wage increases on the ground that it of probably not over 450 planes, Japan drove a massive wedge would interfere with the 7-point from the Bay of Bengal nearly to the borders of Tibet in an amazing four-month campaign that practically separated India and China and virtually cut off the latter from her anti-Japanese allies.

> "What the Japanese won in four months would be cheap at almost any price, but they actually got it at small cost."

'No Attempt to Win Burmese Support"

How did this campaign prove so ridiculously easy, when Burma has a population of more than 15 million, and when China with its tremendous resources of trained manpower was in a position to intervene?

In the first place, as the UP correspondent reported on May 15: "There was no attempt to win Burmese support (Continued on page 2)

begin the freezing of wages. He said that he thought the figure should not be below \$25 a week, which is interpreted to mean that he does not think it should be much above that figure, if any.

(According to the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics, \$50 a week is the minimum figure for a decent standard of living on the basis of the low 1932 prices."

Davis also revealed that this new board would also seek to extend the government's jurisdiction over wages to cover all of industry. Up to now the government has had jurisdiction through the War Labor Board over only about 5 per cent of the demands for wage increases, the other 95 per cent being settled by voluntary agreements between the unions and the bosses. Under this proposed provision, employers would be forbidden to grant wage increases to workers making \$25 a week or more, even in cases where the unions were powerful enough to persuade the employers to grant their demands.

Davis explained that it would then be possible for the government agencies to tell the employers. "You can't raise wages of workers now receiving \$25, or whatever the standard might be, without government review."

This open pronouncement by he head of the War Labor Board, indicating what the government plans for the near future, is obviously a broad hint to the employers to stall on coming to agreement with the unions on wage questions - a hint that they will be only too eager to

The workers have been told by their union leaders that the administration was their "friend" others have been indicted, it is and would protect their conditions sistant Attorney-General Arnold, questionable that they will ac-and rights during the war if they tually be brought to trial. A re- would only follow its advice. Tocent agreement made between the day the strongest offensive against War, Navy and Justice Depart- the workers' standards is coming from the administration itself. The trade unions must now repudiate the "turtle policy" advanced by the union leaders and adstandards are to be protected. tion on appeal from the Attor- Above all, that means a struggle. at the present time under the

A rising scale of wages to meet both past and future!

OPEN LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE MINNESOTA FARMER-LABOR PARTY

From the Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota

Here in Minnesota, as everywhere, the people are grappling with two great problems. We are striving to maintain the social gains won over decades of struggle through the trade unions and farm organizations. And we are seeking a solution to war, fascism and all the social evils which a decaying and outlived profit system inflicts upon us.

Efforts to solve these pressing problems will be effective only if based upon a sound working-class program.

In past years Minnesota has set a progressive example by building a Farmer-Labor Party and placing it in power. Today the need for the workers and poor farmers, to unite on a correct program and to build an independent party representing the masses is stronger than ever. Rank and file Farmer-Laborites throughout the state are hoping that now they can create a political movement divorced from

the old Republican and Demo- ers and farmers it should offer cratic Parties, based upon a program that will represent their true interests.

The Socialist Workers Party shares this hope. We believe that in the last analysis only a fundamental social and economic change and the building of socialism can cure the basic ills of society. Nevertheless, we support every progressive step taken by the workers, both in their economic struggles and in their political action. It is in that spirit that we address this

open letter to you. THE TWO FARMER-LABOR CONVENTIONS

There are two Farmer-Labor conventions appealing to the people for support. A convention of the Stalinist dominated Farmer-Labor Association has been called for June 27-28 in Minneapolis. A convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, called by trade union and farm leaders as well as old-time Farmer-Laborites will be held May 28 in St. Paul. Because the May 28 convention will be more representative of the organized work-

a more favorable opportunity for progressive action.

It is more than possible that the June convention announced by the Stalinists may be called off. and that the Stalinist elements will attempt to take over

the May 28 convention of the Farmer-Labor Party. Should the Farmer-Labor Association hold the June convention, it is certain that nothing constructive will come of it. The Stalinists. who led the Association to its crushing defeat in the 1938 elections, today have even less in common with the needs and in-

DuPonts Also Do Business With Hitler Add another to the list of powerful American trusts which o

ted along with seven other companies by the anti-trust division terests of the people.

of the Department of Justice. If unity and a progressive pro-The indictment, handed down by gram is to be achieved this year, a federal grand jury in Trenton, N. J., charges the du Ponts and it can only be done at the May the other companies with a world 28 convention.

wide conspiracy to suppress com-Unfortunately, the leaders of May convention have a program petition and establish a complete which is as reactionary as that monopoly on dyestuffs, includ- based on detailed documentary of the Stalinists. Their chief ing those used in the processing' evidence from the files of the ambition, like the Stalinists, is of munitions.

to effect a deal with the old Re- The agreement, made between sociates conspired to eliminate publican and Democratic Par- the du Pont corporation and the all competition in the manufac- effort. ties. Only by defeating this Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie, Brit- ture and sale of dyestuffs in this treacherous plan, by insisting ish Imperialist Chemical Indus- country; restricted all exports restrictions on production have by action of the War and Navy increases in the cost of living, (Continued on page 4)

are reaping hundreds of millions in profits from the "war against prices from American consumers alone. One of the principal means fascism" and are still doing business on the side with Hitler. The latest of America's Sixty Families to be linked in a government indictment for a monopoly conspiracy with the Nazi corporations is the du Ponts - O

the famous "Dynasty of Death." | Etablissements Kuhlmann of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and France, was first concluded in Company, America's chemical and 1929. It was extended from time munitions trust, has been indic- to time and was to be operative throughout the war.

It was an agreement which gave the Nazis unrestricted use of American patents in return for not competing in America or the international markets with du Pont.

companies, du Pont and its as-

other manufacturers from engaging in dyestuffs production.

The effect of the conspiracy was described last week by Aswho stated:

indictment are another example of the influence of carte's on Departments power to halt any

velopment of the chemical industry which is essential to our war ney-General. The General Elec-

"The effects of these illegal spiracy suit was recently halted tries, Mitsui of Japan and the and imports; extorted fantastic not been confined to dyestuffs Departments.

of dyestuffs and derivative pro- of conspiracy has been restrictwhich important munitions, particularly explosives and plastics, accept.

"The practices charged by the

tric-Nazi tungsten carbide con- | slogan:

ducts; fixed arbitrarily high ing the production of the chemmonopoly prices; and through a ical intermediates from which patents monopoly, prevented any dyestuffs are made and from could equally well be made." PROFITS AND PATRIOTISM Although du Pont and the

ments gives the War and Navy

American industry. This cartel anti-trust suit which in their According to the indictment, not only resulted in high prices opinion "interferes with the war to the American consumer but effort," unless President Roose- vance their own program, if their. has also restricted the full de- velt directs immediate prosecu-

T W 0 -

THE MILITANT

- MAY 23, 1942

Browder Release Proves He Was Jailed For His 'Views'

who honestly believes that Roose-

sentence if Browder's political

views had remained the same

that they were in 1940. If not

for Hitler's invasion of the So-

viet Union, Browder would have

remained in jail for the full four

The Stalinists, and Browder,

will be the last people in the

ocrisy. For since their political

Roosevelt's Explanation On Why Stalinist Leader Was Arrested Is Sheer Hypocrisy

By PHILIP BLAKE

Acting shortly before Earl Browder became eligible for parole, President Roosevelt on May 16 commuted Browder's four year prison sentence to the term already served, almost 16 months, and thus set him free.

In this way Roosevelt gave open recognition to the fact that the Communist Party, following the German attack on the Soviet Union and the sub-O-

sequent shift in Stalin's policy tempt to deny that the discrimlast summer, has become the nation's most ardent and uncritical supporter of the Roosevelt administration and its war program.

The White House statement 1940. Today his political views, announcing the commutation of dictated from the Kremlin, have sentence attempted, however, to changed. That is the only reacloak the real reason for the son Rooseveit commuted the senoriginal prosecution of Browder. tence. There is no politically It stated, without explaining conscious person in this country why, that "The sentence imposed upon him was longer than the velt would have commuted the usual sentence imposed for offenses. involving the fraudulent obtaining and use of passports." It then continued:

"The President believes that the principle of obedience to law has been sufficiently vindicated years. by the punishment already suffered by Browder and that the commutation of his sentence world to expose Roosevelt's hypwhich brings about his release at this time, just shortly before he line changed almost a year ago, will become eligible for parole, they have been helping the adwill have a tendency to promote ministration to suppress the national unity and allay any feeling which may exist in some the reason for the government's minds that the unusually long prosecution. sentence in Browder's case was by way of penalty imposed upon

him because of his political

views."

