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FDR SHIPYARD PROGRAM SHOWS 'WAGE STABILIZATION' MEANS WAGE FREEZING

India Congress Leaders Advocate Suicidal Policy

Urge Masses Not to Organize Struggle Against Japanese and British Oppressors

The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Party voted on May 2 in favor of Gandhi's "non-violent, non-cooperation" policy of passive submission to the imperialist powers struggling for control of Britain's greatest colony.

The declaration amounts, in effect, to a call upon the 400,000,000 oppressed workers and peasants of India to give up any effective struggle for their national liberation and to entrust their fate entirely to whatever imperialist power comes out on top in the present war in the Far East.

"If invasion takes place it must be resisted," says the Working Committee, which represents the Indian capitalist class. And how? "Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-cooperation."

This means that the Indian masses are being asked to lift up their throats, like sheep in a slaughter house, and have them

sliced by the Japanese imperialists.

JAPANESE RULERS WILL LIKE IT

Nothing will be more pleasing to the Japanese imperialists than such an advance assurance that the force they fear most, an armed million-headed mass fighting for its national freedom, will not meet them on the soil of India. The Japanese imperialist bandits are certainly not going to be frightened by any threats of non-violent non-cooperation. The Japanese know that this policy has worked wonders up to now in helping British imperialism main-

tain its rule over the disarmed masses.

The British ruling class will also welcome this assurance that the Indian capitalist leaders will try to keep the Indian masses disarmed. For as long as the policy of non-violent non-cooperation is followed, it will be impossible for the masses to free themselves from the rule of Britain and its native lackeys.

The Working Committee's policy will be an aid and comfort to British imperialism which is determined to keep the native colonial peoples disarmed and hogtied at all costs. The lengths to which the British rulers go to keep the masses from securing arms and military training was recently exposed by Krishnalal Shridharani, author of "My India, My America." In an interview with the *New York Post*, April 30, he pointed out:

A CRIMINAL OFFENSE

"It is not realized that it is a criminal offense for Indians

(Continued on page 4)

Price Fixing Won't Stop Rise In Cost Of Living

Curtailed of Consumers Goods, Cause of Inflation, Is Not Affected By New Ruling

By ANTHONY MASSINI

Early in January President Roosevelt set Leon Henderson and his Office of Price Administration to work on some of the main points in the 7-point war economy program which the administration presented to Congress last week.

On February 26 Henderson, already aware of the purpose and intended effects of that program, spoke before the Overseas Press Club in New York and said that "the level of living within a few short months will not be much above 1932, and that in 1943 we shall surely fall below 1932."

Roosevelt's 7-point program is today referred to as an anti-inflation measure and ballyhooed as a measure to protect the people's living standards. Actually, it is neither.

It will not prevent inflation because it does not strike at the cause of inflation. As a result, the cost of living is going to continue to rise, despite all the elaborate rules and measures of the Office of Price Administration.

It will not protect the living standards of the masses because (1) it will "stabilize" (that is, freeze) wages through the War Labor Board while the cost of living will continue to rise because the basic cause of inflation has not been taken care of; (2) it will make it impossible for the workers whose wages have lagged behind the inflationary process all along, to catch up with it, and will thus make permanent the real wage cuts which they have suffered since 1939.

For these reasons, Roosevelt's 7-point program must be recognized for what it is — not a measure in the interests of the masses, but a measure designed to place the chief burden of the war costs on the masses and to depress their living standards to a level lower than they reached during the worst depression in United States history.

THE CAUSE OF INFLATION

The real cause of the present inflation is recognized in the text of the OPA's General Maximum Price Regulations, which set price ceilings on practically all commodities, although it would be hard to discover that the administration understood what it was from an examination of its 7-point program.

Inflation has been caused by the gap between the people's demand for the things they need, consumers goods and services, and the amount of these things available. The reason for this is that the government has curtailed production of consumers goods and services. In 1942, according to the OPA, the people will have 86 billion dollars to spend for these things, and there will be only 69 billion worth to buy. As the war continues, the supply of goods and services will be further curtailed. The demand for these things however will become increased as household goods, etc., began to wear out. Obviously, the fixing of maximum prices on all commodities is not going to solve the problem, because it cannot increase the supply nor diminish the need and demand for these things.

This is the chief factor in inflation, but it is not the only one. Another important factor is the arbitrary and extremely high price rises induced by the monopoly corporations which are filling most of the war contracts for the government. The OPA Regulations say: "Since the outbreak of the war in September, 1939, the prices of basic raw materials have risen by 66 per cent." Deliberately planned shortages, to put profits into the pockets of the capitalist class, have been cov-

House Committee Votes to Go Easy On Profits Taxes

Brings Out Tax Plan Ignoring 'Equal Sacrifice' by Bosses

That portion of President Roosevelt's "equal sacrifice" 7-point program dealing with war profits and big personal incomes is melting away like snow under the hot Congressional sun. The idea that the bosses should be called upon to "sacrifice" is getting nowhere fast in Congress, and is raising anguished howls from the employers themselves.

The House Ways and Means Committee gave a prompt and unambiguous answer to Roosevelt's suggestion that a tax program be passed to keep corporate profits at a "reasonably low level" and to limit personal incomes to \$25,000 a year after taxes.

Last week the committee approved a tax program calling for a maximum tax of 94 per cent on "excess profits," "excess profits" being roughly those above the highest annual average of "normal profits" during 1936-1939. On the surface, this would seem better than the Treasury's proposed plan, which sets a 75 per cent maximum.

However, here is the joker in the committee's plan. It proposes a "normal" profits tax and surtax, from which the bulk of profits taxes are derived, which is 15 per cent lower than that proposed by the Treasury. The committee's plan calls for a 40 per cent maximum in "normal" profits taxes instead of the Treasury's proposed 55 per cent.

Thus, the House Ways and Means Committee tax program will actually net \$700,000,000 LESS than even the mild Treasury Department profits tax program.

But the committee does not intend to let the war program suffer through this. It is now working on a plan to raise over \$5,000,000,000 from the masses through a steep general sales tax. Congress is all for sacrifice — by the workers.

Speaks Against Pay Raises Provided In Union Contract

FDR Wires Wage Conference That Increases Are 'Irreconcilable With National Policy'

By ART PREIS

President Roosevelt, through his direct intervention last Saturday in the War Production Board's shipyard wage negotiations conference, has made it clear that his wage "stabilization" plan, a major provision of his 7-point program, is aimed at establishing general wage freezing.

In a strongly worded telegram to the Chicago conference of government officials, shipyard owners and union leaders, Roosevelt issued a virtual ultimatum against the granting of any general wage increases for the nation's 800,000 shipyard workers. Such increases are automatically provided for in the present industry-wide zone stabilization agreements signed last year by the AFL and CIO at the insistence of the government itself.

Roosevelt's telegram stated bluntly: "The situation that now confronts you is that the full percentage wage increase for which your contracts call, and to which, by the letter of the law, you are entitled, is irreconcilable with the national policy to control the cost of living."

The contractual provision to which Roosevelt's telegram refers, is a specific clause in the industry-wide agreement, drawn up originally by the government, which unambiguously calls for an automatic upward readjustment of wages to bring them in line with price rises.

This clause was conceded to the unions in return for agreeing to a no-strike policy and accepting a general wage scale lower than the then highest prevailing union rates in many areas.

Roosevelt's demonstrative mandate to the shipyard workers' unions is an open violation of his assurances, made in his Congressional message of April 27, that "existing contracts between employers and employees must, in all fairness, be carried out to the expiration dates of those contracts."

EFFECT ON OTHER CONTRACTS

Here is a dangerous precedent, going far beyond the question of wage freezing, which may pave the way for the abrogation of all existing union contracts under the pretext of "war-time necessity." If the provisions of a contract involving 800,000 shipyard workers can be arbitrarily tossed into the ash-can, what is to guarantee that any and all union contracts cannot be dealt with in the same fashion and under the same pretext? Roosevelt's order to the shipyard workers, if accepted, will undoubtedly be the cue for wholesale attempts at contract violations by the employers.

The capitalist class has always demanded that the workers respect the "sanctity" of contracts. The bosses insist that the workers live up to the last comma and period of a contract that is to the employer's interests. But, as Roosevelt's telegram shows, they do not hesitate to violate the "sanctity" of any contract provision which is in the workers' interest.

Roosevelt's shipyard wage order also fixes the seal of approval on the actual wage cuts sustained by the workers during the past period of price rises. Past price rises have meant a 13 per cent slice in wages for the Pacific coast shipyard workers, and a 16 per cent cut for those in the Gulf zone. Under the provisions of the contracts, these workers are now entitled to upward wage adjustments to offset a respective 13 and 16 per cent rise in the cost of living since the original signing of the contracts. Roosevelt's

telegram is expected to result in a substantial reduction in the amount of increases which the shipyard workers might otherwise have obtained, if it does not result in eliminating all increases.

SETS A PRECEDENT

The primary and most immediate purpose behind Roosevelt's shipyard wage order is to set a precedent for the position which the War Labor Board will take toward the current demands of the steel, auto and other unions for general wage increases.

