

Ten Years Ago--The Bonus Army Eviction

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STEEL WORKERS DENIED \$1-A-DAY RAISE

India's Demand For Immediate Independence

By Felix Morrow

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on July 14 adopted a resolution which has been viciously condemned by the British and American capitalist press — but what is in the resolution the people of Britain and America are not being permitted to know.

(The full text of this resolution appears on page 2 of this issue.)

The British and American press is "free" but a totalitarian press could scarcely have been more successful in concealing from the American people the truth about India's demands for independence. Only one American newspaper, the New York Times, has published the text of the Congress resolution — but larded in among a stream of anti-India stories from London and accompanied by an editorial charging that the resolution plays into the hands of Japan.

The misrepresentation of the July 14 resolution is only the latest incident in a deliberate and systematic campaign. The Indian Congress adopted a resolution on the fall of Burma. The British government prohibited all printers, publishers and editors from publishing the resolution in whole or in part, and so far as we know, not a single copy of this resolution has yet arrived in America. Yet the lesson of the fall of Burma — due to the universal hostility of the Burmese people toward their British oppressors and to the refusal of Churchill to permit the Chinese troops to enter in adequate numbers to defend the Burma Road — indicates the future of India if Britain remains its ruler.

Let us recall also the falsification by the American press of the meaning of the Cripps proposal, hailing it as "India's Magna Charta" as a "gift of freedom." That Cripps was asking the Indian National Congress to underwrite the continued autocratic rule of the "Native Princes" over 93 million subjects in the native states; that Britain would remain in real control except for a few more native puppet-ministers; that the "constitution-making" body to be convened after the war would be so chosen as to be dominated by the princes and the wealthy industrialists — of all this the American press said not a word.

Nor is this anti-India campaign limited to the press. In the army camps the American soldiers have been shown British films glorifying British imperialism as the benevolent ruler who "united" a country which cannot unite itself. Colonels have lectured their troops on the "duty" of the white man to "save" India. And many of these American troops have been sent or are being sent to India. A large proportion of those sent, apparently by deliberate policy (so Pearl Buck appears to believe) are white Southerners prejudiced against dark skins. Already word has come back of ugly incidents between Indians and American troops.

The vast campaign to suppress the facts about India is being conducted in such a totalitarian manner precisely because the case for India's independence is so irrefutable.

Do you really want to prevent Japan from conquering India? Ask the Indian nationalists. If that is your main aim, rather than maintenance of British rule, then let India have its independence and the 400 millions of India will defend it against Japan and any other foreign power.

The Indian resolution correctly points out the analogy between India under British rule and the fate of British-ruled Malaya, Singapore and Burma, where the natives would not lift a finger to help the hated British oppressors. The Congress points out — and Churchill cannot deny — that among the great masses of India there has developed "a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms." Not because they are pro-Japanese — on the contrary, the Indian masses are in sympathy with China against Japan — but first and foremost they rejoice at any blows dealt against their British oppressors. It is clear that the Congress now speaks out for independence primarily under the pressure of the masses of India.

All this, once stated, is so clear that the workers must begin to ask themselves: why the campaign misrepresenting the real situation in India? Why the unalterable opposition of Churchill and Roosevelt to India's independence?

The answer is to be found in understanding what Churchill and Roosevelt are really fighting for. Churchill is fighting to maintain the British Empire — which means above all India. Roosevelt and American capitalism expect to inherit the British imperial possessions, keeping Britain as a junior partner. If Japan invades India, Anglo-American forces will eventually dislodge the Nipponese, but if India wins real independence then the British and Americans are dislodged from India forever. Churchill would much rather lose India to Japan with the chance of fighting another war and winning back India than to win this war by surrendering India to the Indian people. This is the basic line of reasoning of American and British imperialism.

But the American and British workers have no interest whatever in supporting the continued enslavement of India. On the contrary the interests of the workers is bound up with freedom for every people. As India raises its voice, it also makes clear the fundamental cleavage of interests between the masses of America and England and the imperialist interests of the capitalists.

The crime of the Indian National Congress leadership is not its resistance to British rule. Its real crime is its long record of collaboration with and capitulation to British imperialism, which is by no means ended by its July 14 resolution. That is why the Indian workers and peasants require their own organizations to conduct the fight for freedom. We shall deal with that question next week.

House Passes New Tax Bill

Places Chief Burdens Of the War On Low-Income Earners

A new income tax, which represents another brutal slash into the living standards of the masses, was adopted on July 20 by the House of Representatives. The tax bill, which handles the capitalists with the most gentle consideration, now goes to the Senate for action by that body.

While tax rate increases on the worker and dirt farmers jump as high in the new bill as 1640 per cent, the rate of increase proposed for those receiving \$50,000 a year or more is less than 25% and tapers down to less than 11.5% for those receiving \$5,000,000 or more.

The measure proposes that taxes will start for couples with two children at \$2100 a year instead of \$2400 as at present; for couples without dependents at \$1300 instead of \$1700, and for single persons without dependents at \$600 instead of \$800. A single worker earning \$11.52 a week will pay taxes.

The net amounts left for the wealthy after the new taxes reach President Roosevelt's promises about limiting incomes to \$25,000 a year. Even this limit on income, which would far from impose hardship on those receiving it, is apparently forgotten by the House dominated by the central idea of soaking the workers.

Even after the increase in taxes, there will be a shortage of approximately \$2,500,000,000 in the sum asked by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau. To make up this deficiency, sales taxes and other forms of taxation are threatened after the November elections. The financial program of the capitalist class is to make the toilers pay for the war. No talk about "equality of sacrifice" or any other propaganda can change the facts.

New York Parade To Protest Legal Murder of Waller

NEW YORK, July 21—To protest the legal lynching of Odell Waller in Virginia, the mob lynching of Willie Vinson in Texas, the shooting of Private Jessie Smith in Arizona and the beating of Roland Hayes and his wife in Georgia, New York Negro and white workers will hold a "silent parade" to the beat of muffled drums on Saturday, July 25.

The demonstration is being held under the auspices of the New York division of the March-on-Washington movement, and is supported by 50 organizations including the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the CIO United Transport Service Employees, the ILGWU, Joint Board of Laundry Workers Union, Building Service Employees Union, Workers Defense League and others.

Last week a letter to President Roosevelt from many prominent Negro leaders, including A. Philip Randolph, declared, "Waller's electrocution has intensified a wave of determination for a showdown on the question of total democracy for the Negro which cannot long be held back by leaders who use the bargain and compromise method. It was the signal for the barbarous forces in this country to renew the unleashing of their venom of hatred upon the Negro people."

Wearing black mourning armbands and carrying signs of protest against lynching, Waller's electrocution and the poll tax, the marchers will assemble at 2:30 P. M. at 56th St. and 8th Ave., march south to 14th St., and east to Union Square, where at 4:00 P. M. a mass meeting will conclude the demonstration.

Loss Of Vital Regions Menaces Soviet Defense

Fall of Caucasus Would Deprive Red Army Of Basic War Materials, Food and Fuel

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

In recent weeks the German armies have added thousands of square miles to their previous conquests in the first year of the war, which amount approximately to half a million square miles of Soviet territory. This represents an area larger than the combined areas of England, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Holland.

By overrunning the Donets basin and entering the basin of the Don river, the Nazis have completely deprived the Soviet Union of its coal, iron and steel base. To the 800 million tons of iron ore that were lost in 1941 at Krivoi Rog must now be added 66,000 million tons of coal in the Donets basin. The Ukraine was one of the important manganese producing centers. Among other vital minerals lost must be included: aluminum, mercury, lead and zinc.

MUCH PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY LOST

In terms of industrial equipment the losses have been even more staggering. For example, the loss of the city of Voroshilovgrad alone represents the loss not only of the key coal and coke producing area, but also of vitally important machine building enterprises. In 1939 more than

per cent of the conquests of all the Five Year plans were either captured by the Germans or destroyed. The same fate now threatens another 25 per cent.

The threat to Rostov and Stalingrad represents at the same time the threat to the Caucasus. By their breakthrough to the Don river the Germans have isolated the Southern armies from the center. The capture of Stalingrad would isolate the Red armies in the Caucasus from the southern armies, i.e., cut the Soviet front into three isolated segments.

WHAT LOSS OF THE CAUCASUS WOULD MEAN

What would the loss of the Caucasus signify in the face of the present situation? First, it would deprive the Red Army of its main oil supply. The strain on Soviet economy would be no less perilous. It is estimated that there are roughly 600,000 tractors still operating in agriculture. How will these be supplied? In terms of fuel, the loss of the Caucasian oil fields in view of the loss of the Ukraine coal would place Soviet economy into an inextricable position.

But even this is not all that the loss of the Caucasus implies. This area contains the largest manganese mines in the world. The loss of this supply added to the losses already suffered in the Ukraine would virtually cripple the remaining Soviet steel plants. There are other important mineral resources in this area along with industrial enterprises of no small importance to the USSR.

SOVIET FOOD SUPPLY THREATENED

Furthermore, since the loss of the great Ukrainian granary the Soviet armies, especially those of the South, have been largely depending upon the north Caucasian area and the Don valley for (Continued on page 4)

Anti-Trotskyist Frameup Launched In Great Britain

Mine-owners and Union Bureaucrats Answer 'Socialist Appeal' Charges With Slanders

By ANTHONY MASSINI

Frameup and slanderous charges of "sabotage" are the methods used by the British employers and their agents in the labor movement to counteract the growing influence and activities of the Trotskyists among the British workers, particularly the miners. In this way, it is evident from a July 14 London UP dispatch and the June issue of *Socialist Appeal* received in this

country last week, the British mine-owners are trying to distract public attention from their own criminal mismanagement of the mines.

