

For A Rising

Scale Of Wages

THE MILITANT

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On The War Fronts

U. S. War Entry May Start With Martinique

Vichy's Moves May Hasten Roosevelt's Plan To Take Over The French Colony

Roosevelt and Churchill suffered a serious diplomatic reverse when the Vichy government moved towards closer "collaboration" with Hitler. The real extent of the collaboration has not yet been revealed. It can be assumed, however, that Hitler's pressure has succeeded in completely tying Vichy to his "new order".

What motivated the Vichy rulers in taking a step which they knew would surely bring them into collision with British and American imperialism? It is quite true that these people are all in favor of fascism, but prior to the French defeat they were perfectly willing to line up with Britain and the United States. Besides the pressure of Hitler, the only valid explanation is that the French ruling class is convinced that Hitler will come out victorious and that it therefore must look to him in order to save some part of its empire.

Another important factor in the calculations of the Vichy people is the feeling that they can best keep the French workers in subjection with the help of Hitler.

An immediate result of the agreement was the granting of permission for Nazi planes to land in Syria on the way to help Iraq government fighting against British armies. The British did not hesitate to bomb the Syrian airfields and the probability of a real struggle between French and British forces is becoming ever more serious.

THE HEMISPHERE MOVES

Another result was the appeal of Roosevelt to the French people not to follow their government in the policy of collaboration with Hitler. The administration here is worried most of all by the danger of Hitler's gaining control of the French possessions in the Western Hemisphere and of Dakar in French West Africa, a port that is only about 1800 miles from Brazil.

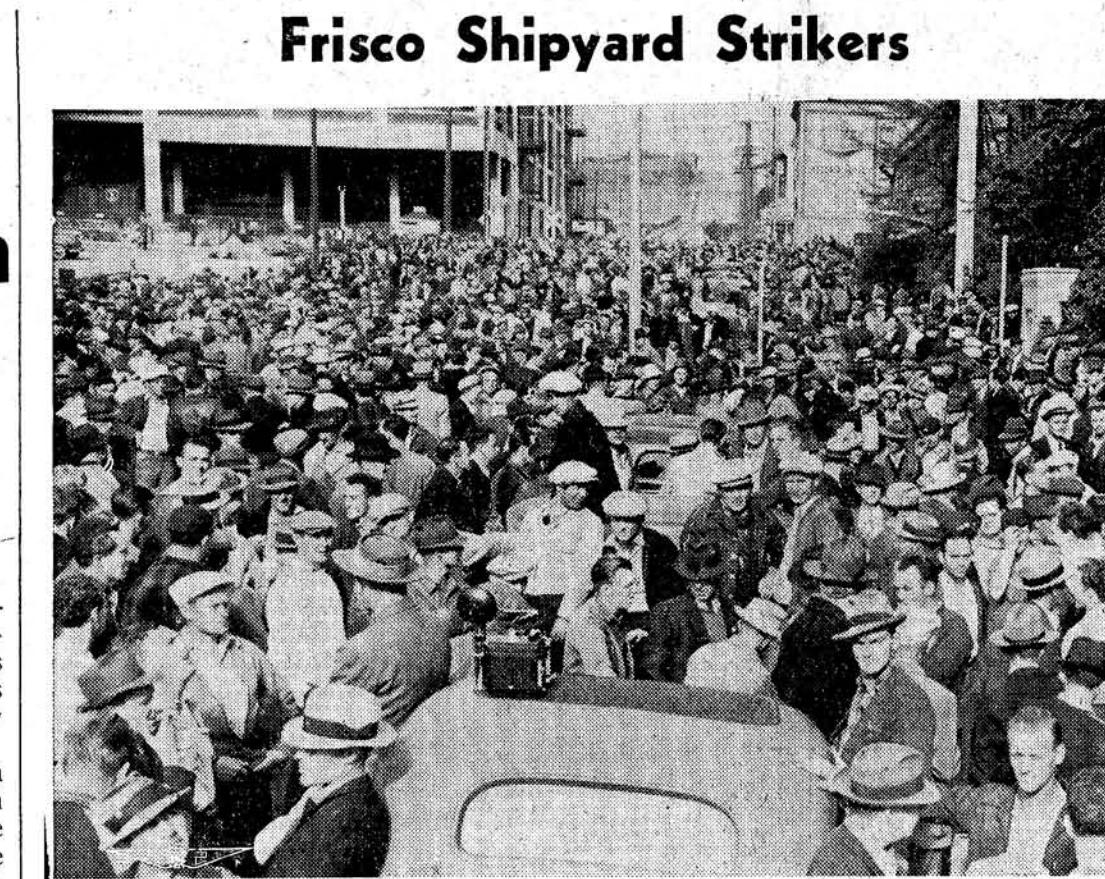
The champions of democracy are now talking about seizing Martinique, the Azores, Dakar—all of course for the purpose of saving democracy in South America. The Western Hemisphere has now moved to Africa.

We have not heard any suggestions from any of the democrats that the people of Dakar and Martinique be given a chance for their complete independence. The Vichy government, that is, Hitler, threatens to oppose with force any attempt to seize part of its Empire. The democratic imperialists are thus faced with the dilemma of not seizing French possessions and run the danger of having Hitler gain control of them, or else seizing them and having Vichy join Hitler and add considerably to his strength.

Indications are that Roosevelt will not hesitate to act if he thinks that action is necessary. In all probability Martinique will be seized first because he will have less opposition to such a move. This would probably be as good a way as any to get into the actual fighting. The problem for Roosevelt is to start the fighting under circumstances where there will be least opposition. It is best for his purposes to start in the Western Hemisphere or against Japan.

"FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

Once more the American people will be exhorted to guard the freedom of the seas. Many presidents before Roosevelt used that slogan for the purpose of justifying a war and there is no reason why Roosevelt should not take it out of the closet where it was placed by the neutrality law of 1939. By that law American ships had been barred from entering



Frisco Shipyard Strikers

Strikers and union sympathizers are seen massed before the Bethlehem Steel shipbuilding plant, key shipyard of 11 San Francisco yards which have been closed down by a joint strike of 1200 AFL and 900 CIO machinists. The strikers have turned thumbs down on a government-sponsored "master contract" which attempts to "freeze" wages in the West Coast shipbuilding industry at below prevailing rates.