Last week, William Davis, (Continued on page 2)

Supreme Court Refuses to Act On Waller Case

MAY 5.—The United States Supreme Court yesterday refused jurisdiction in the case of Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper sentenced to die on May 19 for the self-defense killing of his white farmer landlord, Oscar Davis, in a dispute over crop shares which were due him.

Waller's lawyer, John F. Finerty, immediately petitioned the Supreme Court for a re-hearing. Meanwhile, Governor Darden of Virginia has been asked to grant a 30-day stay of execution, so that the Court may act on the petition. The sharecropper's life will probably depend on the Court's action.

ISSUES IN THE CASE

Also involved in the case is the whole question of the poll tax and the denial of voting and jury-serving rights for Negro and white workers in many Southern states. The Workers Defense League appealed the case to the Supreme Court on the ground that Waller was tried by a jury from which non-payers of the poll tax were systematically barred, and which therefore was not a jury of his peers and could not be impartial.

The League presented affidavits showing that over 80 per cent of the population of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, where the trial was held, were unable to pay the poll taxes and were thereby barred from grand and petit jury lists in the county.

Supreme Court failure to pass judgment on the case will be tantamount to sanction of the poll tax as well as of the execution of a victim of Jim Crow oppression.

The case has attracted wide support from CIO and AFL unions throughout the country who understand the issues involved. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have given particularly active cooperation in the defense of Waller.

Another Standard Oil-Nazi Deal Is Exposed In Senate

Rockefeller Trust Halted Production of Vital Acids by Agreement With I. G. Farben

More facts about the Standard Oil-Nazi I. G. Farben-industry patent-pool conspiracy were revealed last week before the Senate Patents Committee by Irving Lipkowitz, representative of the Department of Justice anti-trust division.

The latest disclosures involve a cartel agreement between the American and Nazi trusts which gave Standard Oil a monopoly on the patents for the best and cheapest processing of acetylene and acetic acid, raw material base for rayon, plastics, paints, drugs, dyes and other important chemical products, and enabled Standard to block development of the industry in this country.

Standard Oil of New Jersey, largest holding of the Rockefeller oil trust, turned its own vital patents over to I. G. Farben and kept down acetylene production in the U. S. in return for an agreement from the German corporation to respect Standard's world-wide petroleum and gasoline monopoly and not to invade Standard's international markets.

Jasco, a holding company owned jointly by the American trust and the German monopoly, built an experimental plant in Baton Rouge for the purposes of perfecting the acetylene. This was closed down in 1935 at the behest of I. G. Farben.

A QUESTION OF DATES

Although, with the outbreak of the war in Sept. 1939, the demand for acetylene increased enormously Standard concluded an agreement for the complete dismantling of the Baton Rouge plant on Dec. 1, 1939. According to Lipkowitz, who cited documents from the Standard Oil files, the dismantling of the plant was "obviously for but one reason, the likelihood that the United States would be drawn into the war against Germany. The German Government... was undoubtedly anxious to facilitate the destruction of any plant in the United States which might be useful in war production."

The Standard officials knew the objective of the Nazi corporation, but nevertheless agreed to carry out its desires. To cover up their tracks, however, they dated the agreement back to August 31, 1939, the day before war was declared.

rule," declared Lipkowitz, "Standard Oil was aware of the policy being pursued by I. G. Farben, and was willing to go along with it."

After Lipkowitz had cited the documentary evidence before the Senate committee — evidence to which the capitalist press gave little space — Standard issued a lengthy public broadside, given much prominence, charging that Lipkowitz had "drawn conclusions not based on the facts."

Standard's statement, which answered none of the government's specific charges, was just a broad smear intended to beguile the public which has not been given the full story as revealed to the Senate committee.

Lipkowitz answered Standard by coming once more before the Senate committee last week and challenging Standard to make its denials under oath — a challenge which Standard is unlikely to accept.

PATRIOTISM AND BUSINESS

The revelations about Standard's acetylene conspiracy once more put the spotlight on the "patriotism" of American monopoly capitalism, which is making billions in war profits from the "war against fascism" and still doing business on the side with Hitler.

Standard's practices are similar to those of all the other big international monopolies, duPont, Aluminum Company, General Electric, General Motors, etc., which have resulted in the curtailment of American production of synthetic rubber, aluminum, magnesium, tungsten carbide, and all other basic materials.

While the government is disclosing certain of the details of these Nazi-U. S. trust conspiracies before Congressional committees, which have only investigating powers, it is to be noted that no effective action has been taken against the corporations involved. They are still getting billions worth of new government built plants and the lions' share of the war orders, and have their dollar-a-year agents in key positions throughout the government's war production and contracting agencies.

"Hope and Expectation"

During the hearings by the Senate Patent Committee on the ramifications of the Nazi-U. S. Big Business patent-pools, it was disclosed that a duPont subsidiary, Rohm and Haas, held down the production of synthetic glass, used in the bay windows of war planes, in conformity with its cartel agreement with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie.

Called for questioning before the Senate Committee, S. C. Kelton, secretary of Rohm and Haas, was compelled to disclose that his company has continued to set aside royalties on United States military orders for post-war payment to the German interests.

He hastened to assure the committee that the royalties earmarked for the German corporation were really being held "with the hope and expectation that they will be seized by the Alien Property Custodian."

Kelton failed to explain why this "hope and expectation" was revealed to the government only after the company officials had been called before a Senate investigation.

SWP Holds Meetings To Celebrate May Day

Chicago

CHICAGO, May 3. — Albert Goldman, attorney for the 18 defendants recently convicted in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, called for international working class solidarity in the struggle to abolish war and fascism. He was the main speaker at the Chicago Socialist Party May Day rally.

It was in this same city 56 years ago that the Haymarket Martyrs gave up their lives during the first days of the fight for the 8 hour day. During the intervening years many more workers have made heroic sacrifices for additional gains and a better standard of living.

While the Communist Party leaders in their meeting here two days ago urged the workers to relinquish many of these gains, the SWP commemorated May Day in keeping with the tradition of the day — international solidarity and continuance of the struggle for improved conditions.

Speaking of the war, Goldman said, "Fascism is the greatest enemy of the workers. We are with them one thousand per cent in their desire to destroy fascism. We say to the workers: 'Establish a Workers' and Farmers' Government here that can appeal to the German and Italian workers to overthrow Hitler and Mussolini by assuring them that there will not be another Versailles Treaty.'

"Standard Oil, General Electric, Alcoa, duPont and the others are not interested in fighting fascism. The Truman Committee investigation has shown that. Yet these corporations run the major war industries. We say: 'Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.'

"We must convince the majority of the workers that their fundamental problems can be solved only by socialism. Until then," he said, "we submit to the majority and continue to show the people that to destroy fascism they must establish socialism."

Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, Wis., May 2. — Albert Goldman was the speaker at a small but spirited May Day rally held here tonight under the auspices of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Goldman analyzed the problems facing the masses of people in this country today. He showed how the development of the war was placing ever greater burdens on the workers, the Negro and the Jewish people, the small business men. Socialism, he declared, was the only solution for these problems sharpened by the war and the degeneration of the capitalist system.

Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — The Socialist Workers Party May Day rally held here on Friday night was a very small affair, but it was devoted to the observance of the militant anti-capitalist tradition of this workers' holiday, and to a reaffirmation of internationalism as the only road for the workers.

Members of the party also distributed SWP leaflets at a Stalinist "Defeat Hitler — Open A Second Front" rally held the same evening, and were able to hold their ground until all their leaflets were given out, despite the attacks of a CP "goon squad."

Reading

READING, Pa., May 4. — A well-attended gathering of steel, railroad, machinist, hosiery and other trade union workers and their families participated in a May Day rally and outing here yesterday under the auspices of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Members and sympathizers of the SWP from Allentown and Quakertown came many miles to join in celebrating the holiday of working-class internationalism.

Art Prefs gave the main talk of the rally. He described the

significance of May Day as the traditional day of international working-class struggle against the ruling classes and analyzed the development of the great international events of the past year and their meaning for the American workers.

The talk was received enthusiastically and was followed by a lively discussion on all the major issues confronting the workers of America and the world. This was one of the most successful affairs ever sponsored by the local SWP.

Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, May 1. — Following refusal of University of Minnesota authorities to permit him to accept the invitation of the student forum committee to address a student gathering, Albert Goldman was guest speaker at an enthusiastic May Day gathering in the headquarters of the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party this evening.

Despite a driving rain, eighty friends and sympathizers, including a group of University students, attended the meeting, and a collection of \$35 was taken.

Goldman, recently convicted with 17 others in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, described some of the great international May Days of the past, when the Communist International was led by Lenin and Trotsky, and contrasted their internationalism with the nationalism of Stalin's May Day message this year. He analyzed the actions of American capitalists in holding up the conversion of their industries to war production, and their patent pools with Nazi businessmen, to show that Big Business is not opposed to fascism and that the workers must take into their own hands the control of the fight against fascism and its breeding ground, the decaying capitalist system. Only socialism can defeat fascism, he said.