According to the UP dispatch, Scotland Yard is investigating charges filed with the Ministry of Fuel and Power that "pit boys in two Yorkshire collieries have seriously sabotaged valuable underground workings." The charges were filed by J. A. Hall, president of the Yorkshire Miners Association, who said that "the union has lost control of the youths who have been affected by 'subversive literature.'"

"He called attention to circulation throughout the mining districts of the monthly *Socialist Appeal*, which he said had carried a large portrait of the late Leon Trotsky and professed to be the organ of the 'Fourth International.'"

The UP dispatch also quoted Hall as describing the "subversive character of the *Socialist Appeal* as follows: 'It demanded that workers control mines and munition works, that the workers be armed, and that military academies for training of workers' officers be established by the trade unions.'

The dispatch concluded with the time-worn slander made by Hall that "the paper is distributed by young men who receive 10 pounds (\$40) a week for their activities."

WHAT TROTSKYISTS REALLY ADVOCATE

We are not in a position in this country to check on the accuracy of charges of sabotage in two unnamed Yorkshire collieries. Determination of these facts will have to await a report from Britain.

We do know in this country, however, that members of the Workers International League, which publishes the *Socialist Appeal*, have been active in the

struggles of the Yorkshire and others British miners. We have no doubt, therefore, that workers in the Yorkshire collieries have probably read the *Socialist Appeal*, whose circulation is growing among the miners because of its forthright support of their demands.

And on the basis of our knowledge of the WIL and the contents of the *Socialist Appeal*, we can categorically reject any charge that the *Socialist Appeal* advocates or counsels sabotage in the British mines or that it is in any way responsible for sabotage that may have been committed.

For, far from advocating sabotage and decreased production in the mines, the British Trotskyists condemn the mineowners for their sabotage and mismanagement of the mines.

As the leading editorial in the June *Appeal* points out, the mineowners "close the most productive seams for 'after the war' while they prosecute the workers for absenteeism." And this same editorial calls on the British miners to fight for workers' control of the mines because in this way "they could protect and raise the living standards of the miners and they could guarantee to produce all the coal needed, by sweeping aside the vested interests of the coal barons."

MINERS' COMPLAINTS

Behind this attack on the Trotskyists is also an attempt to silence and intimidate all the other militant miners, who are among the most exploited and discontented section of the British working class, as L. Lawrence, an American recently returned from Britain, reported in last week's *MILITANT*.

Their dissatisfaction with child (Continued on page 3)

WLB Would Cheat Unions Of Gains Won In 1941 Strikes

Murray's Acceptance of Ruling Encourages New Drive Against Workers' Standards

By JOE ANDREWS

The War Labor Board on July 15 turned down the demands of the CIO United Steel Workers for a dollar-a-day general wage increase in Little Steel, and set the stage in this first major decision for further administration moves toward more drastic wage control. As soon as the announcement was made that Philip Murray and the USWA officials had accepted the WLB decision, Roosevelt issued a press release stating that he was preparing a message to Congress asking for the power to clamp down further on wages.

In spite of the report of the WLB fact-finding panel that the steel corporations could easily afford to pay the dollar-a-day increase, the War Labor Board, with the 4 labor members dissenting, granted the steel workers only 44 cents a day.

In a five-point decision designed as a general policy to deal with all demands for wage increases, the War Labor Board action in the Little Steel case would peg the purchasing power of the workers to the January 1, 1941 level. WLB Chairman William H. Davis stated: "This will lead to a 'terminal' for the tragic race between wages and prices."

The truth is that the Board moved toward establishing a "terminal" for wages, but no end is in sight for the rise in living costs.

The five-point program handed down by the WLB stated: "For the period from January 1, 1941 to May 1942 . . . the cost of living increased by about 15%. If any group of workers averaged less than a 15% increase in hourly wage rates during or immediately preceding or following this period, their established peacetime standards have been broken. If any group averaged a 15% wage increase or more, their established peacetime standards have been preserved."

TRY TO DESTROY LABOR'S 1941 GAINS

This decision, which will in turn be applied to the workers in Big Steel and will affect the Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and aircraft demands now pending before the WLB, aims at freezing the purchasing power of the workers at the January 1, 1941 level, and is a long step in the direction of freezing wages altogether.

With the purchasing power of January 1, 1941 as the yardstick, the WLB has deliberately chosen a period prior to the big strike wave of the spring of 1941, when the mass production workers won wage increases all along the line. Since these increases won after January 1, will be deducted from the 15% rise allowed by the board, most of the workers in major industries such as auto, steel, and aircraft will receive only minute increases, if this policy is carried out.

The fact-finding panel found that living costs had gone up over 13% after April, 1941. The 5.5% wage increase granted the Little Steel workers by the Board, leaves at least an 8% disparity between their "peacetime purchasing power" as of April, 1941, and the present time. By choosing the January 1, 1941 level as the base, the WLB has tied purchasing power to a low point, and is attempting to deprive the workers of the benefits they won by their organized struggles in the spring of 1941.

Actually, the purchasing power of the workers has suffered far more than admitted by the WLB. The Board took into account only the conservative figures of the government on the rise in living costs. But the workers' standards have been reduced by the increase in taxation on workers' incomes, by hidden price rises, by the deterioration in the quality of consumers' goods, and by the campaign to force savings and investment in war bonds. All these factors added to the fact that consumers' goods are disappearing from the

market, have combined to lower the purchasing power of the workers.

In addition to the 44-cent daily increase, the WLB granted a maintenance of membership and check-off clause to the union and provided for a 78-cent an hour minimum. This minimum affects Bethlehem Steel primarily, where piece work still operated to keep down hourly rates.

THE STAND OF ROOSEVELT'S AGENTS

The full forces of the administration were thrown into the campaign to force the unions to accept some form of wage control. During the steel deliberations, Leon Henderson, OPA head, made statements demanding the freezing of wages. Just prior to the steel decision, Richard Gilbert, deputy administrator of the Office of Price Administration, told the aircraft stabilization conference in Los Angeles that "wage stabilization means no wage increases."

The July 20, *CIO News* charges that "the decision of the Board is predicated upon the policy promulgated by Leon Henderson, head of the Office of Price Administration. That agency, instead of concentrating its attention on price fixing and democratic rationing of consumer goods, has maintained its attack against legitimate and equitable wage adjustments for the workers."

The *CIO News* did not mention that both Henderson and Gilbert, as well as the War Labor Board, were following out the policy laid down by Roosevelt.

The WLB policy attempts to leave certain loopholes to serve as safety valves against serious mass unrest. Although the general WLB policy ties purchasing power to the January 1, 1941 level, there is room for occasional divergences from this general policy. "The Board will give due consideration to inequalities and the elimination of substandards of living," the decision stated.

In most cases however, the pressure for upward adjustments comes from the well-organized workers who have won wage increases since January 1, 1941, and further increases for them are virtually excluded under the WLB policy. Those workers whose wages are at the lowest levels are by and large poorly organized and unable to exert the pressure necessary to force the WLB to grant raises.

MURRAY BACKS DOWN

In accepting the Board's decision, the CIO leadership took another step in the sacrifice of labor's rights and standards. By agreeing to the pegging of workers' purchasing power to the January 1, 1941 level, Philip Murray and the CIO officialdom have strengthened the administration drive toward ultimate wage freezing.

The record of the CIO officials in this case is a repetition of the vacillation and retreat that has marked their step-by-step surrender of labor's gains which began many months before Pearl Harbor.

Prior to the decision, Murray made several statements attacking wage freezing and in support of the dollar-a-day demand. In statements to the press he hinted at rejection of the Board decision if the union's demands were not met. Asked whether the CIO could do this, he said, "I understand." (Continued on page 3)

Bonus Army: "Heroes of 1917, Bums of 1932"

Ten Years Ago This Week General MacArthur's Troops Drove The Veterans Out Of Washington

By Felix Morrow

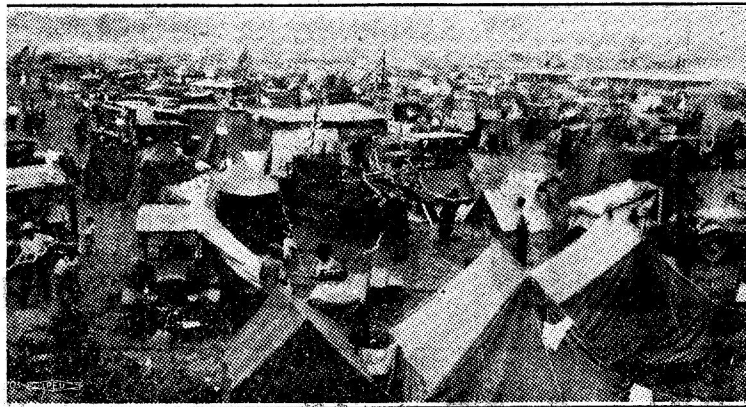
Ten years ago, on July 28, 1932, General Douglas MacArthur, then Chief of Staff of the Army, led his troops — cavalry, tanks and infantry — down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D. C. At Third Street they charged the first contingent of the enemy. With tear gas and bayonet jabs and rifle butts they drove a group of World War veterans from shacks and half-demolished buildings which had been their homes for ten weeks. The veterans, expertly tossing back tear gas bombs, retreated only when physically overcome. The soldiers set fire to the shacks to make sure the veterans would have nothing to return to. The flames and smoke rose high, a fitting frame for the dome of the Capitol rising above them in the background.