PLAIN HYPOCRISY Actually, as everyone knows, night he was convicted, Browder the only reason Browder receiv- spoke at a Madison Square Gared such a severe sentence in den meeting in New York, and 1940 for a trifling technical ir- said: "We must warn the people regularity in connection with his that this verdict of this case is passport — the only reason he only one incident in the drive of was brought to trial at all for the American ruling class toward something which happened many war. . . The motive of this proseyears before - was precisely be- cution lies in the general camcause of his "political views." paign of our ruling class to prewas made after Roosevelt's dis- in the drive of Wall Street and

FIVE YEAR SENTENCE.

against imperialist slaughter and to plunge the United States into war." The Stalinists of course are

not — and were not — fighters against imperialist war, as they showed the whole world after were expressing opposition to the

war program of Roosevelt and Churchill, because they were carrying out the International line of Stalin, then collaborating with Hitler and trying to embarinatory sentence Browder receivrass the "democracies." It was ed was because of his political for the expression of these "poviews, does not stand up. Browlitical views" that the administrader did get a four year sentence tion sent Browder to jail. because of his political views in

The Stalinist "political views" of today are quite different. Toof the war and the administration they attacked two years ago. Today they loudly advocate the press the slightest criticism of tion'." the war which they denounced as

gone so far in support of the war that they are absolutely the only force in the working class which tries to cover up and protect the monopolies who continue to do independence of the unions. business with Hitler.

These "political views" Roose- HARVESTER DECISION truth about the Browder case and

1940 EXPLANATION OF C. P. But the Stalinists have not been able to suppress or burn every pamphlet they printed in those days. On Jan. 22, 1940, the just as the prosecution of Brow-

Browder's first statement on being released demonstrated that he was prepared to repay Roosevelt: "I hope that everyone who is interested in my release will The four year sentence, so severe pare our country for war. . ." make it the occasion, as I will, that even Roosevelt now admits And the Stalinist Defense Com- to weld unbreakable national uniit was "unusually long," was not mittee for Civil Rights for Com- ty under the Commander-in-Chief handed down by accident - it munists said: "It is the first step for victory in the war."

It is expected that Browder trict attorney had demanded A the Roosevelt Administration to will soon begin a national tour out aw the Communist Party - urging intensified support of the Rooseveit's hypocritical at- the most determined fighter administration's war program.

Wages Not Frozen In Seamen's Agreement

WLB Is Setting Dangerous Precedents

Board Opinion Opens Way To U.S. Steel Uses Govt. Intervention In Unions Decision In New

While considerable publicity has been given the general decisions made by the War Labor Board in recent cases, little attention has been paid to certain apparently minor formulas June 22, 1941. But in 1940 they and secondary opinions buried within the lengthy texts of the months, U. S. Steel on May 8 WLB rulings.

> It is precisely these seemingly incidental opinions, however, which are beginning to

build up into an imposing body tion" program fails to halt price subsidiary, the Federal Shipof precedents that may prove more significant in the long run ter decision makes plain. than the primary issues which the Board has been deciding. As AGAINST UNION SHOP Louis Stark, labor commentator, observed in the May 10 New York

Times: "Decisions by the NWLB . day they are all-out supporters | have already begun to form a dis- emphasis on the fact that "maincernible pattern. Concessions against which organized labor fought stoutly for years on the suppression and imprisonment of legislative field are now apparentali working class groups who ex- ly being conceded 'for the dura-

This "discernible pattern" is be imperialist less than a year ago. ing developed in two important Today they stand for speedup of spheres. One is the degree of govthe workers, suppression of ernment intervention and control union militants and the right to over the internal affairs of the strike, support of "wage stabil- unions. The other is the basis for ization," etc. Today they have future decisions respecting wages, contracts, union security, etc. Here are a number of important examples of how the WLB has been gradually encroaching on the

THE INTERNATIONAL

velt, of course, has no interest in | The WLB assumed authority i

persecuting. On the contrary he the International Harvester Comsees the opportunity to utilize the pany case to over-ride the right Soviet Union to sell his program own procedure whether to accept to the workers and to help him in | the Board's ruling granting the the suppression of genuine revo- union a maintenance of memberlutionary socialists. The freeing ship clause. The Board directed of Browder thus assumes the that the government shall conduct character of a political action, a secret referendum of the union workers to determine whether or not they wished to accept the der was a political action. Board's policy.

On the basis of this precedent, the WLB might eventually usurp decide questions independently of an independent slate of 2 union entirely the right of the unions to government control and intervention. The labor members of the Board protested this feature of Trotskyites" and trying to create the ruling, but went along with an amalgam between fascism and union militancy it, stating that in peace time it

would be "an unjustifiable govern-In a typically underhanded manment encroachment upon internal ner, an unsigned lynch campaign union affairs," but that they

WALKER-TURNER CASE

Another instance of government intervention in internal union affairs was the decision in the New Jersey Walker-Turner Company case. The Board not only insisted on reviewing the union constitu-

tion, thus assuming the preroga-

would accept it for the sake of armony during the war.

After successfully defying a government order for ten finally agreed to comply with a War Labor Board ruling diunion.

recting the steel corporation's

rises as the International Harves- building and Drydock Co., to grant a "maintenance of membership" clause to the Industrial Union of Marine Shipbuilding Work-A significant aspect of the re-

sey, plant, cent Federal Shipbuilding company ruling is the Board's strong

tenance of membership" is not the union or closed shop. In this sense, the pointed references in genuine union shop as it is a the union affairs and laying the dermine the union.

formal endorsement of the main- basis for future decisions against tenance of membership clause. One of the gravest dangers to | increases and the union shop.



ers, CIO, at the Kearny, New Jer-

But the corporation did not a condition of employment. give up its efforts to destroy the

gradual development of a body alty "before the new labor conof WLB precedents and opinions the text of the opinion indicate nibbling away bit by bit at the earlier than ten days from now." pression of opposition to the the hand of the government into to utilize the WLB order to un-

The company's tactics drew a justified union demands for wage sharp letter of protest from CIO company from attempting to dis-President Philip Murray, who on

union. In fact, it immediately May 12 wrote the WLB denounc sought to make capital out of ing the company's actions as an

attempt, in violation of the Nathe WLB order itself. Through a letter to the WLB tional Labor Relations Act, to inand a public statement and no- fluence the workers with respect tice in the plant, L. H. Korndorff, to joining a union. A decision as Federal Shipbuilding's president, to whether the company is violating the NLRA would have to by pointedly directing the attention of the workers to two specome from the National Labor Recific clauses of the ruling, inilations Board, which will not tiated a campaign to persuade unmake any decision until after the ion members to quit, and non-10 day period is up. union workers not to join, the

WHAT COMPANY CONCEDED

One clause states that any Even if the company complies in good faith with WLB order, member of the union who gives notice prior to the signing of the what it actually concedes to the union is very little indeed. A contract that he is dropping his membership, will not be penalized | maintenance of membership clause by loss of his job. The other does not grant genuine union sestates that non-members of the curity. All it provides is that union are not required to join as the individual members who agree to stay in the union after the con-

The public statement specifi- tract is signed, or who join thereafter, must continue to pay dues cally advised union men that they the workers and the unions is this | could guit the union without pen- | for the life of the contract, not more than one year. This is not the union or closed shop. As the tract is signed, which will not be WLB ruling points out, it "does that the ruling is as much an ex- rights of the unions, extending The company was clearly trying not require any old employe, any new employe or any employe whatever to join the union at any

time." It does not prevent the courage membership in the union.

> At best, such a maintenance of nembership clause can operate only to permit the union to retain the membership it has at the time the contract is signed. In the Kearny shipyard only about half the workers are union members, according to the union's own admission

Undoubtedly, the reason for the

bosses intend to place the unions

in a position where they in turn

will feel obliged to comply with

any future WLB rulings, no mat-

ter how unfavorable to the work-

WHAT THE COMPANY a few dozen votes of being eiec-EXPECTS IN RETURN

MILITANT PROGRAM

company's formal acceptance of The program of the two-man the Board's ruling was to keen slate was the following four-point the Board's authority intact. In this way, both the Board and the

program: 1. For the preservation of the gains made by the UAW. 2. Opposed to wage cuts. Opposed to any program, no matter by whom proposed, which sacrifices any gains made by the mem-

ers. This is a strategical move bership. We have yet to see the anticipating a WLB ruling afirst sacrifice made by any manugainst the workers in such vital facturer. It's the workers who issues as the demand of the steel fight and die, not the employers. workers for a general dollar-a-Isn't that sacrifice enough day wage increase. Should we sacrifice wages while Should the Board rule against the corporations pile up billions in profits? And what about the the wage increase - which is a fellow-workers in the armed great likelihood --- it will point forces? Shall we be able to face to the example of U.S. Steel as

them later and answer what we an argument for compelling the did with the conditions they unions to accept whatever the fought for, only to have us give them away behind their backs? Board offers. By conceding a 3. For a rising scale of wages very little to the workers in the to meet the rising cost of living. matter of the maintenance of

4. Improve conditions through membership clause, U. S. Steel improvement of working condi- and the other corporations are were rounded up from various on the slate was elected as a de- tions and putting unemployed to anticipating decisive concessions from the WLB in the future.