Comrade Goldman received an ovation when he concluded with an eloquent statement of his conviction that the workers of the world would yet come to embrace Marxism and would build the world socialist society. The meeting closed with singing of The Internationale.

Grace Carlson was chairman. The meeting was sponsored by the St. Paul and Minneapolis branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Boston

BOSTON — The importance of preserving the original meaning and traditions of May Day was stressed at the May Day meeting and social held by the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade A. Konikow, speaker of the evening and one of the founding members of the Trotskyist movement in the United States, reviewed the 52 May Days she has observed in the 52 years she has functioned in the revolutionary movement. She concluded with the statement that conditions in the workers' movement today convince her that the emancipation of the international working class is not far off.

The meeting was closed with the singing of The Internationale, and was followed by a social affair.

Newark

NEWARK — An audience composed almost completely of workers in the important industries of Northern New Jersey listened eagerly to the instructive speech of John G. Wright which featured the Socialist Workers Party May Day rally in Newark.

Wright recounted the rise and growth of the militant labor movement from the first May Day to today, and traced the development of the four international days during that period. He stated that the new war situation magnified and sharpened the problems facing the American working class, but pointed out that the revolutionary workers were still obliged to seek an international solution of these problems. His account of May Day demonstrations in Europe during the first world war, when the situation seemed as bad as it does today, was particularly inspiring to the audience.

After the meeting, working class songs were played and sung by the workers, refreshments were served, the seats were cleared away and there was dancing.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

New York

NEW YORK — More than 200 members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party met in Werdermann's Hall here on Friday, May 1, to celebrate the first May Day since the formal entry of the United States into the second world war.

While the Stalinists and official labor leaders turned their backs upon this traditional celebration of working class struggle against the bosses, the Trotskyists called upon the workers to hold aloft the banner of international solidarity. The usual New York May Day parade, which in past years involved tens of thousands of workers leaving their jobs to demonstrate for their demands, was not held this year. Responsibility for this belongs to the Stalinists who control the so-called United May Day Committee which called upon the workers to stay at their jobs and contribute a day's pay to the USO.

At the Trotskyist meeting, Lydia Beidel traced the history of May Day from its inception 56 years ago to the present day, showing how the workers had begun with the demand for the eight hour day, and how year by year their demands had been added until May Day came to be known throughout the world as the day on which workers downed tools and came out into the streets with their programs and slogans.

She also told about the magnificent May Day celebrations in Russia during the revolution, and the Berlin May Day of 1917 which hastened the end of World War I.

William F. Warde, the principal speaker, dwelt upon the effect of United States entry into the war on the problems of the workers, and the vicious attack under way against their unions and living standards. Showing how the working masses led by 12 million organized unionists in this country together with their families make up a majority of the people, Warde pointed out how they could stop the march of reaction and move forward to new gains.

Calling on the union movement to stiffen its ranks and to adopt a policy of no more retreats, Warde presented the meeting with the program of the Socialist Workers Party. He also discussed the necessity for workers in this country to give aid to the Soviet Union and China in the war, and to support the struggle of the Indian masses for independence.

The meeting ended with the unveiling of a bust of Leon Trotsky and the singing of The Internationale as a salute to the memory of the founder of the Fourth International.

The hall was decorated with banners calling for the defense of the Soviet Union, the preservation of civil liberties and labor's rights, the formation of an independent labor party, the abolition of all forms of Jim Crowism, and the creation of a Workers' and Farmers' Government and a Socialist United States of the World.

The enthusiastic audience sang revolutionary songs, and contributed almost \$100 to a collection to carry on the work of the party. George Grant, Local New York party organizer, acted as chairman.

Seattle

SEATTLE, Wash., May 3 — The Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated May Day with a picnic in a park featuring a short talk on the significance of this workers' holiday.

The affair was attended by 18 people, which is both significant and heartening because an SWP affair held in the same place a year ago was attended by only 6 members and friends.

James P. Cannon

Continues his lectures on THE HISTORY OF TROTSKYISM IN THE U. S.

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FDR Shipyard Plan Shows 'Wage Stabilizing' Means Wage Freezing

Price Fixing Will Not Stop Rise In Cost of Living

(Continued from page 1)

there much that they can do about it, for if they complain, they are plausibly told that they know they shouldn't buy on the Black Market — the only place they can get many of the things they need.

In short, price fixing results in the creation of a Black Market, and the Black Market is only another name for a place where you buy things at the inflated prices which are supposed to be abolished by price fixing.

And Henderson's statement that "a whole army of people searching for violations will not be an important part of the picture" will be construed by many dealers as a semi-invitation to start Black Market operations.

WHAT WAGE FREEZING WILL MEAN

Roosevelt's 7-point program does not contemplate the freezing of wages by legislation "under present circumstances," but that he expects wages to be frozen just the same is indicated by his statement that "You (who forego higher wages for your particular job for the duration of the war."

The "present circumstances" which Roosevelt has in mind are the "no-strike" pledges given by the union leaders; and their dependence on the War Labor Board to grant them wage increases. As long as the union leaders keep their members in line and prevent them from using their most important bargaining weapon, the strike, Roosevelt's order to the War Labor Board not to grant wage increases will be just as effective as legislation to freeze wages. Roosevelt will not think it necessary to use legislation until the unions begin to strike to achieve the demands denied them by the employers and the War Labor Board.

But whatever wage freezes are frozen, by Roosevelt's order or by legislation, the effect on the workers' living standards will be the same once the Black Market appears and the effect of price fixing is nullified.

On top of this, it must be remembered that real wages have already been slashed by price rises. This is true of the working class as a whole since Pearl Harbor, and particularly of the unorganized workers, white collar employees and all others without any real bargaining power ever since 1939.

The OPA's regulations give a real picture of the extent to which inflation has already taken place: "The price rises which have occurred since September, 1939, will increase by 35 billions of dollars the money cost of the war program now authorized." Since the total war appropriations are 158 billions, this means an inflationary rise of 22 per cent has already taken place.

And notice too — this is very

150 HEAR DUNNE IN LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES, Cal., May 4 (By wire) — More than 150 people attended yesterday's Civil Rights Defense Committee meeting in this city to hear V. R. Dunne, northwest labor leader, tell the story and explain the significance of the recent Minneapolis "sedition" trial in which he and 17 other CIO and Trotskyist members were convicted for violating the Smith "Gag Act."

In addition to Dunne's speech, there were shorter addresses by two members of the California state legislature, Assemblymen Paul Richie of San Diego and John Pelletier of Los Angeles, who spoke of the importance of maintaining civil liberties at the present time.

Chairman of the meeting was Dr. C. J. Taft, director of the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The audience, composed of trade unionists and other sympathizers of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, responded by contributing over \$50 to the work of the CRDC.

Another affair at which Dunne will speak is being planned for the near future. Details will soon be announced.

important — the government is going to pay the corporations that increase of 35 billion dollars! The corporations are going to get an increase in keeping with the inflationary rise — but the workers who have suffered wage cuts and cuts in their living standards because of price rises, are not going to get any such increase! And Roosevelt has the nerve to talk about equality of sacrifice!

THE LABOR MOVEMENT NEEDS ITS OWN PROGRAM

It is clear that the labor movement needs its own program to protect its own interests in this situation.

In the first place, it must not surrender its demand for wage increases to meet the past rises in the cost of living. If the giant corporations can be compensated for price rises to the tune of 35 billions dollars, then the workers are entitled to compensation for the loss of the real wages that they have sustained!

Secondly, the workers must demand the rising scale of wages to meet future price rises. If the government really believes that it has stabilized the cost of living, then it can have no valid objections to this demand. If the government opposes this demand, then it shows that it has no faith in its ability to achieve stabilization of the cost of living, and admits that its justification for War Labor Board wage freezing (stabilization of the cost of living) is a fraud. If this is the case, then it is all the more a reason for raising the demand for a rising scale of wages!

Thirdly, the labor movement must demand that price fixing and rationing of scarce commodities must be carried out under the control of consumers' committees, made up of delegates from trade unions, farmers' organizations, cooperatives, housewives, small businessmen, etc. Roosevelt says rationing is the "democratic, equitable solution."

Whether or not this is so will depend on who is in control of it. If it is in the hands of tools of the big commercial interests and the Black Market speculators, it will not be either democratic or equitable or a solution. Only control of prices and rationing by consumers' committees, responsible to the organizations of the masses, will guarantee that the rich will not have an advantage over the poor!

And lastly, the labor movement must demand that control of production be taken out of the hands of the individual monopolists and their dollar-a-year agents in Washington, who are concerned primarily with making profits for the Sixty Families. There is still plenty of labor power, there are still plenty of productive facilities which could be used to produce necessary consumers goods, which are blocked by the desire of the corporations to preserve their monopoly privileges after the war. The masses, the majority of the people, should have the right to determine the amount of consumers goods to be produced and the right to crack down on the profit-seeking capitalists who prevent production of necessary goods. The labor movement must demand that the government take over the basic industries under the control of the workers themselves. In this way alone will the workers be assured of maximum production of consumers goods, a necessary part of the struggle against inflation!