Under the personal direction of General MacArthur the soldiers — they were young boys, all veterans of the World War had been combed out and left behind at Fort Myers — repeated the mopping-up operation in nearby streets. Then they moved across the river to Anacostia Flats, where the main body of World War veterans were encamped in shacks and tents. All told, there were about 20,000 vets, about 400 of them with their wives and children. Driven by the troops, they were scattered that night over the neighboring states of Virginia and Maryland. The flaming shacks and tents looked like a big city devastated by incendiary bombs.

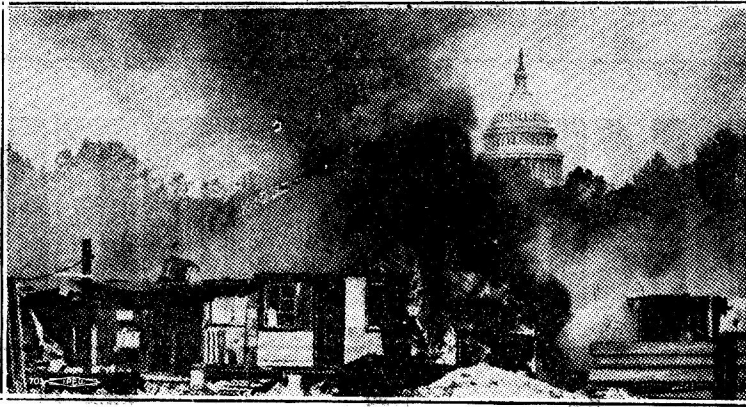
That was the end of the Bonus March, so far as Washington was concerned. But 20,000 marchers, scattered to the four winds, told millions of workers and farmers how they had come to ask for bread and got bullets. Two veterans murdered that Bloody Thursday, Eric Carlson and Bill Hushka, became symbols of the gratitude of the ruling class for whom they had fought in 1917.

The Bonus Army was a completely spontaneous creation of the unemployed veterans. The March was strenuously opposed by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other "respectable" veteran organizations, as well as the Republican and Democratic parties. Even the liberals — The Nation, Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, etc. — found a reason for opposing it, calling the demand for the bonus unjustified. The Communist Party, then in its "third period," had practically no influence on the veterans. No one issued the call for the March. It just happened. Driven by hunger and want, small groups of veterans in various parts of the country started for Washington. Like a snowball rolling down a hill the march gathered volume; at least 30,000 vets arrived in Washington between May 20 and July 28.

For these tens of thousands to come penniless across the country was possible only because everywhere they found the masses actively in sympathy with them. Everywhere the unemployed, with sound instinct, understood that the B. E. F. was breaking a path to Washington which could later be followed



Veterans' shacks at Pennsylvania Avenue and 3rd Street after they were set afire by troops.



Part of the B. E. F. camp at Anacostia before General MacArthur's troops burned it down.

by the unemployed with broader demands. The Bonus Marchers had, besides, the powerful moral authority of men who had risked their lives in battle ostensibly for a world in which they would be secure.

Hence the marchers easily brushed aside all attempts by federal and local authorities to prevent their continuing on to Washington. They commandeered freight cars and coupled them on to fast trains en route to Washington. They relinquished the trains only in return for state-owned trucks which carried them from one state to the next. Here are a few clippings from two Washington newspapers, the Star and the News of May 2-24, 1932:

"400 World War veterans en route to Washington ran roughshod over the pleadings and orders of railroad officials today and reached St. Louis from Council Bluffs, Iowa, in five commandeered freight cars which they compelled a train crew to hook on to a train. . ."

"From California a group of 400 left last week. . . A similar sized contingent left Alabama at about the same time."

"250 Seize Freight Train at Brunswick, Md."

"Free transportation for the 'army' was agreed upon today by Mississippi county and municipal authorities after the veterans fought with police in railroad yards at New Orleans."

"Detroit Veterans Commandeer Street Cars to Leave Town."

"A second caravan of 131 cars from Los Angeles, loaded with bonus seekers, passed through. Fifty cars joined the lines at Hagerstown, Md."

"CASEVILLE, Ill. — The veterans arriving here today organized a 'workers' council' to assume command. . . It was this council that ordered the captured train released and accepted instead Sheriff Mumie's offer of trucks."

Two slogans were especially popular among the veterans. They painted them crudely on signs and on the freight cars and jalopies. "Heroes of 1917 — Bums of 1932." "We Fought for Democracy — What Did We Get?"

The slogans caught on with the great crowds who came to cheer on the veterans in every city and hamlet. Under popular pressure city authorities welcomed the vets, fed them and housed them, and made money collections to help speed them on.

General Pelham D. Glassford, Chief of Police of Washington, later wrote: "some members of the wealthy classes throughout the nation looked upon the occupation of the nation's capital as a revolutionary action."

Negro veterans were conspicuously active in many of the contingents. That new winds were blowing was clear when Negroes arrived side by side with whites in some of the Southern contingents and lived side by side with them in the shacks in Washington.

Perhaps the most significant fact about the Bonus Army is that all government attempts to get it to leave Washington failed. In the end only naked force could drive out the veterans. They had come to get Congress to vote immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificate (issued in 1924 but payable in 1945, granting \$1 a day for service at home and \$1.25 for overseas service.) On July 16 Congress adjourned at midnight, the Senators and Representatives sneaking out side doors and fleeing the city, in fear of the veterans. Now, said the authorities, the veterans should all leave. Before adjourning, Congress had voted \$100,000 for fares to return veterans to their homes. But most of the veterans would not leave. Many had no homes to return to, the rest would not return empty-handed. The cry went up for a special session of Congress. In any event the veterans would not leave Washington.

How remarkable was the persistence of the veterans can only be appreciated in the light of their treatment during their stay in Washington.

The spontaneity which had created the march proved inadequate to create a leadership from the ranks strong and able enough to carry on in Washington in the same spirit that had carried them across the country. Politically inexperienced, pitifully trustful of "friends," the vets found themselves operating under a leadership imposed on them, and which betrayed them at every point.

Police Chief Glassford played a very skillful game. He

announced that he had accepted responsibility for seeing that the B. E. F. was fed and housed — and appointed himself the Army's Secretary-Treasurer. Likewise he appointed one W. Waters, from Portland, Oregon, as Commander-in-Chief of the B. E. F. Whether Waters and similar "leaders" were FBI agents to begin with, or whether Glassford corrupted them, they were his agents.

In control of the B. E. F. leadership, Glassford was also successful in his plan to get the veterans away from the city proper. With the bait of some tents and field kitchens he sat up in Anacostia Flats, Glassford had Waters order the men to go there. Between Washington and Anacostia was the river and drawbridges, which could be raised to prevent the men from going to the Capitol. Only a few contingents refused to go to Anacostia and they set their shacks up on Pennsylvania Avenue, the main artery of the city.

Next Glassford raised the Red Scare to divide the veterans. On May 28 he announced: "Communist-led veterans are to be separated from loyal veterans." The Glassford-Waters dictatorship set up a system of Military Police at Anacostia. Whoever asked for a democratic vote to elect leaders or determine policies became a Red, seized and beaten by the M. P.'s and driven from camp. One day dynamite was allegedly found and became an added excuse for the dictatorship.

Food and shelter were deliberately sabotaged by Glassford and his agents. Offers of farmers' groups to send food were ignored, the food-collections were kept down to starvation-level, sums donated by sympathizers were not used for feeding the men, etc. For ten weeks many of the men slept on the ground. Their attempts to build beds and more permanent shacks were discouraged by the M. P.'s on one pretext or another.

The men had come to demonstrate to Congress. But the only demonstration the Waters leadership called was a patriotic parade on the evening of June 7. A California contingent which broke away from Waters organized a Death Watch from July 11 to the adjournment of Congress on July 16 — a 24-hour-a-day picket line — and this was the only organized veterans' group at the Capitol throughout the March. Instead of demonstrations, Waters kept the men at Anacostia, offering them vaudeville shows, community songs, etc. — anything except what they had come to Washington to do.

Yet, despite all these terrible handicaps, the men stood firm. Neither paid fares, nor promises of jobs through government agencies elsewhere, nor threats, nor the terrible living conditions at Anacostia, nor the demoralizing role of the Waters leadership — nothing could make the veterans leave Washington.

It was later said that Hoover and MacArthur had made a "blunder" in using troops to smash the B. E. F. If by "blunder" is meant that they could have dispersed the Bonus Army without troops, that is extremely doubtful. The 20,000 men who remained in Washington on July 28 (about 10,000 others had left by then) were desperate men. They were childlike politically, but one thing they knew — they would not leave Washington until Congress had voted immediate payment of their back-wages.

Even more important, the presence of the Bonus Army in Washington constituted a powerful attraction to the unemployed throughout the nation. The Waters leadership successfully resisted all attempts to link the bonus demand with the general demands of the unemployed for jobs and adequate relief but, as anyone connected with the unemployed movement then will recall, the unemployed looked upon the Bonus Army as their advance-guard. During the twelve days between the adjournment of Congress and the crushing of the Bonus Army, the Washington press published reports, not only of additional veterans' contingents on the way to Washington, but also of groups of unemployed non-veterans who were marching on Washington. Had the Bonus Army stayed on, it is very likely that it would have become the core of a vast army of the unemployed occupying the capital.

Hence by the end of July the federal authorities decided they dared wait no longer. The Treasury Department, which owned the property at Pennsylvania and Third, ordered the police to remove the veterans from the property. In the attempt to do so, the police killed Bill Hushka and Eric Carlson. Under the pretext that the police were no longer able to maintain order, troops were called out. General MacArthur considered the task of driving the veterans out so important that he — the top-ranking figure of the army! — personally led the troops.

