

# Socialist Workers Party Calls For A \$10,000 War Chest

## Branches Pledge Three Times As Much As Before

By JAMES P. CANNON  
National Secretary

By unanimous decision of the National Committee, the Socialist Workers Party hereby opens a campaign for a \$10,000 War Chest.

This may seem like a very large sum for a small workers' party to raise in the face of war, when rival parties and groups are crying hard times, languishing or folding up altogether.

Some may regard the talk of a \$10,000 War Chest as a bluff—a fantastic sum of which we expect to collect only a small part.

All such assumptions are completely erroneous. They can be entertained only by people who do not know our party.

We are calling for a \$10,000 War Chest, and our party members will subscribe it 100%—to the last penny!

Our Trotskyist party is not like other parties. It believes in the coming victory of the workers. Its members aim at a great goal. They are in dead earnest, confident of victory, disciplined and capable of sacrifice.

In every case the party strives to understand and single out the most important task of the hour. Then it concentrates all efforts and energies on the accomplishment of that task.

The task of the present hour is to prepare the party for war—to provide it with a War Chest.

All party branches have been consulted on the project. They have enthusiastically endorsed it, and assumed their respective quotas to be completed by August 1st.

The branch quotas are listed below. Each week until the end of the campaign the score board, showing the contributions, the percentages and the balance to go, will be printed in THE MILITANT.

Every party member and sympathizer will watch the War Chest score board with confidence that the \$10,000 goal will be reached. Let skeptics also watch it to see how a Trotskyist party tackles and accomplishes a hard but necessary task.

### \$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

| BRANCH           | QUOTA    |
|------------------|----------|
| New York         | \$ 2,500 |
| Chicago          | 1,200    |
| Minneapolis      | 1,200    |
| San Francisco    | 1,000    |
| Detroit          | 500      |
| Newark           | 500      |
| Los Angeles      | 400      |
| Boston           | 350      |
| St. Paul         | 300      |
| Flint            | 200      |
| Cleveland        | 150      |
| Youngstown       | 150      |
| Philadelphia     | 125      |
| Louisiana        | 100      |
| San Diego        | 100      |
| Buffalo          | 60       |
| Akron            | 50       |
| Fresno           | 50       |
| New Haven        | 50       |
| Rochester        | 50       |
| Toledo           | 50       |
| Pittsburgh       | 40       |
| Portland         | 30       |
| Reading          | 25       |
| Allentown        | 25       |
| Quakertown       | 25       |
| Seattle          | 25       |
| St. Louis        | 25       |
| Rockville        | 20       |
| Texas            | 15       |
| Baltimore        | 10       |
| Hutchinson       | 10       |
| Milwaukee        | 10       |
| Members-at-Large | 655      |
| TOTAL            | \$10,000 |

## FDR Spokesman Backs Hobbs Bill

### Concentration Camps For Aliens Called For By Attorney General

The concentration camp, long a feature of Nazi Germany and recently adopted by France and England, is about to make its appearance in America, if Roosevelt's Attorney General has his way. The first hundreds of prisoners have already been rounded up and the legislation providing for such camps is being rushed through Congress under pressure from the administration.

Attorney General Jackson told his press conference on May 20 that his round-up of aliens would be "wasted effort" unless the Hobbs Bill passed Congress. The bill provides for "supervision and detention" of deportable aliens.

The bill would establish a three-man board whose rulings would be removed from review by the

courts, except for questions of fact.

Section 202 of the bill provides that aliens convicted of treason, espionage, sabotage, kidnapping, extortion, robbery of the mails, and concentration camps or chain gangs.

Ralph Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, offered the

# THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V—No. 22

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1941

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

## UNLIMITED EMERGENCY' IS THREAT TO TRADE UNIONS

### FBI Arrest Fails To Stop Union

TRENTON, N. J., May 23—An attempt by the John Roebling Sons Co., with the aid of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to sway the NLRB election at the company's plant in Roebling, N. J., fell through as the 5,400 Roebling workers last Tuesday voted more than two to one for the SWOC-CIO.

The night before the election FBI agents arrested Charles Virok, an SWOC shop steward, upon complaint of the company management. The charge was that Virok had violated the Federal Anti-Sabotage Act by closing switches controlling the power blocks "with intent to obstruct the defense of the United States." A hard-fought strike at the plant three weeks ago was settled by SWOC on condition that the NLRB poll be held.

Bail, set originally by the U.S. Commissioner at \$7500, was finally reduced to \$2000 and was raised by the Workers Defense League and the SWOC just in time to permit Virok to vote in the NLRB election.

### Scabherding Is A Flop



Scene at a San Francisco shipyard as striking AFL and CIO machinists, and thousands of other shipyard workers who have refused to pass the machinists' picket lines, contemptuously watch a couple of hundred scabs under heavy police guard, led by John P. Frey, head of the AFL Metal Trades Council, enter the struck plant. Despite the scabherding attempt of the government, companies and AFL heads, operation of the 11 struck shipyards is still at a virtual standstill.

## FDR Ready For "Shooting" War

### Goes Beyond Convoys, Saying He Will Use 'Any And All Further Methods' On Seas; 'Determined' To 'Prevent' Strikes

"I am going to shoot"—this was the plain meaning of President Roosevelt's Tuesday night speech.

"Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war," Roosevelt had said on January 21. Now he has gone beyond convoys: "Our military and navy technicians" are working out "any and all further methods" to "give every possible assistance to Britain" and "to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain."

But not all the shooting threats were directed by Roosevelt at Hitler. Simultaneously he warned the workers that "this government is determined to use all of its powers...to prevent interference with the production of materials." He could scarcely have used plainer language. "Collective bargaining will be retained, but..." That BUT tells the whole story.

Catholic! Or that the Pope is on perfectly good relations with Hitler and Mussolini. Or that the Protestant churches, by and large, have made their peace with Hitler—as the churches always do with any ruler, no matter how vile.

### HYPOCRITICAL SLOGAN

Roosevelt's speech made much of the doctrine of "freedom of the seas." He had been preceded in this by statements last week by Knox and Stimson, who had called for return to freedom of the seas by repeal of the Neutrality Law. Roosevelt proclaimed the doctrine of freedom of the seas but made no mention of repeal of the Neutrality Law. In reality he has already skipped over the law, for the navy patrol and the merchant shipping to the Red Sea ports are clearly violations of the Neutrality Law, provisions forbidding U.S. ships to enter war zones.

As in everything else in this war, the "freedom of the seas" propaganda is but the continuation of the last war's formulas.

Wilson was hypocritical enough but at least for a time he demanded freedom of the seas both from Germany and Britain. For that is what freedom of the seas mean—freedom to trade with all belligerents. Roosevelt, however, has tortured this nice-sounding phrase out of all semblance of its original meaning. One can scarcely blame him: there are few attractive slogans left to the imperialists.

"Freedom of the seas" makes no real sense as Roosevelt uses it. But anything goes—logic or no logic, sense or no sense—so long as it aids American imperialist interests.

### WORKERS WILL DEFEND THEIR OWN RIGHTS

Roosevelt understands quite well that the sacrifices he is demanding from the workers appear all the more intolerable in the face of the huge war profits of the capitalists. Hence his statement that "This is no time for capital to make, or to be allowed to retain excess profits."

Roosevelt's words are, at best, a pious wish, incapable of fulfillment while the war industries are in the hands of the capitalists.

Were Roosevelt really serious about it, he would agree to expropriate the war industries and let the workers operate and control them. Meanwhile, we are confident, his threats will not prevent the workers from continuing their fight for decent wages and working conditions.

## Navy 'Convoy' Flops In Frisco Shipyard Strike

### Admiral Greenslade and 'Colonel' Frey Lead Navy Trucks, Busses Through Picket Lines—But With Few Workers in the 'Convoy'

SAN FRANCISCO, May 26—Striking AFL and CIO Bay Area shipyard machinists are still standing firmly on their feet despite the foul blows thrown at them by the phoniest collection of picards, government strikebreakers and chairwarming admirals ever joined together to break a strike.

Every conceivable effort, from leading and browbeating to open scabherding and picket-line crashing has been used in the past week to end or smash the strike:

Governor Olson shed a bucketful of crocodile tears begging the machinists to make a "patriotic sacrifice" and go back to work. The machinists, undoubtedly thinking that Olson would do better begging shipowners to make some "sacrifices," voted five to one to continue the strike.

Nation's No. 1 Fink, John Frey, backed by a small army of cops, marched a few score workers through the picket line. Most of them marched right out again.

The first American convoys in the war were used not against Hitler and the Nazis but against striking shipyard workers in the Bay Area (still recognized as part of the United States). U.S. Navy trucks and busses driven by navy sailors and marines drove through the picket lines. But mighty few workers were inside them. Frey requested this "transportation" and Admiral Greenslade commanded the heroic expedition.

The Senate opened an "investigation" as a vantage point from which to hurl verbal bombs at the strikers. The Senate requested that aliens convicted of treason, espionage, sabotage, kidnapping, extortion, robbery of the mails, and concentration camps or chain gangs.

Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission called for the use of "United States forces to take those picket lines away."

Senator Tom "Poll Tax" Connally offered to send those who "don't want to work" to "farms"—Texas language for concentration camps or chain gangs.

Ralph Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, offered the

two strikes on him. The day before Olson's speech to the strikers, Frey declared: "I'm going through that picket line, and God help any man who tries to stop me."

But Frey didn't go through that picket line. The Navy told him to lay it over for a day and the Mayor of Oakland wouldn't give him any protection until after he saw the outcome of the Olson meeting. And without the cops Frey had a sneaking feeling it would have been: "God help Mr. Frey if he tried to go through that picket line."

Next day, Frey and a gang of worthies, backed by plenty of cops, led some of the workers through the picket line but it proved to be a very disappointing expedition. Here is the report from the Examiner at the Moore Drydock in Oakland where the "march" took place:

"Many of the marchers fell out of line and mingled with the pickets before the gates of the plant

(Continued on Page 3)

### Marines Sent Thru CIO Picket Line In Brooklyn Strike

NEW YORK CITY, May 26—A truck from the Brooklyn Navy Yard, driven by a Navy Yard employee flanked by two Marines, and escorted by a police car, went through a CIO picket line at the struck Biltwell Steel Products Company, 1708 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, last Friday, and picked up two loads of metal door frames.

This was the charge made yesterday by Leon Zwicker, regional director of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, in a telegram to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, demanding that Knox investigate.

Biltwell is one of a number of companies being struck by metal door workers seeking higher wages and union recognition.

"All over the city our picket lines are solid and, except when the employers bring in the U.S. Marines, nothing is moving in or out," said Zwicker. He remarked on the similarity with the use of the Navy against the San Francisco machinists' strike and concluded: "Has the Navy become a strikebreaking outfit?"

