

John L. Lewis  
TELLS HIS PROGRAM

— See page 3 —

# THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

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# UNDECLARED WAR ABOUT TO START

## Newark Workers Vote This Week

Militant Negro and White Unionists Should Vote For Breitman and Bill Bohannan

George Breitman, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for City Commissioner in the Newark election May 13, announced this week that the S.W.P. has also endorsed William E. Bohannan, the only member of the CIO who is a candidate and the only Negro candidate running on a labor platform.

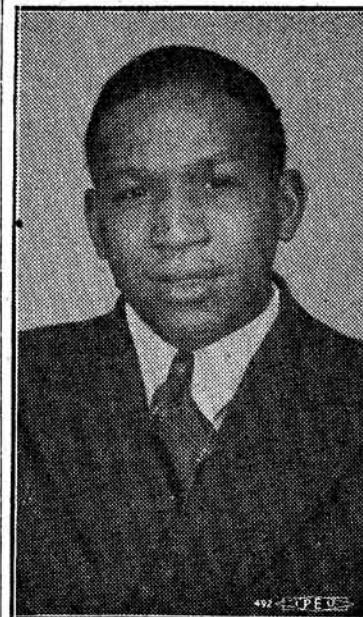
Bohannan, a vigorous fighter against all forms of Jim Crowism, has chosen as his slogan "Make Newark a 100% Union Town." Bohannan feels that this slogan best sums up the immediate needs of all the workers, both colored and white.

In addition Bohannan has sponsored in his election the "Bohannan Equal Rights Bills," which have already been endorsed by the Greater Newark Industrial Union Council of the CIO. These bills would pledge the City Commission to refuse to buy or contract anything from any firms that discriminated against Negroes in their employment policies and would make punishable by fine of from \$500 to \$2,500 the owners of any restaurants, theaters or other public places which were guilty of discrimination because of race or color.

Bohannan has been endorsed by a number of trade unions and Negro organizations and is being backed by a Committee of 100 trade unionists of both the AFL and CIO.

Drawing for places on the voting machines last week put Breitman on the top row, as number A-6, while Bohannan drew A-8. There are 30 candidates for the five places on the City Commission.

Breitman's slogan on the ballot is "Let Labor Control The City Commission."



WILLIAM BOHANNAN



GEORGE BREITMAN

### Police Guards On May Day Didn't Stop This Casualty

LaGuardia's police on May Day carried out their traditional publicity stunt of posting "guards" at St. Patrick's Cathedral, and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. But the churches were in danger on May Day only from the bankers—in Seattle one of the largest Episcopal Churches on the Pacific coast was taken over on May Day by St. Louis bankers who foreclosed on an overdue mortgage of \$266,316. The dispossessed congregation will be forced to hold services next Sunday on the lawn of a city park.

### Draft Board Calls Worker For Striking

#### CIO Union Blasts Union-Busting Move Of Local Draft Body

(The following story is reprinted from the May 3 UE NEWS, organ of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union (CIO).)

HARTFORD, Conn., April 28—Repeated union warnings that the draft apparatus would be used as a strikebreaking agency to introduce forced labor in the United States were borne out last week when the local draft board of West Hartford revoked the deferment of a striking UE member.

The victim of the intended aggression by the draft board is Donald G. Olson, UE striker at the Hanson-Whitney Machine Corp.

The UE is striking there for a union contract and to force the company to reinstate two members fired for union activity.

The local draft board wrote:

"Information has come to this board that you are no longer working for the Hanson-Whitney Machine Co. as you are out on strike."

"The deferment granted you on Jan. 11, 1941, by this board, because you were then engaged in National Defense work, is hereby rescinded, inasmuch as your status has changed, and you are as of this date tentatively placed in Class 1 under the Selective Service Act preparatory to being physically examined preparatory to induction into the army."

Immediate and forceful protests by the union have forced an investigation of the outrage by both state and national draft officials.

The local wired Draft Director Hershey:

"We are informed that there is a widespread plan afoot, sponsored by the West Hartford draft board, to revoke deferment of Hanson-Whitney workers," the union wire said. "Request you inform West Hartford draft board this is misuse of Selective Service Act and will not be tolerated by national government."

State officials at first defended the action of the local board but UE officials in Hartford today expressed the belief that union action and an aroused public opinion will cause national draft authorities to revoke the action.

### Against Jim Crow In War Industries



Members of the National Negro Congress, from Washington and Baltimore, picket the OPM in Washington, D. C., in protest against the government's support of the anti-Negro job discrimination policy of the Glen L. Martin aircraft plant in Baltimore. The corporation has been receiving millions in war orders despite its refusal to hire colored workers.

### FDR Spokesmen Commit Us To It

#### Stifling All Debate On Convoy Issue, They Move Without Consent Of The Masses

The climax to weeks of careful build-up in favor of convoys came Tuesday night, when Secretary of War Stimson radioed a call not merely for convoys but for sending the U.S. Navy into battle against the Axis powers.

And Stimson said this, the White House staff told reporters, with the knowledge and approval of President Roosevelt.

But not with the approval of the people. And not even with the approval of Congress!

Stimson's argument was that, "after the overwhelming response to his (Roosevelt's) appeals which has been made"—that is, Congressional and public approval of Roosevelt's PREVIOUS steps—"shall we now flinch and permit these munitions to be sunk in the Atlantic Ocean?"

What is Stimson saying here? Roosevelt was able to secure public backing for moves "short of war." Now this consent to moves which were supposed to save the country from war is adduced by Stimson as consent for taking the country into war!

During these crucial weeks when Roosevelt and his henchmen have been building up to the point of committing the country to total war, they have moved heaven and earth to prevent any debate on convoys or other further steps into the war.

The Nye and Tobey resolutions came up Wednesday, April 30, in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. By a vote of 13 to 9, Roosevelt's backers—a bi-partisan combination—would not even report the resolutions to the Senate unfavorably for that would have permitted debate. They bottled the resolutions up in the committee.

Why do they fear debate? Their "opponents" for the most part agree with the interventionists on the principle of aid to Britain. The debate between them is limited to what is best for American imperialism. No one in Congress speaks for the interests of the American workers and farmers against the interests of American imperialism. In this sense congressional debate would be little more than a sham battle.

Yet even such a debate cannot be permitted by Roosevelt. For the issue now is nakedly clear. Up to now he has deceived and befooled the people with "aid short of war," his promises that no American boy would fight in foreign lands, his reassuring comment that "convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." But now he proposes just that: convoys and shooting.

And even as distortedly reflected by an "isolationist" Congressman, the case against Roosevelt would be too damning: the lies by which he was re-elected, the lies by which he pushed the country step by step into war, the undemocratic means he employed to do so. Therefore Roosevelt prevents any debate!

This, then, is the "war for democracy," entered into without the democratic will of the people.

As deceitful as the methods employed to drag us into the war is the asserted aim of the war. A "war against fascism" is precisely what it is not. Roosevelt and Churchill, the capitalist rulers of the British and American empires, have no quarrel with fascism. They lived amicably with Hitler for years. They practice racial segregation like he does. The great masses of India and British Africa, the Negroes of the American South, etc., cannot be horrified by Hitler's crimes—they are victims of the same crimes at the hands of American and British "democracy."

This is not a war against fascism. It is a war among the most powerful ruling classes, the stake being domination of the world.

We Trotskyists, like all class-conscious workers everywhere want to see fascism destroyed root and branch, and are ready to fight fascism arms in hand. But this is not our war. On the contrary, if we become pliant tools of the "democratic" imperialists, we would be hastening the advent of fascism in this country.

The real war against fascism requires, first of all, that the imperialists be pushed aside.

The real war against fascism can be waged only under the leadership of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Against a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States, Hitler would stand revealed for what he is—agent of German capitalism. Against a Workers' and Farmers' Government, the German soldiers—workers and peasants—would not fight. And all the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa, conceded their independence and freedom by us, would join the American workers to destroy fascism.

That is our road. That is the war in which we shall willingly fight and die. And in no other.

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

In the offices of the major press associations and newspapers there sits a man whose job it is to add up all man-hours being lost from the war program by the succession of strikes in which workers are asking wage increases as a cushion against rising prices.

With Knudsen, Willkie and all the other spokesmen for the bosses warning us about thirty-day crises and ninety-day crises, they even go so far as to calculate—these little men in the newspaper offices—that the losses in man-hours as a result of these strikes might even make the difference between victory and defeat.

Consequently it was a matter of no small interest to discover in the well-informed Washington column of Arthur Krock in the New York Times, that some of our big industrialists are holding up a cool billion dollars in war contracts. Why? Because they are not yet satisfied that the government will build and GIVE them the plants in which these contracts might be executed.

N. Y. Times, April 30: "Unless the contracts involved are soon put in the works," he writes, "the second stream of armament production will be perilously retarded."

"Perilously retarded." Why then the absence of any public uproar over this perilous situation? Every shavetail Congressman and Administration office boy has been calling for action against strikers—action ranging from flogging to the death penalty. Why have none of these patriotic worthies gone to bat against the big-money manufacturers who refuse to budge a dollar of their own funds until the government gives them ironclad, cash-on-the-line guarantees that when the "emergency" is over the government—i.e., the mass of the people via the road highway of taxation—will stand the whole whack and the profits of the bosses safeguarded against tax inroads.

During the past week or so the financial pages of the newspapers have been filled with dizzy, astronomic figures showing the profits of many big utilities and industrial concerns for the opening quarter of 1941. These profits have been so enormous that the N. Y. Times financial editor felt compelled on May 5 to state apologetically that these earnings "appear to have set a peak which will not be matched in the duration of the war."