Afterwards, amid the universal outcry against the government violence, Police Chief Glassford, refusing to be made the scapegoat, wrote:

"It has been the claim of the Administration that the use of troops was the result of a spontaneous emergency which arose only after the police of Washington had lost control of the situation.

"That is far from being the fact. It can be proved. . . that troops were in training as early as June for just such a climax; that both officers and men at Army and Marine posts adjacent to Washington were being held in readiness without leave for a long period. . . It can be shown that these troops were receiving special training in the use of tear gas and in maneuvers incident to dispersing crowds. . ."

"The only reason evacuation at Pennsylvania and Third on the 28th was insisted on by the Administration was because the Government expected some disorder to result. It needed this to give an appearance of justice for the policy on which it had decided. The Government assumed the role of agent provocateur unprecedented in this country." (N. Y. American, Nov. 5, 1932.)

How deeply the country resented the treatment of the B. E. F. was indicated when General MacArthur was booted off the platform at the American Legion Convention at Portland, Oregon, in the fall of 1932.

When it was announced that MacArthur would lead Roosevelt's inaugural parade, protests poured into Washington in such volume that secret service agents took extraordinary precautions, fearing an attempt on MacArthur's life. Roosevelt insisted on backing MacArthur, who not only led the parade, but served out his term as Chief of Staff. . . In the end, in spite of Roosevelt's veto, immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificate was voted by Congress and the issue was ended. . . Today publicity has put a halo of heroism around MacArthur.

But those still living of the 20,000 veterans of Bloody Thursday have not forgotten. Often, in the intervening years, I have run across such veterans and we have re-lived that day. For not a few of them it was the turning-point in their lives. I am thinking especially of one of them who, four years later, led a sit-down strike. "We learned their tricks in Washington," he said. "When they tried to fool us into going out of the plant or letting them in, I remembered the B. E. F. That's one reason why we won our strike."

He and others like him drew the lessons of Bloody Thursday. And they have handed down the story to millions of others — including many of the soldiers now marching off to war. When they try to make bums out of the Heroes of 1942, we shall see that the great battle of the "Heroes of 1917 — Bums of 1932" was not fought in vain.

Text Of The All-India Congress' Resolution

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress at Wardha, India, last week, as it appeared in the *New York Times*:

Events happening from day to day and the experience which the people of India are passing through confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination at its best is evil in itself and a continuing injury to a subject people but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in effecting the fortunes of the war: that is desolating humanity.

The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interests of India but also for the safety of the world, for ending nazism and fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism and aggression of one nation over another.

Ever since the outbreak of the World War the Congress has studiously pursued a policy of non-embarrassment.

Even at the risk of making its Satyagraha (civil disobedience) ineffective, it deliberately gave it symbolic character in the hope that the policy of non-embarrassment, carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated and that real power would be transferred to the popular representatives so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution toward the realization of human freedom throughout the world which is in danger of being crushed.

It also was hoped negatively that nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's hold on India.

WHAT CRIPPS' PROPOSAL SHOWN

These hopes, however, were dashed to pieces: the abortive Cripps's (Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal) proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude to India and that the British hold on India would in no way be relaxed.

In their negotiations with Cripps Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum consistent with the national demand, but it was of no avail.

This frustration resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms.

The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless check-

ed, will inevitably lead to passive acceptance of aggression.

The committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and continuation of their subjection.

The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign power.

The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain to good-will and make India a willing partner in the joint enterprise of securing freedom for the nations of the people of the world in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India can feel the glow of freedom.

BRITISH DOMINATION

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this is made impossible by the presence of a foreign power and only after ending foreign domination and intervention can the present unreality give place to reality and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutual and agreed basis.

The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attracting the attention of and influencing British power, will then probably cease to function.

In the first time in India's history the realization will come home that the princes, jagirdars, zamindars and the propertied and monied classes derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields, factories and elsewhere to whom essentially power and authority must belong.

On the withdrawal of British rule from India responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a provisional government representative of all the important sections of the people of India which will later evolve a scheme whereby a consistent assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people.

The representatives of free India and Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations for the cooperation of the two countries as allies

Cannon Pamphlet Sells Well Among British Workers

Just What We Were Looking for, Says British Commando

Reports from England show that the testimony of James P. Cannon at the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, printed in the United States under the title "Socialism on Trial," is meeting with enthusiastic response from British workers as it received in this country.

Printed by the Workers International League as "An ABC of Trotskyism," the pamphlet has drawn comment from a number of interesting sources:

A Commando writes: "I have passed my copy around till it is black. The Military Policy is just the thing we have been looking for. Send me six more copies."

From a Hendon shop steward: "Please send another dozen 'Cannon's Testimony.' It has caused tremendous interest in my shop and I have already sold 36 copies. Workers who are prepared to pay 1 shilling for a pamphlet are interested enough to read it."

From a student: "I cannot say how impressed I am with the issue, which amounts to a Trotskyist Manifesto 1940 in importance. The whole of socialism is in its few pages, and so concise and clear, that indeed you could use it as a primer for newcomers to the movement."

Copies of the United States edition of this important pamphlet, together with a companion pamphlet, "In Defense of Socialism," concluding speech at the trial by the defendant and chief defense counsel, Albert Goldman, are on sale from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York City. The price of these pamphlets is 10 cents each.

sive deterioration in the situation and weakening India's willpower to resist aggression.

The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilize all the nonviolent strength it has gathered since 1920 when it adopted nonviolence as part of its policy and for the vindication of its political rights and liberties.

Such a widespread struggle would be inevitably under the leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi.

As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the working committee will refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision.

and for the common cause in meeting aggression.

It is the earnest desire of Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with peoples of united will and strength behind it.

In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British rule from India the Congress has no desire whatever to embarrass Britain or the Allied powers in their prosecution of the war or in any way to encourage aggression on India or, of course, pressure on China, by the Japanese or any other power associated with the Axis group. Nor is it the intention of Congress to jeopardize the defensive capacity of the Allied powers.

The Congress, therefore, is agreeable to the stationing of armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist the Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China.

The proposal for the withdrawal of British power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of Britons from India and certainly not those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others.

If such a withdrawal takes place with good-will it would result in the establishing of a stable provisional government in India and in cooperation between this government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and in helping China.

The Congress realizes that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more especially at the present critical juncture, in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils.

While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve its national purpose it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid as far as possible any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations.

The Congress would plead with the British power to accept very reasonable and just proposals wherein made not only in the interests of India but also those of freedom, of the cause of freedom which the United Nations proclaim their allegiance.

CONGRESS VIEWS WITH APPREHENSION

Should, however, this appeal fail the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs involving progres-

WORKERS' FORUM

Makes A Good Point

Editor:

A news story in the July 11 MILITANT, entitled "24,000 Factories To Be Shut Down, Says WPB," correctly points out that while the capitalists are promising a better world for the masses after the war, they are tightening their monopoly grip on production during the war. The article concluded by saying: "The facts are that after the war the same forces whose domination of the productive forces before the war prevented the workers from achieving security, will be in even stronger control than before."

This formulation I consider to be inadequate and therefore incorrect. For it fails to take into consideration a very important factor — the probability or at least strong possibility that the capitalists' plans will be upset by the workers intervening and establishing a Workers' and Farmers' Government that will actually bring security to the masses.

It is inexcusable, I believe, for a paper whose perspective is socialism to overlook this all-important factor even in a comparatively minor article.

P. B.

New York City

(P. B. is absolutely correct.— THE EDITOR.)

Interesting News Item

Editor:

As one of your readers I have always admired the consistent way you have tried to expose the vile methods and practices of the Stalinites, especially those in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

How you overlooked the juicy item in the *Herald-Tribune*, which I am enclosing, is beyond me. . .

IN HARLEM

The Militant

is on sale at the southeast corner of 125th Street and Lenox Avenue

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KAREL MARR

By Albert Parker

Randolph's Petition Campaign

Ever since A. Philip Randolph revived the March-on-Washington movement early in the spring, we — and the Negro masses — have been asking: "What does Randolph propose the Negro people should do now? We fully endorse the major objective of the movement, which can be stated briefly as the abolition of Jim Crowism everywhere. But how shall we go about achieving it?"

At first Randolph formulated two steps. One was to hold mass meetings in key cities. This was carried through on a large scale in New York and Chicago; and it appears that the meeting in Washington, D. C., to be held in August, will also be strongly attended.

The other step that Randolph proposed was a conference between Negro leaders and Roosevelt to "have a frank, candid and plain talk... about the whole situation."

On several occasions since then this column has criticized Randolph and the official leadership of the March-on-Washington movement on precisely this point. It is not that we oppose the holding of such a conference. No, for we hold the point of view that Randolph himself expressed on this question a year ago when he was organizing the movement: "Evidently, the regular, normal and respectable method of conferences and petitions, while proper and ought to be continued as conditions warrant, certainly don't work. They don't do the job."

We have continued to hammer away at this question — and we have heard through a mutual friend that Randolph and some of his associates are quite put out at us because while we keep advocating support for the March-on-Washington movement, we also keep stressing the fact that its self appointed leaders don't have an adequate program to offer the Negro masses. Randolph has never attempted to publicly answer our criticism — and has tried to dismiss us as unworthy of an answer because we are a small group that does not have much influence among the Negro masses.

But Randolph knows that we have only been expressing the thoughts of the Negro masses — who come to the March-on-Washington movement in such great numbers only because they think it is different from the other Negro movements, because they think it intends to put up a militant fight against Jim Crow.