He hastened to buttress this very materialistic justification for war with a pious series of references to how "our right of warship would be threatened" by Hitler; he did not tell his listeners that Hitler himself is a good

# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST CLUB ORGANIZES PROTEST WHEN MINNESOTA OFFICIALS WON'T LET GRACE CARLSON SPEAK

### EDITOR:

The University of Minnesota Socialist Club thought you would be interested in an account of the recent denial of academic freedom to the Socialist Club.

The University Socialist Club—an organization on the campus open to any student who recognizes the class struggle, who opposes imperialist war, and who is willing to fight for socialism—has eagerly awaited another opportunity to hear Dr. Grace Carlson, Trotskyist candidate for U.S. Senator, since she spoke before our organization last November. When finally it was possible to hold such a meeting we applied to the Dean of Student Affairs.

A week later we received a letter from the Dean stating in part:

"I told you that I could not approve of Mrs. Carlson as speaker because of the fact that, previously speaking on campus she had openly advocated a change of government by revolution. I personally feel that the University can not give even such recognition as the privilege of speaking on the campus to the advocate of such a policy."

Obviously this was a denial of academic freedom—the right of the student to make free inquiry into all sides of a question of the right of free speech on campus. Recognizing this as an opening wedge against academic freedom, the Socialist Club decided to use every effort to remove the ban. A call for a United Front for Academic Freedom was sent to all other representative campus organizations, information on the case was sent to all the Twin City newspapers, and a protest meeting was planned for Friday, May 16, on the campus. THE MINNESOTA DAILY, campus newspaper, in addition to printing front-page news coverage of our struggle, printed an editorial stating in part: "Yet many of those who oppose her (Grace Carlson) ideas have expressed the opinion that the banning of her speech was neither wise nor expedient. They, like Voltaire saw no connection between their disagreement with her opinion and her right to express it."

A letter from Dave Cooper, President of the Socialist Club, was printed in the DAILY quoting Albert Goldman's column in THE MILITANT, "until we gain a majority to our ideas there is nothing for us to do, but to educate workers until we get a majority." This to emphasize the misleading character of the Dean's quotation, removed from its context, from Dr. Carlson's speech given on campus in November, in which the Dean complained, she called for "an armed seizure of power."

The All University Council—one of the most important repre-

## Negro Rights Group Aids Phila. Strike

### Joins With Union In Condemning Use Of Negro Strikebreakers

PHILADELPHIA, May 26.—The continued use of Negro strikebreakers by the Progress Manufacturing Company, in an effort to break the 10-week old strike of its 500 Negro and white workers, has brought a sharp denunciation of the company from the Inter-Racial Civic Association, a local organization of Negro and white workers which is fighting discrimination against the Negro people.

The strikers, organized in Local 90, Metal Polishers Union, AFL, have been conducting a militant battle in the face of police intimidation. The company, which manufactures electrical and lighting equipment, pays the lowest wages in the industry, most of the employees getting 30 cents an hour—\$12 a week.

The Inter-Racial Civic Association investigated the use of Negro strikebreakers in the strike and then charged Rosen, boss of the company, with deliberately attempting to create a racial issue to split the strikers and conceal the rotten conditions in his plant.

A joint statement of the Inter-Racial Civic Association and the union has been issued to the public in the form of a printed leaflet, explaining the issues of the strike and exposing the company's vicious use of the race issue to break the strike.

This formal cooperation between an organization fighting for Negro rights and a trade union has established a new progressive practice in this city.

### APPEAL TO NEGROES

The joint statement declared in part:

"The Inter-Racial Civic Association has found the strike of Local 90 completely justified. It has found further that Mr. Rosen's statements are all lies, spread for the purpose of hiding the fact that he pays the lowest wages of any company in the city."

Pointing to the no-discrimination record of Local 90, the statement says:

"Local 90 is interested only in getting wage increases and better working conditions for all Progress employees, Negro and white. Local 90 intends to secure these things by legitimate union methods, regardless of any fake issues which are smuggled in by the boss."

"Local 90 is proud of the fact that it has never practiced racial discrimination; that Negro workers are among the best union members and fill leading union positions."

Discrimination against the Negro workers at Progress has been found, the statement continues, and it puts the blame for this where it rightfully belongs.

"Mr. Rosen is the party in this situation who is guilty! Mr. Rosen, by hiring Negroes for the dirtiest and most dangerous work, by paying them the lowest wages, by taking advantage of their hunger, unemployment and misery to incite them against union men and women; by firing them as he surely will after he has used them in guilty of discrimination against Negroes. Mr. Rosen, it is clear, is interested in any group of workers while the strike is on, only to the extent that they will help him keep down wages by scabbing."

Plans are being made by the Inter-Racial Civic Association to lend additional aid to the strikers and to further arouse the Negro community against the menace to Negro rights which the company represents in this strike.

color of the flock is becoming so bright and shining that even the blackness of the black is relatively gray. Cleveland, Flint, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester and San Francisco, all of which have been laboring under the burden of an old debt inheritance, have been doing nobly in a conscientious effort to clear their records. But what about Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New Haven, Tacoma, Texas and Toledo who are treading pretty close to the dangerous line?

Fresno, with a debt of one cent makes a bridge between those who owe THE MILITANT office nothing at all and those whose debt is so small that it is nothing but a graceful hangover. They are: Akron, Kansas, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Newark, Quakertown, Reading, and San Diego.

We still, however, have our

WE HAVE BROKEN ANOTHER TRADITION

THE MILITANT and its companion publication, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, seem to be destined to break down one after another of the time-honored bad traditions of the radical labor movement. The latest to begin to collapse is the idea that a publication must have the bulk of its assets frozen in ancient debts which keep mounting until everyone concerned agrees that the only thing to do is issue a decree of liquidation and start all over.

We have got to a state with THE MILITANT accounts where a number of cities fluctuate between a zero account and a slight credit with us. Just now Allentown is alone on the credit side but the end of the week will find black sheep, although the general

## A Navy We're For



The picket line of the 22,000 members of the International Woodworkers (CIO) now on strike throughout the Northwest lumber area runs from the timber line right down to the breakwaters. Here strikers are picketing by boat.

# Story False That CIO Men Agreed To 60-Hour Week

### Ford Instrument Workers Declare N. Y. Times Report That They Agreed To 60-Hour Week, No Vacations, Is A Phoney

Prominently displayed at the top of the front page of the Sunday, May 18, N. Y. Times, there appeared a headline:

#### "CIO Instrument Makers Offer To Work 60-Hour Week for Navy"

The story alleged that the workers at the Sperry Corporation's Ford Instrument Company, Long Island City, had informed the management that they were agreed to work a sixty hour week and also to forego their regular two-weeks vacation "in the interest of national defense."

On May 24, at the bottom of page 10 of the New York Times, there appeared a small item with the headline:

#### "CIO Workers at Sperry Unit Refuse Plea To Yield Vacations and Speed Up Defense"

This story reported that the members of Local 425, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), had voted down the Ford Instrument Co. management's proposal for a 60-hour week and no vacations. It quoted a formal statement of the local's executive board as follows:

"After a free and full discussion a democratic vote was taken that resulted in approximately 95 per cent of the membership voting down the proposal of the management, and the membership insisted upon retaining their vacations in order to safeguard their health."

#### WHAT THE TIMES 'FORGOT'

No reference was made in this second Times story to its previous false account on May 18.

And nowhere—in the second Times story was there an indication that the formal statement of Local 425, which it so briefly quoted was in reality a protest to the Times and the other metropolitan newspapers charging them with writing "untruths and misstatements which are detrimental to the best interest of Local 425, UERWMA."

And in the May 24 Times article, there was left out the first sentence from the paragraph quoted from the union's statement:

This sentence read:

"At the meeting of the Local, WHICH WAS HELD MAY 13, the proposal of the management was placed before the membership to the effect that the workers should relinquish their vacations."

Thus all mention of the date on which this membership meeting had voted against giving up the vacation was excluded from the Times story, an unusual "oversight" for the Times, which boasts of its meticulous journalism.

Because this meeting had occurred five days before the fake story of May 18 about the 1500 Ford Instrument workers accepting the company's proposals! To have mentioned the date of this meeting would have revealed that the Times, bearing on its masthead the slogan, "All the News That's Fit To Print," had perpetrated an anti-labor fraud.

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## Quiet New Haven Scene Of A Real Strike Wave

NEW HAVEN, May 19th—This city of elms and Yale College was the scene this week of a hurricane of labor militancy never before seen in its history. Practically all of the big shops were affected, all inside of one week.

Winchester Repeating Arms: This factory, making Garand rifles and all sorts of munitions, employs 10,000 workers. Almost every workingclass family in the city is directly or indirectly affected by Winchester's. During the week sporadic strikes took place in the machine shop, the cartridge, raditors, loading, and finishing departments. In the cartridge department, there was a brief sit-down.

The management, panic-stricken, hastened to give a 10% wage increase, and at this writing the men have gone back to work.

Sargent's (hardware, locks, etc.), was hit by a well-organized rank and file sit-down strike in which about 700 out of 1500 workers took part. Result, 10% wage increase.

In Sargent's, the ability of workers to improvise good tactics was clearly seen. The movement started in the foundry, where the stock is made. The foundry men got the truckers (who bring the stock to all departments) to spread the word, and so the strike was very effective.

Wages were miserably low—a skilled machinist who gave me the story showed me his time tickets (they use the Bedaux system) and his earnings—he got 42c. an hour base rate! Two weeks ago when I saw him he was hopeless: "The shop can't be organized, the fellows and girls are afraid, too many boss stooges"—but today he is transformed, aglow with confidence and militancy.

New Haven Clock Shop: The lead here was taken by a group of errand boys. Being inexperienced, they made but little attempt to get others out with them, and alone they set up a picket line around the shop. They contacted the CIO office around the corner on Grand Avenue and paraded with a sign reading: "Lincoln Freed the Slaves — How About Us?" By Tuesday, the manager, Whitehead, got so worried he took some of the boys off the picket line to his home for dinner, and promised them a 10% increase if they would forget about the CIO—they accepted this proposition. This is not the end, as many other clock shop workers are talking organization.

High Standard: The Foote St. plant of this company, whose main plant on Dixwell Avenue is working on big orders of munitions for the British Government, was closed yesterday when practically all of the 100 workers walked out protesting the firing of one worker who started the union talk.

Rockbestos: In this company, making cables for the navy, the workers are all set to go out this week unless their demands are granted.