Government Attacks Frisco Shipyard Strikers

Government Officials Take Lead In Attempts To Force Workers To Abide By Phony Agreement Which Strikers Had Rejected

SAN FRANCISCO, May 18—The ten day-old machinist strike in eleven Bay Area shipyards is being assaulted by an unholy alliance of government, bosses and the AFL top leaders. The next few days will tell the story. If Governor Olson fails to cajole the machinists back to work at a big mass meeting scheduled Wednesday at the Civic Auditorium, an all-out blitzkrieg will probably be made by local, state and federal cops and the U.S. Navy to smash the picket line, break the strike and force the machinists back to work.

1800 machinists, members of Lodge 68 of the AFL International Ass'n of Machinists in San Francisco, and of CIO Machinists Local 1304 in Oakland, are striking for an increase of

Trotskyists Get 1,352 Votes In Newark Poll

NEWARK, N. J.—In the bitterly-contested city election here last week, 1352 votes were cast for George Breitman, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and his platform which stressed the necessity of forming a labor party. This was slightly more than 1% of the entire vote recorded.

The other candidate endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, William E. Bohannan, Negro trade unionist, whose slogan was "Make Newark a 100% Union Town," got a total of 1338 votes.

The last minute-efforts of the Ellenstein administration to pose the issue, as "the common people vs. the vested interests" did not save the day for him.

As Breitman had pointed out again and again, the failure of the so-called friends of labor in City Hall to propose a tax program which would relieve the burden on the small taxpayer, at the same time that it provided the necessary appropriations for relief, schools, hospitalization, etc., drove the middle class voters into the hands of the big business Byrne ticket which was able to

disclaim responsibility for the tax rate and to make all kinds of promises about lowering the city budget.

As a result, Ellenstein and Co. were unable even to get their usual vote among the Jewish home-owners.

It is interesting to note the results of the vote cast for Lawrence Mahan, candidate of the Communist Party. He received 1398 votes, or 46 more than the Trotskyist candidate.

While neither of these votes will strike the uninformed reader as being very significant, those who are acquainted with the strength of the two parties and their activities over a period of many years, found the closeness of the vote an important indica-

tion of the trend away from the Communist Party.

For while Mahan received a higher total vote, Breitman easily surpassed him in the WORKING CLASS districts.

In the important Third Ward, where the bulk of colored workers live, and where the Communist Party has been concentrating much of its activity for over 15 years, Breitman received 193 votes, Mahan 169.

In the entire frontbound proletarian district, where our party has been working for a short time as compared to the Stalinists, they received a total of 133 votes, Breitman's 131.

In the 7th (predominantly Negro) and in the 1st (chiefly Italian workers), Breitman also succeeded in getting a majority over Mahan.

In fact, if it had not been for the predominantly middle and upper class wards, the 9th and 16th, where the Stalinists received 88 votes more than Breitman, they would have received a smaller total vote than he did.

Through a technicality, a large number of the soldiers' votes were not counted. The highest number cast for any candidate was 153. Breitman received 10 soldier votes.

(Continued on Page 3)

Strike Wins Raise At General Motors

40,000 Strikers in Flint, Detroit and Saginaw Force Company To Yield 10-Cent Hourly Raise; Leaders Tried To Stop Strike

FLINT, Mich., May 17—Forty thousand General Motors workers here and in Detroit conducted a forty-hour strike and in that short time the corporation, which had stalled and given nothing for twelve weeks of negotiations, was forced to grant a ten-cent blanket wage increase to the UAW-CIO.

The workers didn't get everything they could have won. The strike was bitterly opposed by their own top leadership—R. J. Thomas, Reuther, Addes and the whole UAW executive board. But it was proved by this strike that in the UAW-CIO the tail does not always wag the dog.

The strike deadline had been set for Thursday morning at

7 A. M. at a GM conference of union officers and shop chairmen held in Detroit Sunday, May 12. The May 15 deadline was publicly announced and all locals prepared for action.

But at a meeting held at 5 A. M. deadline, UAW President Thomas telegraphed all GM locals to postpone the strike for another 24 hours. The National Defense Mediation Board had made a proposal for an agreement which the union officials had agreed to. The 24 hour truce was ordered by Thomas "to give the company time to decide whether to accept the agreement."

The ambulance was stopped en route by a group of white men. Williams was removed, and this time the lynch mob made sure he was dead before they left.

As usual, the local authorities have made no attempt to discover and apprehend the murderers.

This is just another example

of the "democracy" Roosevelt is asking the Negro people to help defend against Hitler.

Roosevelt has not lifted a finger

to put a stop to such outrages by federal legislation.

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most brazen threats made against

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(Continued from page 1) justice of the machinists' struggle. In a statement published in the press today he said the following:

"...I find deep resentment against the assumption by the international president of the metal trades department of the AFL, in whom the machinists do not seem to have confidence, of authority to make a contract for them without their approval.

These machinists' unions did reject the agreement when it was presented to them, as did machinists locals from San Francisco north. A majority of the Bay Cities Metal Trades council ratified it, but the objection to it, notwithstanding that ratification, is that the machinists or other crafts are not represented in that council according to their numerical strength.

The need for reform in the labor organization setup to give more rank and file control, instead of a set-up in which discredited officials cannot be removed and may arbitrarily set without regard to the wishes of the rank and file, is apparent if situations like this are to be avoided."

That is stating the case correctly. A phoney agreement was rammed down the throats of shipyard workers by "discredited" officials like Frey and Co. who have "no confidence or authority" among the rank and file.

But Olson's words turn out to be just so much soft-soap, for in the very next breath he urges the machinists to return to work and suffer the "loss of gains" by submitting to the stabilization contract."

A DIVISION OF LABOR

Hard on the heels of Olson's gentle pleading, his conceding the justice of the argument to the machinists while urging them to make the "sacrifice" in the interest of national defense comes the threat of force and violence by others not too distantly removed from Olson. In the morning papers today news is published of a secret meeting at Hotel Whitcomb.

Behind closed hotel doors John Frey, Eli Oliver of the OPM and local labor skates conferred and are reported favoring smashing the picket lines in the event the governor's plea fails. At the same time navy officials are reported to be conferring with government and labor officials. Meanwhile the Oakland Boilermakers are reported as voting to favor going through the picket lines.

(Once the news leaked out, Frey openly announced plans to smash the picket line—Ed.)

Olson says in gentle tones: You are right but you must return to work. The rest of the crew shakes the mailed fist. Accept Olson's plea, get back to work or else! This is nothing but a division of labor between them and Olson.

WAR OF NERVES

The blitzkrieg now in the offing has been prepared by a violent "war of nerves" against the machinists from the day the strike began. Here is a partial record:

MAY 10—Secretary of Navy Knox and Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission wire Al Wynn, asking him to avert strike.

