

WORKERS FACE CRUSHING WAR TAXES

Carlson Offers Socialist Program In Primaries

STATEMENT BY GRACE CARLSON

The following is the full statement issued this week by Grace Carlson in St. Paul.

In November 1940 I was the candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota on the Trotskyist Anti-War ticket, the campaign name of the Socialist Workers Party. At that time I warned that the Roosevelt administration was dragging the United States into the Second World War against the interest and will of the people.

The first plank of my 1940 platform stated: "The imperialist government of the U. S. cannot fail to drag this country into war. This will not be a war of defense, or a war for democracy or liberation; it can only be a war for markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war and not ours."

Events since then have proved that this statement was 100% correct. Today I stand more firmly than ever on this position.

This war is an imperialist war. Its character is not determined by who struck the first blow. It is not determined by the good or bad will of the heads of the belligerent powers. It is rendered inevitable by the rivalries inherent in the decaying capitalist system.

I cannot and do not support this war and I intend to exercise my democratic right of presenting, now as before, the socialist alternative to capitalist slaughter and anarchy.

The employing class and the government are attempting to impose all the burdens of this war upon the working masses. The workers must resist every move and measure aimed at lowering their standards of living and destroying the social gains achieved by years of struggle. Let the rich and profiteering monopolists pay for their own war!

I am unalterably opposed to fascism, either the foreign or domestic brand. But I do not believe that the workers should entrust the task of fighting fascism to Wall Street or its government. Fascism is a product of the decaying capitalist system which they represent.

It is necessary to extend the hand of solidarity to the workers of Germany, Italy and Japan in order to arouse them against their oppressors. Only a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States can do this. Only a Workers and Farmers Government can show the way by calling for a joint struggle of the workers of all countries against capitalism.

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

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

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

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

Attention St. Paul:

GRACE CARLSON

Will Speak Over Station WMIN

Monday, March 9

8:45 to 9:00 P. M.

On

"The Basic Issues of This Campaign"

Advocates A Workers And Farmers Gov't

ST. PAUL, Minn. — "The socialist alternative to capitalist slaughter and anarchy" — this is the program on which Grace Carlson is running as mayoralty candidate in the primary elections to be held here on March 10.

The candidate of the Trotskyists made it clear in a public statement issued this week that she and the organization she represents continue to advocate the program of international socialism despite the war and the federal prosecution of leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis last autumn.

"I see no other way out of the bloody chaos of this capitalist system than that of international socialism," she declared in the statement. "This is the only road to a world of peace, freedom and plenty for all. . . The union of the workers will make the peace of the world."

At the same time the St. Paul branch of the Socialist Workers Party issued its election platform urging the election of Grace Carlson. (See page 2).

The platform advocated confiscation of all war profits; a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living; the proposal that the government take over the basic industries and operate them under workers' control; a federal appropriation for the establishment of camps where workers could be given military training under control of the trade unions; observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time; opposition to Jim Crowism wherever it exists; defense of the Soviet Union, etc.

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE CAMPAIGN

In the circles of the industrial workers of St. Paul, Grace Carlson's campaign is being discussed daily. Her candidacy is literally the only one which provokes any interest or discussion. All other candidates, campaigning as though determined to prevent discussion of any issue, no matter how insignificant, only vie with one another in flatulent patriotic appeals. And the people of St. Paul are vastly indifferent and bored.

The newspapers complain daily about the "sad state of democracy," bemoaning the fact there is "no issue and no interest." The few "issues" that are debated in municipal political circles are usually quite puerile. The major issue in the 1940 campaign was that of "voting machines." Mayor Fallon was For Voting Machines. His Democratic opponent, John McDonough, was Against Voting Machines, McDonough won. This year no issue whatever disturbs the campaigns of Mayor McDonough and Ex-Mayor Fallon. The campaign is dead.

(Continued on page 2)

Candidate For Mayor



GRACE CARLSON

Landlords, K.K.K. Behind Housing 'Riot' in Detroit

Officials Use Mob Violence As Pretext to Bar the Negro People from Their Homes

FEB. 3 — Announcement was made in Detroit yesterday at the office of Mayor Jeffries that the opening of the Sojourner Truth housing project, scene of last Saturday's violent struggle to prevent Negroes from moving into the project, will be postponed indefinitely. Thus the latest round in this struggle has been won by the reactionary land-

lords, real estate sharks and Ku-Klux-Klan incited gangs who have been fighting for many months to prevent the Negro people from occupying the federal housing project designated for their use.

On Friday night, Feb. 27, a cross was burned in the center of the project as a warning to the first Negro families who were to move into their new homes the following day. A "picket line" of hundreds of people, armed with knives, clubs, rifles, shotguns and stones, patrolled the project all night and grew to more than 1200 by morning.

When the Negro families arrived with the trucks carrying their furniture and belongings, the mob attacked them and prevented them from reaching the project buildings. Scores were injured, many of them seriously; 38 people were taken to hospitals, of whom 33 were Negroes.

ROLE OF THE POLICE

When unions go on strike in Detroit, as a spokesman for the United Auto Workers, CIO, pointed out later, the city administration "was able to have 1,000 po-

lice on the job. That was to protect employers' interests." But for this violent attack on the rights of the Negro people, the city administration was able to spare only 200 or less police.

And from the way these police acted, one would have thought that it was the Negroes who were responsible for the fight. PM reports that "of 104 persons arrested on charges ranging from felonious assault to inciting to riot, 101 were Negroes." This means that the hundreds of whites who attacked the Negro people got away scot-free. If anything, the police helped them by their arrests in preventing the Negro people from moving into their homes.

Immediately after the riots, Mayor Jeffries ordered that the moving be held up "since I understand it would take at least 3,000 policemen to get the new tenants safely into the building." Jeffries then left for Washington — not to get aid in helping the Negroes to move into their homes, but to appeal to federal officials to postpone the opening

Morgenthau Asks Doubled Tax For Masses

Treasury Dept. Wants Heavy Increase for Low-Income Groups; Goes Light On Bosses

Crushing taxes on the workers are threatened in the new war tax program which Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau proposed to the House Ways and Means Committee on Feb. 3.

The bulk of the \$9,610,000,000 federal taxes to run the war asked by Morgenthau is to be raised by doubling the present income taxes in the lower brackets — annual earnings ranging from \$750 to \$2500 — and by drastic increases in excise taxes on consumers goods.

Those who can least afford to pay will be forced to shell out twice as much in income taxes although the average overall increase will be only 60 per cent. Those in the million dollar class will face the smallest rates of increase.

Mild increases in corporation profits tax rates are proposed to cover less than one-third of the new tax bill. But even these slight increases may be evaded, as the plan contemplates retention of the present system of profits tax computation which has more holes than a sieve. A plan to tighten the loop-holes, previously discussed by Morgenthau, was not even included in

his proposal this week because of known Congressional opposition. To collect the income taxes from the workers, Morgenthau asked that Congress give him authority to collect up to ten per cent of all pay checks, deducted in advance by the bosses.

Morgenthau admitted that the Administration is seriously considering raising a further \$2,000,000,000 by increased social security deductions from the workers' pay checks. This indicates that even heavier taxes are going to be imposed on the workers in the future.

Among new or increased excise levies proposed are those on such "luxury" commodities of the masses as tobacco, soft drinks, candy, chewing gum and beer.

Morgenthau hypocritically larded his grossly discriminatory tax proposals, aimed at placing the overwhelming burden of war costs on the masses, with the statement that "the cost of this war will have to be borne by everyone. It will be borne willingly and cheerfully if the principle of ability to pay is followed."

WHAT CONGRESS WANTS Morgenthau's proposals are relatively liberal, however, in comparison with the program which a reactionary, corporation-dominated Congress plans to put over.

Where Morgenthau proposes excise taxes on certain selected commodities, a large section of Congress is organizing to pass a general sales tax on all retail purchases. In addition, a majority of Congress is known to be violently opposed to even the mild corporation profits tax increases suggested by Morgenthau.

Thus, unless there is a powerful intervention by the workers, poor farmers and lower middle class, it is certain that the final tax measure passed by Congress will be even more crushing than the Treasury's harsh proposals. Extortionate taxation of the subsistence-income groups must be prevented. The demand of the workers must resound in Washington: "Let the rich — the monopolists and war profiteers who profit from the war — pay for the war!"