Practically none of this information can be seen in the Register and Courier (boss papers both owned by millionaire Jackson who is trying to smash the American Newspaper Guild local recently established in his papers). I got these facts directly from workers in the shops mentioned.

### WHERE TO BUY APPEAL IN PITTSBURGH

Hirsch's Book Store, 1623 Center Avenue

Rose Book Shop, 1332-5th Avenue

You can read the Appeal at:

Barber Shop  
426 E. Ohio St., North Side

International Labor Lyceum

805 James St., North Side

Get Next To Nature

### WEST SIDE BRANCH PICNIC

Clover Lake Park

SUNDAY June 15

Meet 10 A.M. at Battery in

Ticket Lobby of Statens

Island Ferry

Boating — Ball Games

Refreshments

Food will be sold at Pre-War Prices. Any profits to go to the SWP War Chest

NO ADMISSION  
Everybody Welcome

Join the Socialist Workers Party

# UAW Groups Try Strength At Mich. Meeting

## Auto Union Militants Show Strength, But Poor Stalinist Strategy Messes Things Up

JACKSON, Mich.—The fourth annual convention of the Michigan State CIO Council, representing all CIO unions in the state, served as a dress rehearsal this week for the contending forces in the UAW who are preparing their lines of battle for the coming convention of the auto workers in Buffalo.

The Reuther-Frankenstein resolution, which forbids "communists" to serve as officers of local unions or as international officers, was tested out at Jackson.

There was a bitter fight on the issue. At one point the forces opposed to the resolution, made up the most militant elements in the union, had a clear majority in a test vote. But the Stalinists, not satisfied to put the question to vote when they were in a position to win, debated ad infinitum, finally disgusting even their own supporters and by their tactics alienating many votes.

The resolution, a red-baiting measure which is in reality aimed at all local union militants who dare to oppose the leadership, passed by about three to one.

### FLINT VOTES AGAINST

However, the opposition was so severe that it will serve as warning to Reuther, Frankenstein and Thomas to step easy at the Buffalo convention. The entire Flint delegation, a powerful force, voted against the issue. These delegates were not Communist Party members for the most part, but sincere militants who oppose any Homer Martin witch hunt tactics.

### STAND FOR NEGROES

Outstanding progressive notes were sounded on the Negro question. After several Negro leaders from the auto union gave militant speeches, a resolution was passed unanimously against discrimination in the armed forces and warning that all the talk about democracy does not go over with the Negro who is Jim Crowed in this country just as cruelly as the Jews are persecuted in Germany.

The convention took no decisive stand on the question of political action. The committee brought nothing to the floor of any consequence, and reported so late in the proceedings that very few delegates were present to discuss the question. One militant from Detroit demanded a State Labor Party, and met considerable applause from the delegates present, but the convention failed to take action.

### SPIRIT OF OPTIMISM

Over the whole convention, the Ford NLRB victory cast a great spirit of optimism and militancy. When the Ford delegates seated themselves on the stage and were introduced there was a great ovation. The one Negro member of the UAW-CIO bargaining committee at Ford, Sheldon Tapps, of the Foundry, was given a rising ovation that lasted several minutes, in a spontaneous tribute to the Negro workers at Ford who have shown their mettle and have fought side by side with the white workers for unionism. His short and modest little speech was given a greater ovation than that of any of the big names who spouted for an hour each.

Michael Widman, Ford director, announced that there are now 60,000 dues paying members at Ford. The Ford workers voted decisively against the AFL, not only at the Rouge plant, but also at Lincoln. Widman warned the Ford Motor company that if it takes a strike to get a contract, the UAW-CIO is ready to strike Ford again.

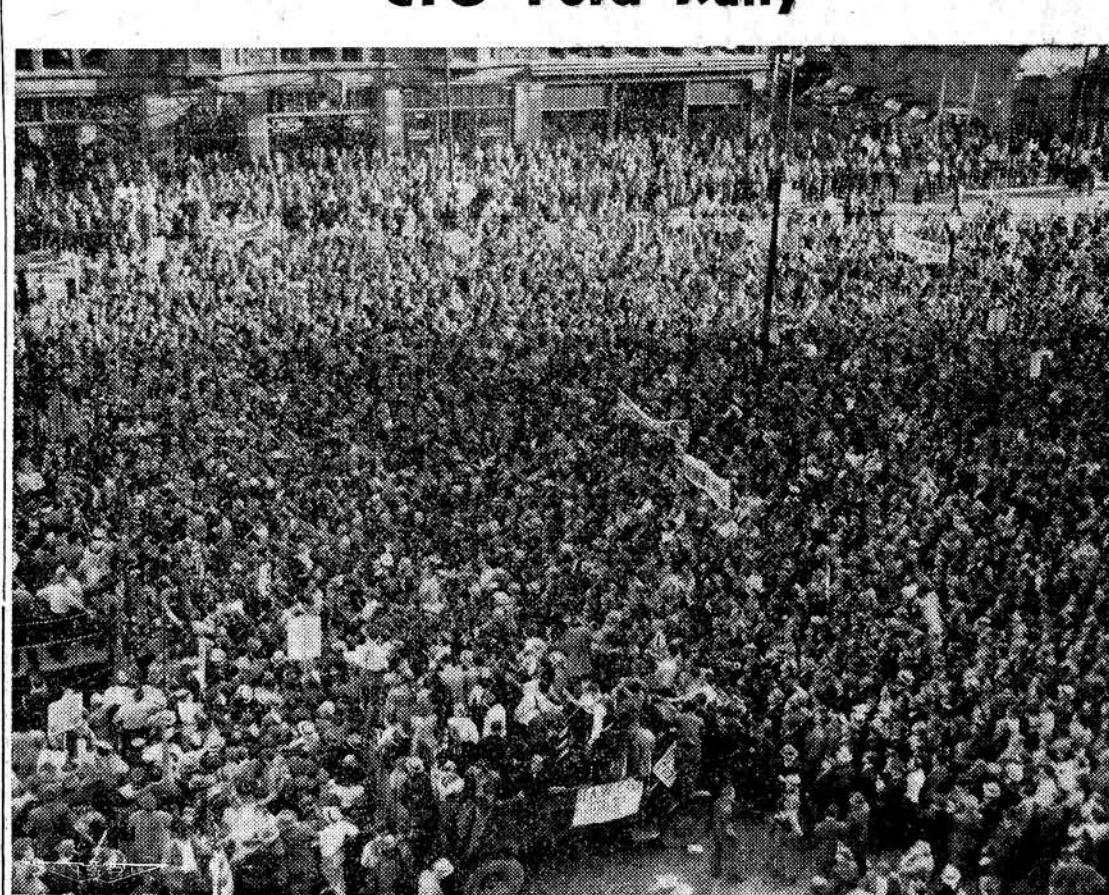
### FOR BRIDGES' DEFENSE

The convention went on record in support of Harry Bridges and demanded a cessation of the action being taken to deport him. The delegates also dispatched a telegram to Mayor LaGuardia of New York, demanding that he deal with the Transport Workers Union and cease his union-wrecking tactics in the subway controversy.

### VOTE AGAINST CONVOYS

A resolution against the sending of convoys to any belligerent country, and demanding that Roosevelt keep the country out of war, was passed.

The resolution was not discussed at great length, and was in general a reflection of the pacifism of the delegates. Nothing was



50,000 members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) packed Cadillac Square in Detroit at the final CIO rally before the NLRB election at the Ford Motor Company. The Ford workers voted, on May 22, 70 per cent in favor of the CIO. This tremendous election victory breached the last anti-union barrier erected by Henry Ford, although this final success was virtually assured by the recent strike which successfully shut down the Ford River Rouge plant for the first time in 38 years.

## Naval Reserve Blames Union For No Recruits

### Seafarers' Union Denies Interfering With Recruiting; Says Naval Reserve's Low Wages, Scab Conditions, Is Real Cause

Failure to recruit American merchant seamen into the Naval Reserve because of the low pay and non-union conditions, has led officials of the Naval Reserve to attempt a smear of the Seafarers' International Union (AFL), charging that a

representative instructed crew members of the S. S. Delargentina at New Orleans "not to talk to anyone about the Naval Reserve."

A. W. Armstrong, SIU agent at New Orleans, condemned as untrue the story told by Captain John Shafroth, director of the Naval Reserve Division of the Bureau of Navigation, who alleged, May 19, before the House Naval Affairs Committee, "that when a recruiting party boarded the Delargentina on May 1, the SIU ship's representative tried to prevent the seamen from talking to the recruiting officers."

No comment on Land's threat or on the strike has yet been heard from Philip Murray or John L. Lewis.

The continuation of the strike is slowly bringing to light the behind-the-scenes dealings that put over the "master contract" which sacrificed double-time pay for overtime:

1. The position of Bethlehem Steel: Here is the bone that sticks in the throats of those who holler "outlaw strike," "sabotage of national defense," "defiance of the government." Frey has made no attempts to go through the picket line at the Bethlehem yard, on the contrary he is opportunistic trying to utilize the so-called outlaw strike to negotiate an agreement with Bethlehem. Why?

Because Bethlehem, employing half the men in the industry, did not participate in the "master contract" negotiations and did not sign! Yet no one screamed "sabotage" or "outlaw" at Bethlehem, no one threatened to use U. S. troops to make it sign. The machinists properly comment in a newspaper ad:

"Obviously this is a Master Contract for labor only and not for industry."

Bethlehem gets no reproach for wanting to sign up today without the closed shop provisions of the Master Contract. Obviously only the workers must make the sacrifices.

2. The government saw in the Master Contract a precedent to beat down wages: The Pacific Coast Metal Trades Department in a paid newspaper ad answering the machinists reveals that "the Government was a controlling party to the agreement." And that "the government definitely informed the (negotiating) conference on the matter of payment for overtime and the minimum rate set for skilled workers..."

It states:

"Before the agreement had been submitted to the membership of the unions involved, Labor and Management had insisted on a statement from the Government." Needless to say they received the following telegram from Knox:

Lieutenant sat with company officials and interviewed each man personally."

### WHAT'S BEHIND IT

The union representative's letter then points out the real reasons for failure of the Naval Reserve to recruit union seamen:

"The Naval Reserve can blame the wage-scale offered for the lack of recruits. It took seven long years to raise the seamen's wages to the American standard existing at present. By joining the Naval Reserve the seamen would relinquish the gains they have made during the last seven years."

"To compare just a few, an apprentice seaman under the Reserve earns \$21.00 per month; under the Union, \$50.00. A second class seaman under the Reserve earns \$36.00 per month; under the Union, \$77.50. A first class seaman under the Naval Reserve earns \$54.50 per month; under the Union, from \$90.00 to \$107.50. The Union figures quoted herein do not include overtime which is not obtainable in the Naval Reserve."