The weakness of the Red Army was revealed last year during the Finnish adventure. The real source of the weakness of the Red Army lies in the fatal bureaucratic regime. Stalin's answer—he has no other—was to make Voroshilov the scapegoat. Last May, he removed Voroshilov, by kicking him "upstairs," and appointed a nonentity, Timoshenko, as Commissar of War.

RED ARMY WEAK

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ECONOMIC HAVOC

The defensive capacity of the Soviet Union has been weakened most gravely by the economic havoc created by the Stalinist regime.

The country is in the grip of the most serious economic difficulties since the termination of the Civil War and the introduction of the New Economic Policy (the NEP) in 1921. The Third Five Year Plan has been disrupted since 1938. The Kremlin's own figures show that production in the key industries—iron, steel,

coal—has remained stationary or has declined in recent years despite the investment of colossal sums for expansion. Soviet railway and river transport which collapsed under the burden of military requirements during the Finnish invasion cannot possibly withstand the strain of a major war.

BURDEN OF ARMAMENT

Further unbearable strain has been placed upon industry by the need to divert more and more of the national production into military channels. Although the Soviet Union has not yet been sucked into the armed conflict, almost 70 billions of the 1941 budget have been allotted for the requirements of the Soviet armed forces. This amounts to not less than 40 per cent of the total national produc-

(Continued on Page 5)

# George Novack To Start Tour

Speaks For Socialist Workers Party In  
Cities Between Buffalo And Milwaukee

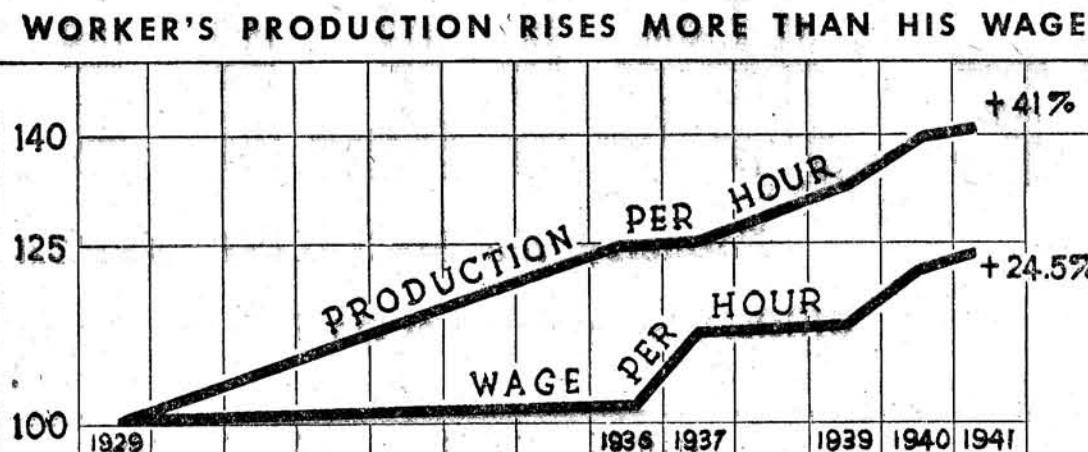
George Novack, well-known writer and journalist, will make a speaking tour under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, beginning Friday, May 16th at Syracuse, and ending Monday, June 1st at Milwaukee.

The subject of Novack's talk will be "Labor's Struggle for Power."

In his talk, Novack will present a graphic, panoramic picture of the most significant events in the life of American labor during the past 11 years. He will draw a balance-sheet of the achievements of the labor movement and set forth the significance of the latest strike wave. In conclusion, he outlines a

program for labor's fight today and points out the road workers must follow, if they are to protect their rights and gains, and to win the power, social security, freedom from want and war they are seeking.

| DATE   | PLACE      |
|--------|------------|
| May 16 | Syracuse   |
| " 17   | Rochester  |
| " 18   | Buffalo    |
| " 20   | Youngstown |
| " 21   | Akron      |
| " 22   | Cleveland  |
| " 24   | Toledo     |
| " 25   | Detroit    |
| " 27   | Flint      |
| " 29   | Chicago    |
| June 1 | Milwaukee  |



This chart, from LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY (AFL), shows how the workers for the last twelve years have been receiving an increasingly smaller share of the things they produce. Production and profits have rapidly outstripped the increase in total wages, paving the way for the next big depression after the war.

## N. Y. May Day Parade Ruined By Lack Of Unity

War-Mongers Sabotage Day Of Labor;  
Stalinists, Pacifists Complete The Job

NEW YORK CITY, May 2—May Day activities were a dramatic reflection of the political situation in the labor movement.

Thanks to their war-mongering leadership, the unions which have for decades been the backbone of May Day parades—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Millinery Workers, the bakers, etc.—did not celebrate May Day at all.

The ostensible excuse given by Hillman and Dubinsky's lieutenants for the failure to celebrate labor's oldest holiday was that the day has been appropriated by Communists and Nazis and could not be celebrated again until the world was once more free. (Incidentally, the Nazis in Berlin did not celebrate May Day this year.)

While the social-patriots—so-called—were thus busy sabotaging May Day, the Stalinists were no less occupied in the same wrecking work.

### NO TRANSPORT WORKERS

The false policy pursued by the Stalinists on the question of May Day was reflected by the fact that the Stalinist-led parade did not include in it the Transport Workers Union (CIO). The absence of the TWU will certainly not be blamed by the Stalinists on the union's leadership.

What happened was that the Stalinists concocted such a monolithic parade that, in the end, it became impossible for the Transport Workers Union to march at a moment when, engaged in a life-and-death battle with LaGuardia, the union needs the support of the whole labor movement.

### THE STALINIST LINE

That the May Day parade was a caricature, confined to Stalinist-controlled organizations marching under pacifist slogans that were indistinguishable in the main from those of the reactionary isolationists, was due solely to the way in which the Stalinists initiated, organized and put over their "United May Day Committee."

That committee extended no invitations to any political parties of the working class except the

gations were small. These marchers not only had to expose themselves as following the Stalinists, but had to defy the ban issued by their officialdom against marching in the parade.

As usual there were the innumerable front groups of the Communist Party masquerading in the parade as "mass organizations," the Latvian organization, the Friends of Nature, and the 12 members of the American Artists, etc. etc.

The Communist Party, marching under its own banner, along with the Young Communist League, centered its slogans around the demand to free Earl Browder, whose imprisonment is opposed by all class-conscious workers.

At its first meeting the committee limited the slogans for the parade to the Stalinist pacifist slogans, thereby providing the social-patriots with an additional pretext for not participating in the parade.

### PACIFIST TRIBE

The theme of the Stalinist parade was "peace" and among the typical slogans were: "No A.E.F.," "No Convoys," "Keep our men out of war," "Washington and London—hands off Ireland," "Why don't the bosses fight their own wars?" "The Yanks are not coming." But HOW the workers can fight their way out of this bloody epoch of war and militarism to peace—that key question remained unanswered by the pacifist slogans.

Although the Stalinists claimed

75,000 marchers, the police reported 18,788 at the mid-point, and 24,000 at the entrance to Union Square where the parade ended. Those who have observed previous parades agreed that this year's demonstration was less than two thirds the size of last year's.

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## Victims of Capitalism



These are typical interned refugees arriving at a concentration camp in France at Rivesaltes from the camp at Argelès-Sur-Mer near the Spanish border. Internment of refugees began not with the Pétain government, but with the "democratic" régime of Daladier, whose infamous treatment of Spanish Loyalist refugees before the present war has not been surpassed by Hitler himself.

## GM Parleys Lag; Action Wanted

### Pressure On Top Union Leaders Is Growing; Workers Want Original Demands To Stand

DETROIT, Mich.—Negotiations between the General Motors Corporation, the United Automobile Workers (CIO) and the National Defense Mediation Board panel brought little results this week.

Local unions grew restive at the lack of results, and began pouring the pressure on in order to force the union leadership to take a militant stand on the union's set of demands.

Committees representing dozens of locals have been crowding the Detroit offices of the International officials, demanding that the UAW bargaining committee speed up the negotiations

pared for the strike, and has begun to send war-orders work into plants where formerly there was none. At Buick in Flint, in a huge plant where there was absolutely no war-orders work, there is now one machine working on rolled steel, which is cut into small pieces, bundled neatly and sent over to the AC plant, where this work was formerly done.

This is the company's move to use Reuther's statement he would "not strike defense work." By this method the company can claim all plants are engaged in war orders.

#### TOP CLIQUE FIGHTS

In the midst of the negotiations, when the greatest solidarity is needed, the UAW Executive Board is bringing out into the open its inner struggles. The backhanded slap at the Ades-Stalinist machine which R. J. Thomas made in his speech in Flint April 20, has been followed by an open declaration of the Reuther-Frankenstein-Thomas bloc. The now open alliance between Reuther and Frankenstein announced a campaign to outlaw from any union posts, elective or appointive, in the international or local unions, "all Communists, Nazis and fascists."

These delegates are undoubtedly going to ask many questions. They will want to know why, for example, the negotiating committee started out to fight for the original demands as drawn up by the GM conference; but on May 1st in the *United Automobile Worker*, listed the demands as follows: "a ten cent wage increase, recognition of the unions established position in the GM plants, extension of the umpire's jurisdiction and powers, standard seniority and grievance provisions, and family coverage under the hospitalization plan."