Wynn says unions will stand by master agreement and ignore picket line. (The workers ignored Wynn, however, and respected the picket line.)

Frey wires Wynn and the government that strike is in violation of agreement.

MAY 11—Senate Investigating Committee and Hillman's office of the OPM intervene.

John Green, President of the CIO Marine Shipbuilders Union calls the strike a violation of the master agreement. (P.S. The CIO was excluded from the negotiations that led to the agreement and did not sign it!)

MAY 12—500 San Francisco cops mobilized for strike duty.

William Green declares the strike "outlaw."

MAY 13—OPM Representative

Keenan asks men to return to work. Hillman comes to San Francisco "not on strike (of course!) but in interest of OPM recruiting program."

MAY 15—Hillman: "It's up to the AFL to see that its contractual obligations are enforced."

—(News) in a front page editorial answer to a statement of E. F. Dillon, AFL Machinist business agent that the time has not yet come when workingmen can't quit their jobs individually or collectively:

"It's later than you think. The time HAS come in which working men, and management, and educators, and everybody else who cares anything at all for the America as we have known it, must think long and fearfully before they quit their jobs—individually or collectively."

The San Francisco Chronicle follows on a slightly different tack. It points out that British shipping is going to the bottom more rapidly than it can be replaced by the combined shipbuilding facilities of the Empire and the U.S. It threatens that under these conditions such strikes (as the one in the shipyards) will force passage of the Vinson Bill. It insinuates cleverly by stating that young men are being taken off their jobs and drafted into the army at \$21 a month and that a few days ago "a young man who tried to strike against this call... has gone to the penitentiary..." The editorial winds up with the ugly slander:

"Against that background any shipyard strike, no matter who causes it, or for whatever reason, is a victory for Adolf Hitler."

THE GOVERNMENT'S GAME
Why is the government so intent on breaking this strike. Because they want to lower the wage scales—and set a national precedent.

According to Frank Fox, representing the employers in the "master contract" negotiations, the employers were ready to grant double-time pay but the government insisted that overtime be paid at only time and a half.

It wasn't any skin off the employers' hide to concede so easily; in all likelihood they are working on a cost plus basis. Besides, the employers would far rather have the government fighting the unions directly.

Whatever happens to the Bay Area shipyard strike, which is still far from defeated, this much is clear: government and shipyard operators are hand in glove against the unions, with the government doing the open strikebreaking.

PRESS HELPS BOSSSES
The local press is not found wanting in this "war of nerves" against the strikers.

Says the Scripps Howard paper

William Pickens, NAACP Leader, Gets Federal Job

By ALBERT PARKER

William Pickens has a new job. It is with the federal government, in the Treasury Department. He has left his job as branch director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This is not surprising to those who have been watching his development in recent years. After all, he was spending more time and energy supporting the war than "advancing" the colored people. For every word he wrote about the conditions of the Negroes in the United States this last year, he wrote ten about how much tougher it would be for them under Hitler.

It is fitting for Pickens to do what he has done. Pickens should be paid by his real masters, the powers whom he really serves.

There has been a lot of sound and fury about the appointment. The Negro Democrats who supported Roosevelt last year feel bitter because none of them got the job, which pays a reported \$6,000 salary. They feel that Roosevelt should never have appointed a man like Pickens, who was an ardent supporter of Willkie last November.

They don't seem to understand what is involved. Pickens didn't get the job because of his position in the presidential elections. He got the job because of his position on something far more important: the war. Roosevelt picked him because he supports his war plans, and certainly Pickens stands out head and shoulders above all

the other Negro misleaders when it comes to war-mongering. He can show the others, both Democrats and Republicans, a lot of tricks at this game.

But while the job pays well, the work will be hard. For it is Pickens' job to sell "defense bonds" to the Negroes. This won't be much easier than selling refrigerators to the Eskimos.

For he has two large obstacles to overcome.

First, the Negro people (this does not apply to the so-called leaders) do not see any good reason for supporting a war conducted under Jim Crow conditions to preserve a "democracy" that does not include them. And before you can get anyone to shell out money for a cause, you're got to "sell" the cause to him.

Second, of all the groups in this country, the Negroes have less money to buy bonds than anyone else. The reason for this is, of course, that the Negroes have been Jim Crowed out of all the better-paying jobs in expanding industry, and relegated to the hard, low-paid menial jobs or to the relief and WPA rolls, by the same capitalists who will profit from the war Pickens is supporting. Thus, even if they were in some way to be suddenly aroused, they would find it virtually impossible to buy bonds and to be able to feed and house themselves at the same time.

Yes, Pickens will have to sweat to earn the salary that his Jim Crow masters will pay him.

Detroit Auto Strikers



Mass picket line before the main plant of the Hudson Motor Car Co., Detroit. 8,500 members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) last week went on strike at three plants of the company in support of a demand for wage increases of 15 cents an hour.

Strike Of 40,000 Forces General Motors To Yield

Top Leaders Look Foolish When The Strike They Tried To Stop Quickly Forces Company To Grant 10-Cent Hourly Increase

(Continued from page 1) blocked traffic, and celebrated as though on holiday.

voice to the militant determination of the ranks.

The universal note was that "we'll not go back to work blind on the word of men who have tricked us before."

Carl Swanson, UAW Regional Director in Flint, tried to find a face-saving formula to cover up the rank and file revolt, by announcing that the strike had occurred because no one had had time to receive the news of the 24 hour truce before the 7 A. M. deadline. But this was a fake.

The Chevrolet workers, who were first to strike, knew all about the 24 hour stall. And the Buick and Fisher Body workers who walked out as soon as they heard about Chevrolet's action, also knew what the International leadership had been up to. But they lived up to the original deadline, even though their officers did not have the courage.

They did not. A motion was made and passed with acclaim to adjourn.

Leo Lamotte, it is worth mentioning, spoke in favor of the back-to-work proposal along with others. He asked the workers "not to get excited" and "have faith in your leaders." He was roundly booted by disappointed militants who thought that Lamotte, who is reported to be a Communist Party man, would take a fighting stand.

On Friday morning the picket lines were bigger than ever despite the rain. Meetings were held at local unions at which Thomas announced the proposed agreement, by that time agreed to by the company.

The meeting was huge. The IMA Athletic park was packed with all the workers it could hold, at least 15,000.

Swanson announced that the Mediation Board had made a proposal for a settlement which was satisfactory to the International Executive Board, but not yet accepted by the company. It had to be kept secret he said because GM would not consider it if it were made public in advance. In spite of the fact that no one knew its terms, he demanded the workers accept the back-to-work advice of the leadership. He added however, that should GM not accept the agreement by Friday morning a strike would then be called throughout GM.