Captain Shafroth's allegations were timed to immediately precede the announcement by reactionary Congressman Vinson, author of the infamous "cooling off" Union Bill and chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, that he would introduce legislation making it unlawful to interfere with recruiting for the Navy in time of peace. Under this bill, the expression of anti-war sentiment by seamen, even in peace-time, could be construed to be interference with naval recruitment.

The Naval Affairs Committee announced it would subpoena the Delargentina crew members when the ship returns from South America.

The New York Times, May 19, reported that the pending "investigation" will be undertaken in an effort... to discover why fewer than 1,000 out of the 50,000 American seamen have joined the Naval Reserve."

This discloses the real rub. Conditions in the Naval Reserve are so bad, that the government hasn't been able to induce two per cent of the seamen to voluntarily join up. The government is preparing to take more drastic and compulsory measures to regiment the seamen into the naval forces.

The Seafarers' Log, Atlantic and Gulf District official paper of the Seafarers' International Union, stated editorially on May 22:

"The remedy lies not in Vinson's witch hunts, but in bringing wages and conditions in the Naval Reserve on a par with the Union standards established in the Merchant Marine!"

## LaGuardia Is Protecting Notorious Fascist Agent

### Carlo Tresca, Anti-Fascist Italian Editor, Exposes LaGuardia's Close Relations With Fascist Publisher And Fascist Groups

Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, now head of three national government "defense" agencies, has been cooperating with Generoso Pope, one of the most influential agents of Mussolini in the United States.

The details of LaGuardia's friendly relations with Pope are published by Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*, leading anti-fascist Italian publication in America, in his issue of May 14.

Pope is publisher of the Italian-American newspapers, *Il Progresso* and *Il Corriere*.

Pope's newspapers are described by Tresca as "the main source of fascist propaganda in the United States."

### LAGUARDIA PROTECTS HIM

LaGuardia recently whitewashed Pope as a "defender of democracy" by placing this fascist on the "I Am An American Day" committee. That happened, according to Tresca, "just when the State Department was scrutinizing the activities of the fascists in the United States and Generoso Pope was being put on the spot as a fascist leader."

Tresca charges LaGuardia with deliberate efforts to protect Pope, despite the fact that the Mayor knows his fascist activities.

Speaking of Pope's recent invitation from LaGuardia, Tresca says:

"Pope has made the most of it. He has used the invitation as evidence of the fact that he is an American.

"He is not.

"He is, and he is proud of it, a fascist to the core and LaGuardia knows it."

### LAGUARDIA'S OLD PAL

Going into the background of LaGuardia's present relations with Pope, Tresca writes:

"During the fascist aggression against Ethiopia, the same fascist organization, that now is put under the ban of the State Department, did collect money, plenty of it, golden rings and all sort of things, to give Mussolini aid and comfort."

### WHAT WAS LEFT OUT

Tresca then relates what the memorandum did not contain, because it had been doctored in advance by LaGuardia.

"The truth is that the memorandum was put in the hands of Mayor LaGuardia, before it was given to Commissioner Valentine for publication, and was doctored by LaGuardia himself.

"Mr. LaGuardia took pains to strike out from the memorandum any reference to Generoso Pope and his newspapers, *IL PROGRESSO* and *IL CORRIERE*. Mr. Pope was described as a fascist activist and his publications as the main source of fascist propaganda in the United States."

### LAGUARDIA LIED FOR HIM

LaGuardia's friendliness to Pope has gone so far in the past as to lead the Mayor to doctor a police memorandum on fascist activities, striking out all references to Pope before the memorandum was issued.

Tresca tells of this in detail, as follows:

"On June 14, 1940 the New York Times, under the title 'Italian Consulate Charged With Plot — Police documents report official guidance of fascist propaganda here,' stated: 'The Italian Consulate General in New York, working under orders from Mussolini, according to documents disclosed

### Mayor LaGuardia's New Post Defined

#### By N. Y. Times

President Roosevelt has just appointed Mayor LaGuardia head of the Office of Civilian Defense. If, just after that happened, we radicals started to warn that LaGuardia would use that post for strike-breaking purposes, we'd sound like crackpots to a lot of people. So we won't do it. We'll just quote the May 24 New York TIMES ("Topics of the Times," written by its chief editorial writer):

"Suppose, for example, that Mr. Michael Quill and the Transport Workers Union justify their opponents' worst fears by launching a big strike and tying up transportation and paralyzing the life of the city. In that case nothing would be simpler than for Mr. La Guardia, as head of civilian defense, immediately to call the men back to work by virtue of powers which he cannot invoke as mere Mayor of New York. At least once in the history of France a serious railroad strike was handled by a Premier summoning the strikers to the colors and operating the railways as part of the national defense. It was done more than thirty years ago by Aristide Briand, who came to power as a radical."

He is for war against the Axis powers.

LaGuardia isn't for that war because he is against fascism as a system. He is sympathetic to the idea of fascism, as represented by Pope, or so long as Mussolini attacks Ethiopia and not any territory in which American imperialism is interested.

LaGuardia is also an opportunist capitalist politician. Pope undoubtedly has weight among a certain section of the large Italian population in New York City. LaGuardia figures that a few thousand more votes will always come in handy, even if they do come from pro-fascist sources.

LaGuardia has no principled opposition to fascism. He represents the kind of politicians who are backing the war for "democracy."

### In Los Angeles

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**MILITANT**

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& Main St.

## Memorial Day--1937



This is what happened four years ago on Memorial Day. On May 30, 1937, during the Little Steel Strike, hundreds of Chicago police fired point-blank into a peaceful column of several hundred strikers, their wives and children, who were marching to picket the plant of the Republic Steel Corporation. Ten unarmed strikers were slaughtered, shot in the back or clubbed to death. Old men, mothers, little kids were mercilessly beaten down with riot sticks and revolver butts. This was the way the Democratic Party machine of Chicago, Roosevelt's political henchmen, helped smash the Little Steel Strike. This year the magnificent strike victory at Bethlehem Steel and the rising tide of unionism throughout the rest of Little Steel have begun to pay back the bosses for the Memorial Day Massacre.

# YCL Member Describes Internal Life Of Stalinist Youth Group

**Political Level Low; Ranks Terrorized By Bureaucracy, Discussion Is Taboo, Leaders Haunted By Fear Of Trotskyism**

By ART PREIS

From a once militant revolutionary youth organization, the Young Communist League has degenerated into a politically-ignorant body dominated by a clique of careerists zealously imitating all the bureaucratic vices of their elders of the Communist Party.

All freedom of expression has long since been smothered. The members are kept in ignorance of even the simplest Marxist concepts. They are held in line by a system of terrorism which has all the aspects of GPU methods.

The YCL leadership is hag-ridden with fear of Trotskyism, against which they warn night and day. They find Trotskyism in the slightest inflection of the voice, the most innocent question. They hunt for it in a word, a gesture. Each member is encouraged to spy on the others, to find in the most far-fetched symptoms the signs of the Trotskyist, "disease."

Such is the picture of the YCL given to me this week by a YCL member who has become a Trotskyist. Although still in his early twenties, this YCL'er is a veteran of the Stalinist movement, having literally "grown up" in it, starting his activity at the age of 9 as a Young Pioneer.

## TELLS STORY OF THE YCL'S DEGENERATION

"Back in the early Thirties the YCL was a really militant organization. We were in the thick of the class struggle, in hunger demonstrations, leading rent strikes, halting evictions.

"Looking back on it now, I realize that even then we had no basic freedom of discussion on political questions, but at least within the framework of the political line handed down to us we were permitted a certain latitude to elaborate ideas and enlarge on policies.

## HE HOPED THE YCL WOULD STRAIGHTEN OUT

"My whole life was in the movement. It was the only life I knew. I lived in hopes that this was only a temporary thing. I deluded myself, like many others, that we would soon go back to a revolutionary line, that this was just a temporary maneuver.

"Then came the period of the 'People's Front.' It was slipped over on us little by little, starting with the Franco-Soviet pact in 1934. The change of line to collaboration with the bourgeois democrats was presented first as a 'struggle against sectarianism.'

"We were then told that we had to adopt a 'new approach to the social-fascists.' We were to become more friendly to the Socialists and trade unionists. Then we were told that we had to press for the United Front with the 'social fascists.'

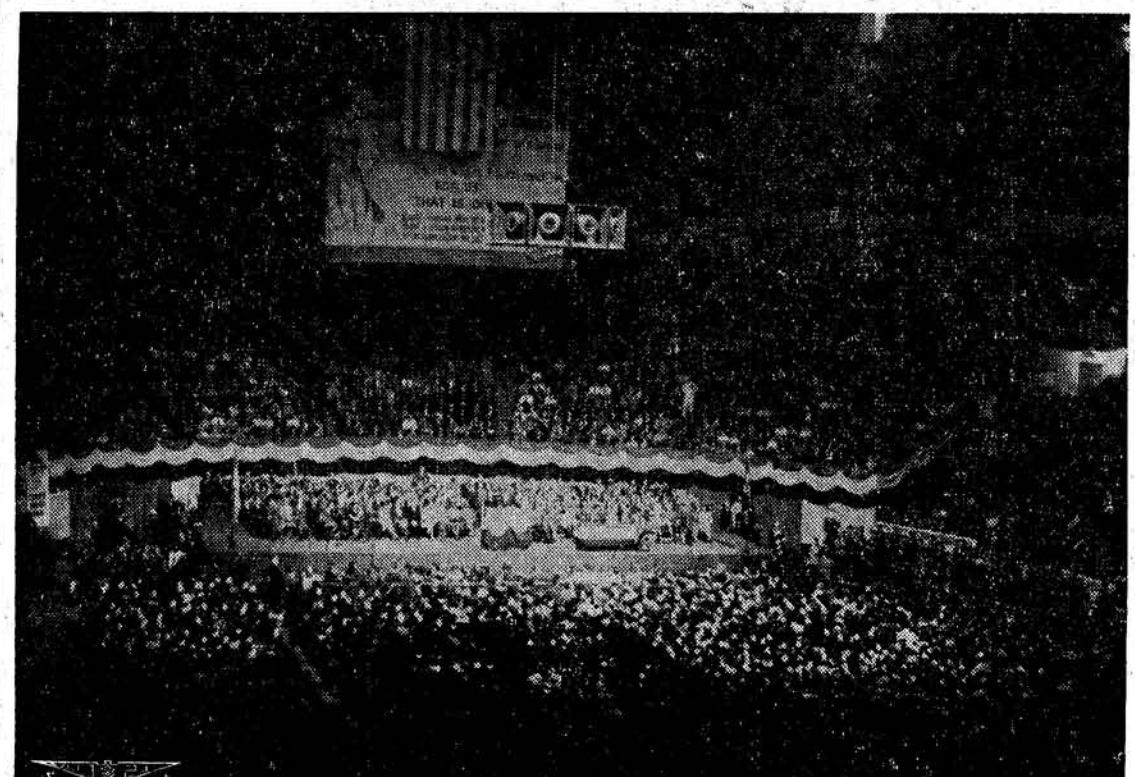
"And finally, they sprang the People's Front, unity with the bourgeois democrats against the fascists.