FDR Is Against Raises Provided In Union Contract

(Continued from page 1)

chairman of the WLB, stated that the WLB's position on wage increases is "not as flexible as it was." He added that general increases in "standard" wages were ruled out, defining standard wages as those now fixed by union contracts. This could only be taken as a reference to the wages of the steel, auto and other union workers.

Writing on the President's shipyard wage order in the New York Times, May 5, the authoritative Washington commentator, Arthur Krock, indicates that Roosevelt's shipyard wage directive is intended as a general wage-freezing precedent. Krock states:

"If the government... were to sanction the increases indicated in the (shipyard) contracts, it would be difficult if not impossible to restrain a spiral of wage raises all along the industry line, particularly the \$1 a day increase now being sought by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee."

UNION LEADERS WORRIED

Aside from the Stalinists and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers leaders under the influence of Sidney Hillman, who have given the expected quick endorsement of Roosevelt's wage scheme, the trade union leaders generally have as yet withheld definite comment one way or another.

But it is no secret that many of them, including CIO President Philip Murray, are greatly disturbed by Roosevelt's proposal. They realize that wage freezing may have disastrous consequences for union organization. Further extension of union organization may become extremely difficult if not impossible, since few unorganized workers are likely to join unions and pay dues when they feel they have little prospect of getting improvements, particularly of wages.

In addition, newly recruited union members whose union consciousness is not yet fully developed, and the more backward layers of union workers generally, may tend to drop out of unions which no longer offer them the hope of better living conditions.

These considerations must weigh heavily with many AFL and CIO leaders. Their silence has been generally interpreted to mean a deep disquiet about the real implications of the Roosevelt wage scheme.

SWOC CONFERENCE

At the May 3 conference of 400 SWOC delegates called to Pittsburgh almost immediately after Roosevelt announced his 7-point program, Murray took special pains to put to rest rumors that he was ready to break with the administration over the "wage stabilization" issue. He declared: "I hasten to say that the Pres-

dent and I are not at odds. I am one of those persons who might even disagree with a President of the United States, but the fact that I have disagreed about policy does not mean that such disagreement has brought about a parting of the ways. I would lose my shirt today to help the President win the war."

At the same time, Murray was constrained to add that "the position of labor in America is one of unalterable opposition to wage-freezing" and that the CIO was "bound to have misunderstandings and disagreements about certain policies with respect to the prosecution of the war."

This assurance to the steel workers that he could still maintain specific "differences" with the administration, although supporting its general policies, was offered as a concession to the sentiments of the delegates, who expressed by unanimous resolution their continued determination to press their demand for a general dollar-a-day pay increase.

THEIR DILEMMA

Coming just before the conventional May 19 of the first constitutional convention of the SWOC, of which Murray is chairman, Roosevelt's wage proposal must be especially disturbing to Murray. The steel workers are expecting a wage raise. The administration is preparing to reject the demand or offer a very poor compromise. Murray cannot go along with the administration scheme without seriously undermining his prestige among the steel workers. Yet he cannot fight the administration on this issue and hope at the same time to retain its "good will" or escape a slashing governmental attack.

Murray and the other national union leaders of similar views, are now thoroughly entangled in the contradictions of their position. To continue their policies of appeasing the employers and government, means to accept conditions which may undermine their union base. To fight the employers and government, means to abandon the whole fiction of "national unity" which the union leaders themselves have been most anxious to foster.

How will the union leaders seek to resolve their insoluble dilemma? They have always followed a policy of avoiding militant struggle against the bosses, even in peace-time and when circumstances were most favorable for such struggles. Their whole philosophy is one of collaboration with the employers and government. They surrendered the right to strike, double-time pay, union opposition to speedup, without even the pretense of a struggle. They are now more anxious than ever to keep in the good graces of the government. Thus, all they are doing is floundering about, hoping against hope that Roosevelt will give them some sort of "out" which they can present to the workers.

A POSSIBLE MOVE

A possible "out" has been put forward by WLB chairman Davis. In his newspaper interview on April 29, Davis stated that the WLB might agree to some "union security" concessions in view of the fact that general wage freezing is to become the rule. "We're going to have to call on the leaders of labor to put this (wage stabilization) over," stated Davis. "That being so, that is another reason

for upholding the hands of leaders of organized labor."

In effect, Davis and the administration are proposing to pay the union leaders for putting over wage freezing by providing them with some form of limited union security guarantee which will help them to still collect dues from their present union members.

But the form of union security which the administration has in mind would not give the unions security against the bosses. It is neither the union nor closed shop. Recent WLB rulings, particularly in the Federal Shipbuilding case, indicate that it will be some form of "maintenance of membership."

But this has obvious weaknesses even from the union leaders' standpoint. Only workers who are members of a union at the time of the signing of a contract are required to continue in good standing. They may quit the union when the contract expires. Membership in the union is not a condition of employment. No worker need join the union. The company would not have to discontinue efforts to discourage union membership or disrupt the union.

NO MORE RETREATS!

The workers have been led into a dangerous trap by the policies of the union leaders. The union ranks have so far been dragged into one retreat after another on the assurances of the union leaders that these retreats would retain the friendship and support of Roosevelt who could be counted on to protect labor's basic interests. Now the workers find their rights and conditions more seriously jeopardized than ever with the initiative for this latest attack coming from Roosevelt himself.

The only way they can preserve these rights and conditions is by refusing to retreat another inch. They will have to repudiate any proposals for further surrender and prepare for a militant struggle to break out of the trap into which the union leaders have led them.

The union leaders certainly don't want to put up any real battle against the administration's program. But the union ranks can force them to make a firm stand or clear the way for new leaders who are ready and willing to lead the workers in militant defense of their union rights and standards.

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Negroes March On Capital, Protest Police Brutality

MAY 1 — Fighting mad because of a series of unpunished police killings of Negroes in Baltimore, 2,000 Negroes last Friday organized a March on Annapolis, state capital, to demand that Governor Herbert O'Connor take immediate steps to end police brutality against the Negro people.

O'Connor, visibly impressed by the militancy and determination of the people who came by car, bus and train, made some vague promises to investigate the situation. But whether he realized it or not, it was plain that the Negro people are not going to accept much longer the kind of treatment they have been getting in Maryland.

Indignantly they recounted the story of the last year in Baltimore, during which 10 Negroes were killed. Among these were the cop-killing of a sick man in University Hospital, of a 16 year old boy and of a Negro soldier. None of the police responsible for these brutalities was ever brought to trial or even dismissed from the force.

Representatives of the marchers, aware of the connection between these killings and the economic discrimination practiced against Negroes in Maryland, also demanded that Governor O'Connor act to see that Maryland employers abide by Roosevelt's order against racial discrimination in industry.

The temper of the march was indicated by the summation of the director of the march, Mrs. Juanita Jackson, who said that the Negro people expected action "not next year, nor next month, but next week. This demonstration was born out of the desperation of the people and we demand immediate redress."

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The Negro Struggle
By Albert Parker

There is an interesting trial going on down in Texas at the present time. It is a case which may settle the question of the "white primary" (or "Democratic primary"), one of the devices used to prevent the Negro people from voting in the Democratic primary elections, which practically always decide who shall be elected. The NAACP has shown that in Texas from 1859 to 1940, for example, the Democratic candidates have always been elected except in two minor cases; to exclude Negroes from voting in the primaries under these conditions is pretty much the same as excluding them from voting altogether. State Democratic Party officials got up on the stand last week and admitted that any white man could join the Democratic Party and vote in its primaries, but no Negro could. The case is now under advisement by the court. We Trotskyists are very much interested in the outcome of this case. That may seem strange to some people who know that we are bitter enemies of the Democratic Party and its policies and that we urge the Negro people not to support it. But what is involved here is the right of the Negro people to vote for any candidate of their choosing, just as white voters do. Even though we oppose voting for the Democratic Party, we fully support the RIGHT of the Negro people to vote for it.

Several weeks ago, in discussing the Pepper Senate bill to do away with poll tax requirements for federal elections, we pointed out that we were in favor of passing the bill, but we also pointed out that the passage of the bill would not automatically give Negroes the right to vote, because the enemies of the Negro people would try to use other legal tricks and even force to keep them from voting. One of our readers has written in to agree with our viewpoint, and as evidence to remind us that the same Senator Pepper of Florida, who has now introduced this anti-poll tax bill, spoke less than a year ago on the floor of the Senate and said: "Whatever may be written into the Constitution, whatever may be placed on the statute books of this nation, however many soldiers may be stationed about the ballot boxes of the Southland, the colored race will not vote." Which just goes to emphasize our point that the Negro people will not be assured of genuine political equality until they have won the struggle to destroy the whole system of Jim Crowism.