Where is the union shop clause? It is substituted for by an ambiguously worded phrase. The same goes for the shop steward system, a major demand apparently dropped by the negotiators.

#### RECOGNIZE SMOKE SCREEN

The attempt by Reuther and the negotiating committee to swell into major questions the umpire and hospitalization questions is easily seen through by local union militants, who know very well that the company has no objection to increasing the powers of the umpire, and that the question of revamping the hospitalization plan, although important and necessary, does not rank with the key question of establishing a shop steward system.

The patience of many local union officers is now close to the breaking point. It is known that one whole local union executive board, one of the largest locals in GM, has demanded over and over again that the negotiators call the strike and call it right away. It is very possible if negotiations continue to drag out that some unauthorized actions will break out.

The corporation has already pre-

# So This Is John L. Lewis' Program For This Epoch Of War And Fascism!

## The Leopard Hasn't Changed His Spots Since He Backed Wendell Willkie

By FELIX MORROW

Since the fiasco of his campaign for the election of Wendell Willkie, John L. Lewis' future course has been defined not too clearly. At the CIO convention last November where Philip Murray replaced him as president, Lewis retrieved much of his standing in the eyes of CIO workers by his leadership of the fight against the Hillman proposal to make a capitulatory peace with the AFL bureaucracy. Lewis rose a big notch higher in the opinion of these workers when, during the miners' strike, he condemned the National Mediation Board for demanding that strikers go back to work before the bosses agreed to settlements.

But what would be Lewis' general program for the labor movement for this period of war? Lewis made no move to indicate that at the CIO convention. On the contrary, it was noticeable that he carefully stood aside while Philip Murray expounded as a cure-all the proposal for "industry councils" composed of labor, employers and government representatives which—just how, Murray did not make clear either at the convention or since—would solve the country's major problems. In the four months after the CIO convention Lewis made no public statement on any question.

Was he sulking in his tent? Or was he pondering some bold steps to urge upon the labor movement? Rumor was rife, and the inside-dope columnists assured their readers that Lewis was coming forth under the banner of a real Labor Party. The Stalinists in particular, still hanging on to Lewis' coat-tails—they even found aspects to praise in Lewis' support of Willkie—have recently conducted a whispering campaign in the unions: Lewis would launch the Labor Party, Lewis was breaking with the pro-war Murray, Lewis had meant his criticism of the Mediation Board as, in reality, criticism of Murray and Kennedy for serving on it, etc. etc.

#### LEWIS NAMES HIS PRICE

Well, Lewis has come out of his tent. The man-mountain has labored—and brought forth a mouse. He produced it in his speech at a testimonial dinner to Philip Murray at Harrisburg, Pa., April 30; the text is published in the May 5th CIO News; every worker ought to read it and study it.

The real point of Lewis' speech was sugar-coated by an attack on Knudsen and Hillman. He accurately characterized Knudsen as a man "who has devoted a life time to the baiting of labor," and obviously meant Hillman when he scathingly referred to "so-called representatives of labor in government who squirm in their seats when Knudsen talks..."

But then came the point to which Lewis was leading: "MR. MURRAY WILL BE PROUD TO SUPPLY SOME REAL REPRESENTATIVES (of labor in government.)"

That, in a nutshell, is Lewis' program for the American workers for this epoch of universal war and militarism. "Real" representatives are to be named by the CIO leaders to sit in the Roosevelt government. "This war," said Lewis, "if there is to be a war, cannot be won by baiting labor." In other words, the war is to be conducted with the enthusiastic participation in the government of "real" labor leaders supplied by Murray and Lewis. "Nor do we want to take part in any imperialistic war," said Lewis at another point in his speech; presumably he meant that, if "real" labor leaders were in the service of the government, it would no longer be an imperialist war.

That this is what Lewis meant is indicated by his warm praise for the composition of the British war cabinet as contrasted to the present composition of the American government. Said Lewis:

"The difference between labor in the United States and Britain is that in England today labor is a part of the government; it sits in policy-making positions and has a voice in formulating policies. In the United States, labor is not represented. It has no place in the government or in the cabinet. It has no adequate

Page John L. Lewis!

#### YOUNG STRIKERS CALLED UP

A number of engineering works' apprentices on strike in the North-West of England received calling-up papers yesterday.

These papers will be implemented forthwith, and more are on the way.

"These men will not work in the engineering sheds they must be made to aid the national effort elsewhere," is the official view of the Ministry of Labour.

Evening Standard, April 4, 1941

News Chronicle, April 2, 1941

These are clippings from the London EVENING STANDARD and NEWS CHRONICLE. This is all the news which the "democratic" British government permits to appear about such strikes, giving merely the strikebreaking activities of the government and nothing about the strike itself.

representation in the Office of Production Management or the National Defense Advisory Commission or the War Department."

#### HOW THE BRITISH MODEL WORKS

So Lewis likes the British set-up? We'd like to know how he feels about its consequences. About the British government's legislation outlawing strikes and rendering strikers punishable as saboteurs. The British government's mobilizing strikers into the army as punishment for striking. The outlawry of the British Daily Worker (Lewis' Stalinist admirers, who haven't said a word about this speech of Lewis ought, at the least, to ask him about that!); the conscription of women workers; the failure to keep prices down and profits from rising.

Above all, does Lewis' approval of the composition of the British government mean that he approves of its war aims? Its incredibly inhuman subjugation of the 475 millions of people in India, who have no more rights than the inhabitants of the lands dominated by Hitler? Its outlawry of the labor and peasant movement of Ceylon and British West Africa? Its plainly-illustrated aim of imposing another (even worse) Versailles Treaty on the German masses? All this inevitably flows from the kind of government that England now has.

Labor in "equal" partnership with capital in government—this is the government of England and what Lewis is proposing for this country. This at best—actually Lewis doesn't even ask for equality in such partnership but merely says that "Mr. Murray will be proud to supply some real representatives."

#### WHAT LEWIS' PROGRAM MEANS

Suppose Roosevelt and his Democratic Party (including its poll tax Congressmen) were to accept John L. Lewis' proposal. What, concretely, would happen? Lewis, Murray, Kennedy and their friends would sit in the cabinet, the OPM, the NDAC, the War Department. But who would play the tune to which they would dance? All the legal power would still be in the hands of the three main branches of the government—the Congress, the President and the Supreme Court. The CIO representatives in the government would be merely APPOINTEES of the president, removable by him at any time.

If the crisis of American capitalism becomes serious, Roose-

velt may avail himself of just this proposal of John L. Lewis, appointing labor leaders as so many fig-leaves to cover up the reactionary nature of his regime. Or, to use an even more pertinent figure of speech, Lewis and Murray would in a revolutionary crisis serve Roosevelt as lightning-rods, harmlessly drawing off and burying the rising class consciousness of the workers.

And after the crisis were thus weathered? Then Roosevelt could unceremoniously boot out the door the labor leaders who have served his purpose—and the labor movement would, at best, have to start from the ground up at that time. Far more likely, having failed to take over the governmental power in its entirety during the revolutionary crisis, the labor movement would pay for that failure by being driven down, down into the dust by an "American" fascism or military dictatorship.

This is the dead-end to which John L. Lewis' "new" program would lead us. There is nothing new about it. Just such coalitions between labor leaders and capitalists led to the downfall of the labor movements of Germany, France, Spain, Belgium. For such coalitions weakened, disrupted and discredited the labor movements of those countries and left them easy prey for native reaction and foreign invaders. Lewis is merely travelling in the footsteps of the Blums, Kautskys, Caballeros, who led the European working class to its doom. Like them, Lewis paves the way for a native or foreign Hitler.

#### WHAT LEWIS COVERS UP

Lewis glides over the "detail" that his "real representatives" would be APPOINTEES of Roosevelt. But that is the key to the whole problem. The reactionary nature of such labor-capital coalitions is glaringly revealed by the specific form of the U.S. government; here the "labor representatives" would be appointed by a president and a Congress controlled by the capitalist parties. In Britain the reality that Bevin and the other Laborites are really nothing but appointees of Churchill and the Tory party is covered over by the parliamentary formula of an agreement between Conservative and Labor parties to form the government together. The U.S. form of government has this little virtue—it reveals more crudely the real relationship between a capitalist president and Congress and their appointee labor lackeys.

NO LABOR LEADER SHALL ACCEPT APPOINTMENT BY A CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT. It is this fundamental principle which Lewis' proposed program violates.

Speaking of the Hillmans (without mentioning them), Lewis said in his speech:

"It is true that there are some individuals from labor in the (government) set-up. But they do not represent labor in government; they represent the government in labor. Their business is to chloroform labor so that it will be voiceless and supine and go along with any policy in the interests of those who would make a financial killing in this emergency."

Accurate words—but they also describe, in addition to the present Hillmans, ANYBODY ELSE who would accept appointment by the Roosevelt government. What two or three appointees are doing, would also be done by twenty or thirty appointees. The same process would operate in either case.

#### THE REAL ANSWER: THE LABOR PARTY

We Trotskyists want to see real labor representatives in government. But we mean just that. We want to see labor representatives and not appointees of a capitalist president and Congress. We want to see representatives of the working class who are in government in spite of and against the will of the capitalists. We don't want to see labor leaders serving as labor lackeys of the political agents of the bosses. We want labor's own, freely chosen by labor, without any commitments or "partnership" deals with bosses.