So Randolph has felt it necessary to come out with something additional. And what does he propose now? A petition campaign.

This petition is addressed to Roosevelt and it calls upon him to issue an executive order as a wartime measure to abolish racial discrimination "in every hamlet, village, town and city within the confines of the United States and its territories; and in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, Marines, defense industries and every department of the government — city, state and federal."

The aim, says Randolph, is to secure 5,000,000 signatures from "every president and educator of the colleges and universities, leading preachers, trade union heads, captains of businesses, senators, congressmen, governors, mayors, state legislators, city councilmen — together with the rank and file masses, Negro and white."

We cannot say offhand what the reaction of the Negro masses will be to this new item on Randolph's "program" — but we do know what our own reaction is to it.

So far as we are concerned, petitions fall into the same category as conferences with the president. In and of itself, such a petition can't do any harm. But neither will it, under the present conditions, do much good.

What, after all, will it accomplish? Will it tell President Roosevelt and the ruling class anything they don't already know? Doesn't the government know that the Negro people want their rights as citizens? Hasn't it conducted secret surveys and found this out — found it out so definitely that

it has suppressed the results of the surveys?

Will it prove that 5,000,000 people are in favor of equality for the Negroes? But the government already knows that 13,000,000 Negroes are in favor of it, and that the great majority of the organized labor movement, representing white and Negro workers, also has passed resolutions to this effect.

Will it give added strength to the arguments of Randolph when he finally secures his conference with the president? We doubt it, because the president already knows that many millions of people support the demands that Randolph has raised. Last year when Randolph and his colleagues met with Roosevelt, their request for an executive order was strengthened for the Negro people were planning a March on Washington to dramatize their grievances, and the administration wanted to have it called off. But Roosevelt will not be greatly affected by petitions, not even 5,000,000 of them, because all he has to do is tell his secretary to file them in a waste basket.

If this is the reason why Randolph wants the petition campaign, then not only will it be ineffective, but it also shows how little confidence he places in his other proposal for a conference with Roosevelt.

Now, petitions can sometimes be quite effective — when they are intended as a supplement to action, as a formal expression of protest added to other actions of protest. For example, a petition can be effective sometimes when workers in a plant get together and sign it to notify the employer that if he doesn't grant them whatever it is they want, they will strike or take some other action. Then the petition amounts to more than a piece of paper telling the boss that they want something, it becomes a warning to him that if they don't get their demands justified, they will take other steps that he will like even less than a petition.

Similarly, petition campaigns can sometimes be quite harmful to a movement. That is when they are used as a substitute for other actions, when they are offered as something to occupy the minds and activities of the rank and file of a movement and get their attention away from other and much better means of protest, when they are offered as something to "keep the members busy" so that they won't ask their leaders to take other steps to achieve the objectives of their organization.

We strongly suspect that Randolph's motive in launching the present petition campaign falls in that last category. Randolph, who has had long experience in the labor movement, knows the truth of everything said above about the value of petitions. Furthermore, he has failed to offer a program for mass action and pressure against Jim Crow. For these reasons we cannot work up very much interest in the petition.

Except to say: Let there be no illusions. 5,000,000 or even 15,000,000 signatures to a petition are not going to change the conditions of the Negro people. Only an all-out fight against Jim Crow and the system that breeds it and the forces who defend it will advance the Negro struggle.

Randolph knows this too. But he is torn by contradictions. On the one hand he wants to be the leader of the Negro people in their struggle for equal rights. On the other hand he is an all-out supporter of the war and the Roosevelt administration. This accounts for the startling difference between his militant words and his lack of a fighting program.

But the Negro masses cannot afford to sit back and wait while Randolph grapples with his contradictions. They must go forward, seize the opportunities that exist — build a powerful, militant, democratic organization — create an alliance with their natural allies, the labor movement — challenge the political power of their enemies and help to create the Workers' and Farmers' Government that alone will open a new life of brotherhood, security and peace.

Monopolies Discourage Better, Cheaper Methods

Telegraph Combines Hide Inventions to Cut Time and Costs Of Wiring Messages

By A. ROLAND

The capitalists and their ideologists have always justified the system of private ownership of the means of production on the ground that it assures industrial progress. Year in and year out this line has been propagated until the capitalists themselves began to believe there must be something to it.

The war is proving daily that this idea is just a left-over from the early days of small-scale enterprise when competition existed in its primitive forms. Big scale monopoly capitalism brought in its train industrial decay. The enormous investments in machines and equipment in the really big plants, made the capitalists wary when it came to changes. A new patent might mean the scrapping of millions of dollars of obsolete machinery. Monopoly capitalism therefore found it necessary to find ways and means to protect its investments against initiative and progress.

Progress consists not only in changes of methods and improved and more efficient processes, but also in the extension of industry so that the good things of life become available to more and more people. Here again big finance stood in the way of progress. The motive of business under this system is profit. The best rate of profit and the greatest absolute profits could be obtained by restricting the market at some point rather than expanding it indefinitely. It has become a commonplace that capitalism has reached the stage where it is capable of supplying, technically speaking, an abundance of goods for all. Yet every man in the street knows that not only is there no abundance for all, there is hardly enough in many ways.

The government of the capitalists has always connived to aid big business in all its desires. One would have to be very naive indeed to believe that the government has not been aware of the methods used by the trusts to hamper initiative and to restrict production. It is a hypocritical and guilty conscience that speaks now of the aim of the war in terms of plenty for all after it is over. The politicians merely recognize in this that the masses have no good cause to make them enthusiastic to fight the war. Since men fight better when they believe in an idea for which they fight, the government tries to supply such an idea in the form of a promise. The masses remain unimpressed by such a promise, particularly when they see how little the war is affecting the profits of big business.

Now look toward the President to carry through the remaining portions of the National Economic Program, such as an effective tax program, a real effective freezing of prices of goods, rents and other items of cost to the people.

In other words, the USWA leadership accepted a decision which "stymies collective bargaining" in return for Roosevelt's empty promise to put into effect his fraudulent "equality of sacrifice" program.

The above quoted statement of the Steel Workers Policy Committee conflicted sharply with the minority report of the four labor members of the WLB, who wrote: "The board has acted on the assumption that the cost of living will now be stabilized. Obviously and incontestably now, that means at the expense of the workers. To single out the workers for such discriminatory treatment is to risk a serious blow at their morale."

"The board is obviously aware that the Office of Price Administration has permitted increases in the price of gasoline, canned goods, and other commodities, with warnings that further price increases must be anticipated."

STEP BY STEP

By sacrificing the right to strike, the top union officials gave the green light to the employers and the government to step-up the anti-labor offensive. By accepting

The government is following the old road of making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND THE NEEDS OF THE WAR

Still the government is up against the problem of producing war goods on the most gigantic scale ever undertaken. It is therefore forced to intervene more and more actively in many situations where the past practices of business have tended to hold back industry. This is particularly true of the patent situation. Every big enterprise has made it the practice to buy or steal patents which endangered its investments and to put them on the shelf unused. This conniving has now come home to roost. The whole patent situation has been shoved out into the open for an

Expropriate the Trusts! Operate the Factories Under Workers' Control and In the Interests of the Masses!

airing. Not a week passes without some new revelation concerning the anti-social handling by the trusts of patents involving big improvements.

Recently there was the situation created by the international cartels in their efforts to divide world markets by agreements. Here we find Standard Oil restricting the use of methods of making synthetic rubber in this country in order to aid the monopolizing of this field by its German affiliate.

This week's "scandal" involves the communications trust, particularly the telegraph monopoly of Western Union and Postal Telegraph. If we mention this case it is only because it is the most recent. But it is also absolutely typical of what is going on in every field. The government need only investigate its own Patents Office to find out some of the truth in this respect.

MAINTAINING BACKWARD STATE OF PRODUCTION

But such investigations are made only when the situation becomes extremely critical in relation to the conduct of the war. That is just what has happened with the system of telegraphy. This system has been kept in the most backward state by the trusts which control it — with the direct aid of the government. The inventions in the hands of this trust for a number of years, owned by the companies involved for the purpose of keeping them out of use, would enable the sending of messages much faster and at the same time much cheaper.

The press mentions three inventions available, fully developed, but hardly used at all: 1. Repetitor switching; 2. Facsimile telegraphy; 3. Carrier current telegraphy. These processes would do away completely with the old slow and cumbersome method of sending messages letter by letter by manual operation. (We do not discuss here

G. E. and Power Trust Conspire to Restrict Wide-Spread Use of Fluorescent Lighting

Facts recently revealed show that General Electric Company and various power companies conspired to prevent increased use of fluorescent lighting. This improved method of lighting uses only one-third of the power required for the incandescent lamps now most widely used and would lower the profits of the power monopolies.

The power companies placed pressure on General Electric to withdraw an exhibit of fluorescent lighting at the New York World's Fair in 1939.

One of them, the Buffalo Niagara and Eastern Power Co., in a letter to G. E. invoked the "spirit of the understanding that our group had in Cleveland" which promised "that advances in the lighting art should not be at the expense of wattage."

The pressure on G. E. was successful in securing the withdrawal of the fluorescent lamp exhibit. It was obviously hoped thereby to keep the information about this technical improvement from the people.

According to the Department of Justice, the conspiracy has continued to the present day. The Department charges that General Electric is trying to prevent its competitor, Hy-Grade Sylvania, from making additional fluorescent lighting.

how the introduction of new methods which endanger the jobs of thousands of workers should be handled.)

The facsimile method is very much on the order of television and permits the transmission of whole newspaper pages in the very briefest time. Carrier telegraphy means the more effective use of present sending channels since many messages may be sent simultaneously over the same lines.