"LEADERS" VOTED DOWN

Bill Genske, recording secretary of Fisher Local 581, made the formal motion to concur with Swanson's proposal. He made a bad mistake.

A revolt of the rank and file took place at that meeting which was a harbinger of the independent voice of the workers on the march. The meeting unanimously repudiated the proposal of the International Executive Board to go back to work the following morning without knowing what was in the agreement.

Speaker after speaker took the mike, after climbing over the wall onto the speakers stand, and gave

ur to get everything it wanted, although the rank and file revolt nevertheless assured a big victory.

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CURRAN'S LIES NAILED

Curran has continued to get tangled up in lies in an attempt to justify his indefensible scab-herding actions. In one and the same statement, issued by the NMU National Office, Curran first admits that the MEBA had a picket line which the NMU had originally respected and then claims that the MEBA didn't maintain a picket line.

Another statement, published

Export Strike Continues Firm

CIO Marine Engineers Walk Off Three More Ships; Attack Curran's Strikebreaking

The Marine Engineers (CIO) strike against the American Export Lines has been extended to three more ships, despite the strikebreaking actions of Joseph Curran, head of the National Maritime Union, another CIO affiliate, who ordered members of his union to violate the engineers' picket lines on the Jersey City docks and man the struck ships.

Throwing the lie in the teeth of Curran, who has tried to defend his strikebreaking conduct by falsely claiming that the licensed MEBA engineers were not supporting the strike, walked off the Exmouth last week. A few days later all the engineers of the Exbrook and Esopus joined the strike.

Curran, on May 1, led members of his union, which is composed of unlicensed men, through the MEBA picket line and provided a crew for the S. S. Siboney, the first ship struck on its arrival in port April 25.

AGAINST COMPANY UNION

The strike was called against the company's attempt to force the MEBA engineers into a company union. The Siboney had formerly belonged to the Ward Line, with which the union has a contract. It was recently transferred to the American Export Line, which has consistently refused to recognize the MEBA, and which took away the MEBA delegate's pass.

The strike began on the Siboney and was then extended to the Exminster and Excelsior. All but two of the engineers on these three ships supported the strike. MEBA officials assert that most of the engineers were replaced by strikebreakers and that some of the ships, manned by Curran's men, left port shorthanded.

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Another statement, published

in the NMU Pilot, May 9, claims that the NLRB has certified the company union. The MEBA, however, has produced a letter from the Second Regional Board, NLRB, which disclaims having certified the company union or having ever held an election, as Curran falsely told the NMU men in order to get them to pass the picket line.

Local 33, MEBA, which is conducting the strike, last week issued a four-page printed circular addressed to the CIO members, including the rank-and-file of the NMU, telling the full facts in the Export Line controversy and appealing to the NMU men not to go through the MEBA picket line.

In reply to Curran's claim that the MEBA had refused to consider an Export Line proposal to reinstate all striking engineers, meet with the union representatives to discuss war bonuses and support an NLRB election for the engineers, the MEBA circular states: "The statement that the Export Line made this offer to the MEBA is absolutely false. The Export Line refused and still refuses to meet the MEBA. It has never made any offer of any kind to the MEBA."

The MEBA circular further points out:

"The MEBA would be foolish to agree to a National Labor Relations Board election as their delegates have no pass to contact the engineers and the company union has had an exclusive pass to contact the engineers for the past three years. We would only get the same sort of election the NMU got in the Standard Oil of New Jersey."

Curran has been in a position to help organize the unorganized engineers on the Export Line, on which the NMU is recognized. But the NMU delegates have been reluctant to cooperate with the MEBA in supplying it with the names of the engineers or assisting the MEBA in making contact with the unorganized licensed men.

The MEBA lost out on the Export Line in the '36-'37 strike, when it turned down a company proposal to grant it the closed shop and wage increases if the MEBA would sign while Curran's union remained unrecognized. The MEBA refused to desert the unlicensed men and finally lost the strike. The NMU, later in '37, again pulled a strike, and this time won recognition; but Curran refused then to support the MEBA in gaining a contract.

GOVERNMENT IS WORRIED
Washington is well aware that the CIO top leadership cannot control the militant ranks beyond a certain point. Administration leaders are non-plussed at the rising wave of strikes, and when Jesse Jones, RFC administrator, commented recently that "all these strikes shouldn't end with wage increases" he quickly covered himself by whining that in the past the raises were justified. He doesn't dare to tell what he really is thinking, and that is, how in hell is the government going to plunge into the war actively, unless wages are frozen and cut, labor muzzled and controlled, and the CIO movement under control?

WORKERS ON THE MARCH

The 7,000 Hudson workers are out on strike for a ten-cent wage increase, basing themselves on the victory of the GM workers.

The Murray Ohio workers threatened to strike for wages and other concessions, but the company surrendered to the union's main demands.

The Chrysler local representing the huge Chrysler plants has announced that, in view of the increased cost of living, it is terminating the wage provisions of the old agreement and is reopening negotiations demanding substantial wage increases.

The Budd Wheel local has recently demanded a ten-cent wage increase and will take a strike vote in one week if the company does not come across.

The Bohn Aluminum bargaining committee is also negotiating now for a ten-cent increase.

In spite of the loud cries for "sacrifice," the workers are facing the rising costs with a

solidarity between the Teamsters and the Building Trades unions, the unions have organized for the first time the small home builders in Detroit, a field largely untouched by unionism nationally. The Teamsters struck against the lumber dealers and Home Builders Association.

The Ford company granted a wage increase to its River Rouge workers and although it tried to give the credit to the AFL, all workers in Detroit know that the great strike of the CIO in Ford, the GM victory and wage increase, and other great battles now being waged in Detroit by the CIO, are what caused Ford to loosen up.

When the CIO wins the NLRB vote, which it will, negotiations will begin to bring Ford up to the level of all plants in wages bargaining procedure and working conditions.

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

**The Negro March
To Washington**

Last week in this column we discussed the March to Washington on July 1, and indicated the full agreement of the Socialist Workers Party with such an undertaking. We also warned that if the march were to accomplish anything, it would have to be militant, on a mass scale, and based on the proper set of demands.

It is as yet too early to determine just what the Randolph Committee means by the "militancy" which they urge the Negroes to exercise in this march. It is also too early to determine in what way the Committee, and the local groups, are going to mobilize the marchers, and whether they will really succeed in bringing out the masses.

But it is already possible to discuss the general approach of the Committee, as set forth in its "Call To America" (copy available from Negroes' Committee To March On Washington For Equal Participation in National Defense, Suite 301, 217 West 125 St., New York City).