Which means that we want a Labor Party, created by and controlled by the organizations of the working class, launched with a class program. We want a Labor Party militant enough to arouse, not only the trade unionists, but also the unorganized workers, the toiling farmers, the oppressed and dispossessed of city and country. A Labor Party whose candidates will be strictly controlled by the party and under no circumstances ever to be candidates of capitalist parties. Class against class—that is what is going on in the economic field and is long overdue on the political field. It is time to end the company unionism that Lewis and his type have for so long foisted upon the working class in politics!

One representative elected to Congress by such a Labor Party will be of infinitely more value to the working class than a hundred trade union officials appointed to government posts by Roosevelt. He will be a real asset, where the hundred will be liabilities—chloroform, in Lewis' word—on the working class.

It is not at all a question of counting our lone representative's vote as against the many votes of the capitalist Congressmen. The arithmetic of the class struggle operates differently than that—a Labor Party spokesman in Congress will stand up as a tribune of the people, summoning the masses to shout their demands so loud that even the deafest poll-tax Congressman will hear. A Labor Party spokesman will speak, not to the Congress, men, but to the masses, summoning them to struggle in all fields and everywhere—in the economic field and in the armed forces, not merely at the ballot box.

That is why one such spokesman, genuinely representative of the working class, cannot even be spoken of in the same category with the labor lackeys appointed by a capitalist president and Congress.

#### A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

Once the Labor Party would be launched, it would speedily confront the capitalist class as the authoritative representative of the toiling masses—the great majority of the population. Long before the corrupt and manipulable electoral machinery would register more than a fraction of the Labor Party's actual strength, the party would count millions of firm adherents. And they would register their votes in many ways beside the ballot box—they would register them every day wherever workers' interests are involved.

This war is but the extreme expression of the bankruptcy of the capitalist class which Roosevelt represents. For the second time in a generation it can offer us nothing but death and destruction. And after the war it can offer us, at best, a return to the economic crisis of 1929-1940. Those who, at this critical juncture in the history of humanity, would tie the working class to the fate of the capitalist class, would thereby lead it to the fate of the European working class.

Labor must appear in the political arena not as appointed servitors of the ruling class, but as the rightful leaders of the nation. That is what the Labor Party means today.

Its goal is indicated by the needs of the masses—security against war and fascism, against want and hunger. That means that the Labor Party seeks the helm of the ship of society.

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government—that is why we need, why we must have, a Labor Party.

## Glen Martin Aircraft Workers Win Reinstatement After Being Locked Out

BALTIMORE, April 30—Twenty-seven members of the aircraft division of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) were physically ejected from the Glen L. Martin Bomber Company's Middle River plant near here and were locked out after they had led a brief protest stoppage of 130 workers in the drop-hammer department last Wednesday.

But they were reinstated to their jobs Monday, following establishment of a CIO picket-line of the fired men and striking sympathizers before the gates of the plant Thursday and after a union protest to the NLRB.

The company agreed, after a conference with state and federal labor department conciliators, to restore to their jobs all the locked-out union men and those who struck in sympathy with them, and to meet with any departmental grievance committee of two elected workers, including a union committee.

Although all union men were returned to their jobs, the company issued a statement Monday which declared:

"No separate agreement has been made by the company with anyone. There never has been one word of negotiations with John E. O'Connor (federal conciliator) or Judge John Pohlhaus (state conciliator) or any CIO representative.

"There is nothing new in our obligations to hear the grievances of any individual or representative of any group among our employees. That obligation has prevailed for years as part of our comprehensive agreement with all our workers. The only stipulation has been that prescribed procedure must be followed."

#### COMPANY LIES NAILED

The company's assertion that "there is nothing new" in their agreeing to meet with "representatives of any group among our employees" is an outright lie. The company, which employs 16,800 workers at the Middle River

plant and has a backlog of \$450,000 worth of war orders from the United States and Great Britain, has hitherto refused to meet with any union committee, and the management has required that workers take up their own grievances individually with their foremen or the company's Labor Relations Board."

The attempted lock-out of the 27 union men was part of the company's effort to prevent the further growth of the UAW in the plant. The union has been conducting an organizing drive of growing proportions.

The ejection and lock-out of these workers grew out of a brief work stoppage of 130 men of the drop-hammer department in an effort to compel the company to meet with their elected committee and adjust a mounting volume of grievances.

After the company flatly refused to meet the elected committee of five, the men returned to work and the company threw out 27 of the leading strikers.

#### FIGHT POORLY ORGANIZED

While conditions in the plant are among the worst in the aircraft industry and amply justify strike action, this particular stoppage was pulled without adequate preparations. Frank Bender, CIO regional director in Baltimore, called together a few job stewards the night before and the action was decided on without knowledge of most of the union members and job stewards in the plant.

Further confusion was created among the workers and union men, when Bender decided to attempt to secure the reinstatement of the locked-out men by trying to

#### How To Lick The High Cost of Living

On the night after the announcement of the 10-cent an hour wage rise, 2,000 men from the U. S. Steel South Works held a celebration at the Masonic Temple in South Chicago. Johnny Mayrick, Gary organizer, got the biggest hand of the evening when he declared:

"The new contract has a 20-day clause and if the cost of living goes up we're going to re-open that contract and demand higher wages."

That's the way for union men to lick the high cost of living!

The corporation has already pre-

# The Bosses Offensive Against The Workers

## Employers Attacking On Four Fronts

### Anti-strike Laws, Longer Hours Without Overtime Taxes, Government "Borrowing" To Cut Living Standards

The employing class and the federal government within the past two weeks have launched their "Spring Offensive" against American labor.

Primary objectives of this onslaught are to prevent further wage increases in the face of rising prices and to divert a large portion of mass purchasing power into financing the war industry and war program.

The administration vainly hopes to curb price inflation by preventing the workers from spending their wages.

A four-fold drive is under way:

1. To prevent strikes by legislative decree.

2. To increase production by lengthening hours and eliminating overtime pay.

3. To extort billions from wage-earners through increased income taxes on the lowest income brackets and through excise taxes on consumers goods.

4. Sale of government bonds to low wage-earners to siphon off any increases in purchasing power by high pressure methods.

#### 1. ANTI-STRIKE MOVES

Over-riding the strenuous objections of every section of organized labor, the House Rules Committee on April 30 voted out the anti-strike, open-shop Vinson bill and sent it to the House floor where it is expected to be debated this week.

Administration backing is openly being given to the main feature of the bill, which would provide a compulsory 25-day "cooling-off" period between the time of a strike vote and making the vote effective. Following the line of strategy which the MILITANT several weeks ago predicted it would pursue, the Administration has offered its backing to the bill provided it is limited to the one feature of the "cooling-off" period.

This would be offered to organized labor as a "compromise." (The original bill also provides for the open-shop in war industries.) By this "hard cop, soft cop" game, the Administration hopes to get the trade union leadership to accept the principle of limitations upon the right to strike as a "lesser evil" to even harsher anti-labor legislation.

#### 2. LONGER WORK-WEEK

While this direct offensive against wage increases gains headway, Roosevelt last week laid the basis for a drive to increase the working day and working week by his declaration that industry must be put upon a 7-day a week, 24 hour a day system of operation.

Although Roosevelt was extremely careful to add the "belief" that this could be done without lengthening the work week, the leading employers groups have leaped on the President's statement as a springboard to launch their drive to lengthen hours and cut overtime pay.

The National Association of

Manufacturers last Sunday through its executive vice-president, Walter Weisenburger, declared itself for longer working hours, asserting: "We want to help the President achieve the twenty-four-hour, seven-day week because we believe it is necessary, but we must be realistic."

#### 4. VOLUNTARY SAVING

Last week, Roosevelt personally inaugurated the effort to finance the war in part by "borrowing" from the masses of people through sale of government bonds and savings stamps, with the intent of raising \$6,333,000,000 out of diverted purchasing power. This sum is the additional amount over taxes required by the government to pay for its war program in the next fiscal year.

The purpose of this huge loan drive, directed primarily at the low income groups, is stated by John MacCormac in the *New York Times*, May 4, as follows:

"The government is not offering an alternative to private investment, but an alternative to spending. If increased wages were to be spent on consumers' goods, it would mean an increased demand that in the natural order of things would require the manufacturers of such goods to bid against defense manufacturers for labor and raw materials, sending prices up and requiring the imposition of a rigid system of priorities and price controls. If the United States is to make an all-out effort to preserve democracy, it is urged, it cannot carry on business as usual. The production of consumers' goods must be kept stationary or even reduced so that the output of defense equipment can be increased."

The campaign to wipe out the forty-hour week was further given impetus in the statement of President James Kemper of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce before that body's convention in Washington on April 28.

"At the present time," Kemper said, "we have gainfully employed in America 40,000,000 workers accomplishing 80,000,000,000 hours of productive effort. It is estimated that the defense program will require 20,000,000,000 hours, that is 25 per cent of our productive effort. We can't have our cake and eat it too; either every employed person in the country must do, on the average, 25 per cent more work, or we must get along without some of the things we have now."

#### Pre-War Taxes Struck Masses Hardest Also

The proposed new federal taxes, which will fall most heavily on the lowest wage-earners, do not introduce a new policy of taxation in the United States.

Thus the problem that confronted the Treasury experts and members of the House Ways and Means Committee as they sat down to draw up a new tax bill last week was not merely to raise some money. It was also to provide a means whereby a part of the increased purchasing power that is being pumped into the national economy by defense spending:

The total of all taxes collected by local, state and federal governments in 1938, according to U. S. Treasury Department records, was \$14,811,000,000.