"There was no discussion or vote over this change of line. By this time the YCL had learned to accept whatever the leaders said. Not all of us accepted the new line without misgivings. That's when I got my first suspicions, back in '36 and '37, that something was wrong.

## WOE TO THOSE WHO ASKED QUESTIONS!

"But whenever any attempt at arguing or questioning the line was made, YCL big-shots were

## A Big Headache For LaGuardia



Part of the overflow crowd of 20,000 workers who packed Madison Square Garden at the rally of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) in support of the New York City subway workers' fight for renewal of their union contracts on the city-owned subway systems. Chief speaker at the rally was CIO President, Philip Murray. 22,000 other workers were turned away from the rally because the hall wasn't big enough.

ment among the rank-and-file about this clause. But it was not openly expressed.

"The greatest shock came to some of us when an official declaration came out informing us that we were no longer carrying on an immediate fight for socialism. By this time, however, the old comrades had largely disappeared. Activity in the YCL became little more than dances and good-times. We older comrades were swallowed up by the new elements brought in on the basis of a program calling on the democratic capitalist nations to fight the fascist nations."

## WHEN STALIN SIGNED THE PACT WITH HITLER

"What was the reaction when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed? I asked.

"No one conceived the possibility of such a pact. Despite the fact that by this time the organization was composed 99 per cent of politically ignorant elements, still there was quite a stir about the pact."

"County officials and functionaries began to flood the branches and desperately explained away the pact. They told us that the pact showed Hitler's fear of the tremendous military power of the Soviet Union. That the Soviet Union wasn't conceding an inch to Hitler. I recall one functionary assuring us that if Hitler invaded Poland, that the Soviet Union would consider the non-aggression pact broken. We were especially assured that the pact contained an escape

clause. How we waited and watched for the announcement of that escape clause! But it never came."

" Didn't this finally make the YCL members see the true political character of Stalinism? I asked him.

"You don't understand what we had become. We had grown used to accepting every new line without discussion or debate.

"Besides, we were left with the impression that collective security wasn't really abandoned, etc. We were kept in a confused state of mind."

## HOW THE STALINIST BUREAUCRATS OPERATE

"You've got to get an idea of what the nature of the bureaucracy is inside the Stalinist organizations.

"Right above the rank and file members in the YCL there is a whole strata of petty officials, branch presidents, organizers, functionaries, etc. There is an abyss between them and the members. The petty officials are careerists of one sort or another who have adopted the attitude of the top bureaucracy of the Communist Party. They all have ambitions to become Little Stalins.

"The average member lives in real fear of the officials, who treat the ranks with suspicion. The members are always afraid of making a mistake. Whenever a member does say anything, he is always mindful that he must speak carefully lest he say something which the bureaucrats can use against him.

"If a member does get up enough courage to ask a question he asks it in a way which would show the officials that he is just a dumb, stupid guy who should really apologize for his ignorance.

"To ask a question in any other fashion would be to indicate a doubt as to the correctness of any policy. I have helped to vote expulsions for just such a question.

"In one YCL branch a county official was sent to give an 'educational' talk on Trotskyism. Some one asked a question: 'How can we detect a Trotskyite at a YCL meeting?' The reply was: 'Nine out of ten times anyone who asks a question is probably a Trotskyite.' This was so raw, that it brought quite a surprising reaction from the members. Another county official had to be sent out to the next meeting to cool off the branch with a lot of elaborate explanations.

## ERSATZ DISCUSSION, STALINIST STYLE

"I'll give you an illustration of how 'discussion' is carried on in the YCL. Shortly before the war and just before the Stalin-Hitler pact changed the line, we were suddenly confronted with an extension of the People's Front line.

"We were now to unite with anyone — even the vilest capitalist reactionary — who was 'against fascism,' even with J. P. Morgan.

"We had never heard of this new twist until a county leader came down to our branch to deliver an 'educational' lecture. We were told: 'We must develop

something new, something that goes even beyond the People's Front, a Democratic Front that will take in everybody.'

"There was no discussion, no convention. We were handed the new line out of a clear sky, off-hand, in a branch 'educational' talk. That's how the political line was changed.

"To understand the atmosphere, you would have to attend a regular meeting of a YCL branch. There is no political discussion of any description. Even on questions of purely organizational character, the members are so scared to take an independent position or show any initiative, that any question of consequence is immediately referred to the officials.

"The whole meeting will be taken up with such safe matters as selling tickets for some social affair or function, etc.

"The educational life of the YCL is a joke. During the most recent period, when the bureaucracy is attempting to create the illusion that Stalinism is now revolutionary, an occasional suggestion is given that the YCL members should read some of Lenin or a pamphlet of Marx. But this is just lip-service. By and large, most of the members are so conditioned not to do any independent reading and thinking, that they don't bother to read any Marxist literature at all.

"One of the last 'educational' lectures I hear was a discussion on the 'correctness' of the Communist Party's positions in the various periods, including its support of Roosevelt in 1936. This was pointed out as a very brilliant maneuver, particularly the fact that it wasn't 'support'—just non-opposition. After this discussion there was a heated controversy among the members as to whether this was 'support' or simply non-opposition.

"Of course, the leaders will say the party is not infallible. But if you should try to get them to give an example of one specific mistake which the party has made, they cannot state any. The party makes mistakes in the abstract, never in the concrete."

"Tell me more about the question of Trotskyism in the YCL, I urged.

"THE TROTSKYITES WILL GET YOU IF YOU DON'T WATCH OUT!

"Trottskyism! It's like a nightmare in the YCL. The leaders raise it constantly as the main spectre. It's like a hysteria. Everything that's in opposition to Stalinism they identify with Trotskyism. They harp on it all the time.

"Trottskyism isn't presented as a political program or an ideology but like a physical disease.

"It's represented like something you can catch out of the air. Members are forbidden not merely to read Trotskyite literature, but even to touch it. It's pictured as such a contagious disease that even to associate in the most innocent fashion with anyone who in turn is suspected of associating with a suspected Trotskyite

## Inequality Of Sacrifice For Arms Program Is Bewailed By N.Y. Times

Left Jabs

By CORT

"It is these groups that have slipped into the New York Times editorial office the other day while the editor wasn't looking, and sent up to the composing room an editorial entitled, 'Sacrifices—By Whom?' It appeared as the leading editorial of the Times of May 20th.

"The President has several times declared that the defense program calls for 'sacrifices' by every one," it began. "But this is not the way the program has been working out in practice."

The editorial then went on to assert that the workers and farmers are rolling in money: "So far as the farmers are concerned, the defense program is not a call for sacrifice. On the contrary, it is to be a wonderful opportunity for the farmers to get something that they have been unable to get since the World War (85% on parity loans)." Slyly the jokester went on to refer to the strike-won wage raises as "all the wage increases that have been passed around."

Then it portrayed those who are tightening their belts:

"It remained for Rabbi Louis I. Newman of New York to solve the mystery of Hess. Last Sunday the good Rabbi revealed to his flock that religion did the trick. Yeah . . . Brother Hess seen the light and was 'converted' away from the program of violence to the policies of peace and brotherhood."

While claiming Hess for the Lord, Rabbi Newman is at the same time doubtful about the power of the gospel. He still puts the hope of the future in the hands of the army led by Churchill rather than the one led by Jehovah.

ONE OF THEM KNOWS HOW TO FIGHT

I. A. Capizzi, attorney for Henry Ford:

"The Ford Motor Company must now deal with a Communist-influenced and led organization whose first objective is to raise additional millions with which to finance its drive to control all American industry; and whose ultimate objective is, through strikes and general turmoil, to produce that public confusion and bewilderment which is essential to Communist seizure of governmental power in the United States. Every detail of this law (NLRA) is un-American. In concept, theory and practice this law is tyrannical, and Benjamin Franklin said that 'rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God'."

R. J. Thomas, president of UAW:

"The UAW-CIO is ready to draw the curtain on the past. We hope the Ford Company will do likewise. We are anxious to erase all bitterness."

THE POPE SPEAKS OUT

Last week Germans and Greeks and British and Australians were killing each other on the Island of Crete; Iraqis and Arabs and British were killing each other over the oil of Mosul.

Conscious of his responsibilities to God and the Holy Ghost, Pope Pius spoke out. Addressing 4,000 Catholic Action girls he warned them against wearing "daring" dresses. "It is objected," said the Holy Father, "that certain dresses are more comfortable and hygienic, but if they prove dangerous for the soul they must be unfailingly rejected."

IT'S BOLSHEVISM!

Lord Marley, deputy speaker of the House of Lords, is here, insisting that the privileged classes in England have disappeared. Here is his evidence:

"They (the people) demanded equality of sacrifice from everybody and they are getting what they demanded. It is quite common now to see Englishmen speaking to each other in public, although they have never been formally introduced." (N. Y. Times, May 23).

THE OLD SCHOOL TIE

After all, a Duke is a Duke . . . and more than that, the surrounding Duke of Aosta was an old Etonian. So a parade was in order and the Duke was given three days to prepare for it.

First came the "walking wounded" and that was not the pretty part of the parade. It was the officers that really made the pageant. Their uniforms, according to the N. Y. Times' correspondent, "were immaculate" with "spotless suede gloves." Their medals were polished for the occasion and neatly arrayed on their chests.

And as they marched the mountain side to shake hands with the British generals, they passed the graves of the common soldiers marked by wooden crosses roughly hewn from ammunition crates, the names scrawled on them in pencil. And "each dead soldier's identification papers were tucked into an empty champagne bottle half-buried near the cross."

Ah . . . champagne! That bubbling nectar that must be transported gently and chilled slowly and opened carefully. The Duke was a true Etonian, even in the heart of darkest Africa. There must have been moments when he tired of the sound of the cork and the tickle of the bubbles in his nose. But always there was an orderly at his elbow, bowing and murmuring, "Could your Grace possibly finish the champagne? We have need of the bottle."

means to run the danger of catching the disease.

"Members are told that if anyone in their immediate family is suspected of having Trotskyite leanings, the members must leave home. I have heard organizers tell of having persons kicked out of boarding houses for being Trotskyites."