Stalinists and the prestige of the of the union to determine by its To Link Union Militants With Fascism

FLINT, Mich., May 15 - Election of delegates to the Michigan CIO Convention from Chevrolet Local 659 of the United Auto Workers was marked by a vicious slander campaign against those union militants who offered a program to

the employers and Congress. the administration slate. This campaign, initiated by the

the one hand accused union militants without naming them of being like the fascists and

tributed by the same high-paid | fect on the vote cast for the canjobs in the city to campaign for legate, and the other came within work on idle machinery.

defend the workers' interests against the anti-labor offensive of

leaders of the local and their supporters, and supported by the Stalinists, was directed against

tribution was not stopped. Within an hour of its appearance, the leaflet vanished so completely that it was difficult to

find a single copy. Furthermore, it had little efdidates. One of the two militants

Workers Show Resentment at Attempts

The lynch leaflet, which on candidates, charging them with

on the other denounced them for their "revolutionary purbeing "National Socialists and poses," had little effect on the auto workers, however. They considered the attack so vicious and false that at one plant they threatened to close down if dis-

leaflet was issued in front of the plant gates. But responsibility for the leaflet, despite the attempt to conceal it, can easily be placed

where it belongs. For it was disunion officials and organizers who

The freezing of maritime labor's wages for the duration of the war, a provision originally contained in the agreement NMU agreement reads' as fol- ion constitutions, but it also fixed signed two weeks ago by the unlicensed seamen's unions and lows: the War Shipping Administration, has been eliminated and wage increases can be obtained through the regular channels

reports:

"While wages were frozen in the first draft of the agreement, it was subject to further negotia- ly condemned. tions and has since been eliminated. Wages are not frozen except insofar as union minimums will be safeguarded throughout the war. Higher wages to meet Union of the Pacific, Marine Captain Macauley of the Mariany increased cost of living can Cooks & Stewards and the Mabe negotiated through the reg- rine Firemen, Oilers, Watertendular bargaining machinery."

This does not mean, of course, differed, however, in one importhat the seamen will automatically receive any pay raises to through which the shipowners the repressive measures urged by meet spiraling prices - they still have to fight for such increases. But at least they are not bound by a signed compact

not to even ask for them. Last week the Stalinist-led Na- ing the observance by the ship-

tional Maritime Union, the only owners and government of all in selling out their own memberunion of unlicensed men not in contracts and working conditions ship.

provided in the union contracts. The May 14 issue of Seafarers the united front that signed the Log, official organ of the Atlan- original pact with the WSA, signtic & Gulf District of the Sea- ed an agreement with the govfarers International Union, AFL, ernment on contracts and conditions for the duration of the war

which was even worse than the original united front agreement that the Stalinists had so loud-

The NMU agreement closely of labor relations with the NMU paralleled that which was signed directly under the jurisdiction of a week earlier by the Seafarers the Maritime War Emergency. Sailors Board. This Board is headed by International Union,

time Commission who has a record of anti-labor activities. ers and Wipers Association. It tant respect! It left a loophole to scuttle labor's fight against could launch an offensive on any the government. The united WAGE POLICY clause in the collective bargain-

ing contracts. censed unions isolated the NMU and thereby reduced its power to Whereas the other unions have an iron bound clause guaranteesabotage the fight. The NMU leaders have, however, succeeded

tive of passing judgme for the duration of the war, the the amount of dues which the lo "It is hereby agreed that the cal union might charge its members. The Board ordered the lotive bargaining agreements be cal union not to charge more than provisions of the existing colleccontinued and observed for the \$1 a month dues and \$2 initiation fee. It is easy to see that the duration of the war unless changextension of this precedent can ed by mutual agreement between lead to government usurpation of the War Shipping Administration the policy-making powers of the ment." and the unicns, or in case of a union members and government deadlock by decision of the Maritime War Emergency Board." The national leaders of the In short, the shipowners or the United Electrical, Radio and Magovernment can throw any phase chine Workers accepted the decision while protesting "certain portions of the formula worked out

tent. The policies of the WLB on the matter of wages, contracts and un-The Stalinist leadership of the ion security are taking shape in NMU has, from the first, tried opinions buried in the text of its rulings. .

of unions to an unnecessary ex-

front forged by the other unlicase, the opinion stated that "real wage levels which have been previously arrived at through the channels of collective bargaining mum production of war materials shall be reasonably protected. **TWO UE LOCALS VOTE AGAINST**

expect to receive throughout the war upward changes in its wage structure which will enable it to keep pace with the upward changes in the cost of living." Two vital opinions are here involved. The government assumes

the right to abrogate wage rates established by union contract which it might claim to be impeding war production. This opinion would also permit the government to cancel any union contract provisions under the pretext that these "impede maximum production of war materials."

Further, this opinion rules out for wage increases. Even if prices go up, states this WLB ruling, the workers cannot hope to get wage increases "which will

would have the effect of wiping would be to go to the boss and ward changes in the cost of livout the gains which even the point out the need for a wage ing." This opinion is of extreme

The members of Local 445 which the boss had not even tion" policy. It shows that the Less than 10 workers in this "wage stabilization" on the basis

(Continued from page 1)

by the British Imperials, so that many Burmese joined the Japanese or remained passive."

Furthermore: "Burmese civilian morale was weak from the start. . . There was lack of confidence in Burmese civil govern-

The Burmese natives distrusted not only the British, but also dictation of union constitutions. the native puppets of the British. Only last winter the British authorities had arrested and interned U Saw, Burmese prime minister, without trial and without any evidence of their charge that he was negotiating with the Japanese government. The Burmese natives remember only that just prior to his arrest, U Saw had which invade the internal affairs given public expression to their intense desire to achieve national independence. It is no wonder they distrusted the Burmese native government, handpicked by the British after U Saw's arrest.

> Another important factor in the fall of Burma was the failure to utilize the Chinese veteran troops, offering to fight the Japanese.

The UP correspondent says:

"All the time (that the Japanese were advancing with ease) thousands of Chinese soldiers waited, for nearly two months, be-In the International Harvester fore in March they were permitted to march in and take over part of the front.

"Chinese officers have insisted to me that they would have been abie to hold the Japanese behind the Sittang River had perand which do not impede maxi- mission been given earlier for them to join the Imperials."

And the AP correspondent says that this factor "decided the campaign." "Enthusiasts envisioned at that time huge Chinese This does not mean that labor can armies streaming into Burma immediately. But they did not arrive." Why?

> The AP correspondent tries to explain the situation as folows: "Native Burmese ministers protested against possible entrance of the Chinese." But this is only another way of saying that the British protested, for the Burmese ministers were the puppets of the British and did what they were toid. The British only used them because they themselves feared the presence of the Chinese soldiers.

Why did the British reject the offer that might have stopped the Japanese advance?

Because they feared that the Burmese people would rise up and take advantage of the opportunity to gain their independence, - revolts were already taking place against the British authorities in many villages — and they feared that the Chinese soldiers could not be depended on to aid the British in suppressing the price rises as a justifiable basis native people. They feared that the Chinese soldiers who themselves were fighting valiantly for independence from imperialist domination, would sympathize with and perhaps aid the Burmese in securing their independence. That was why they rejected the offer for almost two months.

An April 22 dispatch from a New York Times correspondent in China shows that the fears of the British on this score were management had conceded the increase and at the same time importance in the light of the ad- well founded. The Times' correspondent reveals that the natives voluntarily accept a wage cut ministration's "wage stabiliza- were at first suspicious of the reason for the Chinese troops' entry on Burmese soil. The Chinese had liaison interpreters between the the initiative of the executive voiced opposition to the surrend- sought in this particular plant. administration's justification for natives and Chinese troops, who at first were unable to understand Burmese mistrust and hostility.

> "The Chinese troops in Burma are conscious of the tremendous ing wages even if the "anti-infla- | responsibilities, national and international, on their shoulders. When

Chinese reporter asked half a dozen soldiers how they liked fighting in Burma all replied: 'All we want is to fight the Japanese.'

That is, the Chinese soldiers were not in Burma to defend British imperialist rule, but to defend China. True, they had crossed the border. But the British knew that the mere crossing of a border did not change the character of China's war, nor of the attitude of the Chinese soldiers. For the Chinese were merely acting in accord with an obvious military tactic, they wanted to stop the Japanese BEFORE the Burma Road.

. In a desperate attempt to save the "white man's" face, the British then put pressure on behind the scenes to secure the appointment of the American General Stilwell as head of the Chinese expeditionary force, so that the Asiatic peoples would not see Chinese-led troops possibly achieving in Burma what the British had miserably failed to do.

But the British understood that even the appointment of Stilwell would not change the situation, because he was essentially a front, a top official with a Chinese general staff and Chinese officers throughout the troops; and they feared that any achievements of these troops would be considered Chinese and that once these fighters for independence were tightly lodged in Burma, they would not willingly give way to the restoration of British imperialist control.