This Call is filled with militant words and some not-so-militant ideas. It demands the end of Jim Crowism; it stresses the need for action by the Negroes to bring it about; but it does not indicate the correct kind of action and program. As a result, it is filled with contradictions from one end to the other, which will have to be settled in one direction or another.

What The Call Says

In one place the *Call* says:

"But what of national unity? We believe in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships, Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans, all."

"But, if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white; it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand."

Why all those ifs? Don't we know very well what is going on? Is there any real doubt in their minds as to exactly what is happening to the Negro in our great American democracy?

Just turn those two paragraphs around, read the second first, and you'll get a better picture of what the Call's declaration of loyalty amounts to. You'll see that it is a declaration of loyalty to a hollow mockery, and that hidden behind the "ifs" is a potential surrender of the fight for full equality for the Negro people.

Maybe they don't think so, but the ruling class in this country sees it and they will say, "Don't worry too much about this whole business of the march; no matter how they are treated, they promise that they'll go along and that they'll drag the masses behind them."

This is one of the contradictions that must be solved before a fight against Jim Crowism is going to be successful. Loyalty to a Jim-Crow system can never end in its destruction and replacement by a system of equality.

**Kinds of Mass Action
For Effective Struggle**

This is not the only instance of the Call for the march making concessions to the ideas looked on with favor by the ruling class. In another place it says:

"However, we sternly counsel against violence and ill-considered and intemperate action and the abuse of power. Mass power, like physical power, when misdirected, is more harmful than helpful."

We summon you to mass action that is orderly and lawful, but aggressive and militant, for justice, equality and freedom.

"Crispus Attucks marched and died as a martyr for American independence. Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass fought, bled and died for the emancipation of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy."

Our criticism of this section of the Call should not be mistaken to mean that the Socialist Workers Party is in favor of "ill-considered and intemperate action" or anything of the kind. Not at all.

But who is served by this reassurance that everything is going to be nice and respectable and within the "lawful" bounds established by the ruling class and its anti-labor, Jim Crow legislatures and courts?

Once again, the Bourbon politicians in Washington will smile and say, "It's nothing to worry about, they are only letting off a little steam."

Does this serve the interests of the struggle against Jim Crowism? If so, we fail to see it.

And if we are going to talk about history, let us talk about it correctly: Did King George the Third think that Crispus Attucks' action was "lawful"? Did the slaveholders of Virginia think that Nat Turner was "orderly"?

The trouble is that the Randolph Committee is too much concerned about what the powers that be may think about them. And as long as that is true, they lead a half-hearted fight, in spite of all their talk about aggressiveness and militancy.

Considerations such as these may seem trivial on first glance, but they help to determine the character of the entire march, and those who want a successful and meaningful march must think about and correct them.

(Continued next week)

Bob Harte Died Defending Trotsky

Stalin's GPU Kidnapped And Murdered Him On May 24, 1940

Robert Sheldon Harte—1916-1940



This May 24 marks the first anniversary of the GPU murder of Robert Sheldon Harte, member of the Socialist Workers Party, who died defending the life of Leon Trotsky.

Bob Harte, who was one of Comrade Trotsky's secretaries, was kidnapped during the GPU machine-gun assault upon Trotsky's residence in Coyoacan, Mexico, in the early morning of May 24, 1940.

A month later, on June 25, Bob's body was found buried in a lime-filled pit in the cellar of a near-by farmhouse, which had been a hangout of his assassins. Two bullets had been fired into his brain.

When 24-year old Bob Harte left New York City to join the comrades who were acting as Trotsky's guards, he knew full well he was going to help defend the most dangerous outpost of the international revolutionary movement.

Whoever undertook the task of guarding Leon Trotsky knew that he was shielding with his own body one marked for assassination by Stalin, commanding the resources of one of the biggest nations on earth. Whoever stood in the way of Stalin's gangsters was himself marked for death.

Seven of Trotsky's secretaries and guards had already paid the supreme price for their devotion to and protection of the founder of the Fourth International. Bob Harte became the eighth on this honor roll of martyrs.

THE ASSASSINATION

ATTEMPT OF MAY 24, 1940

Through a ruse, 27 desperate agents of the GPU managed to gain entrance into the walled grounds and blasted their way with machine guns to Trotsky's sleeping quarters. They riddled his bed with a stream of slugs, and hurled incendiary bombs in an effort to destroy Trotsky's invaluable archives and documents.

Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, escaped — this time — by miraculous chance. Trotsky had foreseen this eventuality for years, as many of his closest associates and his two sons and daughters were struck down by the hand of Stalin. At the first sound of disturbance, the couple had thrown themselves into a dark corner while one of the gunmen machine-gunned their bed to pieces.

After the attackers had finally withdrawn, it was discovered that Harte had been kidnapped.

The Stalinist press at first attempted to mislead the search for Harte by spreading the slander that Harte was in complicity with the assassins, and then by alleging that the assassination attempt was faked up by Trotsky himself for the sake of publicity.

But the full facts of the guilt of Stalin and his GPU were brought to light when nine arrested Stalinists confessed to their personal participation in the assault and implicated a score of others. It was proved that the leaders of the assault were David Alfaro Siqueiros, a Stalinist of fifteen years standing and president of the Stalinist Union of Mexican ex-combatants in Spain, and David Serrano, a member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party.

This means in so many words: Do not try to eradicate fascism in Germany. Leave Hitler alone. Let him stay in power. Implied in this attitude is the great fear of the reactionaries that any defeat of Hitler, any overthrow of fascism in Germany, can only mean working class revolution. Rather than this, Wheeler prefers a negotiated peace on Hitler's terms.

"PEACE" ADVOCATES WANT WAR AGAINST THE USSR

More than this. Wheeler — the Daily Worker is quite right on this point — would like to see the "real" war, the war between Germany and Russia. Wheeler jumped at the idea that the Nazis were divided as to their next step; that some, including a Hess faction, wanted Hitler to end the war with England in order to turn on Stalin and begin the imperialist division of Soviet Russia. Wheeler wants Roosevelt to encourage this turn in the war by all means.

Roosevelt has remained silent on the issues raised by the Hess incident. Naturally a negotiated peace at this time, giving Hitler the victory in the war, would be a blow at Roosevelt's prestige and politics, the politics of "democratic" imperialism. If the war ends in a German victory the position of the United States is weakened internationally. Furthermore everyone recognizes that the greater war for world domination, the war between United States and German imperialism, would not be postponed for very long.