Westbrook Pegler's vicious attack on the Pittsburgh Courier and the Chicago Defender for "exploiting the war emergency" must be recognized as part of a growing campaign for the suppression and censoring of the Negro press because it continues to expose attacks on the Negro people and to demand an end to Jim Crow discrimination. As a May 2 Courier editorial points out: in Washington there are "increasing queries as to whether this or that Negro editor, publisher or columnist is or is not in the pay of Axis powers, and veiled threats of 'cracking down' on Negro newspapers for recounting factual occurrences and preaching the gospel of democracy." Pegler's column on the Negro press is in the nature of a try-out, to work up antagonism to the Negro press and win scissorbill and reactionary support for a crack-down on it. As such, Pegler must be fought and exposed not only as the enemy of the labor movement that he is but also as an enemy of the Negro people.

From England George Padmore reports something that is highly symbolic of the present Ethiopian situation. Wal-Wal is a village in Ethiopia which Italian fascism claimed as its territory in 1935, and which it used as a pretext for beginning the war to occupy Ethiopia. Today, although the Italian armies have been driven out of the country, Wal-Wal is occupied again — by the British military forces. The struggle for Ethiopian independence is far from finished.

In the course of a recent debate in the British parliament, the following information was revealed: The (British) High Commissioner of the South African protectorate of Basutoland has suppressed the native nationalist organization, Lekhotla la Bafo, and its three leading members have been arrested and sent to concentration camps. One member of Parliament asked why this had been done. The answer from an under-secretary of state was that the organization had been found agitating for the arming of the Basuto people, and complaining that not even the Basuto people who joined the British armed forces in the country were armed like the white soldiers. The under-secretary of state did not answer when the member of Parliament pointed out that the (British) South African Minister for Native Affairs had recently expressed the personal opinion that natives and other non-Europeans ought to be armed, and that this alone was the offense with which the leaders of the Lekhotla la Bafo were charged. That's British democracy for you.

Last year the Stalinist-controlled Southern Negro Youth Congress was all for peace, and denouncing war every way it could. The 1942 convention of the organization at Tuskegee last week not only came all-out for the war, but it refused — in line with current Communist Party policy — to enforce the "Double V" campaign supported by many Negro organizations and newspapers. The slogan of "double victory for democracy — at home and abroad" is too radical for the Stalinist; they're concerned chiefly with the war abroad, and are opposed to any "overemphasis" on the struggle against Jim Crow at home because it might "interfere" with the war.

Stalinists Attack Workers

Communist Party Defends Monopolies, Denounces Unions and Strikes

Last week's issue of THE MILITANT contained an analysis of the Communist Party's "national unity" defense of the monopolies. It described how the *Daily Worker* for the past two months has deliberately whitewashed the trusts, suppressed from its readers the facts about the Nazi-U.S. monopoly patents pools, and upheld as "patriots" the big capitalists who are financing the present anti-labor drive. In particular, THE MILITANT article cited the April 24 *Daily Worker* editorial, which not only covered up the crimes of the monopolies, but attacked those liberal and working-class publications which are exposing the trusts, as "naive trustbusters" who are imitating the "demagoguery of Hitler."

During the past months, while the *Daily Worker* has maintained deliberate silence about the trusts or openly defended them, it has been concentrating a furious barrage against the workers, particularly the trade unionists.

One theme screams like an air-raid siren through every page. The workers must increase production. The workers must sacrifice. The workers must give up their rights. The contrast of this flood of demands on the workers with the *Daily Worker's* few feeble whines about the anti-labor drive of the "appeasers" and

no responsibility for its operations. The Communist Party leaders at the same time know that it is the monopoly capitalists, who run and control industry and determine every phase of its operations, who are really impeding production. They know that the monopolies have deliberately created shortages in all the vital basic materials and are directly responsible for a critical lag in American production.

STRENGTHEN REACTION

The unending, hysterical demands of the *Daily Worker* that the workers must increase production by speeding themselves up faster and faster serve to give backing to the lying arguments of the labor-baiters in Congress, the Smiths and the Vinsons and the Connallys, that it is the workers who are impeding production.

No one knows better than the Stalinist leaders that the workers are now being speeded up to the point of exhaustion. Furthermore, and most important of all, the *Daily Worker* editors are fully aware that the workers as a class have no voice in or control over industry, and therefore can have

Realizing that the capitalists will never budge from their terms for "national unity," the Communist Party heads are demanding that the working class capitulate to the bosses' terms. One thing the Stalinist leaders fear is labor's resistance to the trusts, for they know that this means the mobilization of the unions for struggle and the explosion of the whole fiction of "national unity."

The Communist Party leaders, who treat the workers of the capitalist countries as mere pawns to be manipulated in the interests of the foreign policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy, cynically brush aside the interests and will of the American workers. They abuse the progressive, class-conscious desire of the workers to defend the Soviet Union and try to pervert this sentiment into capitulation to the bosses for the sake of the few crumbs of aid which the American capitalist government may send the Soviet Union.

WANT MONOPOLIES' "NATIONAL UNITY"

Because they understand this, the Stalinist leaders want the workers to give up their rights and conditions and accept the kind of "national unity" which the reactionaries demand. The capitalists will agree to "national unity" only on their own terms.

Following this policy, the Stalinist leaders find no crime too low to perpetrate against the working class, the only genuine and reliable ally of the Soviet workers and peasants. Thus they have become the outstanding strikebreakers in the labor movement. They have gone out of their way to attack and slander every one of the few unions which have been forced out on strike since Pearl Harbor.

STALINIST STRIKEBREAKING

The most recent instance of this was during the strike of the Cornell-Dubilier Corporation workers at South Plainfield, N. J. The workers, mainly affiliated with the AFL Electrical Workers, had been driven beyond endurance by the provocations of the company. Nevertheless, the April 26 *Worker* published an editorial denouncing the strike, supporting the violation of the picket lines by members of the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and asserting:

"The workers cannot permit themselves at this hour of supreme test against the Axis, to be provoked by company officials or by any other agency, into leaving their work benches in a walk-out."

The workers must simply grovel before the bosses — that is the meaning of the Communist Party's "national unity" policy.

ATTITUDE TO FDR'S "WAGE STABILIZATION"

How far the Communist Party is prepared to go in acting as the spearhead of reaction within the labor movement has been shown by the *Daily Worker's* immediate and wholehearted support given President Roosevelt's 7-point war-economy program, and particularly his proposal for wage "stabilization" through the action of the War Labor Board. Labor insists the *Daily Worker* must accept the program "as a whole."

Very few of even the trade union leaders supporting Roosevelt and the war have thus far dared to come out in defense of his wage stabilization plan. If they have feared to attack it openly, at least they have preserved silence on it, a silence which bespeaks their fear to endorse it.

The *Daily Worker*, however, does not hesitate to enter where even the trade union bureaucracy still fears to tread.

Its endorsement of Roosevelt's wage "stabilization" scheme has taken the following form: In its articles and editorials on Roosevelt's plan, the *Daily Worker* has deliberately played up all the other features of his

program, and subordinated the wage freezing issue. Thus, the effort is made to minimize this aspect of the program and get the workers to focus their attention on the other phases.

For instance, the lead story of the *Daily Worker*, April 28, reported Roosevelt's Congressional message and radio address without a reference in its headlines to the wage issue. The story itself did not treat this, the most vital point of the program, until its very end — in one paragraph uncritically quoting Roosevelt.

Then, the *Daily Worker* undertakes the task of selling the scheme to the workers by assuring them that it doesn't mean wage-freezing, that it is a "flexible" plan, and that it will permit "necessary adjustments."

"A MINOR DETAIL"

Along this line, the *Daily Worker*, May 3, approvingly quotes the statement of William Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, as proof of its contentions that the WLB will permit "necessary adjustments" of wages. It reports:

"Davis told newspapermen that the Board, while ruling out general wage increases for workers earning 'standard' wages, would continue to follow flexible policies."

The *Daily Worker*, of course, does not elaborate the point about "standard" wages. For that refers to the existing wages of union workers established by present contracts. In effect, Davis's guarded statement contained the threat that the steel, auto and other unions which have "standard" wages will be denied their demands for general wage increases to offset the tremendous price rises of the past year.

The entire attitude of the Communist Party is summed up in last Sunday's *Worker*, May 3, in a feature article by Milton Howard, which states that "despite this or that difference which one may have with minor details . . . these secondary matters cannot be allowed to obscure the primary duty of labor — to make public its determination to back the President's plan."

To the leaders of the Communist Party, intent at all costs on binding the workers in "national unity" with the worst corporation enemies of labor, the question of wage freezing is just a "minor detail," a "secondary matter." But it is no minor detail to the American workers. They show no readiness to follow the Communist Party in surrendering all their rights and conditions in order to preserve "national unity" with the labor-baiters and the corporations which are doing business with Hitler.

New Haven SWOC Local Votes Aid To 18 Defendants

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—The local branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to defend the 18 CIO and Socialist Workers Party members convicted in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, announced this week the receipt of a donation of \$10 from Steel Workers Organizing Committee Local 2141 of New Haven.

Local 2141 passed a resolution condemning the convictions. A resolution protesting the use of the Smith Act against the Minneapolis defendants was also passed by the newly-organized Yale University employees' local of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee in New Haven.