Ford Local Aroused

The labor movement in Detroit has been thoroughly aroused by the violent attacks on the Negro people and their right to move into the Sojourner Truth homes.

The General Council of the powerful Ford Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, has condemned the attacks and demanded that the Mayor and city administration take steps to help the Negro people move into their homes and to protect them from mob violence. The Council is composed of 325 delegates representing 90,000 Ford workers.

The labor movement is also demanding the removal of Charles Edgecombe, secretary of the Detroit Housing Commission who has lined up with the Jim Crow elements. The fact that Edgecombe is a former labor-leader cuts no ice with the trade unionists who are opposed to racial discrimination regardless of where it comes from.

British Fail To Win Aid Of Burma Natives

Oppressed Peoples Are Indifferent to Fate of Their Rulers

In Burma, as in Singapore and Malaya, the British have been unable to gain the support of the natives they have so long oppressed. From recent reports it appears the Burmese natives are now giving vent to their pent-up hatred for the British rulers.

AMERICAN PILOT REPORTS

An American pilot in a Feb. 28 United Press dispatch from southwestern China relates that: "Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers. . . All over Burma it is dangerous for foreigners to move around unless they are armed, and in some districts the Burmese have even attacked armed Britishers."

The pilot also asserts that "The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way. Some armed Burmese forces have joined the Japanese."

MORE FAMILIAR WITH BRITISH OPPRESSION

Whether it is true or not that some Burmese are assisting the Japanese, it is unlikely that the Burmese people, who have so long demanded an end to oppression by Britain, now favor domination by Japan, which has shown by its attack on China that it too is an enemy of independence for the colonial peoples. Perhaps the pilot's statement that the Burmese are assisting the Japanese is based on a misinterpretation of the natives' efforts to free themselves from British rule before Japan takes over Burma.

But if it is true that some Burmese are aiding the Japanese, that is only because of their greater familiarity with British oppression and the fact that it has been closest to them. Undoubtedly, they will shortly react to their new masters as they have to their old.

At any rate it is a fact that for many years the most insistent demand of the Burmese people has been for national independence.

DEMANDED INDEPENDENCE

In 1940, the Burma House of Representatives — which has no real powers — passed a resolution protesting because the British had included Burma in the war with Germany "without the consent of the people of Burma and have further, in complete disregard of Burmese opinion, passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Burma Government."

They demanded "that Burma should be recognized as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution."

In Nov., 1941, the Prime Minister of Burma, U Saw, went to England to demand "dominion status for Burma within the empire in accordance with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter."

U SAW IS "DETAINED" BY THE BRITISH

The British reply to this demand was to seize and "detain" U Saw en route to Burma during January, 1942 on the charge that he had been "in contact with Japanese authorities." British authorities have since refused to divulge anything about his fate or any details about their charges against him.

The lesson of Burma, as of Malaya, Singapore and India, is that only Workers and Farmers Governments in the advanced capitalist countries which would proclaim national liberation of the colonial peoples can win the support of the colonial masses in the struggle against all forms of capitalist reaction.

Workers Objecting To War Profiteers Are Slandered As "Tools Of Nazism"

Colonel Roy M. Jones, supervisor of the Eastern procurement district of the Army Air Corps, in reply to what he termed complaints by workers that the bosses are engaged in wholesale war profiteering declared last Saturday in a widely publicized statement that those who criticize war profiteering are either "unsuspecting tools of nazism" or "trouble raising traitors. . . persons who follow a set of instructions given by Hitler. . ."

Jones attached to his statement, as an illustration of the type of complaint being received from workers, a letter from a worker

who stated that he and his fellow workers would be willing to work harder and longer "if we can be sure that our extra effort goes for defense and not just to make bigger profits for the company. . . but we are not willing to work longer and harder so that rich men may get still richer."

We defy Colonel Jones to prove that this worker — and the millions who are beginning to hold similar views — are "tools of nazism." We challenge Colonel Jones to prove that the bosses are not making astronomical profits from the war and that the publicity on this profiteering is made on "instructions given by Hitler."

THE MILITANT has regularly published the figures on war profits. The facts of all-out war profiteering come from the most authoritative government sources. They are the facts contained in the Truman Senate Investigating Committee and the House Naval Affairs Committee reports. They are the facts that every day stud the financial pages of the New York Times and other leading capitalist newspapers, which publish the profit reports of the leading corporations. Perhaps Col. Jones thinks they too are following Hitler's instructions?

If Colonel Jones feels that telling the truth about war profiteering is damaging to the morale of

the workers, there is a simple thing he can do about it, and he should do it at once and stop slandering the workers and helping the bosses suppress the truth about war profiteering. Let him do something about the war profiteering itself, let him use his influence to demand an end of war profiteering.

For, unless free speech is to be destroyed altogether, only an end to war profiteering will put an end to talk about war profiteering. This is what THE MILITANT wants, this is why we tell the truth about the war profiteers. This is what the workers want, this is why they are complaining.

CIO Leaders Speak At Dunne Reception Newark

N. J. President and Secretary Say Labor's Self-Interests Necessitate Support of 18

The Newark Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee held a highly successful luncheon at the Cadillac Restaurant on Saturday, Feb. 28, in honor of Vincent Dunne, noted teamster leader of the Northwest, convicted with 17 others in the Minneapolis case.

In addition to Dunne, Irving Abramson, President of the New Jersey State CIO Council, and Peter Flynn, Executive Secretary of the New Jersey State CIO Council and President of the Kearny Shipyard Local 16 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, spoke on the significance of the Minneapolis convictions to the labor movement.

Officers of a dozen New Jersey trade-unions were among the 55 workers present at the luncheon. These included representatives from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; three International officials from the Paper, Toy, and Novelty Workers Union, CIO; American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Laundry Workers Organizing Committee, CIO; N. J. Labor's Non-Partisan League; locals of the SWOC, United Retail and Wholesale Employees, United Rubber Workers, and others. A special delegation of three officials, headed by President Walter Czaykowski, came from the Trenton CIO Council to attend the luncheon-meeting.

FOR "FREE EXPRESSION OF ALL OPINIONS"
Speaking for the N. J. State Industrial Union Council which has endorsed the defense in the Minneapolis case, President Abramson declared:

"Vincent Dunne deserves the support of any man who wants to fight for freedom, civil liberties and just plain decency. It matters not whether I agree or disagree with Brother Dunne's

point of view. The right to express his point of view is all-important. We must hold intact the right to express all points of view, because a democratic labor movement demands the free expression of all opinions."

Abramson condemned the efforts of Communist Party sympathizers to obstruct the defense of this case. "Both Vincent Dunne and Earl Browder have been persecuted because of their political opinions. It takes a total lack of intellectual integrity to ask for the release of Browder while refusing to defend the people in the Minneapolis case."

"GO DOWN THE LINE"
"Violations of civil rights are more important today than ever before," said Peter Flynn, "and there is need for every branch of the labor movement to be on guard against them. As this war unfolds we find that the rights of labor will be more and more challenged. The Selective Service Act, as well as the Smith 'Gag' Act, is being used to bludgeon workers. We should be on guard against any attempt to use this Act against workers. We in the labor movement of New Jersey will not be wrong if we go down the line for Mr. Dunne and his fellow co-defendants."

In his speech Vincent Dunne outlined the history of the Minneapolis trade-union movement during the last decade and the role of the teamsters in transforming Minneapolis from an open-shop city into a powerfully organized trade-union fortress. He showed how the prosecutions of the 544-CIO leaders originated in the struggle between them and Daniel J. Tobin.

"Our political views had never been any secret to Tobin. He had known all about them for a long time. It was only when we attempted to protect the democratic procedures and independence of the Minneapolis drivers against Tobin, that he asked and obtained the aid of the Department of Justice in prosecuting us."

"EXTREMELY ENCOURAGING"
"It is extremely encouraging to see labor closing its ranks at such a meeting as this in defense of its threatened rights. We are not martyrs and have no desire to serve prison sentences. But it would be a small price to pay if through us the vicious Smith Act should be repealed or declared unconstitutional. It is for labor's own sake, no less than for our own, that we ask support in our fight."