Had he lived to identify the person who appeared on May 24 in the guise of a friend and who effected the opening of the gates to permit the entry of the machine-gun gang, Harte undoubtedly would have named Frank Jackson, later the assassin of Leon Trotsky.

Every essential fact of the May

lese, Siqueiros jumped his bail and flew by plane to Cuba. His intentions of leaving Mexico were fully known before his flight. The daily press of Mexico reported his preparations, including his open arrangement for passports and other documents. The venal Mexican officials did nothing, pretending not to know Siqueiros' legal position.

No doubt Stalin thinks that he and his agents will never face an accounting for their crimes. No doubt he hopes the workers of the world will forget the memory of Bob Harte.

But we have not forgotten, nor will we ever forget. The Trotskyites will continue to refresh the memory of the working class.

STALIN WILL PAY FOR HIS ANTI-LABOR CRIMES

The political system which can defend itself only with the bullets of hired assassins is a weak and crumbling system. It is doomed by the overwhelming wrath of the great masses who suffer under it.

Stalin and his pawns will yet pay for their crimes. That justice will not speak through the smoking pistols of skulking henchmen. It will speak through the organized might of tremendous masses, marching in the open, consciously destroying by revolutionary action the whole political system of counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

That is the only vengeance which Bob Harte, on the basis of the Marxist principles for which he lived and died, would have wanted.

In once again paying tribute to the memory of a brave and loyal Bolshevik, we do so in the knowledge that his vengeance, a social vengeance, is assured.

What "Negotiated" Peace Means

Their Peace Would Be As Imperialist As Their War

The flight of Hess to England has been most revealing in the reactions it called forth on the question of peace.

The "isolationists" gave expression to their views through Senator Wheeler. He at once called on Roosevelt to utilize the occasion of the Hess flight to attempt to bring about a negotiated peace between the two imperialist camps.

Does Wheeler have in mind any particular peace terms?

He dared not be specific, any more than the other capitalist spokesmen. His attitude is revealed, however, in the remark he made to reporters:

"If the President of the United States would follow the wishes of the American people, he would seek to bring about peace. He knows that you cannot force democracy on somebody — that democracy has to come from within."

This means in so many words:

Do not try to eradicate fascism in Germany. Leave Hitler alone. Let him stay in power. Implied in this attitude is the great fear of the reactionaries that any defeat of Hitler, any overthrow of fascism in Germany, can only mean working class revolution.

Rather than this, Wheeler prefers a negotiated peace on Hitler's terms.

"PEACE" ADVOCATES WANT WAR AGAINST THE USSR

More than this. Wheeler — the Daily Worker is quite right on this point — would like to see the "real" war, the war between Germany and Russia. It is clear that they might very well fear to come face to face with the workers they "represent."

The mistake of the workers is in thinking that an outright victory for British imperialism would make much difference.

So far as the Laborites are concerned a victory too would end the class struggle and they would be kicked aside by Churchill.

One thing is clear. The Hess matter has not smoked the imperialists of either camp out into declaring any terms of peace. In this the capitalist war-makers show their good class sense. For if they were to state their real aims, which can be nothing but the plundering and looting of the world, the masses of workers would not care to fight for them for a single moment.

But Churchill willing as he might be to come to terms with Hitler, has to consider the British working class, not the no-account representatives of the Labor Party, but the great masses, who tolerate Churchill only because they think he is fighting against fascism.

The Stalinists naturally sense immediately the "great danger" to Russia in a negotiated peace at this time. Far from preparing the working class at home or abroad for such a situation, however, Stalin's policy has been disastrous for both Russia and the world proletariat. His entire propaganda in all the countries has called for peace. The few hypocritical phrases thrown about a "democratic, people's" peace,

during the last war: "One cannot jump out of an imperialist war, one cannot attain a democratic, unoppressive peace without overthrowing the power of capital, without the state power passing to a different class, the proletariat."

Not the Wheelers, not the Roosevelts, not the Churchills, nor the Bevins and Morrisons who serve the capitalists, can make a democratic peace: Nor can such a peace be brought about by Stalinist propaganda for peace. As Lenin said to the socialist elements who acted in the last war as the Stalinists do in this one: "There is nothing more harmful than phrases like the 'manifestations of the people's will to peace'."

Everybody, including Hitler, says he wants peace. But each of the representatives of national capitalism advances as peace the oppressive conditions of "his" imperialism. The truly democratic socialist slogans for peace can only be made effective by the power of the proletariat; that is, by a series of revolutions in all the advanced countries.

Such a peace would be followed not by the re-division of Germany or of Europe into new states, not by the division of Soviet Russia among the imperialist victors, but in a Soviet United States of Europe. Soviet Russia must be defended by the workers against the imperialist bandits in both Russia and Poland, so that later, cleaned of the disease of Stalinism, the Soviet Union can enter into this new Europe. Such a peace would repudiate all the capitalist debts, freeing the masses to that extent from the bankrupting burdens of the war.

Stalin proposed peace without daring to set forth any program of revolutionary peace. But the revolutionary proletariat which succeeds in taking power first, it does not matter in which of the countries, will at once repeat the terms proposed by Lenin and Trotsky to terminate the first World War. Those terms, proposed by workers, cannot but help to spread the revolution to all the countries of Europe. Only in this way can the workers end the war with a democratic peace.

As Lenin said again and again

The Problem Of National Freedom For Poland

By JACK WEBER

Who is it that struggles for Polish independence? First, there are the former rulers who have set up their government-in-exile under the protection of Churchill in London. Then there are the Social Democrats, particularly the leaders who fled for their lives from Hitler and Stalin. With the latter and outside their ranks we find also many Jews. All these exiles support the cause of English imperialism, which they call the democratic cause, hoping that its victory will bring the restoration of Poland after the war.

Are all these elements fighting for the same cause? Are the Polish generals, the reactionary landed aristocracy, the Social Democrats, the oppressed Jews, all in the same camp? Insofar as all of them support one of the imperialist contenders for world domination, they surely are in the same camp. But so far as their hopes and desires for the future are concerned, they just as surely poles apart.

In the case of Poland particularly, it is impossible for the forces demanding national liberation to hide the absolutely unbridgeable gulf between the social classes. Despite the German treatment of the Poles, despite their common exile and dispersion due to the combined conquest of Hitler and Stalin, these nationalists cannot forget the Poland of yesterday. No talk of national liberation and of unity in this struggle, can hide the realities of the class struggle in "united" Poland. Not all this talk can hide the impossibility to achieve democracy under the ruling class, the capitalists and landowners, of poverty-stricken Poland.