Why I Left The Ranks Of The Young Communist League

Statement of a Former Member Of the YCL In Los Angeles Who Joined the Trotskyist Movement

By ALBERT LAPEL

My membership in the Young Communist League dates from the trying days of March, 1940. The capitalist press was pouring out an avalanche of anti-Soviet propaganda. The parlor pinks were deserting the Communist Party like rats from a sinking ship. The "not our war" program of the CP and YCL led me to become part of this movement which seemed to offer the working class the only way out of the imperialist war.

But I began to realize that the position of the CP was not the same as the Leninist position on war. Nowhere did the party or the Communist International speak of transforming the imperialist war into a war of liberation for the working class throughout the world. On the contrary, we sang the praises of Wheeler and other isolationists.

The Kind of "Education" They Gave Us

Then came a concentrated drive on the part of the leadership to inculcate my YCL squad with hatred for the Trotskyists. I thought to myself, if Trotskyism is a thing to be conquered then we must become acquainted with it first hand. I suggested in a meeting that we should obtain and study Trotskyist literature on the thesis that "he who knows his enemy understands how to defeat him." My proposal was over-ruled and looked upon with great suspicion, but later it was dismissed as "youthful political inexperience."

In August, 1940 Trotsky was murdered. How sad it is to record that the leaders of the YCL attempted to create an atmosphere of jubilation and rejoicing and even admiration for the slayer Jason. The attitude of my comrades perplexed me greatly. They did not know who Trotsky was. They knew nothing of his significance to the October Revolution of 1917. They had never read a single word of his writings on the problems of the working class revolution. All they knew was what YCL and CP functionaries were told to say in mimeographed circulars.

Not long after the assassination the party held a mass meeting in the Olympic Auditorium. In front of the meeting place I saw people handing out literature; thinking it was party material, I took one and proceeded to look at it. On the front page of the newspaper I saw a large picture of a Soviet soldier in winter costume. I had just time to glance at it when a YCLer seized the paper and shouted: "Don't you know better than to accept Trotskyist literature?" The word Trotskyist came as a complete surprise. My immediate anger at having a paper rudely torn out of my hand gave way to a sense of utter amazement: "Trotskyists, here of all places! Who are these people? What do they hope to accomplish? Then I noticed the literature being torn out of the hands of many people and the sidewalk being made white with their papers. A deep sense of shame and humiliation swept over me at the action of my comrades. I must take a closer look at these people. I stood off and observed young men and women handing out their literature despite many threats and pushings. I looked closer. These people in many respects resembled my own comrades in their dress and appearance. They were working class people. For many days after this experience I thought of what had happened, the attitude of my comrades, and the courage of the Trotskyists.

The CP Line After June 22

June 22, 1941 came like an earthquake. The Soviet Union attacked by German imperialism!

In the early part of August a city-wide YCL meeting of squad leaders was held to hear the new party line. I represented my squad. The agenda of the meeting consisted of a speech by Celeste Strack and a general question period. Her speech jarred us with such phrases as "we must give up all left slogans," "all aid to England," "we must support the President in the National Defense Program" and "it would be a happy event if the U. S. should be drawn into a conflict with the Axis." Even before the speech was finished the room was buzzing with heated discussion and comment. The minute the question period started several YCLers demanded to know if we supported the entry of the United States into the war. The answer came "There is a new situation, the war is no longer an imperialist war but a war for democracy."

Could we really help preserve the Soviet Union and defeat Hitler by turning ourselves into jingoists? For a while I wavered. My desire to do everything I could to defend the land of the October Revolution caused me to remain in the YCL.

I went back and reread the classics of Marx and Lenin, particularly the writings of Lenin during the last war. My own reactions against the party line were deepened and confirmed. I was sure that Lenin would be the first to denounce the logical trickery by which Celeste Strack and others put over the new line.

I Learned What Trotskyism Is

I became outspoken in my disagreement and was removed from the leadership of my squad. I was reprimanded for "Trotskyist leanings." This thing Trotskyism preyed on my mind and I determined to find out more about it. In the library I found the *History of the Russian Revolution* by Trotsky.

The impression this work made upon me I cannot describe. After the half-baked phrasemongering which passed for theory among the so-called big-shots in the CP and the YCL here at last was brilliant Marxist clarity. I eagerly read the three volumes of the *History*. After this I found a copy of *Germany: What Next?* by Trotsky and for the first time I realized why the German revolution was defeated and Hitler came to power. The same Hitler who was now attacking the Soviet Union. Trotsky showed how the policy of the Communist Party of Germany (the theory of Social-fascism), by making impossible a united front against the fascists, played right into the hands of the treacherous social-democratic leaders and paved the way for Hitler.

I got hold of the current Trotskyist literature. Here was a revolutionary program which remained true to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Contrary to the stories I had been told, THE MILITANT and the Trotskyist theoretical magazine, *Fourth International*, were firmly in favor of the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Only they do not believe that such a defense is possible by abandoning the revolutionary struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries. They say that the only genuine ally of the Soviet Union is the world proletariat, and that the only true defense of the Soviet Union lies in the direction of the extension of the Great October Revolution throughout the world.

I believe they are right! Comrades of the Young Communist League: it is your revolutionary duty to educate yourselves in the writings of the founders of the Marxist movement. There you will find the great theory of scientific socialism. You will find that this theory is alien to everything you are told by the leaders of the CP and the YCL. Don't believe what someone else tells you, investigate for yourself. Read the literature of Trotskyism first hand. If you do this I am convinced that you will come to the same conclusion I did. It is necessary to break with Stalinism and take your place under the banner of revolutionary socialism which is held aloft by the Socialist Workers Party.

THE QUESTION OF PEACE FEELERS

By A. ROLAND

They Don't Fear Stalin

The Anglo-American press kept warning the public long in advance of the possibility that Hitler would put out fake peace feelers in the spring. Such a move would be made in an attempt to divide the "United Nations." Particularly it would be aimed to enlist the support of reactionaries in England and the United States to the idea of peace in Western Europe and a free rein to Hitler in Russia.

There are, of course, many capitalists in the "democratic" countries who would prefer by far the victory of fascism over the workers' state. Hitler can always get a hearing from them on the fearsome subject of Bolshevism. But this is only a minority at the present time.

The majority of the capitalists has been convinced by the Davieses, the Roosevelts, the Hopkinses, that no harm will come from Stalin. The Kremlin has given all the help possible to reassure the capitalists in the Allied camp that the Stalinist bureaucracy has no designs on the world nor even in Europe. There is only one reason why the Soviet Union is engaged in the war, this assuring line continues. That reason is that Hitler invaded Russia and the sole desire of the Red Army is to drive the German armies over the borders or wipe them out. Having accomplished which, Stalin will have no further interest in the war. Furthest indeed from the thoughts of Stalin-Voroshilov-Molotov is the idea of spreading Bolshevism. The proletarian revolution is not for export.

This is then a broken string for Hitler. He need only read in the American press how the Daughters of the American Revolution stood up and applauded the playing of *The Internationale* at its gathering to aid Russian relief. Or that the biggest check for such relief came from no less a source than United States Steel. No, Hitler must play a different tune.

What tune shall he play to gain the ear of those who count in the camp of the enemy? There have been rumors of peace feelers behind the scenes directed particularly to England. But whether there is any truth to these rumors or not, we do have the speeches made by both Hitler and Mussolini. The press spent considerable time on both speeches, talking all around them, but not hitting the nail squarely on the head. Strange indeed! The peace feelers hinged on presenting a gloomy picture of conditions in Germany and Italy. The two dictators were accused of painting the picture darker than it really was! The explanation given for such an extraordinary thing was that Hitler was trying to bring about a letdown in the war effort of the Allies. The people might be fooled into thinking that victory was in sight and hence not feel the urgency of making still greater sacrifices to carry on the war even more intensively. Then too, Hitler was appealing to the war-weariness of the English masses, hoping thus to divide the enemy internally by starting a peace move.

There is more to Hitler's speech than that. He grasps a lever that always has its effect in the "democratic" camp. If it is no longer fear of any Russian attempt to spread revolution, it is still the dread of revolution. Only this time it is the masses in Germany and Italy who are offered as the specter to be feared! And not only in these countries but in France and all the occupied countries as well. The dictators have made direct class appeals to their opposite numbers in the other countries. Their speeches are warnings that touch raw spots on the skin of the "democratic" capitalists.

That is why the speeches set off lengthy discussions on the future regimes in Germany and Italy. Who was to replace the one dictator and the other? With whom would the "United Nations" make peace? Hitler was warning between the lines that they must make peace with him — or else with the revolution! The American press speculated concerning the Italian puppet-king and his adviser, Marshal Badoglio. This cashiered General was pictured as the leader of the enemies of Mussolini. So too in Germany there are army figures whom the Allies would like to think of as sworn enemies of Hitler. From the beginning, in fact, a good section of the press, in full class-consciousness, has harped on the idea of a real difference between the army and the Nazis. After all, there simply must be somebody to make peace with after victory!

