

Twin Cities MAY DAY MEETING

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

See details page 6

THE MILITANT

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Stalin's Pact With Japan Strikes Blow At China

Pressure of Hitler Forced Stalin to Sign It; Soviet Union Gains Nothing By It and Loses the Friendship of Great Masses of Workers

One thing about the neutrality pact that Stalin signed with Japan on April 13 is as clear as daylight: Stalin, by means of the pact, has dealt a severe blow to the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism.

Stalin's mouthpiece in the United States, the *Daily Worker*, can shamelessly assert that "out of the present Soviet-Japanese pact the Chinese people will gain." But the unalterable fact remains that in the midst of a life-and-death struggle on the part of the Chinese people to expel the Japanese invader, Stalin signs a pact with that same invader.

The *Daily Worker* does not attempt to explain just how the Chinese people will gain out of the pact. It makes that mere assertion and wants everybody to be satisfied with it. But not even dupes of Stalin can swallow that.

The pact does not in so many words say that the Soviet Union will cease to send arms to China. This may be explicitly part of the secret clauses which undoubtedly are part of the pact. More important, the signing of the pact at this moment, in and of itself, constitutes a blow at the Chinese people.

Especially so because by promising, in a declaration connected with the pact, to respect the territorial integrity of Japan's puppet, Manchukuo, the right of Japan to that part of China is virtually recognized.

And if the Chinese people have been dealt a blow by Stalin, it stands to reason that the Soviet Union has also suffered. Because tens of millions of Chinese and the masses of the Far East generally will be alienated from the Soviet Union by this serious blow dealt to the Chinese by Stalin. Thereby Stalin has weakened the only real defense of the Soviet Union—the support of the masses.

What does Stalin gain by the pact? Japan promises to remain neutral if the Soviet Union finds itself at war with a third power. What third power could the Soviet Union possibly be at war with at this time? It can only be Hitler Germany. If Japan remains neutral in case Hitler attacks the Soviet Union it can only be because Japan will be occupied with its own problems in the south Pacific. Japan is in no position at the present time to attack the Soviet Union. And if it should be in a position to do so, the pact is not worth the paper it is written on.

The idea that Stalin is now free to turn to the west and deal with Hitler has little plausibility. Stalin fears Hitler and so long as Hitler is gaining victories Stalin will leave Hitler alone. It will be Hitler and not Stalin who will decide whether it is war or peace between the two unless a sharp turn takes place in the fortunes of war.

Hitler's spectacular military success in the Balkans was undoubtedly a factor in making up Hitler's mind to sign the pact as a means to scare the United States into remaining aloof in the west by the threat of Japan's southward expansion in the Pacific.

HITLER DICTATED IT

Since the Soviet Union gained nothing by the pact and since the pact is recognized by all as a victory for the Axis, it can be truthfully said that Stalin signed the pact because Hitler exerted pressure on him. Hitler's Balkan victory was a warning to Stalin that he must sign.

Coming on the heel of a series of moves which suggested that Stalin is drawing away from Hitler's embrace, the pact, Stalinists will claim, shows what a neutral and independent role the Soviet Union is playing. Didn't Stalin rebuke the Bulgarian government for permitting German

troops to occupy its territory? Didn't he sign pacts with Turkey and Yugoslavia and rebuke Hungary for invading Yugoslavia?

These facts prove merely that Stalin wasn't at all pleased by Hitler's moves. But Stalin also, after the pact with Yugoslavia, entered into an agreement providing for the shipment of a huge quantity of oil to Germany, and soon after this he signed the pact with Japan. He fears Hitler and does his bidding because of that fear.

His gestures to Turkey and Yugoslavia afford Stalin an opportunity to convince the U.S. State Department that he still can be bought—thus enabling him to get more supplies from the United States. They also serve to indicate to Hitler that Stalin would like to be consulted

Anti-Subway Workers Bill Is Signed

Despite National CIO Opposition, Lehman Insists On Signing

Governor Lehman signed Tuesday the infamous LaGuardia-sponsored Wicks Anti-Transport Workers Union Bill, despite CIO protests at a public hearing in Albany, Monday, where some 200 leading representatives of the CIO denounced the measure as a union-busting move against the 27,000 New York City subway workers, members of the TWU-CIO.