That is why the British would not admit Chinese troops, even with Stilwell in command, until the war was almost over, and that is why even then they admitted only "one Chinese army, equivalent in numbers to one Japanese division."

There is one other interesting aspect to the reports which sheds a good deal of light on the aims of the Burmese natives who refused to support Britain and who were therefore accused of being "pro-Japan." The UP report says:

"Throughout the advance of the Japanese in Burma they interfered as little as possible with the local governments set up by the Burmese as each town fell, apparently letting the natives form independent islands of administration until the entire country was conquered when taking over the disunited colony would be simple."

In other words, these natives were concerned primarily with setting up their own government. They attempted to do this behind the Japanese lines, as well as behind the British lines. If there were less manifestations of hostility to the Japanese than to the British, it was because the Japanese shrewdly took advantage of the native's sentiments and pretended to be in favor of their independence, while the hide-bound conservative British openly showed themselves to everyone to be opposed to Burmese independence.

Of course the Japanese are no more interested in permitting independence for the Burmese than the British. Undoubtedly they will soon begin to try to bring Burma under their complete domination. But the Burmese showed by their actions that what they were fighting for was national independence, and they will certainly fight back against the Japanese imperialists with the same determination and vigor that marked their struggle for independence from Britain.

in the Stalinist-dominated Dis- with only five members voting took the floor to show that protrict 4 of the United Electrical, against. Radio and Machine Workers of

America, CIO, have voted overwhelmingly to reject the proovertime pay rates for holiday and week-end work.

The two locals which took this action were the Ford Instrument Local 425 in New York and the raise, and the surrender of the last year, and it was obvious to National Union Local 445 in Newark, N. J. Their action has not been reported in the union's official paper. UE News.

The vote to reject the General Officers' proposal was made at board in Local 425. The vote of | er of their overtime wage standthe four shifts of the union, ards on the grounds that it was union of 1500 voted in favor of of "price control" is a fraud. For which represents 3,000 members, false that labor or labor's pay the General Officers' appeasement the WLB has no intention of raisin favor of the executive board was in any way responsible for proposal.

At least two important locals motion, was almost unanimous, holding up production. Members

duction would not be increased by The members expressed them- appeasing the bosses on this quesselves against the General Offi- tion, and to answer the UE orcers' proposals on the grounds ganizer's argument about "equal that it constituted a voluntary sacrifice" by pointing out that posal of their General Officers wage-cut which would lower their labor is already making all the to surrender the established living standards at a time when sacrifices and the bosses are

rising prices have already dras- making none. The local is at present engaged tically raised the cost of living. As some workers pointed out, the | in trying to secure wage increasunion had recently won a pay es to counteract price rises in the

established overtime pay rates everyone how contradictory it enable it to keep pace with up-

SURRENDER OF OVERTIME RATES

workers were entitled to get.

MAY 23, 1942-



The Negro press was so jubilant last week about Roosevelt's granting the Navy Cross to Dorie Miller, Negro hero of Pearl Harbor, that they all overlooked a very ironic twist to the affair. In granting the award, Roosevelt cited: "His distinguished devotion to duty, extraordinary courage and disregard for his own personal safety during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor." Miller's extraordinary courage that day is well known to everyone now - but doesn't a citation about his "devotion to duty" ring a little funny? According to the Navy's Jim Crow regulations, it was Miller's duty to wash the dishes and serve the food - and NOT to touch any of the guns. If he had carried out the functions to which he was assigned, Miller would not have received the Navy Cross last week. . . According to the Navy Department, Miller will be awarded the Cross on board the ship where he is now stationed. That should also present an ironic spectacle. When the ceremony is completed, Miller will be sent back to the kitchen again to devote himself to the duty of washing dishes. For according to the new Navy ruling, by which Negroes in a special Jim Crow division will be assigned to posts outside of the mess department, Negroes who are on ships where there are white sailors will still be permitted to serve only in the mess department.

Some things change, and some things seem to go on in the same old way. Now they're going to have women in the army. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives have passed a bill authorizing the establishment of a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, under control of regular army, and the president has issued an executive order establishing the auxiliary. Under this set-up 150,000 women will soon be in the army. That certainly is a far cry from the attitude toward women prevailing during the first world war. But while things like this may change, Jim Crow conducts business as usual. An amendment to the Senate bill to prevent racial discrimination in the auxiliary was withdrawn in response to pressure from anti-Negro elements.

* * *

* * * A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, and the one who was responsible for calling off the March on Washington a year ago, has made many speeches and written many articles during the last two years in which he asserted that this is a "war for democracy". The Negro people, he said long before Pearl Harbor, must give unconditional support to the war because only by a vicant tory for the "democratic" nations would they be in a position to secure the democratic rights which they are denied in this country. Last week Randolph made a speech at a mass meeting in San Antonio, Texas, in which he emphasized the need for the Negro people to struggle for the abolition of the poll tax and the white primary system. "Randolph," according to the May 16 Pittsburgh Courier, "stated that Negroes must realize the necessity of winning the right to

Bob Harte Was A GPU Victim

Secretary of Trotsky Was Assassinated by Stalin Agents Two Years Ago

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Shortly before dawn on May 24, 1940 some 25 men penetrated the walls surrounding the home of Leon and Natalia Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico, kidnapped the secretary-guard on duty, Robert Sheldon Harte, riddled the bedroom of the aged revolutionists with machine gun slugs, hurled incendiary bombs, and fled, believing they had succeeded in assassinating the most prominent leader of the world socialist revolution.

An "accident of war," as Trotsky termed it, had enabled him and Natalia to live a few more months before Stalin, leader of world reaction in the working class, would make a second and more desperate attempt.

Harte was carried to a lonely cabin in the mountains a few miles away, one bullet sent crashing into the back of his head, another in his temple, and his body thrown into a grave which had been laid with lime in preparation for the bodies of Trotsky and Natalia

Slander As Well As Assassination

In order to divert attention from Stalin's GPU who had perpetrated this crime, the Stalinist press intensified their hue and cry against Trotsky. They denied any connection whatever with the murder of Harte and the attempted murder of Trotsky and his wife. They accused Trotsky of having organized a "selfassault," of carrying on "an international blackmail," of acting as "an instrument in the Yankee war of nerves against Mexico." Previously they had accused him of being in the "service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the United States," of having "links . . .with Wall Street." This was in the days of the pact between Stalin and Hitler; having himself become an agent of Hitler, it was necessary for Stalin to convert the old slander about Trotsky's being a "Gestapo agent" into the new slander of being a "Wall Street Agent."

On June 18, however, the Mexico City police department announced that with the arrest of 27 members of the Communist Party the case had been solved. David Alfaro Siqueiros, prominent in Stalinist circles, was named as the actual leader of the murderers, a role he later confessed when apprehended by the police. Luis Arenal, well known contributor to the New Masses and Futuro, magazine of Stalin's Mexican representative, Lombardo Toledano, together with his brother Leopoldo Arenal, were named as the two who shot Harte. They have not yet been apprehended by the police. Two others of those who fired the machine guns were contributors to Toledano's Futuro, Felix Guerrero Mejia and Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, author of an article attacking Trotsky.

Other Murder Agents of the GPU

The police established that David Serrano, member of the Political Bureau of the Mexican Communist Party, had organized a network of spies surrounding Trotsky's home in Coyoacan. Among these spies were Serrano's former wife, Julio Barradas de Serrano, and another female member of the Communist Party who attempted to worm their way into the confidence of the police detail in preparation for the machine gun assault.

The Communist Party assigned a lawyer member of its Central Committee, Pavon Flores, to represent the prisoners Serrano and Martinez.

The police further established that it was Central Committee member Serrano who obtained the police uniforms which were used as disguises by the assailants.

Trotsky estimated that the GPU had spent at least \$10,000 in merely the physical preparations for the murder, not counting arrangements of false passports, bribes, etc.

The higher-ups in the organization of the plot were never uncovered by the police. Oumansky, the old GPU agent who had been sent to Washington by Stalin, ostensibly as Ambassador although he was nothing but a professional organizer of GPU plots, moved in complete immunity until he was recalled to Moscow by Stalin. Since then he has dropped from public view.

Role of Trotsky's Murderer

Jacson, who later succeeded in murdering Trotsky, undoubtedly played a leading part in the May 24 'assault. The Stalinist prisoners reported that one of their leaders, besides Siqueiros, was a "French Jew" whose name they did not know — a mysterious person who spoke Spanish with a decided accent. Jacson may already have become known to Harte and was undoubtedly the one who succeeded in inveigling Harte into opening the barred doors for the Stalinists disguised in police uniforms.