The solution for this situation will never be seriously undertaken by the present government. The Roosevelt regime may intervene here and there even to the point of nationalizing a given critical industry. But this is merely war patch-work. No real solution can be found under the profit system. The nationalizing of industry by the government with really democratic control by the workers engaged in the various industries, would be a preliminary step leading towards a real solution. The dead hand of monopoly capitalism would thus be torn from its grip on the mills, mines and factories. These could then be run according to a national plan worked out by the best engineers under the control of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Anti-Trotskyist Frameup Started In Great Britain

(Continued from page 1)

selling by the employers, long hours, low pay, etc., has led to a series of strikes and the recent move by the Churchill government establishing a joint board of mine-owners, miners and government representatives to "control" the industry. The Minister for Mines, D. R. Grenfell, reported in the House of Commons on June 2 that "during the three weeks ending May 23 there were 86 strikes in the coal industry, involving 58,000 workers."

Particularly exploited are the young miners. According to the Miners Federation, the death rate among the youth is one in four, and thousands of deaths in the mining districts can be attributed to disease or injury from pit work in youth. At a colliery in the Rhondda valley, the average wage of the pit boys, doing practically the work of adults, is 2 pence, or about \$8 a week. On top of this it must be remembered that these young workers are bound to their jobs by the Essential Works Order, and face either prison and fines or drafting in the army if they try to seek better-paid work.

And while the dissatisfaction of the miners is increasing, the mine union leaders and the British Stalinists are doing everything possible to sabotage militant action and to prevent the workers from conducting a struggle to improve their conditions.

It is easy to see from the June issue of the Appeal, which surely was circulated in the Yorkshire mining area before July 14, why Hall filed his charges. For on its front page is a story entitled "Miners' Officials Betray Yorkshire Strikers," a powerful indictment of the union bureaucrats and support the demands and strikes of the miners.

Is it any wonder that under such conditions the union bureaucrats have "lost control" of the members? And is it not understandable that such bureaucrats, unable to answer the arguments of the Appeal, are trying to regain "control" of the members by a slanderous charge against the publishers and distributors of that paper?

STALINISTS ADD THEIR HELP

What role the British Stalinists played in this frame-up campaign, it is impossible to say at this time. Unquestionably, however, they played at least as dirty a part as was played by their American cousins.

The Stalinists are always on the lookout for opportunities to slander and frameup the militant and revolutionary opponents of Stalinism. It is no exaggeration to say that they are direct authors of most of such slanderous charges today.

But even when someone else beats them to the invention of a slander, the Communist Party is not above borrowing and embellishing it. A case in example is the article on the UP dispatch which was printed in the American Daily Worker of July 16. The Daily Worker reprinted most of the dispatch, including the section about the payment of \$40 a week to Appeal salesmen. Most, but not all. Very discreetly, it left out the paragraph in which Hall "revealed" the fact that the Socialist Appeal's "subversive" demands amounted to nothing more than—workers control of production and union control of military training.

To Hall, such a workers' program amounts to incitement to "sabotage." He evidently is not so experienced a slanderer as the Stalinists, who know what to pick and what to leave out.

And while Hall, who is on the scene and subject to a certain amount of pressure from the Yorkshire miners, does not dare to project his slanders in any but the most round-about fashion, the Stalinists in this country feel no such restraint. Not only do they distort the dispatch by leaving out an important section, but they go so far as to put a title on their story vindicting the charge which Hall did not feel it wise to make directly: "Trotskyites Caught Wrecking British Mines."

Further details of this frameup will be reported in THE MILITANT as we receive them from Britain. Meanwhile, L. Lawrence will soon continue the report of his impressions on Britain today with an account of the WIL's activities.

will have to fight for a rising scale of wages to keep pace with the inevitable spiral in the cost of living. To do this, the militant workers of the CIO and AFL must reclaim their basic weapon, the right to strike. Only in this way can they preserve the great organizations they have built up by their militant action, and call a halt to the anti-labor offensive of the employers and to the cowardly surrender of their rights by the top union officialdom.

We Support The Struggle Of China--2

By M. MORRISON

Does our support of the Chinese struggle against Japanese imperialism indicate that we support all colonial and semi-colonial nations against an imperialist country? Not in the least. Our support depends upon whether or not the particular struggle is essentially one for the independence of the colonial nation and not a struggle in the interests of a rival imperialist country. Basing ourselves on the general principle that a war of a colonial people against an imperialist oppressor is progressive, we analyze all the factors involved in a particular struggle to determine whether its essential character is for the independence of the colonial nation or in the interests of a rival imperialist country. This is the only Marxist approach to the question, for Marxism demands above all an analysis of all the concrete factors involved in a particular phenomenon.

Obviously in the case of China the question whether to support it in the struggle against Japanese imperialism at the present time is not so simple a question as in the case of the Soviet Union. For in the Soviet Union the one objective factor of nationalized property is the all-determining factor for a Marxist. In any struggle between the Soviet Union and a capitalist country we support the Soviet Union under all circumstances because in such a struggle a defeat of the Soviet Union destroys or at least endangers the existence of nationalized property.

In the case of China we have no such basic criterion. It is a colonial country but also a capitalist one. Hence the general rule of supporting a colonial nation fighting against an imperialist country may not apply under circumstances where it is clear that the colonial nation is not in reality fighting for its own independence but for the interest of another imperialist nation.

A decision to look upon the struggle of the Chinese nation against Japanese imperialism as part of the imperialist conflict, and therefore not to be supported, is not in itself a rejection or modification of revolutionary Marxist policy on the colonial question, provided one bases his opinion on the conclusion, after an analysis of all the facts, that the struggle has become completely subordinated to the imperialist war. The controversy, if any, would center around the alleged facts which make the struggle subordinate to the imperialist war.

As I pointed out last week, Shachtman in his article on China in the June issue of *New Internationalist* comes to the general conclusion that while an imperialist war is raging, it is impermissible to support a colonial or semi-colonial nation struggling against an imperialist oppressor. Another theory which he presents as a justification for his change of position—a theory also applicable to the Soviet Union—is the following: Because China is not so industrially developed as the United States and must get material aid from the United States, it is therefore dependent on the latter country and its struggle is therefore an imperialist struggle. There is not an iota of Marxism in this kind of an approach.

Prior to Pearl Harbor the United States furnished some aid to China. Not because American imperialism was interested in the welfare of the Chinese people but because its own interests were threatened by a Japanese victory. Shachtman knew that and did not change his position. Even the Oehlerites permitted China to receive some aid from U. S. imperialism.

There is no doubt but that after Pearl Harbor far more aid was forthcoming to China. Perhaps the capture of the Burma Road by the Japanese has reduced the quantity of armaments reaching China but that is not important. We shall assume that the aid reaching China from the United States is far greater now than it was prior to Pearl Harbor. Does the quantity of material sent to China by the United States change the character of the Chinese conflict? To ask that question is sufficient to show the absurdity of such a contention.

Even prior to the official declaration of war, U. S. aviators were fighting for China. Let us suppose that now there are many more of them in China. That of course is a more important factor. But no one who is a real

istic Marxist will contend that getting technical help, or even military help through specially trained officers, changes the character of the Chinese conflict. What is important is: who, in the last analysis, is in control of the armed forces and therefore in control of the conflict?

If the Indian nationalists had accepted the Cripps' offer and gone to war against Japan with the Indian armies under the control of British imperialism, India would not be fighting for its independence but for British imperialism. Thus far no one in his right senses can say that it is not the Chinese government who controls the Chinese armies and all other armies in China. Should the situation change and should a sufficient number of American troops be sent to China and take control of the struggle against Japan, then we would have to change our attitude. But this has not happened.

One can say in fact that Chinese nationalist feeling has grown since Pearl Harbor. The knowledge that U. S. imperialism is now depending upon China to carry on the struggle against Japan seems to have strengthened the independent attitude of China. At any rate there is no evidence whatever that China has as yet permitted its struggle to become subordinated to the imperialist war.

Shachtman pokes fun at Comrade Wright's statement in his article on China in the April issue of *Fourth Internationalist* to the effect that it is the independent character of the Chinese struggle that determines our attitude to it. What other general criterion is possible? Naturally in the present imperialist epoch no struggle can be entirely independent of the imperialist forces dominating the world. But the mere fact that there is an imperialist war raging does not automatically create a state of complete dependency and subordination in the case of the war China is waging against Japanese imperialism. The independent character of the Chinese struggle means that in case of a victory over Japan, China will not be under the political yoke of an imperialist oppressor. That U. S. imperialism will gain by a victory over Japan is undoubtedly true, but that is not the question. The important question is whether, as the struggle stands at present, China will be politically (not economically) independent in case of a victory over Japan.

Maxists do not support all colonial or semi-colonial nations participating in a war against an imperialist oppressor. It is only when the war is for their own independence that we support them. On the basis of Shachtman's general proposition, he and those who think like him would not support India if it were to begin a struggle against Great Britain under the leadership of representatives of Indian capitalism. Marxists would support it even though the Indian government would accept aid from the Japanese and German imperialists.

On the other hand if the Indian nationalists were to join Great Britain in the struggle against Japan, we would not support them. Under present conditions such a struggle would not be one for Indian independence, but for the interests of British imperialism.

Marxists do not support the Mexican government in its war against Germany because that war was obviously declared by virtue of the pressure exerted by the United States. In every instance of a colonial nation participating in a war against an imperialist nation Marxists analyze all the factors involved and determine their attitude after such an analysis and not on the basis of some general principle and some logical deductions from that principle.