George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, who acted as chairman, outlined the steps that the CRDC, in conjunction with the American Civil Liberties Union, were now taking to appeal the Minneapolis convictions to the Circuit and the Supreme Courts. Although he announced that no collection would be taken at the meeting, officials present announced that the N. J. Central Council of the United Paper, Novelty, and Toy Workers was donating \$50 to the CRDC. Many of the trade unionists present signified their intention to assist the Newark branch of the CRDC in its work.

Election Platform of Socialist Workers Party of St. Paul

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

The people of St. Paul together with the people of the U. S. and the entire world are today engaged in the Second World War. In this period of terrible conflicts, mass misery and slaughter, the people of our city, as everywhere, are grappling with two great problems. 1.) They are striving to maintain the social gains and standards of living they have won over decades of struggle, through their trade unions and other organizations. 2.) At the same time they are anxiously seeking a solution to eliminate war, fascism and all the other evils which a decaying capitalist system inflicts upon them. These two problems are really one. The working masses can defend their welfare only by their own independent efforts directed towards the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government and the institution of socialism.

The employing class is attempting to place the full burdens of the war upon the working masses, and to wipe out whatever advantage labor has been able to secure for itself in times of peace. They are attacking wage and hour laws, the right to strike, social security, unemployment relief, old age pensions, and child welfare. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Roosevelt and other government representatives promised the workers that their social gains would remain intact. It is now clear, however, that unless the workers offer organized and militant resistance to these reactionary moves and measures, they alone will be compelled to make all the sacrifices demanded in the prosecution of this war.

The steep, uninterrupted rise in the cost of living, increased taxes, the rationing of certain consumer goods and the stoppage of production of others — all these economic consequences of the war — strike most heavily at the workers and their families. Wage increases won in recent months have already been nullified by the far more rapid rise in the cost of living. The 20 per cent advance in the cost of living by this March has not only wiped out all 1941 wage gains but will inflict an additional ten per cent cut in real wages.

The monopolists and their owners are the sole beneficiaries of this war. While over 80% of all war contracts are awarded to about a dozen giant corporations, small business men are squeezed out of existence. While millions are drafted to fight and die on distant battlefronts or compelled to work long hours in the factories and fields, the monopolists pile up exorbitant profits and live in wasteful luxury.

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

We recommend to organized labor that the trade unions incorporate in all contracts provisions for a rising scale of wages adjusted to meet the rising cost of living.

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

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

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

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

We are opposed to all discrimination against

Negroes in the armed forces as in industry. Down with Jim Crowism wherever it exists.

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

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

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

We demand the observance of the Bill of Rights in war-time as well as in peace-time, guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, petition and assembly.

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

Since we fight for full social, economic and political rights for the Negro people, we agree with the St. Paul Recorder in condemning the candidacy of Labor-Progressive John Mauer, who practices race segregation.

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

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

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

War and fascism are the foul products of the decaying capitalist order. To crush domestic and foreign fascism, to achieve peace and security, the workers must establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States.

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

We oppose the Stalinist bureaucracy because it has deprived the Russian masses of all their democratic rights and by its policies mortally endangered the Soviet Union. The Red Army would not have suffered such defeats in the first five months of the war had Stalin not murdered the political and military leaders who played such great roles in the success of the Russian Revolution.

Stalin sells out the world's workers and colonial peoples for the sake of temporary alliances, one time with Hitler, now with Churchill and Roosevelt. These betrayals have alienated the sympathies of millions of exploited people and dealt the heaviest blow of all to the Soviet Union itself.

As the only party pledged to the principles of international socialism, which alone can bring a system of enduring peace, freedom and plenty, for all, we ask the support of the St. Paul voters for our candidate, Grace Carlson.

Vote Socialist. Your vote for Grace Carlson will signify your desire to build a Socialist United States of America and a Socialist World.

CIVIL RIGHTS MENACED BY ANTI-ALIEN ORDER

President Gives Army Arbitrary Powers To Force Any Individual From His Home

The indiscriminate and brutal witch-hunt being conducted against non-citizens born in countries at war with the United States is now being directed at naturalized citizens and native-born Americans whose ancestry is Japanese, German and Italian.

The move, having the character of a racial pogrom, was initiated Feb. 20 by an executive order from President Roosevelt, giving the War Department and the Army the power to arbitrarily remove any person, citizen as well as alien, from his home and exclude him from any area which the Army may designate as a military area.

The immediate purpose of this order is to permit the Army and the FBI to remove West Coast residents of Japanese descent — including 60,000 citizens and native-born persons — into as yet undesignated camps and interior sections of the country.

Through this order, the Army has been given the right to enter the home of any citizen, order him from his home and exclude him from any area of the country. Although the order does not constitute the establishment of martial law in the areas designated by the Army command — martial law would abrogate the function of the civil courts and all civil rights — those citizens affected by an Army order will in effect have no recourse to civil justice.

RACIAL BASIS
For the time being, as Attorney General Biddle hastened to assure the country, the intention is to "concentrate" on the Americans of Japanese descent. But this means that by a mere decree, a large group of citizens have been given a "second-class citizenship" status and are deprived of civil rights and liberties solely on a racial basis.

Tomorrow, the order can be directed against millions of Americans of other descent, against any individual that the

New Bill to Deprive Citizens Of Citizenship

A bill which would permit the government to terrorize and silence all naturalized Americans is being prepared in the Senate Immigration Committee as part of the current reactionary campaign against racial minorities and "enemy aliens."

The bill would permit the revocation of the citizenship of any naturalized citizen whose "utterances, writings, actions or course of conduct establishes that his political allegiance is to a foreign state or sovereignty."

Under this broad and vague terminology, virtually any naturalized American could be framed up as a "foreign agent" for expression of sympathy to the Soviet Union for holding internationalist ideas or indeed any ideas that the reactionaries might wish to tag as "foreign."

Millions could be placed in the category of "second-class citizens" under this bill, which is but one of a number aimed at destroying the civil rights of broad sections of the population.

Army command or the Administration may wish to deprive of his civil rights.

Attorney-General Biddle attempted to justify the order on the grounds that it was necessary for the "safety" of all persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast. It is true that there has been some vigilante violence against American-Japanese, their homes have been invaded and they have been robbed by small groups of terrorists.

But instead of enforcing the law and protecting the rights of these citizens, the government is driving them from their homes, terrorizing them, and in actuality encouraging the racial discrimination that is being fanned on the West Coast.

BIDDLE'S HINT

Attorney-General Biddle stated at the time the order was issued that the civil courts would retain their function in the areas designated for evacuation by the Army, and that any one ordered to evacuate could legally go into a civil court and "get a writ". But, he added, "In my opinion, the court would say, 'This is a military decision, and we will not go behind the military authority.'"

This can be construed only as a hint to the civil courts not to protect the civil rights of evacuated citizens.

Roosevelt's order — issued as a military precaution and ostensibly directed at but one special group of the population — establishes one of the most dangerous precedents for the usurpation of civil liberties the American people have ever faced.

Behind the Anti-Japanese Clamor In California

More than simon-pure patriotism is behind the campaign of racial terrorism against all persons of Japanese descent. The corporation farmers and business men on the West Coast — who have long coveted the land developed by Japanese settlers — have been raising the loudest voice for their evacuation.

A California state senate committee on Feb. 27 urged immediate execution of plans for a mass evacuation because "California farm operators cannot plan their agricultural production."

Surprisingly, the big corporation farm interests are not afraid of "enemy" aliens and Japanese-Americans as farm laborers — only as competitive farm owners. The Pacific League, Los Angeles business men's organization, proposes to "draft" the evacuees into a forced labor agricultural army. (New York Times, Feb. 19).

Governor Clark of Idaho has generously asked that the evacuees be "invited" to work in the Idaho sugar beet fields where "we can work them if we pay them a soldier's wage, or permit them to make private contracts." (New York Times, Feb. 19).

Grace Carlson's Record Is A Record Of Militant Struggle

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

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

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

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

As a state employee she became a charter member of Local 10, Minnesota State Employees Union, AFL. She served on the executive board of this local for two years; as a delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly for four years; as a member of the Assembly Education Committee for three years; as a delegate of her local to state

conventions of the AFL for three years in succession. Grace Carlson's interest in the cause of the oppressed early led her to support the struggle of the Negro people for social, political and economic equality. She is a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

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

She resigned from the State Department of Education on Sept. 1, 1940 and has since devoted her full time to the work of the Socialist Workers Party.