73.6 per cent of all these taxes were secured by means of "regressive" types of levies, that is, levies based not on the ability of the individual to pay, but bearing directly on the consumers and wage-earners—excise taxes on commodities, sales taxes, pay roll taxes, customs duties and tariffs. Many of these taxes are "hidden," and are passed on to the consumer in the price of what he buys.

Terming the present tax structure of the country as "neither preconceived nor scientifically imposed, but the result of political pressure and compromise," Dr. H. Dewey Anderson, executive secretary of the Temporary National Economic Committee, wrote a report on taxes in which he declared:

"Even functioning in a peacetime economy, the federal revenue system has proved so regressive in character as to interfere seriously with business recovery, because it so sharply curtails mass purchasing power."

In 1938, the TNEC report shows, "progressive" taxes—graduated income, corporation profits, contributed 72.2 per cent of federal revenues. In 1938, "progressive" federal taxes supplied only 54.4 per cent. In eight years, fed-

### 500 Percent More Income Tax



## "Defense" Bonds Slice At Mass Buying Power

The last war was financed in large part through the so-called Liberty Bond loans. This form of high-pressure "borrowing" raised over \$21,000,000,000, between 1917 and 1919, 30 per cent of which came from families with incomes of less than \$2,000 a year during a period of sky-high price inflation.

Last week Roosevelt, this time prior to the declaration of war, launched a similar campaign as part of the bosses' efforts to get the masses to finance the war.

It is hoped that this campaign will raise some \$6,000,000,000 to \$7,000,000,000 in the next fiscal year.

One of the intents behind this borrowing drive is to build up a reserve of post-war purchasing power.

Of this, the *New York Times*, May 4, states:

"American Telephone and Telegraph Corp. already has announced its intention to adopt this policy and solicit voluntary pay-check deductions and payment of wages partially in bonds and war-savings stamps—there is little doubt that, as the war financing campaign develops, these same methods will be more and more applied."

"Payroll deduction plans proved the best method of raising cash during the 1917-1919 Liberty Loan campaigns. At the height of that drive, there were 'honor factories' where every employee owned a \$50 bond."

"Purchasers are using past savings to buy the defense stamps and bonds so far, bank officials report," writes the *New York Post*, May 3, adding: "That's to be expected at the start, but the big task before the Treasury is to get people to use current earnings for purchases."

"Only in that way can enough money be raised and one of the

prime purposes of the drive—the averting of higher prices for consumer goods and of an inflationary blow-off—be achieved."

#### UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

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"While the hitherto unemployed were to spend their new wages or the already employed their increased wages on consumers' goods instead of laying part of them by in the form of savings bonds and war-savings stamps—there is little doubt that, as the war financing campaign develops, these same methods will be more and more applied."

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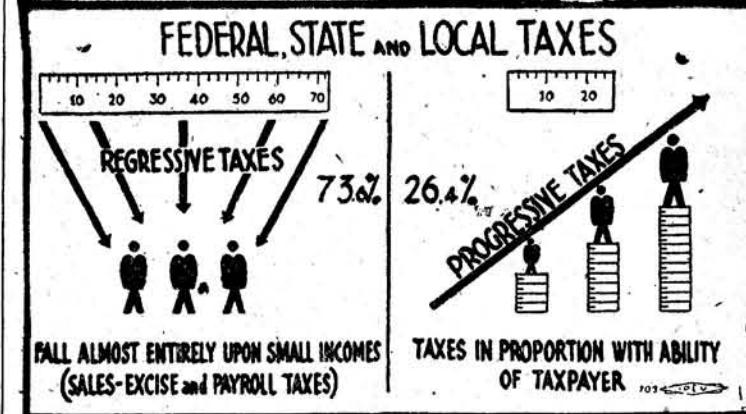
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### How Workers Pay Most Taxes



By 1938, over 73 per cent of all taxes, federal, state and local, were of the "regressive" type, which are of the sales and pay-roll variety and strike directly at the consumer and wage-earner. "Progressive" taxes, based on ability to pay, accounted for only a little more than 26 per cent of all taxes collected. The new proposed federal taxes will intensify "regressive" taxes.

## Workers Facing Huge War Taxes

### Proposed New Federal Levies Strike Directly at Low-Wage Earners

Roosevelt's mechanized military forces will be greased with butter just like Hitler's.

That was made plain when Secretary Morgenthau, presenting the Treasury's plan for raising an additional \$3,500,000,000 in taxes, declared before the House Ways and Means Committee on April 24 that the proposed tax program "will help to mobilize our resources for defense by reducing the amount of money that the public can spend for comparatively less important things."

Three types of taxes are proposed in the Treasury plan, each to secure approximately one-third of the total tax increases. The plan is aimed to hit the workers hardest.

#### SOAK THE POOR

(1.) Sales and excise taxes—levies on consumer purchases—are proposed to raise \$1,233,000,000. These would include additional taxes on cigarettes and tobacco, beer and other liquors, amusements—including a 10% tax on children's movie admissions of 10 cents—and other so-called "luxuries." These are all poor-man taxes.

(2.) Additional direct personal income taxes to raise \$1,521,000,000 are proposed, on a new schedule placing the increases on the lower and middle income groups going increasingly easy on those in the \$50,000 to \$750,000 categories, while entirely exempting from increases all those who "earn" over \$750,000 a year, that is, the ruling bankers and industrialists of the country.

Single wage-earners earning as little as \$800 a year and up to \$2,000 will, in addition to the present income tax which went into effect this year, be required under the new proposal to pay an additional 11 per cent surtax on their taxable income. Those with incomes between \$2,000 and \$2,500 will have a 14 per cent additional surtax slapped on them.

In other words, those whose incomes are already below the comfort and decency level of existence are to have an increase in income taxes of almost 400 per cent, while the Morgans, Fords, Rockefellers and their kind, who make the war profits millions, will be required to make the "equal sacrifices" of — nothing more.

(3.) Less than a third of these new taxes are to be collected by levies on corporation incomes.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury John Sullivan, in outlining the proposed corporation income tax increase, declared:

"In this connection, however, it is important to keep in mind that in the past many financial corporations have received practical exemption from the income tax due to their ownership of tax-exempt securities.

A large volume of these securities is in the form of partially tax-exempt Federal securities.

"At present, approximately \$20,000,000,000 (billions) of such securities are held by corporations."

#### WHERE TAX BURDEN IS

While those with the most ability to pay have thus evaded paying taxes on \$20,000,000,000 of income in the recent past, a report of the Temporary National Economic Committee reveals that the wage-earners and consumers by 1938 were paying 73.6 per cent of all federal, state and local taxes through so-called "regressive taxes,"

gouging of the poor.

#### ROOSEVELT'S HYPOCRISY

Roosevelt last week while his Treasury officials pressed for greater tax burdens on the poor, sent a letter to the Ways and Means Committee stating he was for taxes which would not "make the rich richer and the poor poorer."

The *New York Times*, May 3, stated: "Except for laying down such general principles, the President's letter was vague enough to permit of various interpretations."

That this letter may be the sole action of Roosevelt on the new drastic taxes on the wage-earners was indicated in the further comment of the *Times*, which said:

"In a press conference at the White House recently the President was asked whether he would have a statement to make on taxes, or whether he would send a message to Congress on the subject. He replied that he would have something to say to the public later. Mr. Early (President's secretary) said this evening that the letter to Mr. Doughton represented the execution of this pledge.

*This was taken as an indication that Mr. Roosevelt would have nothing more to say upon the tax program.*

In plain English, Roosevelt lays low while Morgenthau does the gouging of the poor.

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**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

### The Supreme Court Decision

It was extremely disappointing to read the comment of the Negro press on the recent decision of the Supreme Court on the Mitchell case. Most of the press went overboard for it hook, line, and sinker, hailing it as one of the most important decisions since the Civil War.

The *Pittsburgh Courier* went even further than most, spilling the pictures of the eight judges clear across the top of the front page and labeling it "Eight Real Americans... They Rendered Most Momentous Decision Affecting The Race since 1857."

Are the *Courier* editors kidding themselves or do they believe it? The most that could be said for the decision, so far as the great mass of the Negro people goes, was that it was a thin moral victory insofar as the position of the 10 Southern Attorneys-General was rejected.

The decision did not wipe out segregation, in transportation, just as the court's decision on the Gaines case a few years ago did not wipe out segregation in education. That is what is fundamental, and that is just what the court refused to act on.

The Negro press does not do a service to the job of clarifying the struggle for full equality when it prints such twaddle as it did on this case. Indeed, it sounds almost as ridiculous as did Mitchell himself, when he crowed after the announcement of the decision that he wants the world to know that he fought the case single-handed and deserves "the full credit." The only difference is that the Negro press ballyhooed the Jim-Crow Court as the protector of Negro rights, while Mitchell ballyhooed only himself.

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### Pickens Defends British Jim Crow

William Pickens has written another article in an endeavor to swing more Negroes to support of the war to defend British imperialism. His latest article is directed against George Padmore who is now in England. Padmore's article in the March issue of *The Crisis*, "Hitler Makes British Drop Color Bar," has aroused Pickens' ire.

We do not comment on it in order to defend Padmore, because Padmore can only defend himself, but in order to defend the American Negro people against the sly distortions of Pickens.

Pickens' theme, this time, is that in England you will find far less evidence of Jim Crowism than you will find anywhere else except, maybe Honolulu, Hawaii; and that therefore Negroes should throw all their support behind the government's steps to aid England. Once Pickens had made more than 60 lectures all over England, and he claims that "for the Negro, the worst place in England is better than the best place in the United States . . ."