So then, Shachtman will undoubtedly poke fun at us and say: you will support China against Japan, India against Great Britain and you will have three or four different positions with reference to the war. Correct! We shall analyze the facts in the case of every country and if the facts warrant the conclusion that a particular country is waging a progressive war we shall support the struggle of that country. That will not give the uniformity and purity which Shachtman demands, but it will be strictly in the tradition of Marxism, a tradition tenaciously adhered to by all Fourth Internationalists.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

IN RETURN FOR AN EMPTY PROMISE

But despite the statement of the labor members of the Board, and in spite of Murray's threats to turn down the decision, Murray, after his meeting with Roosevelt, pushed through a unanimous vote at the United Steel Workers Policy Committee session to accept the decision. The statement of the Committee said: "We

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

How To Win The German Workers

Last week's MILITANT printed an interesting letter from an anti-fascist worker in the German underground movement. At least as significant as the information that the underground movement continues to exist and function even in a Germany at war, was the attitude expressed in the concluding paragraph of the letter, which said:

"To act now (against the Nazi regime), means giving support to British imperialism. This we shall never do. As long as the war leaders of the democratic countries will employ fine phrases, rather than fine deeds, we will wait until all armies collapse — and they will collapse! However, as soon as the war will be turned into a war for real freedom, we will act. True, we will not make a revolution, because we cannot; but we will paralyze the Nazi war industry much more effectively than tens of thousands of bombers. For that purpose we are organized, prepared — and waiting."

We expressed our disagreement with the view of the writer; pointed out that a revolutionary struggle against the ruling class in Germany is not a struggle on behalf of British imperialists who are just as opposed to such a struggle as the Nazis; and declared that the German workers should strike a blow against their ruling class as soon as possible.

The view expressed by the author of this letter is quite probably held by a significant section of the anti-fascist workers in Germany at the present time. And the reason for it, we think, is the one briefly referred to in the letter, that is, the fear of the German people that "in the event the war is lost, a second Versailles would emerge."

This fear of a new and worse Versailles, we have persistently pointed out, is the strongest weapon in Hitler's arsenal. The German workers hate Hitler and everything he stands for — but they hesitate to undertake the struggle to overthrow him and to incur the sacrifices that such a struggle entails for fear lest their efforts result only in the kind of post-war world which was forced upon Germany after the overthrow of the Kaiser in 1918.

The potency of this fear is revealed both in that Hitler's propaganda plays up the possibility of a new Versailles more than it does any thing else, as well as by the fact that it confuses and restrains the revolutionary struggle of the German anti-fascist workers against Hitler.

That the propaganda of the British and American ruling classes cannot inspire any confidence in the German anti-fascists is not surprising. These workers know that the "democratic" imperialists intend to partition Germany and police the world for the next hundred years and above all that they will try to drown in blood any attempt to establish a Workers' Government in Germany. The German workers will never trust the Allied capitalists who helped Hitler to obtain power.

Another revealing thing shown by this letter is that the writer and those anti-fascists associated with him, who also do not want to help British

imperialism, did not feel obliged to discard their "waiting" attitude in the interests of aiding the Soviet Union, which had been at war with Germany for six months when the letter was written.

And for this failure to mobilize German anti-fascist action against the Nazis while the Soviet Union is fighting a life and death struggle, the responsibility must be placed on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR.

By its policy, first of white-washing the crimes of Hitlerism during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, and now of endorsing the war aims of the "democratic" imperialists, the Stalinist regime has deprived the Soviet masses of the aid of anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces in Germany who are in the best position to paralyze and destroy the striking power of the Nazi military machine.

Far from trying to win over the German people, the Stalinist bureaucracy is engaged in a drive to inoculate the Soviet masses with hatred — pure, undistilled and indiscriminating — of everything German, the German masses as well as the German ruling class, German culture as well as Nazi ideology. Maurice Hindus' July 9 dispatch to the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* from Kuishev depicts the situation as follows: "I cannot imagine," he says, after reporting evidences of this drive, "any Russian... wanting at the end of the war to spend a single drop of blood or a single Russian snowflake to help any group in Germany to enthrone any kind of new society, however Leftist it might be."

We doubt that Stalin's attempts to destroy internationalism among the Soviet masses have had the success Hindus attributes to them. But that they have important results was shown only last week when Goebbels was able to boast that "the Soviet Union has failed to give any proof to the German soldier of its unity of theory and practice of Bolshevism. None of them will return a Communist from the East." And the very fact that such a drive is underway is damning proof of Stalin's refusal to utilize the anti-Hitler sentiments in Germany for pro-Soviet purposes.

If the Soviet Union is to be saved, if fascism is to be destroyed, the anti-fascist Germans must be won over to revolutionary action as soon as possible. Only the policies of international revolution, only the policies of Lenin which saved the USSR in its infancy — and not imperialist or Stalinist policies — can achieve this task.

The Negro People In 1917 And 1942

The attitude of the Negro people toward the war conducted by the ruling class has undergone an important change in the 25 years since the first world war. This was clearly demonstrated at last week's Los Angeles convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

It cannot be truthfully said that the Negro masses were any more enthusiastic about the war and the sacrifices they were called upon to make in 1917 than they are today.

But the government promised them that it was a "war for democracy" and that they would be granted their democratic rights when the war was won. Whether they believed in these promises we cannot say, but undoubtedly many of them hoped that some of them would be kept.

And their leaders, those who were at the head of the prominent Negro organizations such as the NAACP, counseled them to "close ranks" with the rest of the country against the "common enemy" and to "adjourn" their grievances until after the war. In this way, they said, the Negroes would preserve "national unity" and earn the gratitude of the government and thus open the way for the abolition of Jim Crow.

Whether the Negro masses thought this was the best course or not is not important. What mattered was that without a fighting leadership to guide them, they more or less accepted this policy.

Then came the end of the war and the Negro people found that instead of gratitude they got lynched when they wore army uniforms on the streets of the southern cities; instead of better conditions they were greeted with race riots when they applied for jobs.

Last week's convention of the NAACP showed that the Negro people have not forgotten this lesson. The unmistakable keynote of the convention was voiced in the resolution declaring, "We will not abandon our fight for racial justice during the war, we will not slacken our efforts."

It is not that the middle-class Negro leaders have suddenly become revolutionary opponents of capitalism. These leaders are also "squarely behind the war," as they put it. It is not that they reject the appeals for "national unity" and sacrifices. It is simply that the Negro masses are today so insistent on fighting for their rights now that no Negro leader could dare to get up and say that the Negroes should "adjourn" or "postpone" their fight for equal rights and hope to maintain the slightest influence among the masses.

The Negro masses, like the working class in general, have been forced to accept the war. But their slogan "Now or never"; their desire to gain their rights in spite of the demands for "national unity"; their rallying in great numbers to the March-on-Washington movement which preaches militancy — all these demonstrate their skepticism toward the promises of the ruling class about "democracy" and the "four freedoms" and the "century of the common man," and their complete lack of confidence in that ruling class.

These are important signs for the future. They herald the coming struggles of the workers against the ruling class that offers them only imperialist wars, fascism and racial discrimination. They promise that in these struggles the Negro worker, the most oppressed of them all, can be depended upon to play his full glorious part.

Loss Of Vital Regions Menaces Soviet Defense

(Continued from page 1)

their supplies of meat, grain and other foodstuffs. The importance of the north Caucasus as a food producing area was emphasized in a report issued by the U. S. Department of Agriculture on July 15.

The gravity of Soviet losses in terms of foodstuffs cannot be exaggerated. The loss of the Ukraine alone represented the loss of more than a fifth of Soviet wheat, a third of Soviet barley, a quarter of Soviet corn, and three-quarters of Soviet sugar beet. After the loss of White Russia and Moldavia, the loss of the Caucasian granary would raise the specter of famine over the first workers' state in history.

The Kremlin by no means minimizes the situation in its official warnings that mortal peril confronts the USSR. On July 15 the Stalinist censorship permitted Ralph Parker in Moscow to

cable to the *N. Y. Times* that "Soviet resistance — military, economic and political — should not be overestimated. There is no time to lose."

These words are open only to one interpretation: Stalin concedes victory to Hitler if no "second front" is opened up immediately. But while this "second front" remains in the realms of speculation, the Soviet Union finds itself in dire danger of a second attack by Japan in the East. This is being admitted today even in Moscow.

The bankruptcy of the Stalinist leadership and of the Stalinist policy of depending on the imperialist "democracies" should now be clear even to the blind. The Soviet Union cannot be victoriously defended by such a leadership and such policies.

RED ARMY CAN CONQUER
The Red Army can conquer

only under its true banner, the banner of Socialism. Stalin has deprived it of this banner. His policies have nothing in common with those policies which, under Lenin and Trotsky, led to the establishment of the first workers' state; which defended that new power in the Civil War of 1918-1920 against the combined assault of all the imperialists; and which alone made possible the great economic advances under the Five Year Plans. These Bolshevik policies alone can avert the impending disaster in the USSR. There is still time to issue the Bolshevik call of international solidarity and to summon the workers, above all the workers of Germany, to struggle side by side with the Red Army and the Soviet masses for the overthrow of all imperialism, whether fascist or "democratic," and for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

Scientists Hit Red Cross Jim Crow Policy

By GRACE CARLSON

"The segregation of the blood of white persons from the blood of Negroes in the blood bank is, therefore, not only unscientific but is a grievous affront to the largest minority group in our country." Thus, did the Committee on Race Relations of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists denounce the Jim Crow policy of the American Red Cross in a report published in the July 4

issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

The distinguished scientists who made up this committee include:

Dr. William K. Gregory of the American Museum of Natural History and president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists.