Mayor LaGuardia discovered at the hearing that in pressing his strikebreaking plans he is confronting not merely the TWU but the entire national CIO.

John Brophy, speaking as the personal representative of Philip Murray, CIO head, denounced the bill as an invitation to labor's enemies throughout the country to wage "their own brand of Blitzkrieg against the working people."

The bill, put forward as an "anti-sabotage" measure, may be interpreted by the courts as virtually barring strikes on public or privately owned street railways, bus lines or subways. It provides for prison sentences up to 25 years for workers who leave "unattended" any transit equipment which is in their care. It would also hamstring picketing.

Despite the action of the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council (AFL) in passing a resolution condemning the bill, Thomas J. Lyons, president, and E. W. Edwards, secretary-treasurer of the New York State Federation of Labor, issued a statement, read at the hearing by Lehman, which expressed a position of "neutrality" that could only be viewed as tacit consent to passage of this bill.

In forthright opposition to the bill and to LaGuardia as an aspiring strikebreaker, were the representatives of the TWU, the National Maritime Union, the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Newspaper Guild, the New York City Industrial Union Council, and other CIO unions.

Spokesmen for the Hillman group of CIO union leaders in New York, who had previously expressed satisfaction at passage of the bill by the legislature, were compelled by the overwhelming CIO sentiment against it to voice formal opposition to the bill at the hearing. However, they devoted a great portion of their talk to white-washing LaGuardia as a "friend of labor." Gustave Strebel, Hillmanite head of the state CIO Council, and Jack Altman, of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees, a renegade "socialist," took the lead in bootlicking LaGuardia.

before any move is made and would like to obtain something in return for his passivity.

SOVIET UNION IN DANGER

However, with Hitler's further victories, Stalin's ability to demand things is constantly being restricted. There isn't much room left for him to maneuver in. So long as Hitler continues his march, so long must Stalin take orders. Stalin's basic policy of trying to avoid a major conflict inevitably drives him into a position where Hitler, who doesn't fear war, has the upper hand.

We have never objected to any attempt by the Soviet Union to come to agreements with imperialist countries and to take advantage of imperialist rivalries. The Soviet Union, encircled by imperialist wolves, must necessarily try to gain some advantages from the fierce rivalry of these wolves.

But under no circumstances can the Soviet Union afford to make agreements which cause it to lose prestige and respect in the eyes of millions of workers who, in the last analysis, constitute the only solid support for the defense of the Soviet Union. It is from this point of view that we condemned Stalin's pact with Hitler, and it is from this point of view that we now condemn the pact with the Mikado, signed under Hitler's pressure.

All of the "peace" efforts of Stalin through his devious diplomatic maneuverings have served only to weaken the Soviet Union. Hitler's strength increases—the danger to the Soviet Union increases—the world proletariat is estranged from the Soviet Union. The "realistic" policies of Stalin, calculated only to save the Soviet bureaucracy, endangers the very existence of the Soviet Union.

Against Stalin's dependence on pacts and devious diplomacy to save his bureaucracy, and against his use of the Comintern as a commodity which he sells in his pacts, the advanced workers offer the really realistic program: proletarian revolution, the only way to save the Soviet Union.

Trotsky Said Stalin-Japan Pact Would "Supplement" Nazi Pact

A Moscow-Tokyo pact "would constitute a symmetric supplement to the pact between Moscow and Berlin," Trotsky predicted in an article published in *LIBERTY* magazine, January 27, 1940. Trotsky said:

"So long as Germany is occupied on the western front, the Soviet Union feels much more free in the Far East. This doesn't mean that offensive operations will be launched there. It is true that the Japanese oligarchy is even less capable of waging war than the one in Moscow. However, compelled to face the west, Moscow cannot have the slightest motive for expanding in Asia. Japan, for her part, must consider that she could expect a serious and even annihilating resistance from the USSR. Under these conditions Tokyo must prefer the program of her army—an offensive not to the west but to the south, toward the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, Borneo, French Indo-China, British Burma.

"An agreement between Moscow and Tokyo, on this basis would constitute a symmetric supplement to the pact between Moscow and Berlin."

Million Union Men Win Steel, Coal Wage Raises

When Ford Met The Union



A cheering throng of Ford strikers, prominently displaying their United Automobile Workers (CIO) buttons and union over-seas caps, greets the news that the Ford Motor Company for the first time in 38 years has been forced to meet with a union committee.