But Hitler and Mussolini are much more realistic in this matter than Churchill and Roosevelt. The speeches raised goose-flesh in some quarters because of the recognition of that fact. Hitler says: make peace with me while there is yet time. If I am defeated, you are defeated with me. Not the "United Nations" will be victorious, but the workers of Germany, of Italy, of all Europe will win the war.

The fascists in this fashion attempt their greatest blackmail, on a scale far more colossal than was the case in Spain where they used virtually the same argument. Hitler demands from his enemies that they give him at least a partial victory, the victory in the east, in order to preserve the common interests of the entire capitalist class the world over. That is the meaning of the speeches of the would-be conquerors. But history has moved too fast and too far for this move to succeed. It is not merely a question of having any faith at all in Hitler. The die has been cast. The war is in full swing. The masses have been too much uprooted. War cannot be ended by the waving of any magic wand. All questions have long since been resolved into the military question. The Allies know the danger of revolution only too well. But they must now take the chance that they can get it under military control, even should it start anywhere in Europe. History will prove that they miscalculated.

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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.
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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.

What Won The Victory At Detroit?

On April 29 a few Negro families succeeded in moving into the Sojourner Truth federal housing project in Detroit. Immediately there arose a great hullabaloo from the liberal and Stalinist-controlled press, acclaiming this as a victory of the government over fascism, as proof that this is a real war for democracy, as evidence that the fate of the Negro people is tied up with and dependent on the "American way of life."

The Negro people, whose eyes have been fixed on Detroit for the last four months, will certainly consider the event a victory. But the question is — for whom is it a victory and what won the victory?

Ever since January there has been a fight going on in Detroit to keep the Negro families out of those homes, solely because they are Negroes.

This anti-Negro fight was given encouragement when the Federal Works Authority director, submitting to Jim Crow pressure, ruled from Washington that contrary to earlier promises, Negroes would not be permitted to move into the homes. The nation-wide protest by Negro and labor groups was so strong that on February 3 the FWA director was forced to issue a new ruling, promising that Negroes would be admitted to the federal project after all.

The Jim Crow elements in Detroit, observing the willingness with which the Washington officials had submitted to their pressure, were convinced that they could still have their way. Organized and armed by white landlord and real estate interests, and cooperating with the Ku Klux Klan and other American fascist groups, they struck on February 28, the day set for the Negro families to move in.

The "riot" of that day ended in a victory for the enemies of the Negro people. Many Negroes were severely injured, all of them were prevented from entering their homes. The Detroit police seemed to think that the Negroes were wrong to resist the attacks on them, because of the 104 people they arrested, 101 were Negroes.

Washington officials then deplored the "riot" — and announced that they were postponing the opening of the homes indefinitely.

The Negro people were aroused. They knew that the Washington officials had fanned the flames of Jim Crowism by their vacillations, and that the Detroit officials could have averted the "riot" if they had genuinely tried. So they did not depend on the government officials — they depended on their own fighting strength.

In Detroit they pooled the strength of many organizations into a militant Citizens' Committee, threw a daily picket-line out in front of the City Hall, began to make plans for a march to Washington. Young Negro workers were reported to be openly tearing up their draft cards. From other cities the Negro people sent angry demands to the state and federal capitals. The labor movement spoke out too; the powerful CIO and AFL unions in Detroit demanded the immediate open-

ing of the project and adequate protection for the Negro tenants.

Under this pressure, the Washington and Michigan officials finally wilted. Under this pressure, the anti-Negro elements in Detroit headed for their holes like the rats they are. Today some of the Negro families are living in the homes; soon the rest of them will be there.

But don't tell them that this was a victory for the government, for they will laugh at you. They know better than that. They know that it was a victory won by the Negro people supported by the labor movement, that it was a victory over Jim Crowism and the indifference or hostility of government officials, that it was a victory won only because they had the wisdom and courage to organize and fight for it.

Democracy

Do the rank and file members of a local union have the right, by a democratic majority vote, to decide what international union they shall belong to and what disposition shall be made of funds contributed by them to their own local treasury?

That was the only issue in the "grand larceny" trial of Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Local 544-CIO, in the district court at Minneapolis. The "crime" charged against Postal was that he had obeyed the explicit mandate of the overwhelming majority of his union local not to turn \$5000 in local union funds over to Daniel Tobin, AFL Teamsters head, from whose international Local 544 had voted to disaffiliate.

Minneapolis Judge Selover decided that union democracy is a "crime." He ruled that a clause in Tobin's constitution, denying the right of a local union to disaffiliate if seven members oppose it, stands higher than the rights of any majority of union workers to determine what union they shall belong to or how their money shall be spent. Judge Selover virtually forced the jury to convict Kelly Postal and he imposed a prison sentence of up to five years on as honest, loyal and militant a union leader as can be found.

In truth, Kelly Postal was convicted precisely because he fought uncompromisingly for democracy in the trade unions.

Aroused by the attempts of Tobin to bureaucratically remove the leaders of Local 544, some 4,000 members of the local met early in June, 1941 and voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and seek affiliation with the CIO. Following this democratic majority decision, the CIO granted Local 544 a charter.

Tobin then appealed to Roosevelt for government aid in crushing Local 544-CIO. Roosevelt responded by initiating an FBI witch-hunt against the Local 544 leaders. This culminated in the "seditious conspiracy" trial of 28 Local-544 and Socialist Workers Party members and the conviction of 18 for allegedly violating the Smith "Gag" Act.

The "grand larceny" prosecution of Kelly Postal was merely one phase of the government-employers-Tobin campaign to deny the Minneapolis truck drivers their right to belong to a union of their own choice.

Judge Selover, in his ruling, followed policies laid down by Roosevelt and the federal government. Those policies negate all democratic principles. For when an honest union leader can be framed up and sent to jail for abiding by the democratic vote of those who elected him to office, and when union men are denied the right to join a union of their own choice and to dispose of their own money as they see fit, then talk of a "war for democracy" is hypocrisy.

Stalinism and Communism

Through a last-minute technical error, THE MILITANT last week carried a headline reading: "Communist Press Whitewashes Nazi-U. S. Business Patent Pools." The headline as written by the editorial staff read, "Communist Party Press, etc."

Many people may not see the distinction at first glance or understand why we are anxious to bring attention to the error.

The reason, however, is profoundly important. To us, the word "communist" is not a term of slander or contempt, but an honorable name. We reserve it only for those who are the best, the most devoted fighters for the cause of international socialism.

That is why we do not call the members of the Communist Party "communists," nor call its publications the "communist press." We call them "Stalinist," for they propagate the policies of the parasitic Stalin bureaucracy that rules today in the Soviet Union, and their program and methods betray every principle that a real communist upholds.

A real communist is the most intransigent fighter against the capitalist ruling class everywhere in the struggle for the socialist emancipation of the working class. A real communist is a defender of the international revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels, and of their greatest disciples, Lenin and Trotsky. A real communist is one who continues in our own time the glorious traditions of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Today, the only people in the world entitled to the name of communist are the Trotskyists, in this country the members of the Socialist Workers Party. The Stalinists only besmirch and discredit the word "communist" when they apply it to their party in an effort to make the workers believe that they follow the principles of Marxism and Leninism.

Unions Must Set Out To Organize Woman Worker

Experience Shows That the Women Factory Workers Become Militant Union Members

By LYDIA BEIDEL

Simply to mention the announced government perspective of drawing 4,000,000 women into war industry by 1943 brings up a myriad of practical questions concerning protection of working class rights. First consideration naturally falls upon the question touched in a previous article — equal pay for equal work.

This problem of the wage scale is engaging interest in a number of circles outside the working class and has received support in one place where favor would least be expected. The National Association of Manufacturers, through its president, William P. Witherow, has declared itself in favor of the proposition of equal pay for men and women on the same job.

The apparent philanthropy of the NAM is shown up in all its falseness, however, when Mr. Witherow presents his qualifications. He demands, as a base for setting wage scales the "wider use of such techniques as job analysis and evaluation to determine the precise nature of the job" and, logically, although he does not yet mention it, the wage the job is worth.

Since almost the entire bulk of women now entering industry goes in as unskilled labor and hence, according to employer conceptions, is worth an absolute minimum in wage-rate, it is reasonable to assume that the job analysis proposed by the NAM will have only one objective: to scale the wage of the male worker down to that of the female.

DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENT

In the same report, Mr. Witherow goes over another charming development coming for the moment out of the induction of women into big industry. He tells how some employer agents resorted to the trick of bringing in half a dozen or so of the prettiest girls they could find to break down the antagonism of the men workers. Result: "the efficiency of the men began to increase perceptibly as they began competing with women workers to show their superiority." A neat trick — if the workers let it go on!

These developments pose at once the problem of the unionization of women workers, an extremely crucial question for the development of the whole union movement.

On the whole, working class women in the past — most of them occupied as housewives, and not as factory workers — have been indifferent and even hostile to trade union struggle. Some of them have by nagging criticism had harmful effects on their husbands' union and working class political activity.