Dr. Harry L. Shapiro, also of the American Museum of Natural History.

Dr. Franz Weidenreich, formerly of Peking Union Medical College and now working at the American Museum of Natural History.

Dr. W. W. Greulich, of Western Reserve University School of Medicine and director of the Brush Foundation.

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should be respected.

The Committee of Physical Anthropologists states flatly, "There is no evidence that the blood of Negroes differs in any significant respect from that of white persons." Evidence was given that successful transfusions of blood from white persons to Negroes or vice versa has been accomplished hundreds of times.

Reference was also made by the committee to the widespread use in modern medical practice of vaccines, serums and other preparations from the blood and glands of horses, rabbits, sheep, etc. The Red Cross has never encouraged any foolish prejudices which patients might have against treatment with substances of an animal origin, it was pointed out.

Knowing that the Red Cross officials were acting under pressure of the Southern Bourbons, the committee also recalled the custom of "better-circumstances families" in the South of using Negro women as wetnurses for their babies. Many of the same substances that were circulating in the blood of the Negro wetnurses were imbibed by the white babies, along with the nutritious elements of the milk, it was observed.

"In view of these facts," the committee stated in its summary, "it seems highly improbable that any soldier or civilian so seriously wounded as to require a blood or plasma transfusion will insist that it come from a person whose skin is no darker than his own."

But the reactionary officials of the American Red Cross will probably not be moved to abandon their Jim Crow policy by even such eminently reasonable and logical arguments as those advanced by this committee of distinguished scientists.

Trade unions throughout the country are being approached by the Red Cross in a search for donors of blood. Progressive trade unionists should point out that by its failure to secure the wholehearted cooperation of the 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States, the American Red Cross has endangered the success of the blood bank.

LESS THAN ONE-HALF OF RED CROSS GOAL REACHED

In a report made recently by Drs. Albert McCowen and Amos Christie, Director and Associate Director, respectively of the Medical and Health Service of the American Red Cross, it was said that of the 1,280,000 units of dried blood plasma which have been requested by the medical departments of the Army and Navy, considerably less than one-half have been collected.

Blood and blood plasma banks in bomb-torn England have saved the lives of thousands of civilians who would otherwise have died of shock, due to injury and loss of blood. British medical scientists have reported. If United States cities were bombed tomorrow, the Red Cross would not be able to furnish adequate supplies of dried blood plasma for civilian casualties. First call on the blood bank comes from the armed forces and the needs of civilians are not considered until the military requirements are met.

Rather than offend the numerically small but politically powerful Southern Bourbons, the Red Cross imposes a shameful blood segregation policy upon potential blood donors among the millions of American Negroes. Thus, even in the face of other hurried preparations for bombing attacks — blackouts, air-raid warden drills, etc. — the basically important task of building up a large reserve of blood plasma for wounded civilians has been jeopardized by Jim Crow.

New Legislation Is A Threat To Very Life Of Unionism

By ARTHUR BURCH

Two Kinds of Anti-Labor Bills

Joseph A. Padway, AFL general counsel, calls attention in the July American Federationist to numerous bills now pending in Congress which if passed would not merely "curtail established rights of wage earners" but would "wipe out the institution of trade unionism by abolishing constitutional rights accorded all other citizens." These bills fall into two categories: those designed to suppress "extortion," "robbery" and "racketeering" and those known as "registration and accounting bills."

It must undoubtedly seem strange to have bills introduced against extortion and racketeering at this late date when laws against these crimes have been on the statute books since time immemorial. The purpose becomes clear, however, when these crimes are redefined in such a manner as to include within their scope the lawful activities of trade unions.

Thus "any threat, force and coercion" whereby a "thing of value" is obtained becomes a crime. If a union asks higher wages, which is of course a "thing of value," to meet rising living costs and advises the boss that it may be forced to resort to strike action to get its just demand; that can be construed as a "threat" to obtain a "thing of value." Strikes are thus virtually outlawed by the subtle wording of these bills.

(The bosses and their henchmen in Congress like to turn everything upside down. For example, every union at one time or another has been accused of violence for daring to defend itself against the violence of the bosses. In reality it is the bosses who resort to coercion when by their control of the means of production they force workers to labor at low wages, with starvation as the only alternative.)

"More Subtle — Equally Dangerous"

Padway designates the "registration and accounting bills" as even "more subtle" and "equally dangerous" and diagnoses the recently-introduced Senate Joint Resolution 148 as typical of all such bills. It begins with a patriotic preamble calling upon union officers to stand by the government in this hour of crisis. Then it calls for the registration of the name and address of the labor union; names and salaries of officers; initiation fee, dues and assessments; number of workers and limitations on membership; date of last election, method of electing officers, vote cast and date of last financial statement. Now all this information is readily available at the union office merely for the asking. The real joker is the next provision of the bill which calls for "such other information as the Secretary of Labor may by regulation prescribe."

Padway correctly calls this registration as "the first step to complete licensing and regulation of labor unions by the government. Today information on dues and initiation fees is compelled; tomorrow the dues and initiation fees will be fixed. Today the qualifications for membership are required to be set forth; tomorrow they will be subscribed by government fiat. Today salaries of officers must be announced to the Department of Labor; tomorrow the Department of Labor or some other governmental agency will announce them to the unions."

Whether it be the Selective Service Act or any other law, the preliminary registration is merely preparation for future action. This interpretation is borne out by the omnibus clause which gives unlimited authority to a public agency to probe into private affairs of the labor unions. If anyone doubts the real aims of such legislation, he need only note who sponsors it — the same reactionary group that has always led the struggle against labor.

The trade unions have already had a sad experience with information gathered by a government agency. The Vinson Committee compiled and published information obtained from labor unions and as the result of wrong emphasis and exaggeration, it was made to appear as if the unions were growing wealthy from the war. A campaign was launched to tax the funds of the unions which are nothing but the accumulated savings of the workers. Its purpose was, obviously, to distract attention from the real profiteers of the war who are behind these bills in Congress.

Gives the Bosses Valuable Information

Like other bills pending, Resolution 148 goes further than mere registration; it also calls for accounting of receipts and disbursements. Ostensibly this is to protect individual union members against arbitrary and illegal expenditures, but in reality it gives the bosses valuable information as to the union's financial ability to withstand the reactionary moves of the employers. At the present time the union member is sufficiently protected against unwarranted expenditures. Most local unions give accounting to their members and the International unions in turn account to the various locals. If any discrepancies exist, the unions make adequate provisions for inspection and the capitalist courts are only too eager to permit inspection of the union books by individual members, indeed often by finks. Only a militant and vigilant union membership, and not the agents of the bosses, will protect the rank and file of the union.

Padway makes much in his article of the fact that the bosses press for this legislation under the false slogan of patriotism. It is obvious to the average intelligent unionist that the bosses seek still greater profits and are out to undermine trade unionism and to destroy those militant forces in the labor movement who want to combat the sinister aims of monopoly capitalism. What has emboldened the bosses are the voluntary sacrifices which the union leaders have persuaded the unions to make under the same slogan of patriotism.

The workers must put an end to further retreats on the part of the labor unions. They must resist all further encroachments of the bosses on the economic field and must form an independent labor party to fight for their rights in the political sphere. In this way they will serve effective notice on the bosses and their henchmen in Washington to keep their hands off the internal affairs of the unions.

David Udell Party Builder

(Two weeks ago THE MILITANT reported the loss at sea of three American Trotskyists, merchant marine seamen whose ship was attacked by a U-boat. Following is a brief biographical note on one of the three, David Udell, by one of his comrades in the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party.)

David Udell joined the Trotskyist movement in Boston 11 years ago. He grew up with our movement and contributed to its growth by his devotion, knowledge and activity. He was one of the builders of the Boston branch — a branch our party has reason to be proud of.

With his usual thoroughness he applied himself to the study of the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and soon became a convincing speaker and agitator. He functioned on every important branch committee — executive, educational, etc. In the 11 years of his party life he was often sent as delegate to party conferences and conventions. Last year when the Boston branch needed an organizer, he gave up a well-paid job to function as organizer as long as his savings lasted. He possessed outstanding organizing abilities. A few years ago he helped to build a food workers union of over 500 members. Just before he left on his last trip, Dave stayed in Boston two weeks longer than he had planned, to help his comrades who were involved in a strike of a CIO union.

No Jimmie Higgins work was too much for him. Street-corner speaking, literature distribution and sale, fund collections, whatever the task — the party had only to name it and Dave was ready to undertake it. A few years back, his voice was often heard at the corner of Washington and Winter Streets, the shopping center of Boston, calling: "Buy THE MILITANT, the only paper which tells the truth about the coming war." Next to him was Coughlin's man selling *Social Justice* and Dave often had to defend with his fists the right to sell our paper.

His lovable, kind character, his sympathy and concern for comrades brought him very close to all our members. They were ready to accept his criticism and advice many times when others were unable to influence them.

Dave was a true builder of Bolshevism. His whole life interest centered in the job of promoting it. He joined the seamen's union to train himself further for organizational work. He died in pursuing his revolutionary duty. We share the deep grief of his loss with his parents, who never interfered with his work and were proud of him, although they did not share his views.

Boston's loss is the party's loss. Dave's name is inscribed on our banner together with the names of the other martyrs of our cause. We do not stop to cry or despair! The best tribute to his memory is to intensify the struggle for which he lived and died.

We pause to express our deep sorrow at the loss of such a friend and comrade, then close our ranks and march on with heavy hearts but resolved to continue his — our work!

Farewell, Dave — we shall not fail you!

A. F. K.