The entire history of Poland between two wars is too vivid a memory. The workers and peasants, among them the Jewish workers, cannot forget, for the Polish Juniper rule seared itself into their memories. The Polish reactionaries therefore do not even pretend that they have changed in any way, do not even pretend that they propose, if placed again in power, to act differently. Even in London they do not hide their utter contempt for the masses, and above all for the Jews.

As Anti-Semitic As the Nazis

The actions of the ruling caste in London have become a scandal for the English. Anti-Semitism in the Polish military forces serving with the English was so intense that ten Jewish military doctors resigned in protest. The Polish National Council, the "parliament" in exile, proposed recently that after the war all Jews be driven out of Poland and sent to Madagascar. *Jestem Polakiem*, organ of the Polish "National Democrats," regularly carries on in London the same racial propaganda contained in the Nazi press. The protests of the British liberals and of the English press, particularly the London *New Chronicle*, have not diverted Churchill in the least from continuing his aid to the Polish generals. In actual fact the British bourgeois press is scandalized not so much by the well-known fact of the anti-Semitism of the Polish ruling class, but by its openness.

All of this places the Jews who support England in the war in an impossibly contradictory position. They cannot pick and choose as to what part of Churchill's program they support and what part reject. Their one hope — vain hope! — is that Churchill and the other "democratic" imperialists will "reward" them for their support by obtaining concessions for them. Churchill will do this no more for the Polish Jews than he will for the British working class right at home. Churchill fights this war for British capitalism, and for British capitalism alone. The Poland that will get his support now and in the future is capitalist Poland, the ally of British imperialism.

The Social Democrats are in no better position. While speaking for a double goal in their struggle, national and social liberation, they place first the national goal. Their underground press in Poland states that "the main task of the Polish working masses is the re-establishment of the full independence and liberty of Poland," adding of course that it must base its existence on the principles of democracy and "social justice." The past, they say, must never be repeated, nor will they exchange Hitler-slavery for Stalin-slavery.

But just how will support of capitalist England bring about democracy and freedom from slavery? Churchill proposes, if he proposes to do anything at all for Poland, to restore the old Poland, to restore the old Poland and no other.

Liberation Can Only Be Socialist

Nowhere is it clearer than in Poland that class society makes real liberation, both national and social, impossible under capitalist rule. Whoever allies himself with Churchill allies himself with the Polish Junkers and fights not for liberation but for a form of slavery only quantitatively and not qualitatively different from that of Hitler. The Polish capitalist's use of the idea of national independence and national liberation for the purpose of misleading workers into support of their capitalist rule. When they point to the need for "unity" in the struggle against a foreign oppressor, they mean to enlist the masses under the banner of the ruling class. Those who link together the fight for democracy and the fight for a free nation with "democratic" imperialism, serve the Polish Junkers and not the masses.

The workers and peasants of Poland will liberate themselves as Poles when they liberate themselves as workers and peasants from the grip of their exploiters. The danger of national enslavement exists for all Europe

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

If Britain Wins

A favorite method used by those who are anxious to convince the masses that they should support the democracies in this war is to picture the dreadful consequences of a fascist victory. We cannot and do not deny the truth of the proposition that the masses would indeed be in a terrible situation in case of a fascist victory, although we deny categorically the implicit argument of the democrats that the workers will never recover from such a victory.

But let us try to picture the results of a victory of English and American imperialism. The democrats somehow or other almost completely avoid any discussion of what will follow a victory of the capitalist democracies. They simply assume that with the defeat of Germany all the countries of Europe will become democratized and those who were forced to vacate their positions when the Nazis came in will be restored to power.

Different and more realistic ideas of the probable situation of Europe after a Nazi defeat are held by hard-headed officials of the various embassies in Washington. These officials recognize that conditions in Europe after a German defeat will be just as appalling as after a German victory.

A dispatch from Washington in the New York Times of May 18 indicates that the embassies there picture Europe after a Nazi defeat as a completely disorganized continent with hungry people fighting amongst themselves and no group strong enough to restore order. The United States, say these embassy officials, must now begin the accumulation of huge food reserves and be ready to feed a hungry Europe. And what is more, the United States must be ready to "tell or order the other nations what to do," says the dispatch.

While it is not stated in so many words, it is clear that what is meant is that the masses will not stand for a restoration of the capitalist regime and the United States must be prepared to crush every revolutionary uprising.

And even if the U.S. army or the English army is not sent to assure order, the conditions will be advantageous for a fascist or military dictatorship.

One thing and one thing only will prevent either a fascist dictatorship or a military dictatorship, and that is the proletariat taking power into its own hands. But for that a revolutionary party is essential. That is another practical and imperative reason why the building of such a party now is so all-important.

And it is impossible to build such a party by supporting the imperialists and thus assuming responsibility for the war and all its dreadful consequences. To train the vanguard to look upon capitalism as the cause of fascism and thus to prepare the vanguard to destroy capitalism whenever the opportunity offers itself—that is the only method to take advantage of the situation that will present itself after a defeat for Hitler.

After The War

Secretary of State Hull made a speech Saturday night outlining a "post-war world reconstruction program." It consisted of pious generalities which revealed little, if anything, of what the world will really be like if Roosevelt and Churchill are the victors.

We learned much more about what that world would be like from the speech delivered by Secretary of the Navy Knox to the graduating class of the Naval War Academy on May 16. Precisely in those places where Hull was vague, Knox was unguardedly concrete.

The world of a Roosevelt-Churchill victory will not be a world of unarmed men—but a world of great armies and navies. "The war of 1917 was not a war to end all wars," said Knox, "and we would be foolish to take it for granted that the present holocaust will be any different. We can rest assured that when Germany and its will of force is ultimately defeated in Europe another Hitler twenty or thirty years from now will arise and will be able to do the same in an even shorter period of time if the world again relinquishes its policing powers."

By "the world... policing powers," Knox of course means the armed force of the United States. He made that clear by concluding with an exhortation to the graduating officers of the Naval War Academy that they should "devote our lives" to the continued maintenance of the most powerful military and naval machine possible after the war.

This war, Knox makes clear enough, will not bring any lasting peace. It will not bring an end to the menace of fascism. It will not relieve the masses of the crushing burden of military expenditures.

All that the masses are offered after the present blood-bath is an endless vista of more wars of the same kind, more deprivations, more slaughter. Knox confesses as much.

His unusually frank remarks—they came in the course of a speech on another subject—are a revelation of the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist ruling class, which can offer the common people of America neither peace nor security, now or in the future.