As candidate of the "Trotskyist Anti-War Party" for United States Senator in 1940, she received 8,761 votes, more than the combined vote cast for the Socialist and Communist Parties.

In July, 1941, she was indicted together with 28 other members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis on charges of "seditious conspiracy" to overthrow the government by force and violence and of violating the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act.

On Dec. 1 the jury found all of the defendants not guilty

of the charge of "seditious conspiracy" and 18 of the defendants, including Grace Carlson, guilty of the charge of violating the Smith Act.

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

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

Pennsylvania Meetings for V. R. Dunne

After speaking in New York on Mar. 3, V. R. Dunne's tour will take him to Quakertown, Pa., on Mar. 7; Reading, Pa., on Mar. 10.

He will then proceed to Baltimore, Md., Mar. 16-17; Pittsburgh, Pa., on Mar. 18-19; in St. Louis, Mo., on Mar. 21-22. The tour will be concluded in the Twin Cities, Minn.

Carlson Offers Socialist Program In Primaries

(Continued from page 1)

The public is indifferent. The frightening changes that the war is bringing to their lives absorbs their interest and they realize, correctly, that the politics of the boss machine candidates and the ambitious young lawyers mean nothing to them.

Because the people have their eyes not merely on St. Paul but on Washington — and London and Moscow and Calcutta — many of them ARE interested in Carlson's candidacy, and the international socialist program which she symbolizes in the election.

WORKERS AND THE PRESS

Some workers at one war production plant were debating her campaign. Several felt she could not be permitted on the ballot because she was "guilty of sedition." An old Socialist, scornful, reminded them that Gene Debs had campaigned for President in 1920 from behind the bars of Atlanta penitentiary.

The boss papers are confronted with the old problem of how to handle Marxism. They don't know whether to "expose" it or "kill it with silence." For several days in succession the papers reminded their readers that Grace Carlson was under sentence of 16 months' imprisonment, and that her filing statement reiterated her belief in the international socialism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky: News of the Socialist Workers Party candidate has been carried in many papers throughout the state, including the foreign-language Finnish paper, Industrialist.

Now the papers have ceased discussing the Marxist election campaign, but among unionists and Farmer-Laborites interest in Grace Carlson's candidacy is quite high. The primary vote will be extremely light, but will indicate the degree to which the fact of war has prepared the minds of the more advanced workers for the socialist solution. Candidate Carlson will speak at

a public election rally to be held Friday, Mar. 6, 8 P. M. at the American House, 444 Rice St. The subject of her speech will be "The Socialist Program to Defeat World Fascism and to Bring a Lasting Peace, Freedom and Plenty for All."

She will also speak over the radio on Station WMIN on the eve of the primary election, Monday, March 9 at 8:45 P. M.

Further information and literature about the Carlson campaign may be obtained at the Carlson Campaign Headquarters, 138 E. 6th St., St. Paul, which are open throughout each day.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Prices



It is very encouraging to note that during the past few weeks we have received subscriptions from individuals living in centers where we have only small isolated groups of agents — Kentucky, Utah, Missouri, and Tennessee. The total amount of such subs is much higher, relatively speaking, than that received from the metropolitan areas where it would be higher, we are convinced, if our agents would put forth a little extra energy.

We have received several inquiries during the past period requesting information concerning increased MILITANT bundle orders for mass distribution. The following excerpts from one of these letters will be of interest to all our agents:

"We have quite an investment in one factory to which we have been distributing THE MILITANT for nine solid months. During this time we have sifted out (or rather the workers have

themselves sifted out) those who take the paper and those who refuse it. We wish this clientele to remain readers of our paper and wish to note especially their reactions to war-time distribution."

This letter reveals that despite the war many workers are still looking for the solution of their problems and all of our agents should take full advantage of every opportunity to reach these militant workers.

A word now is in order about payments from agents on their MILITANT bundle orders. Some of our agents realize the necessity of paying regularly each week, but others allow their accounts to grow from week to week, thinking they have done their bit by making an irregular payment every month or so. Because we do not have a large sustaining fund on hand, we cannot wait for payments over long periods of time but must ask that all agents pay up promptly.

HAVE YOU READ

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon

The official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the famous Minneapolis "Sedition" trial, with an introduction by Felix Morrow.

116 Page Pamphlet . . Only 10 Cents!

This pamphlet — really a book — is an elementary introduction to the ideas of socialism.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK

The Negro Struggle
By Ernest Williams

When Roosevelt issued his famous Executive Order last year, A. Philip Randolph hailed it as a Second Emancipation Declaration. But the activities of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices set up by that same order show that Negroes are being Jim Crowed just about as much as ever. If the Negro people want to do away with job Jim Crow, they've got to organize and fight, not depend on executive orders that are toothless and full of holes.

Last week the Alabama pardon parole board refused once again to pardon two of the five Scottsboro boys who have been in jail for almost 11 years now for a crime everyone knows they didn't commit. Some Negro Judases want the Negroes to forget about Jim Crowism for the duration of the war, but the Jim Crow ruling class and its agents won't let them forget about it.

It is reported that a committee of 9 Navy officials met recently to consider the future status of the Negro in the Navy, and that by a vote of 6 to 3 it was decided to recommend that the present status continue, that is, that Negroes serve only as mess stewards. Roosevelt has the recommendations on his desk, but it is reported that "due to pressure of other matters" he has not had time to look at it.

Negro workers in St. Paul will find only one candidate for Mayor in the March 10 primary elections who has the slightest interest in defending the interests of the Negro people. That candidate is Grace Carlson, militant fighter for equal rights for the Negro people; advocate of equality for the Negro people in the army and out of it, in the war industries and the non-war industries, in government bodies, in the labor movement and everywhere else; supporter of anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation; opponent of Governor Stassen's lily-white Home Defense Guard; member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the national executive board of the Workers Defense League; and one of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO convicted in Minneapolis last December, of whom the St. Paul Recorder said, "... we do know that many of its leaders have repeatedly attacked the enemies of the colored people of this area. . . they have fought anti-Negro programs and racial bigotry wherever they found it."

Down in Trinidad, West Indies, at the United States military base, a soldier hailing from South Carolina fired his revolver into a crowded dance hall, killed one native and wounded another, and then was set free by a military court. Sounds just like it happened in the United States, doesn't it?

First Roosevelt said that he was opposed to the Farm Security Administration's practice of lending money to farmers which they could use among other things to pay their poll taxes. Then a couple of days later he said that he had misunderstood the question, that he supported the practice. Far more important than this was his statement that he had opposed poll taxes all his life and continued to oppose them. What does the record show? That in 1938 he expressed himself mildly against poll taxes; that he also once endorsed a constitutional amendment to abolish an Arkansas poll-tax. But neither in the 1932 Democratic convention, nor in the 1936 or 1940 Democratic conventions where he was pretty much boss, did he do a single thing to have his own party platform go on record against poll taxes. Being opposed in talk or on paper is one thing; doing something about it is entirely different. After all, it's his own party that benefits from the poll tax.

Incidentally, the FSA loans discussed above went to poor white farmers, but not to poor Negro farmers.

The NAACP announces that it has not yet fired William Pickens, staff member of the organization now on leave to sell defense bonds for the Treasury Department, for writing an article for the press which took a "position (on segregation in the armed forces) directly opposite to that maintained" by the NAACP. Pickens' article praised the Negro air unit at Tuskegee, and complained about the "belly-aching" against its Jim Crow set-up; in effect, his article opposed further struggle against segregation. Ralph Matthews of the Afro-American tries to defend him by saying, "In order to induce people to buy bonds, he has to gloss over some of the actual practices of the Federal Government," which may be logical, but is not much of a defense. Pickens will appear before the NAACP board of directors on April 13 to defend his position.

British Labor Party Leaders Betray Masses Of Both India And England

Oppose National Liberation for People of India

By ART PREIS

British imperialism's loyal handmaidens, the leaders of the British Labor Party, have declared themselves against national independence for India. What the British rulers — mindful of the explosive situation in India — have as yet hesitated to state in definite terms, their labor lieutenants have stated for them.

This latest lackey service for British imperialism is embodied in a report issued Feb. 27 by the Labor Party's Executive Council, which is to be presented to the party's annual conference May 25-28.