On June 25, the Mexican police, working on the clues furnished by the Stalinist assassins whom they had arrested, discovered the body of Harte. Because of the dryness of the ground or for some other reason, the lime had not destroyed the corpse. Early in the morning the police brought locks of his hair and pieces of his underwear for identification by Trotsky's household. Bob's red kinky hair was unmistakable. We had known him well in the Downtown Branch of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party where he had proved himself a devoted, hard working comrade ready to carry out any assignment within his capacities.

None of us can ever forget the grave stern face

place showed no sympathy with

his Chinese crewmen. On the

globe it was quite different.

There existed a close bond of

sympathy between the Norwegian

officers and the Chinese crew.

They helped the Chinese crew get

a big pay raise in Australia and

Africa. And the captain tried his

best, though unsuccessfully, to

induce American immigration au-

thorities at New Orleans to per-

mit one of the seamen to go

end of the powerful Norwegian

Seamen's Union. In its place has

come a phony company union

which represents, not the men,

time ashore.

of the Old Man after the news had been broken to him, and the tears that came down his cheeks. "Poor Bob, poor slandered Bob." For the Stalinists who murdered him had then turned around and accused him in their press of being "implicated" in the plot - no doubt a move calculated to cover up and divert attention from Jacson. Bob was the eighth of Trotsky's secretaries to die at the hands of Stalin in his desperate efforts to halt the growth of the Fourth International. Before him, the following heroes of the working class fell: Glasman, Butow, Blumkin, Sermus, Poznansky, Kiement, Wolfe, and Trotsky's own son, Leon Sedov.

The guilt of the Stalinists was recognized by everyone - but the participants went practically scotfree. Stalinist pressure and corruption succeeded in eliminating the charges of murder and attempted murder, use of firearms, usurpation of official functions (of police officers) and criminal association. In the end Siqueiros faced only the charges of housebreaking, unlawful use of uniforms, robbery of two cars, and damaging another's property (with machine gun volleys!)

Nor did he pay any penalty for even these charges. He applied for bail, was granted the application, and less than a month later, skipped bail and fled to Chile. At the present time he is living in Chile, working on some murals for a school the Mexican government is constructing there.

Salute to Bob Harte

Bob was young - only 25. He had everything to live for. His family was well to do. Had he wished, he could have pursued a life of comfort and ease like the majority of the class he came from. But that life seemed inadequate. The stagnation and decay of the capitalist class repelled him. He could not endure the stultifying atmosphere of the business world. Despite the dangers and hardships of the revolutionary's way of life, he found his way to Trotskyism. The only place where he could find a cause worth completely devoting his life to, was in the movement to end the ignorance, misery, poverty, and war of the imperialist epoch by organizing the means of production along rational planned lines and thereby ushering in the universal brotherhood of man. Bob found that cause great enough to make his life worthwhile, short though his years were. In the great future society of socialism, Robert Sheldon Harte will be remembered as one of those who made the glorious new life possible. Many times when we sang The Internationale at meetings we raised our fists together with Bob in token of our irreconcilable struggle against the horror and anarchy of capitalism. Today, Bob, we salute you in memory of your sacrifice. Your spirit along with that of our other martyrs marches in our ranks.

for two years, arriving in Cape- tolerable plight of his fellowtown, decided he would take a workers by means of union orrest ashore for a few months. ganization. Both they and my He had been twice torpedoed and informant had been members of his nerves were in bad shape. the old Norwegian Seamen's Union. Realizing that the phony ficient money to insure that he union they now have is a boss orwould not become a public ganization, they resolved to work charge. But no — the British for the establishment of a real immigration authorities insisted union. Arriving more than a that he stay with his ship, or year ago at New York, they quit



— THREE

The letters written by Marx (with the aid of Engels) for the New York Daily Tribune in 1853 read as freshly as though written but yesterday. The letters that dealt with India were later collected into a pamphlet called "The British Rule in India." The occasion for writing on this subject was the introduction of a bill in Parliament by a lame-duck Whig government which was attempting to perpetuate the direct rule of monopoly capitalism in view of the end of the overlordship of the East India Company. The words of Marx are worth quoting here.

"How came it that English supremacy was established in India? The paramount power of the Great Moghul was broken by the Moghul viceroys. The power of the viceroys was broken by the Mahrattas. The power of the Mahrattas was broken by the Afghans, and while all were struggling against all, the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all. A country not only divided between Mohammedan and Hindu. but between tribe and tribe, between caste and caste, a society whose framework was based on a sort of equilibrium resulting from a general repulsion and constitutional exclusiveness between all its members. Such a country and such a society, were they not the predestined prey of conquest?"

The story of British rule in India is the story of the fostering of these divisions. Race against race, tribe against tribe, one kind of state against another kind, one religion against another. Meantime the shameless hypocrisy of deploring the lack of progress as being due not to British sabotage, but to something innate in the Indian peoples. Churchill, through the "honest" Cripps, plays once again on this old tune, using Mohammedan against Hindu. Marx quotes from the speech of Sir Charles Wood, the Cripps of his day: "In India you have a race of people slow of change, bound up by religious prejudices, and antiquated customs. These are, in fact, all obstacles to rapid progress." The same song! But Marx showed the tremendous impact of British capitalism on Hindu civilization. England first of all exploited the hand skill of the Hindu cotton spinners and weavers by becoming the middleman to carry this goods from India to Europe. Then England applied machinery to the manufacture of the new textiles. The trade was then turned right around and England could actually seil cotton goods more cheaply to India than it could be made by the coolie labor of the Indian peasant. The result was the complete undermining of 'Indian life and society'. Marx says of this:

"All the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid, and destructive as the successive action in Hindustan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface. England has broken down the whole framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstruction yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to

U. S. Ports Discriminate Against Chinese Seamen From his pay he had saved sufmit to the status of inferiority which the imperialists thrust

else! upon them. In New York harbor their ship, intending to remain The captain of the ship I was ashore and sign Norwegian seaon April 11 twelve members of the Chinese crew of a British men into an independent unic on was honing for a r merchantman entered the cap- he arrived in America after piof their own as the ships came present misery of the Hindus, and separates Hintain's quarters and demanded loting his vessel through dangerin. dustan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient shore leave. According to press ous waters for some 20,000 miles traditions, and from the whole of its past his-They had been ashore and acreports, the captain ordered them on a single voyage. This hope tory." tive only a couple of weeks when to leave and see him about the was shortlived, for he was told FBI agents got on their trail. matter later. The leader of the on arrival that he had been as-The pair were arrested, accused

camp.

they were shanghaied on board

a British freighter which took

them to a Canadian concentration

It is easy to understand, then,

Join the Socialist

Workers Party

THE MILLTANT

vote in the South before the war ends, while world opinion is watching the profession and practice of the democratic process everywhere. After the war it may be too late, he concluded." Would it be impertinent of us to ask Randolph to publicly explain what kind of "war for democracy" it is that he thinks may end with the Negro people being in a worse position to gain equality than they are in now?

John Wesley Jones of Greenville, South Carolina, was found guilty of breaking the law two weeks ago. Judge James M. Richardson ordered him to pay a fine of \$20 or serve 30 days in jail. The crime with which he was charged was "resisting arrest" because he sat down beside a white man on a trolley car when there were no more seats in the "colored section" of the car. Said the judge: "Somebody has been talking to you and you are getting ideas in your head, and when you get ideas trouble is bound to result. You can't fight back. The law requires segregation of the races, and whether it is a good law or not, it must be carried out." That's the trouble with the John Wesley Joneses in this country - they hear all this talk about a "war for democracy" and equality and all this condemnation of Hitler's discrimination against the Jewish people, and they start getting ideas in their heads and the next thing you know they're acting just like regular_criminals and outlaws, daring to sit down beside a white man no less! It's enough to make a cracker sick at the stomach.

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On the War Fronts by Joseph Hansen. The Program for Peace by Leon Trotsky. The Role of Burnham and the Apology of Schachtman by F. M.

Underground Austria and the Soviet Union

Single copies of this issue cost 20 cents. A year's subscription may be secured for \$2.00. For either, write Business Manager, Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York.

One recent day a Norwegian freighter entered the port of New Orleans. As the vessel was coming alongside, a group of burly, grey-uniformed Pinkerton guards appeared on the wharf. Two took up stations on the port side while the others took up positions at the gangways. Their job was to see that no member of the 37-man Chinese crew.

Citizens of America's 'Brave Ally' Are

Not Even Permitted to Leave Their Ships

By a Correspondent

left the ship. This has long been paign to raise several million the practice whenever a ship with dollars for refugee relief in an Oriental crew enters a port China. of the United States.