"You simply can't imagine the holy terror the leaders have of Trotskyism and their attempts to communicate this fear to the members. The members are incited to spy on each other. If a YCL'er is suspected of merely having a lenient attitude toward the question of associating with any form of radical dissidents from the Stalinist line, even if he has no such actual association, he is immediately placed under the closest scrutiny. His closest comrades are quizzed about him. Does he meet any strange people? Does he go to any strange study circles? Does he read any strange literature?

"All this has had a peculiar effect. The rank and file tends to band together against the bureaucratic hierarchy. They avoid snitching on each other. Members do meet with dissidents, but they literally meet in dark alleys.

"Formerly, we were told that we were politically isolating the Trotskyites. Now the Stalinist leadership is trying to do just one thing: to physically isolate the YCL rank-and-file from the Trotskyites."

IN NEWARK

THE MILITANT can be bought at the newsstand at 11 Springfield Avenue.

**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

**The March On Washington**

The Socialist Workers Party recognizes the need for action such as the proposed march of 10,000 Negroes on Washington to protest against discrimination and Jim Crowism in the armed forces and industry. That is why, in spite of our disagreements on many things with the Randolph Committee making the march preparations, we have endorsed the march and will support it in every way possible.

Our support, while it is complete, is not unconditional. It is the duty of all those who support militant action against Jim Crowism to point out the shortcomings in the proposals of the Randolph Committee—to prevent, if possible, mistakes which can have a very bad effect on the action as a whole, and which can demoralize and discourage those militants who are supporting the March.

Last week we criticized the half-hearted approach of the Committee, as demonstrated in its "Call To Negro America." We could also criticize the organizational preparations for the march; the fact that so far very little has been done about informing and arousing the masses of Negroes to action, although the date for the action, July 1, is little more than a month away; that apparently insufficient attention is being paid to the task of drawing the trade unions into the struggle.

But an even more important concern than how the march is being organized, and how many people are being drawn into it, is the question: What are the marchers going to demand when they get to Washington?

Militancy is necessary, the participation of the masses is required, but what they actually seek is the decisive thing. There would be no sense in 10,000, or even 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington and fighting for something which will not solve their problems.

**What Randolph Wants**

The Randolph Committee is making its central demand the issuance of an executive order by the president of the United States abolishing discrimination in the armed forces, all government departments, and industry holding contracts from the government.

According to the present plans, this will be the request of the march in Washington. The local demonstrations will also call on the city governmental bodies to memorialize the president to issue this order.

To understand the theory behind this, one has to read the article, "Why F.D. Won't End Defense Jim Crow," by A. Philip Randolph, published in the Negro press several weeks ago. It starts this way:

"President Roosevelt can issue an executive order tomorrow to abolish discrimination in the Army, Navy, Air Corps, Marine and on all defense contracts awarded by the Federal Government, on account of race or color, and discriminations against colored people would promptly end." (Our emphasis.)

Now if this statement means anything at all, it means that discrimination and segregation continue to exist in the government and the armed forces and in industry only because the president hasn't issued an order abolishing them.

Just to pose the question that way is to show how ridiculous Randolph's statement really is.

Jim Crowism does not depend for its existence on the lack of executive orders abolishing it. It exists because it serves the interests of the capitalist ruling class to keep the working class in a position where it is divided and split along racial lines and therefore more easily exploited.

**The Demand Is Inadequate**

Undoubtedly it will be very difficult to get a man like Roosevelt to issue such an order. The Randolph Committee does not do the Negro people a service when it calls Roosevelt "a great humanitarian and idealist." Calling him nice names will not make the man, who for eight years has refused to even speak one word against the crimes of lynching in the south, suddenly issue an order abolishing all forms of Jim Crowism. Praise of Roosevelt will not produce any changes in the administration that refuses to even pass the poll tax bill. After all, what is the march on Washington for—to praise F.D.R. or to praise Jim Crowism?

In our opinion, forcing the issuance of such an order from Roosevelt would be a definite step forward in the struggle for abolition of all racial discrimination. It would not "promptly end" discrimination, as Randolph claims, but it would make it easier to fight specific cases of discrimination. That is why, in a clear and cool manner, without fooling ourselves as Randolph does, we are able to endorse this demand.

But while we endorse it, we also believe that it is not enough, that it is insufficient as the central demand of the march.

It is insufficient because it does not go to the heart of the question of discrimination. There have been and there still are plenty of laws and rulings and orders on the books, prohibiting discrimination. In spite of them, Jim Crow still rides high. There are the federal constitution, state laws, the selective service bill and plenty of other rulings from Washington. Everyone knows they are ignored.

If this is so, the Negroes who march on Washington must demand more than the issuance of an executive order. Just what is it that they should ask for?

(Continued next week)

# How Britain Rules Colonies

## A Sailor, Just Returned, Describes British Oppression In The East

(The following is an account by an American seaman of a recent trip on an American freighter to South Africa, up through the Persian Gulf and then to the Malay Peninsula, to Singapore. The trip lasted over seven months, and the writer of the article had an opportunity to personally observe conditions in a number of the British colonies.)

\* \* \*

By A SAILOR

We got our first shore leave, after over five weeks at sea, at Capetown, Union of South Africa.

The anti-British sentiment, which I had noticed on former visits, is very strong among the native people. Even the native whites hate the British, a feeling which goes back to the Boer war.

The war has not diminished the desire for independence. In fact, the war is very unpopular. The people are not pro-Nazi, as they are quick to assure you. But they want their independence. They cannot stand the arrogance and the domineering of the British officials. They've been paying off to the British for several decades now, and they're being milked for this war something terrible. The taxes have become so heavy that everyone repeatedly speaks about it.

### LIVING CONDITIONS VILE; MANY STRIKE STRUGGLES

Living conditions in all the British colonies are vile. Conditions in Capetown, especially among the colored workers, are very bad. But not as bad as in other British colonies, especially in the Orient.

That is because there is a tradition of militant struggle in South Africa. The spirit of resistance has never been subdued. These people are not cowed by British imperialism. From the local papers I was able to gather that strikes are constant.

And while the British-controlled press doesn't give much information about these strikes, from the reported numbers of killed and wounded, it is obvious that these strikes are bitter and violent.

Incidentally, the British propaganda against the labor movement in South Africa made me feel almost at home. Like here, there is a big campaign against the labor militants, who are la-

ted to the bone.

To understand the theory behind this, one has to read the article, "Why F.D. Won't End Defense Jim Crow," by A. Philip Randolph, published in the Negro press several weeks ago. It starts this way:

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Jim Crowism does not depend for its existence on the lack of executive orders abolishing it. It exists because it serves the interests of the capitalist ruling class to keep the working class in a position where it is divided and split along racial lines and therefore more easily exploited.

The brazen frankness of the "Fortune" article makes it well worth quoting at length. Here is a typically juicy paragraph:

"Within the U. S. our government's propaganda about its South American policy stresses powerfully and skillfully the notion that we must prepare the military defense of his entire hemisphere against an attack by a possibly victorious Hitler in Europe. Hence (the need for) bases (in South America), hence a lot of things. This all-out campaign is itself oddly Hitlerian in methods, since it counts for success on repetition and the arousing of fear rather than argumentation, and thus makes no attempt to explain either (a) how Hitler, who cannot apparently get across the English Channel, is going to traverse the somewhat wider South Atlantic, or (b) how he is going to turn a ruined, internally divided, un-pacified, and war-weary Europe into an enthusiastic and smoothly functioning war machine for a distant foreign campaign of conquest. The reality concealed by this dust in the eyes is of course that what we really fear is Hitler's ECONOMIC not military, penetration of South America: that, in the event of the same Hitler victory, Hitler could give us cards and spades in the South American market and still beat us—provided the South American market remains an open one. The answer is obvious: The South Ameri-

### British Army Used Against Rubber Strike in Malaya

Bitter clashes between striking rubber plantation workers and British troops have grown so serious that the British authorities have declared a "state of emergency" and dispatched additional military forces in an effort to suppress the spreading strike wave, according to a May 17 Associated Press dispatch from Singapore, Straits Settlements.

The dispatch reports three strikers killed and several wounded after one clash between strikers and troops. 15,000 workers on forty rubber estates in Malaya are already involved. Malaya produces almost half the world's rubber supply.

The dispatch states that the authorities said the military patrols were necessary to curb sabotage to roads and PREVENT THE MOVEMENT OF 'AGITATORS' BETWEEN THE ESTATES."

In other words, the strike is outlawed.

by some enterprising American who makes a living by buying up all sorts of odd old clothes in the U. S. A. and shipping it out to places like Bahrain. One of the workers was wearing an ancient frock coat over a cloak of burlap sacking.

During this time, we did not get shore leave, once we left Capetown, for seven weeks until we hit Basra, Iraq. We had a total of six hours ashore in three months.

One incident at one of the Arabian ports where we stopped before getting to Basra will give an idea of the treatment of the na-

tives in these countries dominated by the British. At Ras Tanura, some of the longshoremen started to carry off some damage—scrap wood and splinters. Wood of any kind is very precious to these people. They were carrying it off openly.

They were seized by the dock officials and unmercifully beaten before our eyes. The officials really worked them over, kicking them, and smashing them with clubs and pistol butts.

Everywhere, in all the ports along the Persian Gulf, you see the same terrible conditions. The people live in primitive huts, over crowded. The pay is pitiful, and the war has served as an excuse to double the tax loads. It seems that the native puppet rulers and the British overseers can always manage to squeeze another anna of tax out of these poor wretches.

The evidences of the war are everywhere. Soldiers guard the docks. At Basra there were night black-outs. British men-of-war lie at anchor surrounded by the ancient native dhows.

The natives were in deadly fear of the war. They had no interest in it, except the fear that it would spread to their territories. And i

spreads to their territories.

Our next main stop was at Penang, Straits Settlements, which is a British Crown Colony. We had a four day shore leave here.

### THE BRITISH FORMULA: DIVIDE AND RULE

Penang is the largest tin port in the world. The tin is mined from river beds and from pits along the river banks. Conditions among the tin workers have always been notoriously bad. But since the war the British have imposed a speed-up that drives the workers almost insane.

The Malayan workers are as militant as any in the world. When the British could no longer prevent the workers from organizing and conducting savage strikes, the

government brought in hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers to compete with the Malayans. But the Chinese workers started organizing and striking! The British then brought in more hundreds of thousands of workers, this time, Temas, from South India. The British try to use these groups against each other.

War or no war, the labor struggles are continuing with increasing violence. I'm not exaggerating when I report that every issue of the local British press carries stories of strikes and bloody repressions. The British use Indian troops against the native workers. Scores of workers are killed and wounded in every strike.

I talked with some of the native longshoremen at Penang. They hate the British and are at the same time very anti-Japanese.