The trick Pickens employs here is to separate the British Isles from the British Empire and to pick out one isolated, very minor aspect of the first to justify all-out, uncritical defense of the second. We are willing to grant, for the sake of argument, the truth of Pickens' observations about racial discrimination in England (although current reports about separate Jim Crow bomb shelters do not jibe with his pretty picture). But is that the decisive question, as Pickens tries to make it appear?

Ask Churchill, and the other imperialists, and they'll answer only too quickly that it is not. Churchill and his class are not fighting to preserve Negro rights in the British Isles, they are fighting to preserve the British EMPIRE, which means the continued exploitation and oppression of hundreds of millions of colored workers and peasants in Africa and India and the West Indies.

Pickens is happy that two years ago in London he "could roam through the whole town, and stop and step into any public place, and eat and drink, and without receiving any discourtesy, could crowd shoulder to shoulder with the thronging English people, without a ripple of displeasure." But when he tries to imply that this is what the British ruling class is fighting for, he knows that he is deceiving his public.

Padmore described how the progress of the war has compelled the British ruling class to temporarily lower some of the color bars against Negroes. The reason was not that they believe in equal rights for Negroes, but that they want to strengthen the imperialist system that keeps the great bulk of Negroes in subjection.

Because for every Negro who might be able to go freely in England, there were and are a thousand Negroes in Africa who can't go where they want, or work where they want, or vote, or belong to a union, or a party, or even an African form of the NAACP.

### NAACP Picket Lines

The NAACP picket lines scheduled to be held throughout the country on April 26 were far from the successful demonstrations against Jim Crowism that they easily could have been.

They were poorly organized, and consequently, not well attended.

This must be a lesson to the leaders of the NAACP, or all their other efforts will also be unavailing. They must pay more attention to involving the Negro masses in the struggle against discrimination. It is necessary and correct to take care of court action, to prepare briefs for Congress, to file telegrams of protest. But unless these actions are backed up by the great bulk of the Negro people (and everyone knows they are more aroused by present day developments than ever before), nothing will come of them.

For more demonstrations involving the masses! For real preparation and organization of such demonstrations to show the real strength of the Negroes!

## British Workers Striking Despite Government Ban

LONDON, England (By Mail)—Much as the Labour "Leaders" in the War Cabinet would like to believe that the working class is solidly behind the imperialist war and that they acquiesce in the repressive measures introduced as a "necessary evil," the figures published in the "Ministry of Labour Gazette," comparing industrial disputes in 1940 and 1939 tell a different tale.

Government legislation has declared strikes illegal, and strikers can be charged with sabotage. In spite of this there were 914 strikes in 1940 involving 300,500 workers as compared with 940 in 1939 involving 337,300 workers.

A comparison of the last 10 years shows that 1937 had the highest number of strikes (1,129);

1939 the second highest (940); and the war year, 1940, the third highest (914).

What is significant, however, is that, in spite of the unusually high number of disputes, the number of working days lost in 1940 were the lowest in a decade — 78,000 compared with 107,000 in

(1) Those mainly affected by

the war — brick, chemicals, engineering, ship-building, iron and steel and other metals, clothing and transport.

(2) Those producing mainly for export — pottery and glass.

Actually, however, although the number of disputes in these fields was greater than in 1939, there were less workers involved.

As the Trade Union bureaucrats frown on all strikes in this "period of national crisis," the leadership of these strikes has devolved on the rank-and-file committees and especially on the Shop Steward movement which, as in the last war, is once more coming to the fore as the leaders of militant struggle.

## 15,000 Apprentices Win Key Strike In Scotland

GLASGOW, Scotland, April 2 (By Mail)—A great strike victory has just been won here by 15,000 apprentices in 184 firms.

The strike started in Kilmarnock on February 28, spread through the Clydeside to Glasgow, and before it was over affected 22 towns in Scotland, including the entire industrial belt and several towns outside it. Thus did the Clydeside maintain its glorious tradition of working class struggle.

The strike was conducted in the teeth of government legislation which has declared strikes illegal and despite the fact that the government has in several instances mobilized strikers into the army as punishment for going on strike.

The young workers won the wage increases for which they had fought, and won them not only for themselves but for every apprentice nationally in the shipbuilding and engineering trades, for the final settlement between the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the employers provided that the apprentice rates thus negotiated cover all apprentices in the country.

**APPRENTICE SYSTEM**

The young workers were fighting against the reactionary consequences of the five-year apprenticeship system under which the boys receive wages utterly incomparable with the work they are doing. Tied down to their apprenticeship, the boys received less wages than new male and female trainees taken on who, in many cases, had to be taught their jobs by the boys.

Delegations of apprentices had been seeking for months without results to secure adjustment of wages. In many cases the employers would not even discuss with them, and spokesmen for the apprentices were fired in several instances.

Victory came because of the militancy and intelligence with which the issue was fought and

the careful preparatory organizational work which was put in before the strike broke.

At the end of January a conference of apprentice delegates met in Glasgow representing most of the big shops on the Clyde and other towns. Systematic work was done, including the setting up of a National Apprenticeship Committee to coordinate the work. While the committee was awaiting a reply to its demands from the North West Federation of Employers, word came that 500 boys were already on strike. Once started the strike spread like wild fire through the Clydeside and, finally, through 22 industrial towns.

Then the employers changed their tune, the government hastily set up a tribunal to deal with the issue and the solid ranks of the strikers brought victory. The raises, although only rising to 60 per cent of the adult rate, represent for some boys increases of more than 100 per cent, and very considerable increases for all apprentices.

## Britain's Copperbelt In Africa Reaps Gold From Exploited Labor

By C. VAN GELDEREN

LONDON, England — War has brought unprecedented prosperity to the British capitalists who have their money invested in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. The demand for copper is unlimited and profits are soaring.

The great wealth which is being produced in the copper belt is being almost wholly drained away by the parasitic shareholders in the City.

According to the conservative "Economist" (March 22nd, 1941):

"In spite of possessing its rich copperfield, the Colony is very poor, even by colonial standards; the land still in the possession of the natives is deteriorating rapidly while large tracts reserved for Europeans lie empty and unused. The strikes and rioting which took place on the copperbelt a year ago must, therefore, be regarded as a symptom of a deeper *malaise* than a wage dispute between the mines and the African workers."

The strikes and disturbances in the copper belt, last year, seriously threatened Britain's war program and the British Government, wise in the ways of dealing with trouble in the colonies, sent out a Commission to investigate. The Commission's report has now been published.

It reveals that the Commission was not altogether satisfied with the conditions of the African workers or the relations between them and the Europeans. During the inquiry, the Africans put forward a claim that their work entitled them to a higher wage than they receive at present. The Commission accepted this contention and recommended that the basic starting wage of 12s (about \$3) a month for surface and 22s (about \$5.50 a month) for underground workers should be raised by 2s (62c).

At the same time we predicted in that same article that the bureaucracy is so rayed by the crisis and so hopelessly divided that the only possible means of stabilizing the regime "lies in the open assumption of power by a single individual who rules as an absolute dictator by virtue of the control of the army and the GPU alone."

Stalin's open assumption of power, however, does not solve the crisis in the Soviet Union any more than a boil coming to a head cures an infection. The crisis will inevitably deepen still further and aggravate the discontent and resistance of the masses to the regime. By coming out into the open, Stalin only makes it possible for this discontent to precipitate itself upon his head as the real criminal responsible for the present unbearable impasse. Stalin's present imposing height only measures the depth of the abyss he is approaching. The monolithic facade he has created will soon split wide open, revealing the enormity of the crisis he is trying to cover up.

Today more than ever before, the defense of the Soviet Union means first and foremost a political revolution that will overthrow Stalin and his regime and restore workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

## Trotsky On The Future Of Hitler's Armies

By LEON TROTSKY

(The following paragraphs are a page in Comrade Trotsky's archives, among the unfinished materials he was working on when he was assassinated August 20, 1940 by Stalin's GPU.)

Hitler's soldiers are German workers and peasants. After the betrayal of the social democracy and of the Comintern, these workers and peasants in large numbers succumbed to the fumes of chauvinism, thanks to the unprecedented military victories. But the reality of class relations is stronger than chauvinist intoxication.

The armies of occupation must live side by side with the conquered peoples; they must observe the impoverishment and despair of the toiling masses; they must observe the latter's attempts at resistance and protest, at first muffled and then more and more open and bold.

On the other hand, the German military and bureaucratic caste, after a series of victories and robberies of Europe, will rise still higher above the people, will flaunt more and more its powers, its privileges, and become demoralized like every caste of upstarts.

The German soldiers, that is, the workers and peasants, will in the majority of cases have far more sympathy for the vanquished peoples than for their own ruling caste. The necessity to act at every step in the capacity of "pacifiers" and oppressors will swiftly disintegrate the armies of occupation, infecting them with a revolutionary spirit.

## Stalin Is Now Groping Around For A New Line

By JACK WEBER

On the eve of the War, Stalin and Blum, the Comintern and the Second International, were in a "People's Front," with each other and with the Franco-Soviet pact, Stalin had placed the Third International at the service of Anglo-French imperialism. The Second International was already in that service.

However, Stalin suddenly switched at the very outbreak of the Second World War, assumed a position of "neutrality" and withdrew the Comintern from its support of "democratic" as against "fascist" imperialism. Relying on the proverbial shortness of memory of mankind, Stalin tried to lay the entire blame for war-mongering on the Second International and virtuously broke collaboration with it.