Ford Backs Down And Settles With UAW-CIO

Successful Strike Tie-Up Forces Ford To Deal With Union; But Compromise Settlement Doesn't Reflect Militancy Of Picket Line

DETROIT, April 14—85,000 Ford Workers fought their way to a smashing victory on the picket lines at the River Rouge plant and held Ford by the throat—only to have their self-appointed negotiating committee, composed of top UAW and CIO officials, give away 50% of the victory at the conference table.

But that roar of angry protest, which swept Thursday night over the huge Coliseum meeting upon the announcement of the settlement terms, augurs well for the future of the Ford workers and their union.

On the picket line self confident strikers won a victory with a decisiveness and finality as great as that of any conquering army in history.

At the conference table, the union leaders—perspiring and men—were desperately fishing around for a face-saving formula to call off the strike.

The Ford strike demonstrates again that a strike can be won on the picket line and can be given away at the negotiating table. THIS IS LESSON NO. 1 FOR THE FORD STRIKERS.

In spite of everything, the Ford strike was a magnificent victory, because it revealed the power of the union, because it exploded the myth of Ford's invincibility, and because all this was demonstrated in such dramatic fashion that it bit into the consciousness of every Ford worker and of the whole labor movement of America.

From the very first day of the strike when the barricades went up on every road leading to the Rouge plant, until the strike was over, the union was in undisputed control of the territory around the River Rouge plant.

Ford's first line of defense was his private army of 5,000 "Service Men" armed to the teeth, organized for ten years for just this emergency. For the ten days of the strike they stood around the River Rouge plant helpless and cowed. They did not dare lift a finger against the Ford strikers.

NEGROES JOIN UNION

Ford's second line of defense were the Negro workers. He had spent thousands of dollars in an attempt to buy off Negro leaders.

But his elaborate scheme to have 10,000 Negro workers organized as the battering ram to break the picket lines and lead the back-to-work movement went up in smoke. The Negro workers were caught up by the very sweep and scope of this strike, began joining the union by droves, and on the second day, great numbers of them were seen on the picket lines marching shoulder to shoulder with the white workers.

Ford's third line of defense was the Executive Council of the AFL. Their strike-breaking conspiracy to lead a back-to-work movement under cover of a labor cloak collapsed like a pricked balloon.

One by one Ford's weapons

Raises Are Result Of Strike Wave

Ford And Bethlehem Strike Victories Back of Wage 'Grant'

A ten cents an hour increase for the steel industry came Monday, a day before expiration of the strike deadline of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) against the United States Steel Corporation.

Bethlehem Steel, which has felt the union's power in three successful strikes at its Lackawanna, Bethlehem (Pa.) and Johnstown plants and which had been served notice of union wage demands, was the first formally to announce the raise, covering some 90,000 workers.

Shortly afterward came the announcement that U.S. Steel signed a new contract with the SWOC, covering its major unit, Carnegie-Illinois Steel, and four other subsidiaries, providing the same ten cent hourly raise, a week's vacation and other new concessions. When all U. S. Steel subsidiaries sign, some 250,000 workers will get the benefits of the union's gains.

Republic Steel, employing 50,000, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, with 25,000, and others followed with the same wage raises.

Some 603,000 workers are employed in steel, all of whom will get the wage raises won by the SWOC.

These, plus the 300,000 Northern and Western striking bituminous miners who are already assured of a \$1 per day raise—Southern miners being offered 60c a day raise—makes almost a million union men whose united strength has won substantial wage increases.

The raise in coal, from \$6 to \$7 per day, is an increase of over 16 per cent. In steel, the raise averages 12% increase for the industry; for those getting the previous Northern minimum (62½ cents) it is a 16% increase. For those in the South (previous minimum 45 cents) it is a 22 per cent increase. For the steel industry as a whole, the total additional wages are estimated at 108 millions of dollars.

The raises are also certain to reach into the steel fabricating plants, in many of which the SWOC has agreements, and bring fatter pay envelopes to several hundred thousand workers. Demand for a contract has been served on the key fabricator, American Rolling Mills Company, by the SWOC.

The raises also strengthen the hand of the United Auto Workers (CIO) in its negotiations with General Motors for wage raises.