The British labor leaders' treacherous blow at the struggle for national liberation in India is cloaked, naturally, in the hypocritical assertion that the war constitutes the obstacle to immediate emancipation. The report states that "full settlement of the complex issues of Indian self-government must await the close of the war."

Thus, these labor tools of British reaction sound a pious "Amen!" to the various bargains and promises being projected by the British government and ruling class in their desperate attempt to side-track the struggle for Indian national independence and to win the support of India's oppressed 400 millions for the war.

SOPS FOR INDIA

For the time being, the British labor leaders suggest a sop to the Indian masses. They offer a plea for the complete "Indianization" of the British Viceroy of India's Executive Council, nine of whose 14 members are already Indian. As the British labor leaders well know, the Viceroy has the decisive power in India, and the addition of a few more hand-picked native agents of the British on his Executive Council will leave the Indian workers and peasants in as complete subjugation as ever.

Echoing the traditional lying argument of the Colonel Blimps themselves, the British labor leaders make Indian independence conditional on "agreement . . . between the different interests in India."

This refers to an alleged irreconcilable Hindu-Moslem conflict in India, a conflict which the British rulers are attempting systematically to incite and provoke in accordance with their policy of "Divide and Rule."

Their instrument for these provocations, the reactionary Moslem League in India, actually contains less Moslems than the India Congress Party, and in the 1937 Provincial elections secured only 4.6 per cent of the total Moslem vote.

ECHO RULING CLASS LIES

But the British labor leaders do not hesitate to use this hoary and fraudulent argument of British imperialism to justify their own traitorous stand.

In their statement on India, the British labor bureaucrats reveal once more their close ties to British imperialism and the cor-

WDL Pamphlet Has Article On Minneapolis Case

The Workers Defense League, which is supporting the defense of the 18 Minneapolis defendants, announced this week the publication of its pamphlet "The Rights of Man are Worth Defending" by the League for Adult Education, Inc.

The pamphlet contains an article by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, on the Minneapolis case, entitled "Peacetime Sedition."

Stating that "the case turned exactly into what the Civil Liberties Union had prophesied it would, a heresy trial," Baldwin vigorously attacks the convictions in his article, exposes the role of Daniel Tobin in the case, and gives an analysis of the danger of this precedent to civil liberties.

The pamphlet also contains articles on civil rights by Zechariah Chafee Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Philip Murray, Joseph Schlosberg, and a dramatic account of the Odell Waller case by Paul Murray and Murray Kempton. Copies may be ordered from the W.D.L. at 112 E. 19 St., N. Y. C.

ruption which the bribes of the British rulers have bred among them.

No small portion of these bribes have been the crumbs dropped from the colonial tables of British imperialism, which has feasted in large measure on the bounty of India. It is for these crumbs that the British labor leaders are continuing their betrayal of the Indian masses — and of the British workers themselves.

By bending their well-oiled knees before the British rulers, the labor leaders help to alienate the masses of India from the English working class and to reinforce the rule of British capitalism over the British workers.

The Indian workers and peasants can be the most powerful and loyal allies of the British workers in their fight against capitalist reaction, including the threat of fascism. But so long as the British capitalists remain in power, and so long as the British labor leaders bow before these oppressors of India, such an alliance cannot be realized.

TASK OF BRITISH WORKERS

The indispensable alliance of the British and Indian masses must be forged. It can be done only after the traitors are drummed from the leadership of the British labor movement and after the English workers rid themselves once and for all of the reactionary yoke of the Churchills and the British capitalist rulers, take political power in their own name and establish the Workers Government of England.

Such a government, as an initial duty, will proclaim the unconditional national liberation of India. It will at once stretch out the hand of international workers' solidarity to the free masses of India. Together with them, it will call upon the oppressed workers and peasants of the world to take their destinies into their own hands, and to join that international struggle which will put an end to world capitalist imperialism and launch the world socialist order of freedom, peace and plenty.

Support Tories' War Aims and Labor Policies

By C. CHARLES

In their manifesto giving the official statement of their views on the war and the post-war aims, issued on Feb. 27, the executive committee of the reformist British Labor Party once more comes to the support of the British capitalist class.

The prestige of the capitalist class of Great Britain is clearly at the lowest point in decades.

The workers are seething with discontent over the conduct of the war which has resulted in a series of military defeats. On the production front the workers are beginning to oppose the profit-first policies of the capitalists. The reshuffling of the British cabinet was a desperate attempt to allay this mass discontent by the ancient device of providing scapegoats.

Now when there is a great opportunity to raise the banner of socialism in the British Isles, to advance the idea of a workers' struggle against fascism, to drive the Tories out of office, the leadership of the British Labor Party issues a sell-out statement.

This statement will be analyzed at greater length in coming issues of THE MILITANT. Now we will mention only a few points.

In the most nationalistic way this party, the largest section of the Second International declares that the "peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan must be brought to realize the power which peace-loving nations can mobilize against aggression is overwhelming in its strength and absolute in its assurance of success."

HELPS AXIS RULERS

Is there any better way of doing the work of Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini than lumping the masses of Japan, Italy and Germany, who did not want the war and who have nothing to gain

from the war, together with their capitalist rulers, who want and hope to profit by the war?

The leaders of the Labor Party solidarize themselves with the super-Versailles war aims of Churchill and Roosevelt, glossing over the capitalist nature of these war aims with fine words about the "four freedoms."

Thus the Axis rulers are able to keep their toilers in line by the masses' fear of another Versailles peace of victors and vanquished. Hitler, Mussolini and the rulers of Japan point at the Labor Party and say to their masses: "You are sure to get another Versailles treaty unless we win. Even the Labor Party stands for such a peace."

The result of the Labor Party manifesto, therefore, is not only to strengthen the position of British and American capitalism, but the position of the Axis rulers as well.

MASSES STIRRING

The final word will be said, however, not by the heads of the Labor Party, but by the British masses. There are many signs that the policies of the Labor Party leaders are opposed by the great masses of Britain.

At the time of the outbreak of the present war, the Labor Party made an agreement with the Conservative Party (Tories) not to place any candidates up against the other in the event of an election. If a seat in Parliament were to be vacated for any reason and if this seat were previously held by the Conservative Party, the Labor Party would not place any candidate up against that of the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party, in turn, agreed not to launch a candidate in opposition to that of the Labor Party.

The relationship of forces as it existed at the time of the outbreak of the war was frozen. The Labor Party delivered itself up bound hand and foot to the British ruling class and their party which was in control of Parliament.

The masses within the Labor Party are now beginning to stir in opposition to the policy of the

leadership. This was manifested most sharply last December at the time of the vote on conscription of all men and women in England for war or work.

DIVISION AMONG THE DEPUTIES

In this discussion, the leader of the so-called left wing, Mr. Shinwell, stated in debate with his own party leaders:

"The male labor of the country and to a large extent the female labor of the country is conscripted. In effect, everything is conscripted with the sole exception of the vested interests. Labor did not enter the government for this. Has the Labor Party not always declared that if Labor was conscripted there must be a quid pro quo (this for that)? Did they not abandon that principle when they went in?"

Shinwell of course does not represent the real interests of the masses. He fights shy of giving a concrete socialist answer to the problem. He ambitiously hopes to capitalize on the growing opposition of the masses to the sell-out policy of the Labor Party officials.

But the important thing is that the masses are in increasing opposition to the policies of the leaders of the Labor Party. This opposition showed itself, in no where near its real strength, by the vote of 30 members of the Labor Party in Parliament against the official policy of the Labor Party on the question of "conscription of wealth."

Another sign of the veering away of the masses from the official Labor Party is the increase in votes of the centrist Independent Labor Party in the recent bye-elections when they polled from 15% to 29% of the total vote. This vote was recorded in spite of the fact that the Communist Party ardently supported the Tories in the elections.

The British Socialist Appeal, organ of the Workers International League, a Trotskyist group, demands that the Labor Party end the coalition with the Tories and strive for power upon a program of socialist demands.

STRIKES INCREASE

Just as the Labor Party agreed to a coalition with the Tories on the political field so did the trade union leaders agree with the employers to a "truce" on the economic field. Without consulting the masses, they adopted a no-strike compulsory arbitration policy that cripples the workers' efforts to better their conditions. The standards of living of the workers are constantly falling as the effects of goods shortages and higher prices are being felt ever more sharply.