One thing most Americans don't know is that there is a clearly developed proletariat in the Malay States. There is a high degree of industrialization and big capital investments in these British colonies, and the workers in the Straits Settlements are as skilled and well trained as European and American workers. These are no primitive bush natives.

There is a surprising degree of literacy among them. They have a great degree of savvy and are going to give a very good accounting of themselves, in my opinion, at the first good chance they get to kick the British out of their country.

Our last port was Singapore, which is truly a crossroads of the world.

There are about 15,000 Australian troops stationed in Singapore and throughout the Straits Settlements and Malaya. There's a real story about these troops, who are plenty burned up about the trick that was pulled on them in shipping them out of Australia.

They are very outspoken and over a beer, are quite willing to tell their story to a sympathetic American sailor.

These fellows were conscripted under an Australian conscription law which was for the purpose of setting up a Home Defense force. The law specifically stated that the conscripts were not to be sent out of Australia.

No sooner had these fellows received their military training, than they were packed off in ships without warning and sent to the Straits Settlements.

These Australian troops are a pretty high-spirited and independent bunch of men, a rough and ready lot, who look like Americans and talk like Americans. From the way they spoke and acted I can confidently predict that these troops are going to give the British a real headache. They don't like to be double-crossed.

The general impression I got from this trip—I've been around the world four times—is that British colonial rule is very shaky. It's hard to say where the blow-up is going to start. But the British Empire is seeing its last days. And it's not going to be Hitler that will finish off British imperialism. It's going to be the native people who have suffered under the British rule.

### WAR BRINGS HARDSHIPS TO AMERICAN SEAMEN

Incidentally, this was the toughest trip I ever made. By the time I got back to New York I had lost twenty pounds, and I usually put on weight during a trip.

For most of the trip, which lasted almost eight months over the Fall, Winter and early Spring, we had no fresh foods, meat, vegetables and fruits. Our potatoes ran out. The flour became maggoty and had to be thrown overboard. At one period we were without bread for several weeks. For four months we lived on canned foods. We couldn't get food supplies in any of the Eastern ports, except some stringy chickens which tasted like polar bear, spoiled mutton which we couldn't touch, and eggs that you had to eat with a gas mask on.

The trouble was that our ship wasn't built for long voyages. It was formerly a coast-wise vessel with refrigeration space for only a few weeks provisions at most. The company didn't bother to provide adequate refrigeration space when the ship was put on this long haul. I'm feeding up now—but nothing out of a can, thank you!

Unless the working class learns that only its abolition of private property can stave off ruin and steer civilization to a new plane of development, then the class struggle will end in common ruin. As the Communist Manifesto puts it:

"A warfare that invariably ended, either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society, or else in the common ruin of the contending classes."

## The Depth Of The Post-War Crisis Is Already Clear

By JACK WEBER

Data keeps accumulating to lend complete certainty to the fact that there will be a tremendous economic crack-up at the end of the war. The bankers and the economists know full well how artificial is the American war prosperity. They see one contradiction piling on the other to make impossible the gradual and controlled readjustment of national economy after peace comes.

Glance first of all at the war trade which has created the "boom" period. The figures are in for 1940. The volume of exports for last year was the highest since 1929. It amounted to over four billion dollars (in 1929 the total was over five billions). Of this sum 64% was in trade with the British Empire. And the principal export, the first time in all history, consisted of airplanes and airplane parts. In addition there was machinery, tanks and munitions. In other words, the bulk of the export trade was due to the heavy industries.

### Farmers Still Take A Beating

But while the heavy industries have been building up, what is happening to United States agriculture? Exports of farm products declined one hundred forty million dollars from 1939 to 1940, and the decline is continuing. Normally this country exports more than half its cotton, 40% of its tobacco, a quarter of its wheat. But the foreign markets for these commodities are gone.

The government is paying to have the tobacco growers cut their crop right in half for the next three years. Japan normally imports about a million and a half bales of cotton and this provides employment for 350,000 Southerners who support through this work another million and a half dependents. But Japan no longer buys from this country or at least is cutting its share down all the time. The story is the same for wheat. No wonder it is remarked that the war means the ruin of the farmers! To prevent that, the government is merely increasing the warehouse surpluses in this ever abnormal granary.

Naturally the durable goods export will drop like a shot if hostilities should cease soon. True enough, the United States will continue to absorb much of the material for its own armament program, but that also merely postpones the day of reckoning. The arms program itself involves the amassing of a tremendous amount of fixed capital for expanding production. And it was precisely to the different rhythm in which fixed capital is realized in the process of capitalist circulation, as against the other forms of capital, that Marx traced the cyclical crises with the result of bringing starvation in the midst of plenty.

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The general impression I got from this trip—I've been around the world four times—is that British colonial rule is very shaky. It's hard to say where the blow-up is going to start. But the British Empire is seeing its last days. And it's not going to be Hitler that will finish off British imperialism. It's going to be the native people who have suffered under the British rule.

Thus the government is forced to pursue a policy of gamble in regard to inflation. It hopes to control the process and have only a mild inflation by trying to fix prices and wages. This requires the most drastic measures if it is even partially to become effective. Even in Germany where such measures could be taken far more readily than here, the control was not as effective as the Nazis would have us believe.

Naturally it is not only the United States that is faced with all these capitalist contradictions. The entire system of capitalist world economy is faced with deficit spending which can never possibly be repaid. The war is leading all the nations to economic bankruptcy at high speed.

### Either Socialism Or Chaos

There are those who think that fascism is building a new kind of society, that it is learning to control the entire economic process and to avoid inflation by drastic control of the entire price structure. These people do not understand that no single country, nor group of countries, can control world economy which alone is decisive in the end, even we are to assume that any national economy could actually be "planned" while private property still existed. Planning cannot be done completely even where private property has been abolished, as in Russia, where planning is circumscribed by the capitalist world.

# THE MILITANT

VOL. V—No. 22 Saturday, May 31, 1941

Published Weekly by  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: Algonquin 4-8347

Editorial Board:  
**FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN**  
Business Manager:  
**LYDIA BEIDEL**

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle  
orders: 8 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents  
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

\*Registered as second class matter February 13, 1941  
at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of  
March 3, 1879.

## 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.

## Memorial Day

Middle-aged men in blue or khaki overseas caps dot the street corners selling poppies... little red reminders that the human wreckage of the last war is still floating along in the mad stream taking us over the cataract into the new world conflict.

A good many of them are unemployed workers, probably. Selling poppies is just a job for a few days. But one wonders what they must be thinking, they and the men still bedridden or hobbled in government hospitals after twenty-three years? That young man rushing by, too busy to stop to buy one, may be on his way to an induction center, on his way into the army, into war and perhaps on his way to a government hospital to benefit from the sale of poppies on another Memorial Day.

Fighting on European and Middle Eastern battlefields today are the European boys who were born in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918. Their mothers cherished them with a fierce bitterness. Their fathers were away draining out the lifeblood of a generation. Some of them, at the beginning anyway, believed they were fighting to make a better world for their sons. And now it turns out that their mothers bore them in pain and their fathers shed blood for them only so that they in turn, having reached the flower of their youth, might be turned loose upon each other with weapons bent on the same insane destruction.

"Buy a poppy, mister?" Sure, buy a poppy. It isn't real. It's just made to look like a poppy. The real poppy is a velvety, bright-hued, joyous flower. But nobody offers the real thing. The same with these wars. They tried the first time and they're seeking again to sell us the same phony—that if we suffer and die enough in their war, the world will be a better place, life easier to live. But all the boys got the first time was the graveyard or the figurative tomb of a hospital, and the world got—World War II.

Memorial Day makes us think of all the men who have done the dying in the wars, all the women who have done the suffering. But let's make it the occasion for other memories too—the victims of the Chicago Memorial Day massacre of 1937, the ten workers of Little Steel who died in another war, a war fought every day without letup by the bosses against the workers. Let's remember the workers who fought in Europe for a truly better world in the great class battles of the last twenty years. Let's remember that there is a war that is worth fighting, a war not of needless, futile sacrifice, but a war that can lead us to the real victory of the future, the victory of the workers over all forms of exploitation.

Fight and win that war and we won't have a world of morally and physically maimed wrecks. Fight and win that war and there will be an end to the poppy-symbol of each generation's offering on the altar of capitalist greed and profit. Fight and win that war and we'll build a new world. It is the war of the workers for socialism. Its martyrs, unlike the dead of the boss wars of the past, did not die in vain.

## Where You'll Fight

Perhaps you've wondered just what part of the American border you would be defending once the government declared war. Atlantic coast? The Gulf of Mexico? The West Coast? Take the word of General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, that it will be none of these.

"While we give careful consideration to military developments abroad," said the General in a special statement to the *N. Y. Times*, "we must never overlook the fact that the Army of the United States differs in one important characteristic from the armies of Europe. Ours must be an all purpose Army. We must be prepared to operate in the Arctic or in the tropics, in deserts or mountains, and the elements of our ground forces must be properly balanced to meet any contingencies."

When the General spoke of operating in the desert he didn't mean the Mojave in California, and when referred to the mountains he wasn't thinking of the Rockies. Ostensibly building an army for hemispheric defense, the General actually prepares for action far afield. Dakar...Hong-Kong...Norway! We must be prepared to meet "any contingencies." This is indeed an elastic hemisphere we live in.

## The Victory Over Ford

The coffin lid is down on the corpse of Ford's open-shop. The Ford workers' overwhelming vote last week in favor of the CIO United Automobile Workers Union was but the belated filing of the death certificate. Six weeks before, Fordism had curled up its toes and passed away from an acute attack of militant strike action.

For six weeks Henry Ford, Harry Bennett and William Green, with a host of their agents, worked frantically over the corpse. They warmed it with their bodies, breathed into its nostrils, yanked its arms up and down. They hopped around yelping a weird incantation that sounded like, "AFL...AFL...AFL..." To no avail. The open shop at Ford's lay cold and limp as any other dead herring.

Today the anti-labor voice of Henry Ford, which once seemed to speak with terrifying thunder, is nothing but a tremulous pip-squeak. Ford is licked, licked to a frazzle.

Ford's anti-union arsenal included every union-busting weapon ever devised. To this he added his own special brand of hypocrisy. When Ford fired tens of thousands of his workers and put the rest on a more intensive speed-up, his propaganda agents hailed him as the initiator of a shorter work-week. When Ford forced his workers to till vegetable patches after their back-breaking labors on the whirl-wind assembly-lines, so that the workers would grow some of their own food and enable Ford to reduce their wages, this was pictured to the world as a great "social experiment."