Ostensibly the raises in steel came "peacefully," for no strikes were going on—at the moment.

STRIKES DID IT!

In reality, however, the specters of the militant pickets of the recent Bethlehem and Ford strikes stood behind the union negotiators and lent weight where mere persuasion would not have sufficed. In addition U. S. Steel has felt the heavy hand of the union in many of its key plants in flare-ups during the last months.

A million workers got pay raises this week. But that's only the beginning. Labor is on the march!

(Continued on Page 3)

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Signature of the Moscow-Tokyo "neutrality" pact followed by a day an anniversary that is little-remembered: the anniversary of April 12, 1927, the date of Chiang Kai-shek's Shanghai coup d'etat.

Veterans of the Chinese workers' struggle, scattered on anti-Japanese fighting fronts or silently holding to their positions within the occupied zone, have not forgotten the events of April 12. Stalin's new deal with Tokyo, which cannot fail to affect the war in China, must have given particular sharpness to those memories.

On April 12, 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, the "reliable ally" of Joseph Stalin, turned with unimaginable ferocity upon the Chinese mass movement and upon the working class of Shanghai, its foremost vanguard. In the slaughter that began that dawn in Shanghai's streets and continued through months and years, scores of thousands of workers and peasants in Chinese cities and in the countryside, went down before the Kuomintang terror.

Taught by Stalin's Comintern to look upon Chiang as the trusted leader of the revolutionary

movement, the masses were caught totally unprepared for the blow. A movement which had swept the country in three years, climaxing in a victorious proletarian insurrection which had conquered Shanghai, was "splattered into froth." The balance of power in Asia abruptly swung sharply again to the side of the imperialists. China was left open to Japan's invasion, which began only four years later.

Stalin, seeking Chinese allies against the imperialists, preferred to rely upon Chiang Kai-shek and the bourgeoisie rather than on the proletarian revolution. Stalin did that again in 1936. Now the cycle has run another course. Stalin has come to terms with the Japanese invaders and what new traps this pact sets for the Chinese struggle we shall soon enough know. The cycle was paralleled in Germany where under Stalin's leadership the powerful Communist Party in 1933 opened the road to Hitler and accepted defeat for the German proletariat. Six years later came the Hitler-Stalin pact... and the new imperialist war.

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.

Some Key Questions Asked About Socialist Policy

EDITOR:
How can socialists possibly win against a formidable armed force such as the Nazi?
How can socialists ever win if they are murdered just for being socialists?
Therefore, how can socialists neglect or oppose military training? They cannot meet bullets with sheets of paper.
If socialists oppose military training, how can they when in power ever maintain order against reactionary forces?
Are not socialists, therefore, living in a dream, world and are they not really being given some of the protection of the capitalist army and navy in which to live arguing out their fine though unattainable ideals.

CARL PETERSON
Chicago, Illinois

Our Answer

1. Carl Peterson's question seems to imply that only socialists will fight their armed foes such as the Nazis. This is not correct. At the time of a real struggle against the Nazis, the revolutionary socialists will be in a minority, but they will have behind them the vast majority of the workers and also a substantial number, if not a majority of sections of the middle class. It will not be the "socialists" (by this term I hope you mean the revolutionary socialists belonging to the Socialist Workers Party, because the "socialists" of the Norman Thomas type will not be in the fight at all) who will fight the Nazis, but the whole working class supported by middle class allies. And at the time of the struggle, the Nazis will be in such a minority that all their arms will be of no avail to them. The workers too will have arms.
2. It is true that the Nazis now are murdering revolutionary socialists but they cannot murder their ideas. Since the enemies of socialism cannot solve the basic economic problems, there will always be advanced workers who in spite of all difficulties will suc-

ceed in creating groups and spreading their ideas amongst the workers. When life will become unbearable under the Nazi regime for the vast masses, then these masses will follow the ideas of the revolutionary socialists.
3. Revolutionary socialists do not neglect or oppose military training. It is only the Norman Thomas type of "socialist" who neglects or opposes military training. We are one hundred per cent in favor of military training for the workers. We believe that every worker should become an expert in the use of arms, but we insist that this military training be under the control of the workers' organizations. If we are not powerful enough to compel the government to turn over the control of military training to the workers' organizations, then we advise our members and every worker to get such military training when they are drafted into the army.
4. When the workers will take over power they will have the finest army in the world to protect their regime. They will have an army composed of people devoted to an idea, knowing what they are fighting for, ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the working class. They will be able through propaganda to influence the soldiers of the army under the control of the fascists. The army and navy at the present time does not protect the working class. It protects the property interests of the capitalist class.