The workers' resentment is increased because at the same time, the bosses' profits are not being curtailed but are even rising. The British Economist points out that 2017 companies which had reported by Jan. 1, 1942, showed a total profit of 389 million pounds for 1941 over 375 million pounds for 1940.

As a result of these factors, and in spite of the official policy of the trade union leaders, workers have struck in numerous cases. For example:

The aircraft workers in the Napier Plant in Liverpool struck; a "token" walkout of a half-hour took place in all the shipyards on the Clyde; 5000 men walked out in the Rolls Royce plant; several thousand Kentish coal miners struck and succeeded in raising their pay from 6 shillings, 9 pence a day to 15 shillings, 2½ pence a day. (More on Great Britain next week.)

The New York School of Social Science

WEDNESDAYS

7:45 to 8:45

The Labor Movement of Russia

JOHN G. WRIGHT

9:00 to 10:00

Modern World Capitalism

C. CHARLES

FRIDAYS

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The United States Is For Free Trade In British Empire

By A. ROLAND

Ottawa Agreement Is Set Aside

The United States has always been for its own unrestricted right to trade freely — inside the British Empire. This aim it has finally achieved, at least as a promise on England's part. The agreement just signed by Halifax for Great Britain and Welles for the United States sets aside the Ottawa agreement which was designed by England to shut this country out of the British imperial preserves.

The attempt on the part of the capitalist press to place a truly international significance on the new agreement hardly holds water. True the pact does the handsome thing, for the benefit of skeptics, by saying that similar arrangements are open for all nations "of like mind." It is to be doubted whether other nations, handicapped in their competition with American mass production, will prove very anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity to let down all bars to United States businessmen.

The eight points of the Joint Declaration of Intentions may be nicely sugar-coated for public consumption. But they are part of the hard bargain driven by the Yankees in return for their lease-lend aid to England. Churchill attempted slyly to evade paying this price in the first agreement, the Atlantic Charter, signed by Roosevelt and himself. There he had inserted in the section dealing with the letting down of trade barriers a little clause to the effect that commitments already in existence were to be excepted. This brought a loud outcry from the Yankees. The present Declaration pins Churchill down and does away with the loophole left in the Atlantic Charter. The Ottawa agreement is thus dead and buried.

Conflicting Interests of Two Nations

Halifax naturally makes use of the new agreement to show that after all the Americans were unduly suspicious of their English cousins. This is a bad business and must be corrected. He has no illusions concerning the difficulty of building up sufficient trust between the two nations, particularly in the post-war period. His words are worth quoting on this score: "But the difficult time comes when the physical danger is removed, and no one who remembers the period after the armistice of 1918 can help but wonder whether our two peoples will manage to work with each other better than they did a quarter of a century ago. It is an easy but insecure assumption that comradeship in war will, of its own momentum, carry over into peace."

The Ambassador is more than right. Particularly in this case when the aims of the two countries in the war are far from being identical. The aims of two capitalist countries in a world war cannot possibly be the same, for each seeks its own best interests. The economic interests of England and America on a world scale are in conflict with each other.

The actual terms of the Declaration (probably contained in notes of interpretation exchanged between the foreign offices rather than directly in the printed document) are far less important than the basic assumption underlying the agreement. These assumptions are Utopian to say the least. They assume that world economy can be brought back to a more or less even keel on the foundations that existed before 1939. Trade and commerce will be resumed where it was left off before the second world war. Only this time the Anglo-American bloc will see to it that its dominance over the entire world is maintained.

The assumption is an obvious fallacy. The inability of all the warring nations to repay their debts, both foreign and internal, is rightly taken for granted by everybody. The sudden swing that will be necessary from a war production such as the world has never before seen, involving from sixty to eighty per cent of the total production of every single big capitalist country, back to the production of civilian goods, will obviously bring an economic crisis. Those economists who talk hopefully of evading such a crisis by piling up mass purchasing power during the war which will be released for business stimulation the moment the war ends, shut their eyes to reality.

Real Barrier to World Economy

The tremendous sums of money being spent on the war represent the super-wasting of actual wealth. The machinery of civilian production is being allowed to run down while the nation devotes itself to total war. The reconstruction of the productive apparatus will require almost as much wealth as is now being squandered for war purposes. The amount of purchasing power "stored up" in the banks for the masses (even if we suppose a scheme such as that of Maynard Keynes is accepted) would not be a drop in the bucket so far as the real amount necessary for setting the machines going again is concerned.

The second world war is impoverishing the world at a breath-taking rate. The scorched-earth policy — where it is applied instead of just talked about — may be an "all out" war measure, but how will all of the wealth destroyed be replaced?

The more realistic economists have warned that the standards of living of the masses will have to remain at the low level of wartime until what wealth remains to society has first gone into the effort to rebuild the forces of production. A world at a lower level of existence all around will hardly encourage trade and commerce.

The anarchic methods of capitalism cannot possibly bring real economic recovery after this war. Nor can any one country, even two countries like the United States and England, bring order out of chaos. That is the great fallacy that underlies the thinking of the reactionary capitalists who suppose that they can re-establish what has gone forever. The Declaration of Intentions merely declares this purpose. The Intentions cannot be labelled good ones, for they stand in the way of a better world. The barriers to world economy are not mere Ottawa agreements but the very system of capitalism itself.

Agrarian Revolution Is Key To Struggle In India

Exploited Indian Masses Can Achieve Real Freedom Only Through Action Independent of Native Propertied Class

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

There is a lot of talk these days about solving the Indian problem by means of a few political concessions. The aim of all this high-sounding talk is to postpone and prevent a real solution of India's historical tasks and needs by the only ones capable of achieving such a solution, namely, the vast Indian masses themselves.

The overwhelming majority of Indians are peasants who live under feudal and semi-feudal conditions. It can be said without any fear of exaggeration that no other country in history was ever faced with the solution of the agrarian question on such a vast scale.

To maintain their rule over this enormous country the English imperialists have done everything in their power to preserve and perpetuate the feudal structure. In addition to caste and tribal divisions, there are more than 700 feudatory states which bind the peasantry to conditions of indescribable poverty and degradation. The apparatus of British imperial rule reinforces this outworn feudal structure and aggravates the conditions of more than 280 million Indian peasants.

To the rural classes of India the struggle against British rule is synonymous with the struggle against their feudal bondage. National emancipation is for them indissolubly bound up with the agrarian revolution.

This is no secret to the bourgeois leaders of the Indian nationalist movement. Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress, wrote in his autobiography: "For all these rural classes nationalism or Swaraj means fundamental changes in the land system which would relieve or lessen their burdens and provide land for the landless."

Who Will Help the Peasants?

How will these fundamental changes be accomplished in such a country as India, the classic colonial country of world capitalism? Despite its overwhelming numerical strength the peasantry cannot achieve the agrarian revolution with its own forces. It needs a powerful ally in the cities.

The Indian peasants have already learned much from more than two decades of experience with the bourgeois nationalist movement. They gave the National Congress its real strength. The Congress, in its turn, under Gandhi's leadership, revealed its complete bankruptcy. Millions of Indian peasants already know through experience that the bourgeois nationalist leaders are no less fearful of the consequences of the agrarian revolution than are the British imperialists and the native princes. Many millions more are beginning to understand just what Gandhi, Nehru and Co. stand for. Peasant delegations march to the National Congress bearing placards, "Down

with serfdom." The Congress resists every step in this direction.

"It is absurd to say," explains Nehru, "that the leaders betray the masses because they do not try to upset the land system. . . . They never claimed to do so." For the Indian bourgeoisie, nationalism merely means a greater share of power and profits in the ruling block with two other classes, the British imperialists and the native feudal lords. Their dream is to become equal partners, they are ready to settle for much less. The experiences which lie immediately ahead will completely convince the Indian peasants that the native bourgeoisie is a mortal enemy of all those who seek to "upset the land system."

But the treachery of the native bourgeoisie does not at all doom the peasant movement to defeat. On the contrary, the Indian peasants have a far more powerful ally in the cities than the force represented by the weak and degenerated native capitalists. This great ally is the Indian working class numbering more than 5 million and employed predominantly in English-owned industries. While composing a tiny minority of the population, the Indian working class in reality represents the most dynamic force in the country. It is the only reliable ally of the peasantry. It alone is capable of leading the struggle for India's independence and of carrying through the agrarian revolution.