It is one thing to talk about The practice stems from the the hardships of Chinese in China whole policy of American impe--quite another to mention, much rialism in its dealings with the less demand the ending of, vile Oriental peoples. It is legalized injustices done to Chinese in in the Immigration Act of 1924 America.

which barred Orientals from en-America is in this war to as tering this country, exception be- sure freedom for all peoples? ship aboard which I girdled the ing made only in the case of Let the American imperialists we l-heeled students and persons begin by giving freedom to temporarily employed as servants | Chinese seamen. Let them proby white people.

claim the end of the unequal I was aboard the ship which treaties with China, which it is entered New Orleans. She had also entirely within their power just completed a voyage of close to do. It's a safe bet they will an additional war bonus in South to 20,000 miles and was bringing do neither unless they are forced. a ten million dollar cargo to this Today, when Japan is locked country. One of the last ships to | in mortal combat with its Amerescape from the Philippines when | ican imperialist rival, and when Japan struck, she was loaded Washington could be successfulwith rubber and tin from Malaya, ly pressed to make vital conces- ashore to locate his brother's gunneys from India, coconut oil sions in the interest of maintain-| grave. This Chinese seaman's and hemp from the Philippines ing the United Nations' front in brother had been killed, ironical-- all items of high value in the the Far East, China could comly enough, when a British ship American war program. Her pel Washington to abrogate that on which he was working was crew had sailed her almost clear section of the Immigration Act torpedoed off the east coast. But around the world, through every which discriminates against Chi- the authorities were adamant in imaginable danger. Every minute nese seamen and others on racial refusing him permission to spend of every day for more than three grounds. It could at least try to months they had risked violent

Norwegian 'maritime workers force Washington to declare an death or serious injury to get end to the unequal treaties. But are sympathetic to the Chinese the ship to her destination. They Chungking and its diplomatic because they are in a somewhat arrived to discover that they representatives in this country like situation. They have few would not be permitted to put remain as silent as the grave, rights and are virtually prisonfoot ashore but would have to content to take whatever crumbs ers to their ships. The Nazi ocremain on shipboard during the the Washington imperialists cupation of Norway meant the

month or more that the vessel choose to let fall from their tawould require to discharge her ble, and nothing more. cargo and make ready for sea CHIANG DOES NOTHING again.

In its failure to demand and

TALK AND ACTION insist upon the immediate ending The fact that Washington, deof racial discrimination against spite its tireless eulogies of the Chinese sailors in this country, brave Chinese nation," conthe Chiang Kai-shek regime retinues to treat Chinese and other veals itself as the agent of the Orientals as coolies, is an indi- | Chinese ruling class and in turn cation of what is in store for as the humble servitor of the the Asiatic people if, failing to "democratic" imperialists. As win and hold their independence, long as this regime remains in they fall under the heel of dollar power China can never gain true mperialism. independence.

While the Chinese sailors were The Chinese sailors return to being made prisoners on their their homeland and tell others

ship at New Orleans, the press, what America's "war for freethe radio and official spokesmen dom" looks like where Chinese country I ran into a ship's en-

crewmen reportedly swung at the signed to a tanker which he was British skipper with a marlin to sail to England ten days hence. Without even a pretense of a trial spike and the skipper shot him | "Suppose you refuse - tell them dead. Police were summoned and you're not in shape for such an undertaking?" I inquired. He the remaining 11 were arrested. smiled back at me wearily, BOND OF SYMPATHY

'Would you like to be sent to a The British master of the ship concentration camp in Canada?" where the above "mutiny" took he asked.

why Norwegian seamen, including the deck and engine-room offi-DEEPLY DISCONTENTED cers, have developed a feeling of Denied any real freedom, and sympathy for Chinese sailors. given reading rooms ashore in-The war, while developing and stead of badly needed improvefanning race prejudices in some ments in wages and working conquarters, is breaking them down ditions, Scandinavian seafaring in others and creating a sentimen have become deeply disconment of international working. tented. Men without a country, class solidarity. they are forced without respite to

sail the hazardous seas in a TASK FOR THE cause which more and more of AMERICAN UNIONS them are coming to feel is not The maritime unions in Amertheir own. They hate the Nazis, ica can do much to promote and but find themselves victims of a solidify this thoroughly progressystem of virtual slavery which sive tendency among the seamen matches the plight of their of the various nations, all of countrymen in the Nazi-occupied whom are suffering from tremcountries. If the Norwegian facendous disabilities. They can, tory worker goes on strike, he and should, take up the grievmay be jailed or even executed by ances of Chinese and Scandinathe Nazis. If the Norwegian seavian seamen, fight for them and man becomes dissatisfied, grumprotect them against the vicious bles out loud and says something

ill or Roosevelt, or even if he is only just tired and quits his ship, he is headed straight for jail or "democratic" concentration camp.

successful fight for the rights of These sailors have told me, and Chinese and Scandinavian seamen I have seen for myself, how spies would take the wind out of the and stooi-pigeons frequent the sails of America's bosses in their bars in various ports. They listen assaults on American maritime in to the sailors' talk, ears cocklabor. ed for "disloval" remarks. Or

but the shipping bosses organized in the Norwegian Shipping they draw the men into converand Trade Mission. The latter sation and get them to betray is a creation of the Norwegian government-in-exile.

Norwegian seamen, and that includes officers and skippers, are permitted to remain ashore in Alied ports only for the briefest time. They must sail with the ship they came in on, get another within a few weeks

- or suffer imprisonment.

In a port remote from this A Norwegian seaman confided to me the story of what happenof Washington were whooping it are concerned. Meanwhile they gineer who told me his story. ed to two of his seafaring friends up for China United Relief cam- are not the least inclined to sub- He had traveled in the war zones who sought to mitigate the in-

The founder of scientific socialism does not regret the breaking up of the stagnancy of Asiatic despotic civilization. Marx sees the process of a deep-going change in all Asia, all the East, beginning in India. The solution to the painful upheaval of Oriental life is not the restoration of the old, outworn system with its idiotic customs. It does not lie in the resumption by tens of millions of Indian peasants of their toil at the hand spinning machines and the hand looms. That is the Utopian program of Gandhi, a reactionary program. It lies rather in the completion of the new integration of social life on the new plane. That completion can come only with socialism. The liberation of India depends on the action of the united masses of India, throwing off the yoke of the imperialist oppressor, and on the English working class lending its helping hand against the common oppressor.

Meantime Marx, in passing, throws light on the present situation in India. He writes: "The native army, organized and trained by the British Drill Sergeant, was the sine qua non of Indian seif-emancipation, and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first foreign intruder."

The policy of pacifism, adopted as the official policy of the Indian Congress Party, must be utterly condemned by every Hindu who sincerely wants the emancipation of his country. The Indian toiler must understand the enormous difference between the force used by the conqueror to whip into submission those whom he would enslave, and the force used by the oppressed to cast off the shameful yoke of slavery. The Indian people must place no reliance whatsoever on the British to defeat the imperialist aim of Japan in seizing India. Japan can be defeated by the independently organized resistance of the Hindus and the Mohammedans of town and countryside, united against the would-be invader. India has a unique opportunity to strike a blow for its liberation from all imperialism. The Hindu people, far from resorting to passive resistance, must learn the use of arms to defend themselves and to cast out all imperialist oppressors, British or Japanese.

The actions of the leaders of the Indian Congress Party, whether it be Gandhi or Nehru, make plain that the struggle for liberation must be fought not only against the foreign oppressor, but against the native one as well. It is only fear of the masses that dictates the cowardly policies of these misleaders. Their aim is not emancipation for India but a deal, a bargain, with one conqueror or the other,

Next week THE MILITANT their real feelings about the war. will print an article by Gordon Hundreds of discontented Nor-Bailey on governmental diswegian and Danish sailors trapped thus are now languishing in crimination against Japanese-British and perhaps American Americans on the Pacific Coast. concentration camps. Most of these "fifth columnists" - that's what the imperialists call them

- are in concentration camps in Canada, some having been shipped there from the United States.

persecution which is their lot in uncomplimentary about Church-American ports. This would not merely be a fine display of international labor solidarity: it would also serve the cause of American seamen. A

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FOUR-



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

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

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Why Stalin Doesn't **Trust His Allies**

As the Red Army of the workers' state locks in decisive combat with the fascist foe, the American press once more reports the remarkable fact that the American and British "allies" remain in the dark concerning Soviet strategy, Soviet strength in manpower and material, Soviet war production.

"U. S. military "opinion," reports Time magazine on May 11, "is that neither Britain nor the U. S. has any accurate knowledge of Russia's military strength. Stalin plays his cards close to his chest, trusts no man, not even his new partners, with what is in his hand." Again: "The U. S. high command has seen little of Russian armaments, and nothing of the front." The New York Times military expert, Hanson Baldwin, reports May 17 that the Russians "have not allowed our observers at the front, and such basic factors as number of German prisoners in Russian hands and number of Russian divisions available are not known in this country." Why does Stalin refuse to let his allies know what capitalist allies ordinarily know about each other's forces? Whether the Red Army is weak or strong, in either case the motivation of the Kremlin, logically, is the same: it does not trust its allies. Maybe, if the British and American governments knew certain facts, the Kremlin fears, it would receive less arms from its allies. Or it may be that the Kremlin has the perspective that, at the next stage of the war after Hitler is weakened, the "democracies" would use its military information about the Soviet Union in an assault on it.

of the USSR, that the masses should put all their trust in Roosevelt and Churchill, etc. Stalin and his minions lied to the masses during the Stalin-Hitler pact; they lie now too. To the extent that Stalinism influences the masses, they are left completely unprepared for future unfriendly acts by the "democracies" against the Soviet Union.