THE EDITORS

Soldiers Told That A Mule Is Worth More Than A Man

EDITOR:
At artillery battery practice a sergeant drove home to the men the army officers' way of figuring things.
The army mules, he said, were more important than men. Because a mule costs \$100 whereas manpower is cheap and can easily be replaced. Besides, added the sergeant, it costs less to feed a man.
Boy, he certainly left a lot of long faces behind him!
Fort X—
WORKER-SOLDIER

PROGRESS MFG STRIKE SOLID IN 3RD WEEK

PHILADELPHIA, April 13. — Despite continued police intimidation and the attempts of the bosses to operate with scab labor, the 100 militant young workers of the Progress Manufacturing Company here are standing their ground with courageous determination in the third week of their strike for higher wages and union conditions. The company manufactures lighting equipment.
The fighting spirit of these strikers, continues high, union meetings are jammed and discussion is lively, and everyone is Johnny-on-the-spot when it comes to taking his or her shift on the picket line.
The strike was called by Local 90, Metal Polishers union (AFL), after the company refused to grant wage increases over the miserable 30 cents an hour minimum which it has been paying. Warren Bender, business agent of the local, has been directing the strike.

NEGROES PICKET

The Negro workers on strike are demonstrating exceptional militancy and determination. As one of them expressed their feelings, "They did it in Bethlehem and we can do it here."
These devoted Negro union members are particularly incensed by the attempts of the company to disrupt the solidarity of the white and Negro union members through the use of Negro strike-breakers. This is an old employers' trick, and the white strikers are putting the responsibility for this dirty practice squarely on the shoulders of the white boss and not on his wretched and half-starved tools.
The cops took revenge for the story in the April 5th MILITANT exposing the frame-up arrests of strikers by the police, while strike-breakers arrested for carrying revolvers and other deadly arms were released. A MILITANT representative was arrested after distributing the paper to the strikers on the picket line.
When the patrol wagon drove up and he was taken to the station house, the strikers expressed their anger at the arrest. They knew the reason for this persecution was because THE MILITANT is the only paper which has been defending their strike.
After being grilled by six cops and detectives for several hours, the MILITANT representative was released. The cops also dropped all charges against the arrested strikers.

N.Y.C. Local Will Hold Own May Day Rally

NEW YORK CITY, April 12.— Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party will celebrate May Day with a mass meeting in the evening at Irving Plaza.
Plans for possible participation in the May Day parade are being worked out. Whether the SWP will march with the "United May Day Parade," which is being organized by various Stalinist figures of the local labor movement, hinges on the decision of the Committee they have set up as to whether or not political parties of the working class will be invited to participate.
The following letter was sent to the "United May Day" Committee:

"In order to complete our preparations for the commemoration of May Day, we should like to know as soon as possible whether you have decided to invite political parties of the working class to participate in the 'United May Day Parade.'
"It seems to us that the imminence of United States entry into the Second World War makes imperative a special invitation to all political parties of the workers to join in a militant and impressive demonstration on May Day. Despite the sharp differences among the various political parties, their appearance in the parade with their banners would constitute a powerful demonstration of the burning need for unity in the working class in the struggle against imperialist war, and the urgency of carrying forward this struggle

Fun On The Picket Line



A bit of humor on the picket line. A picket walks the line in a suit of armor made entirely of union buttons. What's more important is that tens of thousands of Ford workers, as a result of their magnificent strike, are today proudly wearing just one button, that of the CIO Auto Workers Union.