The Lessons of China

With an infallible class instinct the Indian bourgeoisie nationalists deny that the Indian proletariat is either revolutionary or capable of leading the peasantry and the struggle for national independence. They hope to repeat on the Indian arena what was accomplished by the Chinese bourgeoisie under Chiang-Kai-shek, i.e., to crush the proletariat. The temporary success of Chiang and the Chinese bourgeoisie was due above all to the treachery of the Communist International under Stalin who surrendered the Chinese proletariat bound hand and foot to the bourgeois henchmen.

The lessons of the Chinese experience are of crucial importance for the development of the Indian struggle. The Chinese revolution suffered a grave defeat because the Chinese proletariat failed to build in the very heat of the struggle an independent political party based on the principles of Leninism; and because the Stalinist party surrendered the leadership of the national liberationist movement and of the agrarian revolution.

We have just received news from India of the formation of the All-India Bolshevik-Leninist Party. The program of this party represents a great conquest for the Indian proletariat. The growth of this party is the best guarantee for the triumph of the alliance between Indian peasants and workers.

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

'Militant' Endorses Carlson's Candidacy

THE MILITANT wholeheartedly endorses the candidacy of Grace Carlson for mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota. Our endorsement is accorded to her as a banner-bearer of international socialism.

As the first candidate for public office to unfurl this banner since America's entry into the war, her campaign takes on national and international significance.

It is a token in action that Trotskyism, which Grace Carlson proclaims, continues to speak out amid capitalist reaction and war to rally the workers to that program of workers' emancipation which alone will bring lasting peace and security for the oppressed of the earth.

American capitalism tried to silence the voice of Trotskyism through the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial in which 18 Trotskyists and CIO members—including Grace Carlson—were convicted under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act.

All the more significant then is her campaign today, for it symbolizes to the workers of America, as well as of St. Paul and Minnesota, that Trotskyism lives and functions despite persecutions and repressions.

Grace Carlson carries on the heroic tradition of Eugene V. Debs. Debs, too, dared to voice the slogan of international workingclass solidarity during the last war. A million workers cast their vote for him while he was behind prison bars because of his courageous stand.

Like Debs, Grace Carlson bears the brand of capitalist justice as a badge of honor. It marks her, and the movement for which she speaks, as uncompromising defenders of the workers' interests, who never surrender their principles even under the blows of the capitalist rulers. As the Trotskyists were, so they remain, the inheritors of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the standard-bearers of the socialist future of mankind.

It is with confidence that her program today will be the program of the entire working class tomorrow, that THE MILITANT urges the workers of St. Paul to vote for Grace Carlson and socialism in the coming city elections.

"Protecting" Labor, Negroes And Aliens

If an individual is assaulted on the streets by a gangster, it is customary to arrest and punish the gangster and assist his victim. Under the impact of the "war for democracy", however, this simple concept of justice is being reversed so far as the workers, Negroes and non-citizens are concerned.

Thus, when workers sent him protests about the bosses' war profiteering, Colonel Roy M. Jones, of the procurement division of the Army Air Corps, did nothing about the war profiteers, but sharply "warned" the workers about becoming "tools of nazism."

When a Ku-Klux-Klan incited mob in Detroit attacked a group of Negro families who were

moving into a government housing project built for Negro war workers, Mayor Jeffries "protected" these Negro workers add their families by ordering them to stay out of their new homes "until further notice." And when his police got through "protecting" them, of 38 persons sent to the hospital, 33 were Negroes, and of 104 persons arrested, 101 were Negroes.

When vigilante terror broke out against persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast, President Roosevelt issued an order empowering the Army arbitrarily to drive all persons of Japanese descent, citizens and non-citizens alike, from their homes and farms. Attorney-General Biddle, self-styled "guardian" of civil liberties, hastened to approve of it as a measure for the "safety" of the threatened victims of reactionary terrorism.

Hitler is a past master in applying this concept of "justice". Every time he undertakes a new invasion, or some other new blow at the masses, he explains that he does it "for their own good," to "protect" them.

Why German Soldiers Are Not Surrendering

According to official reports, the Red Army has surrounded a large number of German troops in the region of Staraya Russa. Almost 100,000 have been completely cut off; thousands have already been killed and the rest are reportedly on the verge of starvation. Yet Moscow itself does not even hint that these troops may surrender.

It is well known that very few German soldiers have surrendered. Stalin was compelled to admit this in his order of the day, issued in connection with the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Red Army.

Are the German soldiers preferring death to surrender because they are fanatical Nazis? To say this is to identify the German people with Hitler's clique. According to Stalin, such an assumption is ridiculous. We agree. What then is the explanation?

Stalin, like Churchill and Roosevelt, offers the German soldiers only another Versailles Treaty. This is what they reject.

The German people were offered a "free Germany" and a "democratic peace" in the last war. The self-same promises on Stalin's lips sound no better today than they did on the lips of Wilson, Lloyd George and the British and French "socialists" in 1914-1918.

Hitler's talk of the threat of another Versailles is a terrible reality to the German people. This spectre is Hitler's best weapon.

The only guarantee against the threat of another Versailles is the program for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe. Let the Red Army issue such a call, and the German soldiers would not only surrender willingly but join side by side with the Red soldiers in the struggle for the Socialist emancipation of Europe and all mankind.

Henderson Advises Pulling In Of Belts

Price Administrator Leon Henderson, in a speech before the Overseas Press Club on Feb. 26, graphically described how heavily the Administration expects the burden of the war to fall on the American masses.

Henderson stated that such a high percentage of the nation's productive capacity is to be diverted to war purposes that "the level of living within a few short months will be not much above 1932, and that in 1943 we shall surely fall below 1932."

Henderson further explained that "you guests may not appreciate what it means to the American people to fall below the bottom of our great depression, but the people listening tonight will know what it means and understand that it is a warning to pull in their belts and pull hard."

But not all "the people listening tonight" understood this as a "warning to pull in their belts...hard." If there were any capitalists listening to Henderson, they understood this "warning" to apply only to the workers, poor farmers and lower middle class.

The monopoly owners and finance capitalists expect to grow fatter each day of the war. They have already had to let out, not "pull in", their belts. Average corporation profits in 1941 were 30 per cent higher than in 1940, an exceptionally good year, and 100 per cent higher than in 1939.

But why, while the bosses pile up more and more profits, must the masses "pull in their belts"?

This nation lacks neither the labor power nor productive facilities to maintain the flow of consumers goods even while war production is expanding.

The scarcity of consumers goods is the direct consequence of the policies of the monopoly owners and their agents who are running war production.

They have deliberately restricted the expansion of production facilities in order to maintain their monopolies. They have forced whole industries to shut down because they refused to invest their huge idle capital in expansion and plant conversion.

Let the capitalists first "sacrifice" their billions in war profits before there is any more talk of the workers pulling in their already tight belts. Let the government take over and operate the basic industries under the control and management of the workers.

Not until this is done will the masses feel any justification for speeches urging them to pull in their belts.

American Tells Of Indian Workers' Organizations

Met With Union Groups and Heard Workers' Views On War and National Independence

By WILLIAM ELLIS

(The following is the concluding section of an article by an American who returned from India shortly before the outbreak of the Pacific war.)

India is very largely a peasant country, although it has a tremendous potential for industrial development. This potential has not been realized because of British domination. The British rulers do not wish the growth of industries competitive to Britain's home industries, preferring to drain the raw materials and resources of India and exploit it as a market.

Nevertheless, since the last war, there has been a relatively considerable industrial development, and with it the growth of the industrial working class. Although the industrial workers represent as yet only a small fraction of the population, they are highly concentrated in certain key cities and industries. They have built up a tradition of militant struggle, have advanced politically far above the level of the rest of the native population, and have a political and economic weight far out of proportion to their numbers.

One of the things that surprised me as we went up the Hooghly River at the port of Calcutta, where I got my first glimpse of India, were the foundries and factory plants along the river banks. Most of them looked like new, modern buildings, and from the signs on them I could tell they were very largely British-owned. The present war has stimulated an industrial expansion in India.