ENCOURAGING EXCEPTIONS

There have, in recent years when the unions began to reach the mass industry workers, been numerous encouraging exceptions. Some of the great strikes conducted in industries heretofore employing no women — for example, mining and auto — were immeasurably strengthened by the militant participation of women's auxiliaries made up of the women of the strikers' families.

The reasons for the backwardness of working class housewives are numerous. One important reason was that the union bureaucrats largely overlooked this question, and made no attempt to teach the workers' wives what unionism was and how it benefited them. A more important reason, of course, was that "on the whole women were not thor-

oughly proletarianized by being forced — as they are in increasing numbers today — out of isolation of the kitchen into basic industrial production on a mass basis with intense speed-up and exploitation.

Experiences of the past have shown too that where women went into the factories and the unions understood the necessity of organizing them, they became as good and militant union members as the men. The history of the garment and textile and in the more recent period the electrical and radio industries offers examples that immediately come to mind.

ATTACK ON UNIONISM

It is not accidental, in the face of present-day economic unrest, that the women of the middle class should get their busy bodies started early on the work of hindering the organization of the proletarian women. On May 1, 600 delegates to the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs got down to brass tacks

INDIA CONGRESS HEADS ADOPT SUICIDAL POLICY

(Continued from page 1)

to possess even a knife with a six-inch blade, much less a pistol. How do they expect us to resist the enemy if they refuse to trust us with the weapons to do so?"

He revealed further that natives are not permitted, even when they join the British army, to operate artillery even though "there aren't enough Tommies (British troops) to go around." As for the argument that there are not enough supplies in India to equip a native army under Indian leadership, Shridharani asserted that "by using our war plants to arm India . . . we could easily equip ourselves with at least small arms and ammunition." But, the British control the arms industry — and they will never willingly give control of them to the Indian people.

The example of China, which is in a far worse position than India so far as facilities for arms are concerned, shows that the Indian people, once they have broken the stranglehold of British rule, would be able to put up an unconquerable resistance to Japanese or any other imperialism.

NO JUSTIFICATION

The Congress leaders try to justify their policy by charging that "the British Government has prevented the organization of national defense by the people in any other way." This is partly true, but only partly.

Of course the British imperialists are afraid to arm the masses — they would rather risk the chance of losing India to Japan than to the Indian people. But the reactionary stand of the British government in refusing to grant India her independence and control of her own defense is no justification

as they dedicated an ambulance. The most important motion made at this gathering of females devoted to keeping the proletariat suppressed, nearly got lost in the crush of patriotism, but its formulator pursued her objective with a typically female persistence until it was accepted. She proposed a tax on labor unions, characterizing these organizations as "the only class that has been profiteering on the war and on defense."

Fantastic as the incident may seem, it holds a warning and a lesson for the women of the working class. They must be as sensitive to the importance of trade unions as an instrument of protection and struggle, and as ardent in their defense of union organization, as the women of the employing class show themselves to be in their passion to wreck organization of workers.

The women of the working class must keep constantly alert to see that they are not used to break down the standards won for their class by years of intense struggle. The most important gain of the decades of unceasing battle which the working men of America carried on against the exploiting class is not shorter hours, nor higher wages, nor better conditions; the greatest gain is the labor unions. Without them, none of the other benefits would have come to be nor will they remain.

for a policy that aids the British and the Japanese imperialists and seals the doom of the Indian masses!

The Congress leaders may be justified in blaming British imperialism for following a reactionary policy — but that is no justification for their own acceptance of that policy! The Congress leaders talk about there not being "any other way" than non-cooperation. But there is another way. It is the way of resistance to the British policy, the war time results of which have already been revealed in Singapore, Malaya, Burma and Hong Kong — it is the way of struggle for independence from British rule.

Although the native capitalists have thus made their choice of submission to whichever set of imperialists is victorious — British or Japanese — the Indian workers and peasants have yet to say their final word. It was their resistance which forced the Congress leaders to reject Britain's promissory note for "after the war" dominion status. It was their resistance which compelled the Congress leaders to demand Indian control of India's defenses.

These workers and peasants who refuse to submit further to the British imperial yoke, will not passively extend their throats to be cut by Japanese imperialism.

Whatever consolation British and Japanese imperialism might hope to derive from the "non-violent" policies of the Congress leaders must be soured by their realization that revolutionary ferment is working unabated in India. The masses are preparing to take their fate into their own hands. They will get arms, as the Chinese masses have obtained arms. And they will never rest those arms until India is free of all imperialist oppression.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH WORKERS

By An Indian Revolutionist
J. V. P. DeSilva

What Defeat of India Will Mean

Workers of Britain — history is moving with titanic relentlessness. In the East we find, on the one hand, the Japanese, after having swallowed Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaya, and Burma, now standing at the gates of India. On the other, we find a nation unarmed and enslaved by your imperialist rulers, looking on helplessly.

For decades you have been given a comparatively high standard of living and appreciable democratic rights, by your imperialists. Have you ever thought how this was possible? Your rulers were able to grant you these concessions, by extracting colossal wealth at the point of the sword from the colonial peoples. Now the main source of this wealth is endangered.

Your imperialists, as proved in Malaya, Hong-Kong, Singapore and Burma are incapable of defending even their own interests; simply because they have no roots in the masses of the colonial empire. The loss of India would compel your rulers to snatch away the privileges you have so far enjoyed.

Your class and fate can never be saved by your alliance with the imperialists. Just as Sir Stafford Cripps, as envoy of British capitalism, can never save the Indian workers and peasants.

Historic forces compel you to break with your imperialists now and to ally yourselves with the workers and peasants of India and the colonies. . . .

The Churchill government cannot grant freedom to India in its own interests, but in order to confuse you and win your support for holding India, it gives artificial reasons.

Chief of these is the Hindu-Moslem problem. This problem exists, though not so intensely as the imperialists make out. But, as a result of British rule, there are a host of other problems — abject poverty, mass illiteracy and chronic disease. This is the result of over 150 years of imperialist rule in India.

Undoubtedly, the task of solving this problem is immense; but by no means insoluble. In 1917 a very similar problem existed in the crumbling Czarist empire of Russia. In some aspects it was far graver. Yet, it was solved by the Russian workers in alliance with the oppressed peoples of the Czarist empire.

Conditions In India Today

Let us take a look at India and see how similar are the conditions to those of the Russian slave empire of 1917.

India is a sub-continent of over 380 millions. Seventy per cent of the population is employed in agriculture, which is carried on by means of the most primitive methods. The peasants are in debt to a sum of 800 million pounds. In spite of the fact that the great majority of people are agricultural, there are only 21 agricultural colleges with a total of about 1,500 students. Out of an annual income of 10 pounds, the peasant has to pay 7 pounds 10 shillings in taxes, rents and debt-interest, thus leaving 2 pounds, 10 shillings for his maintenance for a year!

There are about 20 millions employed in industry. Their conditions are appalling. The average wage of the industrial worker is 1 shilling a day for men and 10 pence for women.

The imperialists spend only 2.6 per cent of the budget on health. As a result, the average expectation of life is 23. In Britain it is 55. For every thousand births, the infant mortality is 250, and maternal mortality is 24. In Britain it is 51 and 4.06.

In India only 9 per cent of the population can read and write and two-thirds of 700,000 villages have no schools at all. The significance of this negligence on the part of the imperialists of education in India can be clearly seen by the comparison of the amount spent per head in Britain and in India. In Britain it is 11 pounds 15 shillings. In India it is 9 pence.

Like Czarist Russian Problem

In the first imperialist war, the great Russian workers were faced with the same problem. For them, too, the task was immense, but they accomplished it. Under the Czar, one-sixth of the world's surface was peopled by various diverse nationalities (European Russians and Asiatics), torn by communal strife, rampant with poverty, illiteracy, and disease; their ill-equipped armies routed, but officially only "retreating strategically;" the enemy already entrenched in their territory.

But, on the slogan, "Land to the Peasants, Peace and Bread," the Russian workers seized political power in October, socialized the means of production, liberated the oppressed peoples of their empire, and, together with them, fought and drove back the armies of Germany, France, Britain, Japan and Poland.

Today you are astounded at the heroic struggle of these multi-national, once backward, peoples. There is no mystery, the reason is clear. They are fighting like super men and women because under a socialist economy, White Russians, Eastern Tartars, Yellow Mongolians, or Armenian Jews are equal, and have something to fight for.

Workers of Britain, the conclusion is inescapable. There is only one road open to you in order to save yourselves, the workers and peasants of India, the colonies and the world.

Again, once again, your ruling class cannot defend India. A nation tied hand and foot, tortured for a hundred and fifty years, can only look on helplessly unless it is liberated and has something to fight for.

Your rulers cannot solve it. The few Indian capitalists cannot either, for they, like yours, are bankrupt and no better.

It is you, the workers of Britain, with the workers of India in alliance with the teeming mass of peasantry, that can solve this problem. IT IS STILL NOT TOO LATE. The Russians acted when the Kaiser's armies were already on their soil.

Failure on your part to take action NOW will mean not only the over-running of India by the Japanese Moloch, but also the possibility of the ruling class setting up a military dictatorship in Britain.

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