A Refugee Writes From France

(The following description of conditions in France's concentration camps was written by a German Trotskyist, who is still in France, in mortal danger of being turned over to the Nazis. Funds to aid him and his German, Spanish, Polish, and Italian comrades are urgently needed. They should be sent c/o THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, New York City.)
Even before the French bourgeoisie under the protection of the German occupation army prohibited all labor organizations, at a time when they still called themselves "Republique Francaise" and were ruled by Daladier, Reynaud, and Blum, they began cleaning up the remnants of "democratic liberties" where they had to expect the least opposition: with the foreigners.
The drive against the foreigners in France formed a substitute for anti-Semitism and served exactly the same purpose. Many thousands of foreign workers who, in the boom times, had

the stream of refugees fleeing before the German invasion, became destitute, and could not or would not return to the occupied zone.
CAMP CONDITIONS BEGGAR DESCRIPTION
There are men and women, in some cases mothers with their babies, seventeen-year-old adolescents and octogenarians, invalids and cripples. They live on top of each other in narrow, squalid wooden hovel, exposed to rain and cold, guarded like criminals by armed troopers. The administration of the camp furnished neither blankets, nor mats, nor clothing. The food consists of 240 grams (about eight ounces) of bread and one single plate of thin, fatless soup, at noon and at night.
Scurvy as a consequence of this one-sided nourishment is alarmingly on the increase. Vermin furthers the transmission of infectious diseases. The hygienic conditions in the camps are utterly beyond any possible verbal description.

The inmates are allowed to write only twice a week. Their mail has to pass a special censorship and invariably suffers great delay. The slightest offense against the camp discipline is being punished with jail sentences, and the guards are instructed to shoot at anyone attempting escape.
In the camp at Vernet are the "undesirables," the "suspicious elements," or the "extremists." Those who cannot get money sufficient for bribery will remain there until the end of the war and die from either hunger or lice, or, in the case of German and Italian anti-Fascists, will be handed over to the Nazis and Mussolini whenever these ask for their extradition.

Under certain conditions people can be released from the other camps; but they have to prove that they will be able to live — without accepting employment!
The German Nazis openly and brutally attacked their enemies, Petain (who loves to talk every once in a while of "humaneness") and his police are more hypocritical and vicious. The number of victims is about the same ...

Furthermore, there are thousands of foreigners who were arrested only because they joined against war on the political plane.
"If the committee should decide against inviting political parties of the workers to participate, we feel that the parade could not genuinely be characterized as a 'united' parade, since one of the most important sections of the working class, the political section, bearing the brunt of the struggle against imperialist war, would have been excluded."
PROPOSED SLOGANS.
"In the 'official' list of slogans approved to date by your committee we note that slogans essential to successful working class opposition to war have been omitted. We therefore ask you to include in the official list of slogans to be carried on the banners in the parade the following:
1. Down with Imperialist War.
2. Defend the Soviet Union!
3. Trade Union Control of Military Training!
4. Build an Independent Labor Party!
5. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!
6. For a Socialist Society!

GRACE CARLSON ENDS 3-MONTHS NATIONAL TOUR

Twin Cities Party Branches Welcome Her With Banquet

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 13. — Almost 100 people attended the banquet given here last night at party headquarters in honor of Grace Carlson, who has just returned home after her three-months national tour.
Speaking on the American workers' fight against war, Comrade Carlson reported on the growth of the Socialist Workers Party, coast-to-coast, as the most important part of that fight.
"Our movement in this country is very, very definitely gaining the attention of workers. Following the dictum of our Old Man to 'Go forward!' workers everywhere are beginning to think that the Socialist Workers Party will lead them in their struggle."
Comrade Carlson told of several of her meetings throughout the country. Everywhere she was received well, earnestly and sincerely by workers approaching the SWP as the only solution to this world of unemployment, insecurity, poverty and starvation.
Memphis, she said, was the "outstanding spot in the tour." In a place where it is against the law to have a mixed white-and-colored meeting, where in the railroad station there is a "Colored Waiting Room" where Negroes are herded to stand like cattle separate from their brother whites, where always the color line is drawn until spirits are broken and it takes tremendous courage for a Negro even to be seen in the company of a white man—in this place, a very successful meeting was organized in a Negro home.