Every once in a while even so clever a politician as Roosevelt lifts the heavy curtain concealing the real causes of the war and permits the people to glance at the things that really worry the ruling class of this country. The masses, sincerely devoted to democracy, must be fed with the propaganda that the United States and England are fighting to preserve democracy; but sections of the ruling class must be given more realistic, more hard-headed and truer reasons for fighting Hitler.

National Foreign Trade Week is being observed this week. Interested in observing it are, of course, the bankers and the manufacturers who make huge profits by selling American goods and by investing American capital in foreign countries. The very existence of American capitalism depends upon foreign trade and investments. The men who are in charge of this foreign trade are not the type to be taken in by nice phrases about democracy. Cold facts are necessary to convince them that a war against Germany is necessary.

Hence Roosevelt, in the statement which he issued in connection with the observance of National Foreign Trade Week, was careful to point out that a victory of Germany will mean that "there can be no foreign trade of the future on fair terms under democratic principles."

What is meant by this is that American capitalism fears that it will be unable to compete successfully in world markets against German capitalism in case of a Hitler victory. It is this fear which is the fundamental cause of the determination of the dominant section of the ruling class of this country to help Britain defeat Germany.

It is quite true that the President also goes on to say that, in addition to the foreign trade of this country, the "democratic way of life" is menaced by totalitarian aggression. But the inescapable fact remains that the leaders of industry and commerce, those who control this nation, are interested exclusively in the huge profits which are menaced by a possible German victory. When the workers fight and die in a war conducted by the ruling class of this country they do so to guard the commerce and investments of the American capitalists. The workers mean to fight fascism but in reality they fight for the interests of their bosses.

Rubber G. E. B. Over Elastic

United Rubber Workers of America has further caved in under pressure from the Roosevelt administration. As a "national defense measure," the board has adopted a resolution to ban "rump" strikes. It doesn't define "rump," but the rest makes clear that it means any strike.

The board resolves "that where a strike would imperil the production of goods essential to the defense of this Nation or its Allies, that the International Union be permitted sufficient opportunity to contact the Agencies of Government to invoke their aid and assistance in preventing such strikes by removal or amelioration of the causes."

The board hopes that the above resolution will be "proof to our membership that the position of this G.E.B. is in conformity with the expressions of support for President Roosevelt and his foreign policy."

THE MILITANT

Who Are These French Handmaidens Of Hitler

The Truth About The Present Rulers Of France Whom The American And British 'Democrats' Call A 'New' Leadership

Who are the French handmaidens of Hitler? Who are these rulers of unoccupied France who last week proclaimed themselves the allies of the Nazi conquerors?

The impression is deliberately created by the press and the spokesmen of the Roosevelt administration that the present rulers of France are some upstart gang who thrust their way to power against the resistance of the former democratic government and the French "democracy."

Who are Vichy's ambassadors, diplomats, the staffs of the colonies, the military and naval staffs, the heads of the municipal governments, the heads of the provinces? etc. etc. All, all, are the old heads, the old officials of the "democracy."

THE SAME ARMED FORCES THAT PRESERVED "NATIONAL UNITY"

The men who dominate France today as the puppets of Nazism are the men who in October, 1938, mobilized the French Army of "Democracy" against the General Strike, calling for "national unity" against the main enemy, Hitler. For that they were hailed by the British and American press as the saviors of democracy.

THE SAME MEN LAUNCHED THE 'WAR FOR DEMOCRACY'

The men who run France as the lackeys of Hitler are the same men who called on the French workers and peasants in August, 1939, to give up their lives in "war for democracy."

Not a single military commander or high-ranking naval official of the Vichy regime, but was placed in his position by the former bourgeois democratic government.

Who is Marshal Petain, whom the capitalist class of France has put forth as dictator? He is the "Hero of the Marne," the "idol of the French Republic," the enshrined warrior appointed by the

Not the New Leader has its

paper in America as loudly

bawls the fate of the French

bourgeois democratic government

as the Social-Democratic New

Leader. None excoriates with such

violence this "new" Petain regime.

Today in France, the main

body of leaders of the French

Social-Democracy publishes a

paper, EFFORT, which whole-

heartedly supports the Petain

regime. More, EFFORT is pub-

lished in Paris, in Nazi-occu-

ped France. It is issued with

the consent of the Nazi admin-

istration. It has made its peace

directly with Hitler and calls

for collaboration with him.

Such is the true picture of this

"new" regime. Hitler's hand-

maidens of today are the bour-

geois democrats of yesterday.

That is why the American capi-

talist press and the bourgeois

democrats who call on the Ameri-

can masses to fight for "democ-

racy," persist in falsely calling

these old French rulers a "new"

regime.

To admit the truth would be to

admit the depravity and corrup-

tion of that former French "de-

mocracy."

To admit the truth would be to

confess that bourgeois democracy is not the oppo-

site of fascism, but paves the way

for fascism in this epoch of capi-

talist decay.

The example of France is the

greatest lesson yet given the work-

ing class of the world. Capitalist

democracy cannot and will not

destroy fascism. The seeds of fas-

cism are nurtured directly within

bourgeois democracy. Only by the

working class taking power in ev-

ery country and destroying capi-

talism will the menace of fascism

be destroyed.

all the productive facilities with-

out suffering longer hours and un-

endurable speedup. The workers

will be able to produce not mer-

ely sufficient war materials but an

adequate supply of consumers' goods.

If the government does not take

this absolutely essential step, that

is tantamount to an admission

that the government's war ef-

forts have nothing in common

with a genuine fight against fas-

cism. The fact that the government

places the interests and profits of a

group of big capitalists above

every other consideration is proof

positive that this is a war for im-

perialism and not, as claimed, for

the defense of democracy.

By characterizing fascism, one does not

prove that the motive force of the war is a struggle

between democracy and tyranny... be-

tween two ways of life?" Simply by listing twenty

one traits characteristic of totalitarianism. He shows

that fascism destroys freedom and all intellectual

life, is guilty of lying and hypocrisy, destroys the

labor movement, etc. etc. All true enough.

But admitting that everything that Eastman says

about fascism is true and assuming even that none

of these traits can be found in the democratic capital-

ist countries, the question still remains: what have

these characteristics of fascism to do with this war?

Eastman fails to prove, he does not even attempt to

prove, that on the part of England the war is being

fought either to exterminate these characteristics of

fascism or even to prevent them from crossing the

channel.

But characterizing fascism, one does not

prove that the motive force of the war is a struggle

between democracy and tyranny.

Assuming that the Germans all had bad table manners while the English were all veritable Chesterfields, that would not prove that the war is a crusade for good table manners.

Not once