To sum up: The Stalinist bureaucracy defends the Soviet Union by its typical bureaucratic methods: behind-the-scenes deals and operations, without any regard for the sentiments and interests of the great masses of the USSR and the whole world. But the only real defense of the Soviet Union, in the last analysis, is the defense of which the international proletariat is capable. That is the extension of the October Revolution to the rest of the world. Only Workers' and Farmers' Governments, only the Socialist United States of Europe and America, can assure the safety of the Soviet Union.

Thus Stalin's bureaucratic methods work against the real defense of the Soviet Union. His private distrust of the capitalist powers is more than outweighed by the unlimited public credit he grants them through the Communist parties. By delivering the masses to Roosevelt and Churchill, he is hamstringing the defense of the Soviet Union. When Stalin sold the Comintern to Hitler, many people understood the terrible damage that Stalin was dealing to the Soviet Union. Equally damaging is his re-sale of the Comintern to the "democracies." The proof of this is Stalin's utter (but private) distrust of his capitalist "allies."



We have received from Canada a copy of an official press statement issued April 17 by the Young Communist League of Canada. It says in part:

"On Sunday, April 17, a special national conference of the YCL convened in Toronto. After exhaustive discussion the conference unanimously voted that the YCL be disbanded as of April 17, 1942. . .

"It is to be regretted that the illegality of the YCL, which was imposed as a result of basic differences on the Munich policy, was continued (by the government) in the present totally different historic setting. .

"The national conference of the YCL is confident that all young people who belong to the YCL will work even more strenuously for unity and for victory in 1942 to win the war. . ."

In short, the good name of Canadian "democracy", compromised by its outlawry of the YCL, is to be saved by dissolving the YCL!

The Stalinist press in this country has failed to publish the facts about the situation of the outlawed Canadian Stalinists, as it has likewise failed to publish the recent news of the outlawry of the Stalinist party in Ceylon, the continued illegality of the Stalinists in India and other British colonies, the fact that Churchill himself has refused to reverse the outlawry of the Daily Worker in Britain, etc. This spectacle of being kicked in the face by their "allies" is too, too embarassing.

Hillman: Used Up

If Hillman is a typical guinea pig, a period of about two years is the length of prime usefulness to

Open Letter To Members Of Farmer-Labor Party

(Continued from page 1) that the Farmer-Labor movement break with the old bosscontrolled parties can the delegates to the May convention assure the progressive growth and success of the Farmer-Labor Party. This movement was defeated in 1939 primarily because it did not break with the old capitalist parties.

THE MILITANT

Benson and the Stalinists who dominated his administration, did not fight for a program in the interests of the workers and farmers. They proposed no basic solution to the problem confronting the people. Their program was based always upon the interests of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

SWP WARNED FLP IN 1938

In an open letter to Governor Benson, issued by the Socialist Workers Party before the November 1938 elections, we predicted and tried to prevent the defeat of the Farmer-Labor Party. We said then:

"The truth is that the Farmer-Labor Party is in mortal danger of a defeat at the hands of reaction, unless the workers and farmers can be armed with a program which will spur them to the utmost efforts to achieve victory." Twelve concrete proposals - for housing, farm prices, unemployment relief, public works, etc., were presented by the Socialist Workers Party as a basis for such a program. But, we warned, "The above program cannot be carried out without a sharp break with the Democratic national machine, neither can it be carried out until the Farmer-Labor Party makes a clear ideological break with Roosevelt's most vociferous supporters, the most determined prowar group in the country today, namely the Communist Party." Unfortunately for the workers and farmers of Minnesota, this program and these proposals were ignored.

This year, as in 1938, if the Farmer-Labor Party does not break with the old boss parties, it will fail to inspire the workers and farmers or secure their support.

Rank and file Farmer-Laborites, trade unions and farm organizations cannot depend on either the Stalinists or the conservative right-wingers to supply the program and the leadership which will solve the burning problems confronting the **CRDC** Dance Frolic people of Minnesota today. Both groups are even now making behind-the-scenes overtures to re-presentatives of the old-line cap-italist parties. A company-unhind-the-scenes overtures to reion alliance of the Farmer-Labor

be smashed if we entrust the fight to the bosses.

Moreover, these same monopolists are waging a war against labor under cover of patriotism. The Farmer-Labor movement must demand that the factories be taken out of the hands of these monopolists and their dollar-a-year agents, and operated by the government under workers control.

4. Preserve Civil Liberties.

Civil liberties are gravely endangered during this war. The convinction of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis last December, is a danger to The Farmer-Labor moveall. ment must take a stand to defend the Bill of Rights. In wartime as in peacetime all civil liberties must be observed.

5. For Democratic **Rights In the**

Armed Forces. Both the unions and the Farmer-Labor Party must take up the

cudgels on behalf of the workersoldiers. The Farmer-Labor Party must become known as the champion of the men in the armed forces. If this is not done, the reactionary forces will succeed in carry-

ing out their program of using the soldiers and sailors against the labor and progressive movement during and after the war. **6.** Cancel All Farm

Debts.

Minnesota farmers are fighting a losing battle against a huge burden of debt. The Farmer-Labor movement must advance the demand that all farm debts, farm mortgages, and seed loans be cancelled. The Farmer-Labor movement must fight to defend the farmers from the encroachment of the banks, and unite workers and farmers against their common enemies.

7. Equal Rights for the Negro People.

Shameful discrimination by Minnesota industry against Negro workers still prevails. Even more revolting is the discrimination which exists against the Negroes in government service,

both military and civil. The Negro people must have full social, economic and political equality

8. For a Workers' and **Farmers' Government.**

Even the most elementary problems facing the workers and farmers today are political problems. Only by vigorously defending the unions and by uniting the workers' ranks on the political field can we overcome the attempts by employers and government to crush labor, and put a stop to the cowardly retreats of the trade union leaders. If the Minnesota Farmer - Labor 'Party raises the banner of independent working class political action, it will give an inspiring example to the people through out the nation.

Together the masses could march towards the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States, and the replacement of the worn-out capitalist system by a socialist economy.

9. Defend the Soviet Union.

 \star

The heroic resistance of the Russian workers against Hitler's war machine has demonstrated that the people will fight to the death for industries and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and landlords.

The Socialist Workers Party hails this heroic defense of the Soviet Union by the brave Russian workers and peasants. We defend the Soviet Union unconditionally, despite the crimes of Stalin, because the Soviet Union remains a Workers State.

 $\star \star$

We of the Socialist Workers Party carry on the tradition of Eugene V. Debs, who raised the slogan of international working class solidarity in the first World War. Like Debs we have been prosecuted by the government for our devotion to the interests of the workers. We have earned the right to speak to you to urge you to adopt a program of independent political action on a state scale, and on a national and international scale. This is the only road to lasting peace, and to freedom and plenty for all.



There is a general impression that the Stalinists have no firm principles; that consistency of doctrine is not one of their virtues; that the High-Priests of the Stalinist movement have never succeeded in elaborating a theoretical system to guide their policies. This impression can be attributed to the constantly changing line of the Stalinists. Just when they are about ready to put the finishing touches to the structure of arguments justifying the line of the moment, a new line sweeps in with the speed of a tornado and with just as much devastation it demolishes the preceding line.

We insist, however, that the Stalinists should not be misjudged. There are some immutable tenets governing the conduct of this movement. Chief among them is the concept of the infallibility of Stalin as the leader. While we have been glorying in the heroic struggle of the Red Army against Hitler's armies, a struggle which is closest to our heart because we Trotskyists alone have remained true to the October Revolution which is at stake in this struggle, we have neglected somewhat to occupy ourselves with the question of Stalin's infallibility. But Stalin, overcoming for the moment his shyness and modesty, raised the question himself in his Order of the Day to the Red Army and Soviet people on May Day. What prompted him to raise it?

There has been quite a bit of talk that the early successes of the Nazi war machine against the Red Army were due to the element of surprise. Stalin took his pact with Hitler so seriously that it served to lull the Soviet Union to a feeling of false security. The belief that the pact with the Nazis would keep the Soviet Union out of the war was so strong that when Hitler attacked on June 22, 1941, it caught Stalin and his general staff unawares and resulted in severe defeats of the Red Army forces. The losses of this period were very heavy. On the anniversary of the Red Army, Stalin issued an Order of the Day in which he admitted as much:

"The first months of the war, as a result of the unexpectedness and suddenness of the German fascist attack, the Red Army was forced to retreat and evacuate part of our territory." (New York Times, February 26, 1942.)