"It was heartbreaking... how warmly they treated me just for calling them human beings," Comrade Carlson said.
Describing the Rochester, N. Y. meeting, the speaker told of some seminary students who attended, asking if she ever agitated against workers' use of violence. Comrade Carlson answered question with question, "Do you ever teach employers that they should pay a living wage, and then 'violent' strikes won't come? What bothers me is that you pious people worry about the man on the picket line who gets clunked on the head and the boss who is kept out of his plant, and not about this rotten system of unemployment, poverty and starvation that causes it all."
In Detroit and Flint, comrade Carlson said, "You could feel that the workers were restless, dissatisfied." The SWP is the only party distributing papers at factory gates there.
Poverty-stricken, dispossessed farmers, 118 in all, came out to the meeting in Plentywood, Montana. "It's the day-to-day work of comrades throughout the country that's gaining hegemony over the workers," Comrade Carlson concluded. "We have the program, the leadership, the devoted cadres... that will establish a society of peace and plenty."
A new feature of this banquet was singing of workers' songs by the recently-organized Twin City Chorus.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS BY CARL O'SHEA

The Rockford LABOR NEWS reports with indignation an order issued at nearby Camp Grant for bidding soldiers to patronize the 100% union lunch room owned by E. A. Cunningham. Cunningham's restaurant is near the camp. It is reported two soldiers who entered the place were later thrown into the guardhouse.
LABOR, railroad union organ, for April 1st has some more interesting figures on taxation, taken from a recent report of the Department of Commerce. Of each \$1 in taxes raised by the 48 states, 40c was raised by means of sales taxes. The states got only 9 per cent of their \$4,171,000,000 revenues through income taxes; only 6 per cent by taxes on property; only 3 per cent by inheritance, estate and gift taxes. "In short, the states are getting a small and decreasing part of their taxes from 'them who have,' and a large and increasing part from 'them who have not,' by means of sales taxes which hit the poor hardest."

The United Rubber Workers Union is running an effective ad in the Akron labor paper, listing the 44 plants in which the union has raised wages during the past year. Increases run as high as 28 cents per hour.
Here's a tip. The Chicago FEDERATION NEWS reports that embalmers in Chicago are now organizing and their union has signed up with many undertakers. However the union is having great difficulty persuading the undertakers to accept a ONE HUNDRED AND TWO HOUR WEEK. The undertakers want them to work longer hours. Wages and conditions around the death industry have always been maggoty.

The TOBACCO WORKER reports that the union has filed a petition for an NLRB election in the Camel division of the Reynolds plant in Winston-Salem. The union claims a huge majority in the division. The Tobacco Workers International has just won a new contract at Brown & Williamson calling for a nickel-an-hour straight increase. What's particularly good about this pact is that the union insisted there be no wage differential because of sex or color.
Practically all cigarette companies are now under union contract, but only the following bear the union label: Raleigh, Twenty Grand, Kool, Spud, Viceroy, Avalon, Yankee Girl, Wings, and Spud Imperial. Reynolds is the only major firm not yet signed up with the T. W. I. U.

The Electrical Workers Union Local 3 of New York City is a good union. But an article in their current paper is sure misleading the membership. It's titled: "LABOR AND INDUSTRY COUNT ON FAIR DEAL FROM NEW BOARD OF 11" — "President Roosevelt's new

National Defense Mediation Board should command the fullest public confidence," etc., blah-blah. The author of that article ought to have his nose rubbed in the sad history of what the War Mediation Board in 1917 did to organized labor.

The PITTSBURGH COURIER for April 5th tells of repeated attacks made by the military police from Fort Jackson on colored civilians around Columbia, S. C. The provost-marshal at the camp told a Negro committee that Mayor Owens "told the military police to beat the Negroes and give 'em hell."

Kenosha LABOR reports that the Union League of Voters, based on the AFL and CIO unions, has elected labor-ticket majorities on both the city council and the school board. While the Union League of Voters is based upon the organized workers of Kenosha, its leaders are pro-war and pro-New Deal. The Kenosha election was a victory not for independent labor political action but for the Democratic Party, to whose tail the Union League of Voters is firmly attached.

Various union papers are now reporting the local effects of the Roosevelt program to starve the unemployed and feed the war machine. The Montana LABOR NEWS reports that in Silver Bow county about 200 WPA workers were dropped from WPA rolls last week, and about 1,200 were fired in all parts of Montana. Similar layoffs are to occur each month until July 1st, when local WPA authorities expect to have the rolls reduced by approximately 44 per cent.

More than one million unemployed are now certified as in need and on WPA waiting lists. Government officials don't even pretend that there is work for these people in private industry. Yet the government, under cover of the war program, is redoubling its attack upon those who are jobless through no fault of their own.