But if the war-mongering of the Second International and the actual development of the war gave that already bankrupt organization the final *coup de grace*, the cynical and perfidious actions of Stalin alienated the entire world proletariat from the Soviet Union. This is particularly true of the European workers who suffer directly the full consequences of the victories of Hitler.

More than ever before Stalin needs working class forces outside the Soviet Union which he can use for his foreign diplomacy as pawns in the game of bargaining. With each fascist victory the isolation of the Soviet Union grows more menacing to its existence. Stalin would like to be able to scare Hitler by means of the working class of Europe, so as to prevent his turning on Russia. But bluff alone will not do in this game. The sudden appearance of the German Communist Youth manifesto in the Swedish Communist organ, calling for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war in Germany, was intended not so much for bluffing Hitler, as for fooling the working class. Stalin thinks he can once more rally the revolutionary workers under his banner with this bait.

### Stalin's New Line in France

In France, the Stalinists have started systematic propaganda to win over the social democratic workers. How is this to be done, under the chaotic conditions and the military rule of Hitler? Why, by the revival of the old Third Period policy of the united front—from below! The *Communist International* for October 1940 tells us:

"The bolts that kept the masses riveted to the bourgeois regime (that is, the Social Democratic parties) have been broken and the social democratic masses are now so situated that the question of what is to be done becomes ever more urgent with them . . . At this point the Communists in a comradely way address their Social Democratic class brothers to tell them that there is only one way out of the situation to which their leaders have brought them—the formation of a united front from below."

What is the purpose of this move? It has two purposes, both related to each other. In France the bourgeois regime lies in ruins. Only the forces of Hitler prevent its complete collapse. Only the German military dictatorship, and not that of the senile Pétain, keeps the workers in check. What will happen later? A real revolution would be as menacing to Stalin as to Hitler. Stalin would like to be able to control any movement among the workers so as to steer it in accordance with his own reactionary interests. Above all he is afraid, and with the best of cause, that the French workers will be polarized around the Fourth International. Hence will use the entire resources of the powerful Soviet bureaucracy to gain control of the French movement.

What would Stalin do with such control if once it could be achieved? His real purpose would be to demonstrate his usefulness to the bourgeoisie and to Hitler once more. But if worst comes to worst and he must play a last card, then Stalin would not be averse to an adventure in France to divert attention away from Russia, or to force the imperialists to make peace and to leave Russia alone. We are told in another article in the *Communist International* that social democracy "wants to force the masses to accept but one alternative, the victory of either one or the other imperialism, as if the world contained only imperialists and not also peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings, that can rise up in arms to put an end to the war in their own way and in their own interests."

The Stalinists cry everywhere "Stop the War!" The Russian proletariat and the peasants stopped the last war by resorting to revolution. Short of revolution there can be no such thing as a "people's" peace for which the Stalinists clamor. In reality they want a negotiated peace on any terms so that the war will stop—or so they hope—before Russia is dragged into it. Whoever takes seriously the idea that the Stalinists could or would prepare the working class for revolution, or could or would lead a really revolutionary struggle against imperialism, has learned nothing from the terrible defeats brought on the workers by Stalinism. But that Stalin, as a last desperate measure might try an adventure against Hitler—that is not only not excluded, but is a distinct possibility.

\* \* \*

### "DEMOCRACY" IS SAVED!

From the New York Times, May 7:  
"QUEBEC, Que., May 6 (Canadian Press)—Any person who expresses a belief that Germany may win the war is guilty of violating the Defense of Canada Regulations, regardless of the spirit in which the remark was made, Judge Thomas Tremblay said today in a Court of Sessions Judgement."

The task of the 18th Party

# THE MILITANT

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## PROGRAM FOR TODAY'S FIGHT

1. No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.

2. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government cops.

3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against 'law and order committees,' and all other anti-labor bands.

4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.

5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.

6. Independent working class political action. Build an Independent Labor Party.

7. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.

8. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

## Where Taxes Belong

Who's going to pay for this war?

The American Bankers Association has a swell answer—for the bankers.

W. Randolph Burgess, vice chairman of Morgan's National City Bank of New York, gave this answer in his report, as head of the Association's Economic Policy Commission, to the meeting of the Association's executive council on April 29.

Amid the approving nods of his financial colleagues, Burgess declared:

"... Too high tax rates on corporations tend to weaken the incentive for efficiency and initiative... The capacity of business to adjust itself to post-war conditions will depend partly on its putting some fat back on its bones in this period. Similarly, too high rates for taxes on individuals kill off initiative and stimulus to take the risks which are necessary both for defense and the after-war readjustments."

Burgess added:

"With these reservations, taxes must be increased; the increases should include means for absorbing part of the widespread buying power created by the defense program, and at the same time making all the people tax-conscious."

That's plain enough! According to the bankers, the war will be paid for out of the "widespread buying power." It will be financed, in other words, out of the wages of the workers.

Along this line the bankers, the industrialists, the Congressmen, the Treasury officials are cooking up a tax plan in Congress to raise an additional \$3½ billion. Their plan is as simple as ABC. They propose to shove their sticky paws deeper into the workers' pockets. They're going to filch a billion or so out of the workers' right pockets in increased income taxes on wages as low as \$800 a year. Then they intend to cut holes in the left pockets of the workers so that the workers can drop another billion or two "painless" along the waysides for easy pickings, in the form of "hidden" taxes—excise and sales levies.

Yes, indeed, the bankers' plan is as simple as ABC. Rob the workers to pay for the bankers' war!

The bankers' plan must be stopped.

LET THOSE WHO PROFIT FROM THE WAR PAY FOR THE WAR!

We'll show Morganthau how to collect his \$3½ billion more in taxes all in one nice juicy slice—and without a wince or a murmur from the masses.

Last year, before the all-out war spending, corporation profits, after all taxes were paid, totalled more than \$5 billion (admitted). In the first quarter of this year, average corporation profits increased almost 20 per cent over last year. Total admitted profits this year will thus undoubtedly mount to at least \$7 billion.

Just take one-half of these corporation profits

for 1941 and the government will meet its increased tax schedule. The handful of corporation owners will still have \$3½ billion in profits to keep their yachts in repair.

If the war demands still more taxes—as it will—we can suggest some further substantial sources of federal revenue.

Piled up in the corporation treasuries and in the banks are billions in unused capital reserves. Instead of "putting some fat on its bones," let's slice this useless fat from Big Business' belly.

The bosses don't like our solution to the tax problem? Well, the workers don't like the bosses' solution either! Only—there's a helluva lot more workers than bosses!

As a matter of fact, our tax program is too generous toward the bosses. Why should they be permitted to coin any profits at all out of the blood and misery of the workers who must do the fighting and dying in the war?

We'd like to relieve the bosses altogether of any further worries over taxes.

LET THE GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATE THE WAR INDUSTRIES AND PLACE THEM UNDER THE CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT OF THE WORKERS!

Production can be organized by the workers so that all existing plant capacity is in operation. The nine to ten million unemployed can be put to work producing goods in the 20,000 or so American plants which are today working far under capacity because most of the war orders have been monopolized by a handful of big corporations.

There'll be plenty of goods for the workers to buy then. There'll be plenty of guns, tanks and fighting planes to handle the fascists, both at home and abroad.

The millionaires won't like this? Ah, but there won't be millionaires to raise objections after our program goes into effect.

## What Iraq Means

If the English workers need an object lesson of the dangers facing them in their struggle against Hitler, the situation in Iraq is that object lesson.

So long as the fight against Hitler is waged under the leadership of the British imperialists, so long will the hundreds of millions of colonial people ruled by the British imperialists not only look with indifference upon the efforts of Great Britain to avoid defeat at the hands of Germany, but will actually look forward to such a defeat.

For the colonial peoples a defeat of British imperialism means a chance for national independence. The main enemy to the colonial masses is the enemy they are immediately confronted with and the defeat of that enemy is what they seek.

Each time a subject people of Great Britain sees a chance to take advantage of the difficulties confronting British imperialism, that people will surely revolt. They certainly ought to do so and they deserve the support of the workers of all countries including the workers of England. A colonial or semi-colonial people fighting for independence against an imperialist master is conducting a progressive war and deserves the support of every worker.

If it is true that the revolt in Iraq can be attributed to Nazi influence, the English workers must ask themselves why Nazi influence can have such power. Is it conceivable that a clique friendly to the Nazis could take power against the active will of the great masses of people? If it is true that Nazi agents are behind the revolt against British imperialism, it can be explained only by the fact that the masses are so incensed at British rule that they are indifferent to the character of the people behind the revolt.

Liberals and social democrats can argue all they please about the relative merits of democratic imperialism as against fascist imperialism. But the peoples subjected to the rules of British democratic imperialism are not greatly influenced by these arguments. They know their immediate enemy and they would like to get rid of him.

From the very beginning of the war our party has pointed out that the hundreds of millions of colonial peoples cannot be expected to struggle against Hitler under the leadership of British imperialists. If the English workers take control of the struggle against Hitler by establishing a Workers' government in England and granting complete independence to all the colonial peoples, they will immediately obtain the enthusiastic cooperation and support of these colonial peoples. Hitler would come up against a stone wall in his attempts to arouse the Indians, the Arabs, the Africans against an England ruled by the workers.

The danger for the English workers is very great but they still have a chance to stop and utterly rout Hitler by getting rid of the British imperialists and taking the control of their country into their own hands.