Ford tried everything. He fired native Michigan workers and brought in tens of thousands of workers from the South who had been accustomed to a lower standard of living. He hired a certain percentage of Negro workers—not out of social good will, for Ford is notoriously fascist-minded—but to use them in an effort to divide the workers by creating racial antagonisms.

The weapon he depended on most was physical terrorism, which drew the line not even at murder. Inside his plants he maintained the largest private armed force in the world. To build it he scoured the country of its scum, bringing to Dearborn underworld toughs, professional strikebreakers, hoodlums of every description. They were an army trained to smash unionism by armed violence. Many a worker who dared to talk "out of turn" experienced their fists, boots, black-jacks and revolver butts before being tossed jobless out of the plant.

More than one union organizer who attempted to reach the Ford workers ended up "mysteriously" battered to death in some lonely field.

The Ford management knew within ten minutes what a Ford worker had whispered to a fellow-worker anywhere in the plant. Ford's spies ferreted out everything about the private lives of the workers, what they did with their spare time, where they went, whom they met. The Ford workers feared to speak even to their closest associates at work. Any one might be a spy.

Yes, if any employer had worked out a fool-proof anti-union formula, it was Henry Ford. The great strike wave of 1936-37 did not touch him. As one by one the greatest open-shop corporations succumbed to the union drive of the CIO, Henry Ford kept on sneering, kept on denouncing unionism, kept on beating up union organizers and union men. Many, many workers shook their heads pessimistically and affirmed: "Every other corporation may yield to unionism, but they'll never beat old Hank Ford's union-busting system."

But the workers have beat old Hank's system.

Against the gigantic power of 50,000 organized workers giving battle on the picket lines, the union-smashing formula of Henry Ford had as little effect as some ancient alchemist's mumbo-jumbo. The myth of Ford's invincibility vanished in a day.

The defeat of Ford has helped expose the myth of the invincibility of the boss class as a whole. For Ford was the outstanding symbol of that "invincibility."

Once again, and in the most impressive and conclusive fashion, we have seen demonstrated the unconquerable might of organized labor. Aroused and united, resolved to battle unflinchingly, the workers can challenge and defeat any force the employing class can hurl against them. The workers do not as yet realize the strength they possess. Once the awareness of that strength becomes fixed in the consciousness of the American working class as a whole, there will be no goal which the workers cannot dare to win.

# Churchill's Polish Ally Holds Nazi Racial Views

## Anti-Semitism Of Polish Government-in-Exile Has Become Too Raw Even For Pro-War Editors Of 'Nation' And 'Jewish Frontier'

The Roosevelt-Churchill warriors for democracy find themselves in the same camp with a group of anti-Semites, the Polish government-in-exile.

How is it possible for the Polish government to share Hitler's racial theories? Apologists for Britain are now busy attempting to explain away this bit of Nazism in their own ranks.

William Zuckerman in *The Nation* of May 17 writes an article entitled "Anti-Semitism in Exile." He first pictures the Polish masses, subjected to segregation and virtual slavery. Nearly a million Polish men and women have been deported to Germany as a labor force. The rest, as well as the Jews, are segregated in Warsaw and other cities, barred from streets, theatres, cafes, streetcars, etc. "Aryan" suffers

the Sejm (parliament) in Warsaw. Those who spoke were not irresponsible Polish journalists but former deputies of the Sejm, party leaders like Yushviak, and Polish statesmen like General Zheligowski, 'the hero of Wilno'.

In effect they declared that after the war Poland would have no place for the Jews and that the only solution for the whole painful problem was to deport all European Jews to a desert island off the coast of Africa.

After all this Zuckerman, a believer in Britain's "war for democracy," makes no attempt to explain how he and others like him can continue to support these Polish reactionaries and help them to return to their governmental posts. His article closes in this resigned manner: "But somehow nothing is more depressing than these trivial words and acts of a people who have learned nothing from their great ordeal."

He thus actually attempts to blame, not the ruling class, but the Polish masses who are suffering now under Nazi rule while their leaders scheme ways of continuing the old regime in the future.

### THE 'JEWISH FRONTIER' INDICTS SIKORSKI

In his entire report the only one, according to Zuckerman, who made any attempt to stem the anti-Semitism was Sikorski.

But the May issue of the *Jewish Frontier*, speaking of Sikorski's visit here and the interviews and speeches he made says:

"The Polish government has learned little from its experiences and exile of the last eighteen months... On Sikorski's part there was not even an attempt to conceal the old ingrained anti-Semitic attitudes and superstitions."

The *Jewish Frontier*, a magazine of "Socialist" Jewish liberals who fully support Roosevelt and his war moves, tries in some way to gloss over the fact that the anti-Semitic Polish government-in-exile, has the support of Roosevelt and Churchill. It ends its exposure of Sikorski and the Polish reactionaries by a pious wish: "We hope and believe that hitherto anonymous forces within the Polish people will come to the fore at the conclusion of the war and will replace the generals of the type of Sikorsky and Halder."

If by the "anonymous forces," the *Jewish Frontier* means the Polish workers and peasants, we are ready to second the wish. But that wish cannot be realized through Roosevelt and Churchill, who support the Polish ruling class.

### LUDWIG LORE DEFENDS THESE ANTI-SEMITES!

Among the apologists there are those who are more politically developed and have learned that when you say A you must say B. Those ready to support British imperialism must accept and support all the allies of Britain, including Poland's government-in-exile, anti-Semitism and all.

The *New York Post* understands this and so does its columnist, Ludwig Lore. Under the hypocritical heading "Polish Chiefs in Exile Fight Anti-Semitism" on May 21 he attempts to whitewash the Polish government-in-exile.

Admitting that William Zuckerman is "well known as an informed and reliable writer particularly versed on this vital subject" he proceeds to answer the material in Zuckerman's article which, he adds, "deals with alleged anti-Semitic tendencies among the Polish exiles in England."

To the actual facts cited by Zuckerman and the *Jewish Frontier* Lore counterposes... a personal conversation he had with Sikorski in which the General assured Lore of his opposition to anti-Semitism! In addition, Lore produces a long quotation from a speech by Jan Stanczyk, Polish Minister of Labor in which anti-Semitism is soundly berated... in Germany!

Maybe Sikorski has declared "repeatedly," as Lore says that he is aware of the dangers of anti-Semitism and will fight to stamp it out, but equally often Sikorski and the others have done the things *The Nation* and *The Jewish Frontier* describe.

## Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

### The Proponents of a Negotiated Peace

From the very beginning of the war there have been groups in both imperialist camps anxious to achieve peace. Hitler himself, after having overrun Poland and since then, has offered to enter into peace negotiations. In this country the "isolationist" section of the capitalist class has been urging and even clamoring to have Roosevelt take the initiative in starting peace negotiations. The flight of Hess, which more and more appears to have been undertaken for the purpose of sounding out the possibilities for peace negotiations (either with or without the consent of Hitler), has furnished the "isolationists" with another opportunity for demanding a negotiated peace.

From the attitude of any group on the war it is simple to deduce what its attitude will be on the question of a negotiated peace. War, as has been explained by us many times, is only a continuation of politics by other means and the policy of any political group towards war and peace has the same general pattern.

When the reactionary section of the "isolationist" wing clamors for peace it is understandable, because its "isolationism" is based primarily on two factors: (1) fear that the war will lead to revolutionary upheavals, and (2) sympathy for fascism. It is of course understood that a negotiated peace at this time would mean a victory for Hitler. The minimum Hitler would achieve would be domination of all of Europe. Another factor which plays an important role in the anxiety of reactionary forces to achieve a negotiated peace is the idea that such a peace will enable Hitler to throw his forces against the Soviet Union.

### Norman Thomas' Case for Negotiated Peace

Humanitarian democrats of the type of Norman Thomas must also favor a negotiated peace. In the first place war is bad, as far as these humanitarians are concerned, because it brings suffering and death. For them peace, any kind of peace, is better than war—even though Hitler should gain control of all of Europe. Then again war is bad because it threatens the existence of whatever democracy there is in this country: in their anxiety to save democracy in one country they are perfectly willing to let Hitler kill it in all other countries.

People like Thomas cannot be taken seriously because they base their politics not on the basis of a realistic analysis of the forces actually at work, but on their vain hopes and desires. There is no more disgusting spectacle than a "Socialist" Norman Thomas, gushing all over for peace, making an alliance with people like Lindbergh, who is controlled by the most reactionary forces on the political scene.

### Why Roosevelt Now Opposes Peace

Against a negotiated peace at this time is the section of the ruling class led by Roosevelt. This section, anxious to destroy the most dangerous rival of American imperialism and confident that it is able to do so, sees no reason for entering into negotiations for peace. As far as the British imperialists are concerned, a negotiated peace at the present would mean a serious defeat. They have to continue the struggle so long as there is a chance for victory—although even a victory means in reality a victory for American imperialism.

Should the war drag on, however, both Roosevelt and Churchill may be compelled to accept the idea of a negotiated peace.

And just as all groups in the camp of imperialism adopt an attitude on negotiated peace which is in fundamental agreement with their attitude on the war, so does our policy toward negotiated peace flow naturally and inevitably from our attitude toward the war. Better still, our attitude on negotiated peace follows from our basic attitude towards capitalist society in its imperialist stage.

### Our Position On Negotiated Peace

It must be understood that a negotiated peace or any kind of peace arrived at by imperialist rivals can be only an imperialist peace just as a war fought by imperialist rivals can be only an imperialist war. Both have as their motive force the question of colonies, raw materials, markets and spheres of influence. From this basic factor it follows that our position on a negotiated peace is the same as our position with reference to the war. We are opposed to both because they are imperialist in character.

Naturally it is not sufficient to state this basic proposition and leave it as it is. Further explanation is essential. Every demagogue, every enemy of ours, will attempt to utilize our basic position for the purpose of convincing people that since we are opposed to a negotiated peace we are for a continuation of the war.

While our basic position toward an imperialist peace is the same as our attitude to imperialist war, our tactics with reference to a negotiated peace would differ considerably from our tactics with reference to imperialist war. Against an imperialist war we carry on a constant campaign in the sense that we attempt to mobilize the masses against dragging the country into such a war. And at a certain stage during the war we may use the slogan of peace.

We would not carry on a similar agitation against a negotiated peace. We could not possibly utilize a slogan of "stop the peace." It is true that a representative of our party in Congress would vote both against a declaration of imperialist war and against the acceptance of an imperialist peace. But in his explanation he would make clear the reasons why he votes against "peace."

We can sum up as follows: They are really not against war who are not for the overthrow of the system that produces war; they are not really for peace who are not for the overthrow of the system which makes peace impossible. They only are against war and for peace who continue the class struggle both during imperialist war and during imperialist peace.