This expansion was evident in all the big cities and ports I visited. In one city, where there is a growing steel industry, I had the opportunity to meet a group of iron and steel workers. They were in the process of forming a union, and represented several plants in the area.

Unionism was a very new experience to them, and they were extremely interested in every phase of union activity and procedure. Naturally, they were forced to function under conditions of virtual illegality, as the vaunted British democracy has never been imported into India along with British imperialism.

Every time I had a chance to talk with Indian workers, I found them extremely anxious to learn about the organizational methods and experiences of the American workers. Yes, even into far-off India among the most exploited workers in the world, has come the knowledge of the great labor struggles and organizational strides of American labor in the past decade.

Observing that I was an American and sympathetic to the cause of the workers, the steel workers I met asked me many questions about how the American workers go about winning better conditions. They told me of some of their problems, and solicited my advice.

"CAN WE TRUST THE MANAGER?" One of them told me that in his particular plant, the union had gained sufficient strength to compel the management to deal with it. However, he explained, the manager was attending their meetings and negotiating for the company directly within their organization. The steel worker and his comrades expressed doubt as to the wisdom of having the company manager in their meetings,

very reminiscent of those in the U. S. The companies plant spies in the union, set up rival company unions, etc.

By good fortune, I was able to attend a meeting of dock workers in one city. Although they are a recognized and legal union, they are nevertheless constantly subjected to police intimidation, arrested on the slightest pretext, and their meetings and activities are under continual surveillance.

It came as a surprise to me to observe how well-educated politically these dock workers are. Their discussion at the meeting was along Marxist lines, and was devoted to a consideration of the basic causes of the war. With virtual unanimity, they stated that they considered the most immediate enemy of the Indian workers to be the British rulers and the native capitalists.

One of them said: "We have nothing against the British workers. If they would revolt, it would be much easier for us."

What was particularly significant about this attitude, was that most of the workers at this meeting were under Stalinist influence and leadership. The Stalinists, as I found out, have been working to get these workers to forego their own struggles and to turn them toward support of Great Britain in the war.

ROLE OF STALINISM But so deep is the workers' hatred for the British rulers, and so strong is their desire to fight for national independence, that the Stalinists — to prevent complete isolation from the masses — were proceeding along these lines slowly and in the most indirect fashion.

They were, for example, trying to exploit the progressive sentiments of the workers for aid to the Soviet Union. The dock workers were assisting in a campaign to raise funds for the Soviet Union, to which they are giving whole-hearted support. Stalinist propaganda was trying to convince them that they should soften their struggle for national independence in the interests of helping the USSR, and its ally, Britain. But at the time I was there they had not yet dared to come out openly among these workers and tell them to support the war.

During the course of my discussion with the dock workers, my opinion was asked about the Soviet Union. I told them that I was for its unconditional defense, but, I added, it was necessary to differentiate between the workers state and the capitalist states, and that I thought the best way they could help the USSR was by continuing their own struggle for national freedom. They nodded approvingly.

From my observations, Stalinism is one of the most dangerous forces operating against Indian independence, particularly because in the past the Stalinists have led the masses in many bitter struggles and their influence has penetrated deeply among many advanced sections of the Indian working class.

INDIAN TROTSKYISTS I am happiest to be able to report that there is a growing Trotskyist movement in India. The Trotskyists I talked with were extremely optimistic about the future of the Fourth International in their country. They already have groups in a number of cities and are planning the consolidation of these groups into an All-India party as soon as possible.

I also learned that, contrary to reports circulated in the United States some time ago, they are in full agreement with the position of the Socialist Workers Party for defense of the Soviet Union.

The Fourth Internationalists in India are composed mainly of workers and have been winning over more and more union militants. Of course, they are functioning under very difficult, illegal conditions. Some of the Indian comrades are in prison.

They are publishing a paper, called "The Spark" — named after Lenin's paper, "Iskra". In the formation of their party, and as a guide for its organizational methods, they are trying to apply the teachings of Lenin's "What Is to Be Done?"

Among the Indian masses, there is no section that appears to be able to give correct and militant leadership other than the industrial proletariat. They impress one with their class outlook, militancy and political intelligence. It is the workers, I am certain, who will give the decisive leadership to the struggle for Indian emancipation. Conditions in India are so explosive today that with a correct proletarian revolutionary leadership, nothing will prevent the Indian people from successfully achieving their freedom from British rule and oppression.

A Side Show That Almost Stole The Show

By M. STEIN

Side-Show Struggle

It is not very often that a side-show overshadows the main attraction. Especially if the main attraction happens to be as breathtaking in scope as the fall of Singapore. Well, this almost happened. And small wonder, for look at the cast of characters: in the center of the stage is a virtuous, well-meaning First Lady. She's got in her embrace a pale, frail but very beautiful dancer. Around them a pack of howling wolves: congressmen, the press and all its Peggles, and radio commentators. Can anyone conceive of a more dramatic setting?

The suspense grew greater every minute. Everybody began to take sides, to lay bets on the outcome of the titanic struggle, when all of a sudden everything was brought to a quick halt. Somebody backstage pulled some wires and all the characters who looked so real revealed themselves as mere puppets and they were withdrawn from the stage.

Whoever pulled the wires backstage, did it in the nick of time. If this side-show had been permitted to continue beyond the first act it would have revealed that the so-called national unity is merely a thin veneer covering some deep-going differences, even within the ruling group that is united on the question of foreign policy.

The conflict as it unfolded in the one and only act showed a difference over the character of the OGD. The outright reactionaries raised a howl against some of the social functions of the OGD. But even though the curtain was drawn on this act, the extent of the conflict can be judged somewhat by the bitter comment made after the event by the First Lady in her weekly broadcast on Sunday, Feb. 21:

She blamed the dispute on "what I hope is a small but vocal group of unenlightened men who are now able to renew, under the guise of patriotism and economy, the age-old fight for the privileged few against the good of the many."

Later on she almost assumes the role of a rabble-rouser: "Perhaps we must all stand up now and be counted in this fight, the virtuous Westbrook Peglers on the one side, the boon-dogglers, so-called, on the other..." (New York Times, Feb. 22.)

A Question of Method

But despite the great heat and the sharp phraseology, the dispute is fundamentally over a question of method. How are the workers and farmers to be won over to a greater war effort? The "enlightened" First Lady says: You can attract more flies with honey than you can with vinegar. Answer the old timers of the tough, rough-and-ready school: These are not flies you are dealing with and the good old whip will work wonders.

Here is where the rub comes in. The "enlightened" might be willing to put their enlightenment aside for the duration. But aren't we supposed to be fighting for democracy the world over? Wouldn't it look too raw to adopt the methods of barbarous fascism and at the same time say you are fighting fascism?

The public as a whole is extremely cynical of mere sermons about democracy. The last war and the struggle to "make the world safe for democracy" is still fresh in the memory of the present generation. Has there been any attempt on the part of the ruling class, its spokesmen, or its flunkies, both the liberals and the conservatives, to explain why World War I which brought victory to the "democracies" resulted in a political phenomenon unknown prior to the war — the emergence of Fascism and Nazism?

Questions the Masses Are Thinking About

The toiling masses want to know also why half the time that elapsed between one war and the other was spent in misery, deprivation and degrading unemployment. Why they had to sell apples on the street corners under Hoover, and why when WPA was established under the "New Deal," they were looked down on as boon-dogglers. Why there was a howl that WPA and the miserable relief pittance was bankrupting the country, while scores of billions of dollars are voted for the war without a murmur out of the same people.

They want to know why it is wrong for workers to fight for higher wages to offset the rising cost of living, while on the other hand the bosses are accumulating fabulous profits, despite occasional "investigations" which do nothing to curb profits.

The youth of the country wants to know why they have been the forgotten men of the generation with no chance for a job, a career — no chance to live a normal life. They want to know why it took a war to focus attention on them, and here too not as masters of their own destiny, but as victims — victims of a world not of their own making. They want to know who is responsible. They ask questions.

This is why the sideshow over the OGD, the First Lady, Mayris Chaney and Melvyn Douglas, can become so prominent. There is no answer forthcoming, to the real questions, it would be too embarrassing, too enlightening. Instead there is a lot of fancy skating around the real issues, with an occasional outburst between the two methods of approach. One section of the ruling class prefers plain unceremonious brutal force; the other, and as yet more influential, would like to try further the method of camouflage and cajolery.

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