## Why Cops Get High Pay

The New York Post, in a recent editorial, attempts to convince the 27,000 subway worker members of the Transport Workers Union that they'd be better off under civil service without the union. Example: Look at the cops, says the Post, look at the pay they're getting without a militant union.

We'd like to point out that if it's not their own union which has brought the cops such high pay, the existence of all the other unions has had something—a great deal—to do with it.

Witness: Police Commissioner Valentine's "pep" talk last Sunday to 2500 New York cops to be "prepared" if a subway strike comes this June. The bosses are always willing to give a few thousand cops higher pay so that they can be used against the unions.

# The Soviet Union Is In More Danger Than Ever

## Hitler Is Now Within Striking Distance of the Ukraine; And All

Stalin Can Think of Is "Peace"—And A New Hitler Agreement

With each passing day bringing more victories to Hitler, the danger to the Soviet Union becomes ever greater. If the workers in the Soviet Union, deprived by Stalin of accurate information and the right to think and speak independently, are unaware of the danger to their country, surely the workers of countries where information is still available understand the meaning of Hitler's victories so far as the safety of the Soviet Union is concerned.

We do not have to accept all the rumors set into motion by

order to attempt a solution of his economic problems.

### STALIN'S MOVES—ARE THEY MERE CAMOUFLAGE?

It has been clear to everyone that Stalin is aware of the danger that Hitler represents. He has made enough open although very cautious moves to indicate his extreme anxiety. Are these moves made with the purpose of confusing the statesmen of England and the United States, leading them into vain hopes of a possible shift on his part to the democracies? It is true that some of his moves have had that effect but to attribute them to an intention on Stalin's part simply to fool Churchill and Roosevelt is that were his purpose he would not to take Stalin seriously. If follow a more consistent line, since one must also assume on that hypothesis that he follows such a course with the connivance of Hitler.

Beyond question Hitler would prefer to settle accounts with the British Empire. Were he to succeed in gaining a decisive victory against England he would then turn his attention to the Soviet Union with the feeling that this is a minor problem. But his efforts at invading England have failed and he is turning his attention to the Mediterranean and to the Middle East.

Should he succeed in gaining control of that section his oil problem will be solved but not his food problem. The Ukraine would become more necessary than ever to solve that problem. And his armies would practically surround the Soviet Union.

Should he fail to drive the British out of the Mediterranean and the Near and Middle East he would be under a still greater necessity to utilize the resources of the Soviet Union.

No one can predict the time, the occasion and the method of the future campaign Hitler will launch against the Soviet Union. One dare not ignore, however, the hundreds of thousands of troops Hitler has stationed at the Soviet border and the pressing need Hitler has to seize the resources of the Soviet Union in

During the last week an announcement was made that it was prohibited to ship through the Soviet Union any arms, munitions or explosives. In *Pravda* a report was published that 12,000 German motorized troops had been landed in Finland. The actual effect of the ban on arms shipments may be nothing at all. The truth of the report about the landing of German troops in Finland can be questioned. What is significant is that the ban on arms shipments was officially announced and the report on the landing of troops was published in *Pravda*.

Why should these things have been given publicity at this time, and why should the Swedish Communist press take such pains to acquaint foreign correspondents with the fact that the German Communist Party issued a May 1st Manifesto calling for

defeatism in Germany?

It is hardly possible that Stalin

is preparing to attack Hitler. These moves are too minor to indicate such an important purpose. And, besides, Stalin still clings to his fundamental aim of avoiding a major conflict.

### STALIN SEEKS A NEW AGREEMENT WITH HITLER

The best explanation seems to be that he is using these indirect methods to tell Hitler that he wants to arrive at some agreement. And it is quite likely that Hitler will be willing to enter into another agreement with Stalin. What kind of an agreement?

Perhaps with reference to joint occupation of the Dardanelles; perhaps with reference to a possible division of territory to be taken away from the control of Britain in the Middle East—Iraq and Iran. Hitler might get the right to send his experts into the Soviet Union for the purpose of increasing production and thus help Germany.

Whereas it is impossible to predict the exact nature of any future agreement between Stalin and Hitler, it is certain that so long as Hitler continues on his victorious march Stalin will do his best to come to an agreement with Hitler who, as the representative of the dominant power in Europe, can decide exactly what to offer Stalin, if he will offer anything.

It must not be forgotten that in case of a prolonged war Hitler, by attacking the Soviet Union, can cause all the reactionaries in England and the United States to clamor for a negotiated peace with Hitler on the ground that he is the savior of the capitalist world from Bolshevism.

Through Timoshenko, one of his lieutenants, Stalin on May 1st pleaded for peace throughout the world. He did not indicate the nature of the peace that he wants. For him peace would be the best possible situation even though it meant slavery under Hitler's regime for millions of people.

But peace is something that he is hardly likely to get. Neither Hitler, anxious to destroy the Soviet Union nor the revolutionary working class anxious to save the Soviet Union will give him peace.

# Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

### The Stalinists Ignore Fascism

In this column last week it was pointed out that both the Stalinists and the group behind Lindbergh, for different reasons to be sure, completely ignore, in their anti-war propaganda, the question that agitates the minds of millions of workers. This is the question of what to do about the danger of fascism represented, as far as these millions of workers are concerned, by a possible victory of Hitler.

If there is any additional evidence to prove that the Stalinist leadership side-steps this question it can be found in the May Day Manifesto published in the *Daily Worker*. In this lengthy document this question is not even mentioned, let alone discussed. It is hardly believable but it is the truth that, at this time when the danger of fascism looms large in the minds of the workers, the word itself occurs in the manifesto only once. And then very casually and with reference to some acts of Roosevelt.

As against the Lindbergh group and the Stalinists who ignore the question of fascism, the pro-war New Dealers led by Roosevelt, and the anti-war Socialist Workers Party never for a moment leave the question of fascism out of consideration. For altogether different reasons it nevertheless remains a fact that in the propaganda of the Rooseveltians as well as in our propaganda the problem of the relationship of fascism to the war plays a tremendously important role.

### Roosevelt's Use of the Fascist Menace

Roosevelt and the New Dealers, including the Social-Democrats, utilize the fear the workers have of fascism in order to tie the working masses to their war efforts. All the forces clamoring for war play it up as a war for democracy against fascism. Some are absolutely cynical and understand very well that fascism has nothing to do with the basic causes of this war and they know that if the United States goes into the actual fighting it will not do so in order to defeat fascism but to protect its imperialist interests. It would be naïve to believe that the reactionary Democrats of the South and the reactionary Republicans of the North are interested in democracy.

A great many other people, it must be admitted, are absolutely sincere in considering this war as one for democracy and therefore in advocating American participation in it. The sincerity of some and in sincerity of others have little or nothing to do with the question. The fact remains that only, by picturing this war as one against fascism is the government able to obtain the support of the masses for its war efforts. How else could the support of the masses be obtained?

It is undoubtedly true that the vast majority of the English workers support Churchill because they believe that they are fighting for democracy against fascism. The stubborn courage of the English workers in going through the hellfire of constant bombing can be explained only on the assumption that they are willing to fight to the death against a fascist victory. The leaders of their organizations have not shown them any way to fight fascism other than by supporting Churchill.

When Roosevelt will decide to commence actual fighting he will use the same methods used by the ruling group in England to obtain the willing cooperation of the working masses. He has already placed trade union leaders in governmental boards and he will do it to a greater extent when actual shooting will start. It is to the trade union leadership that he will assign the greatest responsibility for convincing the workers that this is a war against fascism.

### Our Program Against Fascism

Our party, in its own way, constantly stresses the connection between fascism and the war. In the first place we emphasize over and over again that this is not a war for democracy against fascism and that Roosevelt, in dragging us into the war, is not doing so because he fears fascism but to defend and extend the interests of American capitalism. The policy of aiding Britain "short of war" or by means of war does not have the altruistic purpose of defending British democracy but of defeating the most dangerous imperialist rival of American capitalism.

How often have we said it, and we shall continue to repeat it, that fascism is a product of the capitalist system and even if the capitalist democracies should win, fascism would not be destroyed and the danger of fascism would be just as great if not greater than it is at present.

In the second place, we take into consideration the legitimate fear of the workers of a possible victory of Hitler and all that he stands for. Opposition to the imperialist war is absolutely imperative for every Marxist, but he who refuses to take into consideration the fear the workers have of fascism and all that it means and does not adapt his agitation and propaganda to that fact, is not a Marxist but a sectarian.

Unlike the Stalinists we are not at all afraid to tackle that problem because we have the answer to the question that is troubling the minds of the workers, the question of how to defeat fascism. The sum and substance of our program to defeat fascism here and abroad is the socialist revolution. Only Workers' and Farmers' government can wage a successful war against fascism.

To sum up:

1. The group behind Lindbergh ignores the problem of fascism because it sympathizes with and has strong tendencies towards fascism.

2. The Stalinist leadership ignores the problem because it has no revolutionary program to solve it.

3. Roosevelt and his followers constantly emphasize the problem in order to tie the workers to the war efforts of American imperialism.

4. Our party brings the problem to the fore by stressing the necessity for the workers to take over governmental power.

Between us and every other group there is the vast gulf existing between those who support capitalism and those who want to destroy it and thus destroy fascism.

### MEMBERS BACK STRIKERS

Curran also claimed that the striking engineers did not have the backing of their union or the other engineers on the Export line. This claim is completely fake, since not