"Unexpectedness" on whose part? Who was responsible for it? What sort of a leader is Stalin if he could not foresee the inevitability of the Nazi assault? What sort of policy was pursued by him which created this "unexpectedness?"

Stalin goes further in his May 1 Order of the Day: "This circumstance should be noted: No sooner had the German arsenal lost the weapon of suddenness than the German Army was confronted with catastrophe.'

If this is true, if the element of unexpectedness played such an overwhelming role, and we have no reason to doubt it, how much more does this emphasize the crime of Stalin! On his own admission, he and his policies stand condemned for the costly defeats of the Red Army in the early period of the war.

And what becomes of Stalin's infallibility? Stalin never makes mistakes. You don't believe it? Ask any Stalinist you meet on the street. Or, look through the files of the Daily Worker and convince yourself. There have been mistakes made, but never by Stalin. As a matter of fact, Stalin was always the one to liquidate those who had the misfortune to make "mistakes." Didn't he liquidate the Trotskvists, the Zinovievists, the Bucharinites? They made the "mistake" of opposing Stalin. But he went further than that. Every time he changed his policy, he liquidated the very people in his apparatus who made the "mistake" of being associated too prominently with yesterday's policy. All these countless victims had to be killed or removed so that the myth of Stalin's infallibility could live. Stalin had so much hope in the durability of the pact with Hitler, that he assumed personal responsibility for it by assuming the post of Premier of the Soviet Union, by lavishly entertaining Hitler's envoy von Ribentropp, by the prominent display in the press of his photographs at the side of von Ribentropp, by attaching his signature to the official pacts and agreements, by the statements he issued avowing friendship for Nazi Germany on the one hand and by his bitter denunciations of British imperialism on the other. Who was there in the ranks of the bureaucracy who could be the scapegoat? It took Stalin a long time to figure out a new angle. He wasn't quite accustomed to his new position. He was no longer "merely" the secretary of the party pointing an accusing finger at some figure-head in the apparatus of the government. He himself was the head of the government not only in fact, but in name as well. But the myth of infallibility must be maintained at all costs. Somebody, somehow, must be made accountable for the catastrophe of the early months of the war. Stalin utilized his May Day Order of the Day to spring the new angle he had figured out. Speaking about the changed situation at the front, he said: "A turn has also taken place in the rank and file of the Red Army. Complacency and frivolousness which was observed among Red Army men in the first months of the patriotic war have disappeared." (Daily Worker, May 3, 1942.) Thus you have a new version for the early defeats. It is not "the unexpectedness" and the "suddenness" of the Nazi attack that was responsible. Such an admission brings the leadership and its policy into question. Such an admission brings Stalin's infallibility into question. Stalin now lays the responsibility for the early defeats at the doorstep of the rank and file of the Red Army. It is hard to conceive of a more cowardly, more despicable act. This criminal in the Kremlin whose policy led the Red Army into the trap of "unexpectedness" points the accusing finger at the rank and file of the Red Army - the workers and peasants who fought like heroes and laid down their lives like heroes. "Complacency and frivolousness" are the traits of case-hardened bureaucrats but not of workers and peasants dying for a cause.

Whatever the specific motivation, the fundamental fact is clear: Stalin utterly distrusts his allies to the point of refusing them any information about the situation of the Red Army.

In this fact is reflected the fundamental antagonism between the workers' state and the capitalist world. That antagonism may appear at times to be subordinated by a given capitalist power which makes an alliance with the Soviet Union against another capitalist power. But the fundamental antagonism always remains, for capitalism and the workers' state are irreconcilable. Only the weaknesses and contradictions of imperialism have thus far saved the Soviet Union from an all-out assault of the combined capitalist world.

Essentially Stalin is doing now what he did during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Then, while publicly boasting about the safety that the pact assured the Soviet Union, at the same time he sought, in the seizures of the Finnish, Polish and Baltic territories, to find additional strategic means for defending the Soviet Union.

But in both cases Stalin deceived the workers of the world. The masses were told by the Communist parties during the Stalin-Hitler pact that the pact was a blow for world peace, that it safeguarded the Soviet Union, that the "democracies" were the principal warmongers, etc. - the masses were left completely unprepared for the assault on the Soviet Union.

Likewise now the masses are told by the Stalinist parties that the "democracies" are fighting for a progressive world order, that they are true allies a capitalist government of a trade union bureaucrat openly functioning as a complete agent of the government.

How he strutted when he was made co-director of the OPM in the Spring of 1940! With what arrogance he laid down the law to the delegates at the CIO national convention in the fall of 1940, speaking, he said, "in the name of President Roosevelt," as well as vice-president of the CIO. For most of the past two years he was cock of the walk.

But the White House circle, for their own reactionary reasons, are extremely sensitive to the reactions of the labor movement. They know that Hillman's star has been descending since his complicity in sending troops to smash the North American Aviation strike. With a sound class instinct, the workers demand from labor leaders entirely different standards than those of capitalist politicians. Having as yet no perspective of an alternative to the Roosevelt administration, the masses passively accept its anti-labor actions; but when a trade union leader is associated with those actions, they look upon him as a traitor to the working class — which he is. And after two years of such treason, Hillman ceases to be useful to the White House.

So all Hillman's desperate attempts to get himself appointed Chairman of the Manpower Commission were futile, and the job went to a capitalist politician, Paul V. McNutt. Then - a long step down from the co-directorship of the OPM --Hillman moved heaven and earth to become chairman of the Labor Division of the WPB, but that went to an unknown social worker named Lund.

Hillman is badly damaged goods. And his fate is the handwriting on the wall for all trade union officials who openly become agents of the government. They'll all be used up, as the war unfolds and they follow out the iron logic of their traitorous position and betray the workers on every crucial question.

A Timely Political Document! IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET - UNION **By LEON TROTSKY** (A Compilation - 1927-1937) 10 CENTS PIONEER PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK **116 UNIVERSITY PLACE**

novement with Democrats and Republicans won't solve a single **\$143** For Defense problem for the workers.

(Continued from page 1)

It was significant that when

the vote was taken, 50 to 60

A total of \$143 net was raised at this affair, arranged

Only Independent working NEW YORK, May 19 - More than 200 friends and symclass political action can solve pathizers of the Civil Rights Defense Committee were present at these problems. the successful Spring Dance Frolic held here last Saturday

A PROGRAM FOR THE FARMER-LABOR MOVEMENT

to raise funds for the defense of the 18 members of the Socialist The employing class is trying Workers Party and Local 544-CIO®

evening.

to place the full burden of the who were convicted in Minnea- linery Workers Local 24; and two war upon the masses, and to polis last December of violating wipe out the social gains of lahe 1940 Smith "Gag Act." bor. The Farmer-Labor move-The funds were raised through ment must demand that the he sale of tickets and refreshhard-won social gains of labor ments, plus a book auction. should not only be maintained, An important part of the conbut extended.

1. Confiscate War

Profits.

Higher relief standards, higher pensions for the aged, increased aid for the dependent children, a more extensive public health and housing program should be provided. To finance these necessary measures, legislation must be passed to confiscate the huge war profits of Big Business.

2. For a Rising Scale of Wages.

delegates openly voted in oppo-Roosevelt's 7-point "stabilizasition, while many others abtion" plan to prevent inflation stained. is ineffectual because it will not However, it appeared that Mursolve the problem of the everray would have everything his widening gap between the demands of the people for goods and services and the decreasing supply of these consumers goods. Roosevelt's plan would in fact

freeze wages, and increase the suffering of the workers. The Farmer - Labor movement must demand that labor be given a rises in the cost of living.

Industry and Operate It Under Workers Control. Big Business and its political agents claim to be fighting a war against fascism. But the Rockefeller Standard Oil, duPont's chemical trust and General Motors, General Electric and Mellon's aluminum trust are still doing business with the Nazis behind the backs of the American people. The greatest enemy of the workers and farmers today is fascism, whether at home ||116 University Place or abroad, but fascism will never

ing Workers, CIO: Local 169 and Journeymen Tailors Local 1. The success of this affair is comparable to that held by the tributions was the money sent in Chicago Branch of the CRDC at by four local unions to pay for its May Frolic, which was reportblocks of tickets to the affair. ed in last week's MILITANT. In These were two locals of the In- | Chicago a total of \$115 was raisternational Ladies Garment Work- ed to help the work of the Comers Union, AFL Local 66 and Mil- mittee. STEEL WORKERS ESTABLISH UNION

locals of the Amalgamated Cloth-

file militancy revealed at the ses sions. With a correct program, ference adopted it unanimously. this militant group can go far in (Actually over 150 delegates repdeveloping sentiment after the resenting 100,000 auto workers convention for an effective fighthad staunchly opposed this step.) ing policy that meets the needs o fthe steel workers and defends heir rights.

> Next Week's Issue will feature a complete report on the decisions, discussion and highlights of the steel workers' convention, written by Art Preis, MILITANT staff corre-

> > **New York City**

rising scale of wages to meet 3. Expropriate all War



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