For the first time the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has officially estimated and made public the number of forced farm sales in the United States. The figures reveal the truly hopeless position of the average farmer under a declining capitalist system. MORE THAN ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR FARMS SUFFERED A FORCED SALE IN THE 10-YEAR PERIOD 1930 to 1940. Here are the figures:

Year	No. of Farms
1930	114,900
1931	148,100
1932	241,700
1933	319,200
1934	234,700
1935	172,800
1936	160,400
1937	137,000
1938	107,100
1939	103,100
Total	1,739,000



WERE RESTING AFTER THE BIG STORM

The end of the two-month subscription campaign, conducted by the party with a gusto that was almost violent in some places, has left us feeling a little like the lull after a storm.
The big job of computing the distribution of the subscriptions sent in has resulted in the following tabulation:
50c Specials—572
\$3 Combinations—123
1-year Militant—57
1/2-year Militant—145
1-year F.I.—23
1/2-year F.I.—27
Miscellaneous—8

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The question which now naturally follows is this: Will we fall back into our old habit of non-attention to subscriptions or will this fine experience serve to inspire us with a durable enthusiasm?
Several cities have volunteered answers—Chicago, Boston, Detroit, our Minnesota cities. They, who made the finest showings in the campaign, are convinced that their performance could have been still better if they had earlier realized the potentialities of the drive. They are anxious to

continue getting subscriptions in an organized manner.

The great march of labor is still keeping us moving in the printing and circulation of the MILITANT. As an indication of how our members keep a sharp eye open for possibilities of penetration into the working class mass, we have the following communication from Boston:
"With the Bethlehem Steel issue we hit the Bethlehem plant at Fore River, Quincy, Massachusetts on Monday at the 11 P.M. night shift, disposing of many hundreds of MILITANTS. The workers took the paper and stuffed it in their pockets or bags. One worker was reading it outside a cafe across the street from the main gate; he had it open full length looking inside at the story of the Bethlehem Pennsylvania strike. The paper was very well received."
"The workers coming out Monday night were mainly young workers. 22,000 work at this plant and there must have been two or three thousand workers coming out on the shift we hit."
This is the kind of work that builds a movement.

The MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for Sessions—Week of April 21st

MONDAY
7:10 to 8:40 p.m. by William M. Ward
The Democratic Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie.
8:50 to 10:20 p.m. by Lydia Beidel
The AFL-CIO Split and the CIO.

WEDNESDAY
7:10 to 8:40 p.m. by Jack Weber
The USSR and War: Which Side Stalin.
8:50 to 10:20 p.m. by Farrell Dobbs
The Necessity for Trade Unions to Enter Politics.

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at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of
March 3, 1939.”

ing to understand the power of the workers behind them, crack under boss pressure. A body of union wisdom is gathered on the picket lines and strikers' meetings, which is not set down in books but is, nevertheless indelibly printed on the minds of the workers, for use and extension in the next period of struggle.

Out of all these successes arise the impetus for the coming battles. The workers of this country have a renewed confidence today, thanks to the victories won in struggle during the last weeks.

One of the most important conclusions to be drawn from these struggles is that they have demonstrated again, as 1937 did, the great power of industrial unionism. The major gains have been made by the CIO unions. The right wing of the AFL Executive Council has been chiefly in the limelight as a strikebreaking agency (Ford, International Harvester, Allis-Chalmers). The AFL “Weekly News Service” has few gains to record; its space is devoted to such typical heads: “Green Opposes Defense Strikes.” Matthew Woll attempts to smear the CIO’s victories with Hitler’s brush: “Mr. Woll recalled the fact that Hitler in ‘Mein Kampf’ said he would nullify America’s war efforts by inciting strikes.” (“Weekly News Service,” April 8.) More than ever, the CIO stands out as the basic trade union movement of the American working class.

By comparison with Woll and Green, the CIO leadership shines—but only by that comparison. The main differences between the two is that the one is based on the old craft unions, most of them encased in a bureaucratic shell, and the other is based on the great new industrial unions on which no bureaucracy has yet been able to encrust itself permanently. Murray can’t get away with what Green still gets away with—that’s about the size of the difference.

The CIO workers fought these strikes with little assistance from the top union officials. The picket lines were left to shift for themselves; the officials had their eyes on Washington and were busy “around the conference table.” Much that was won on the picket line was given away at that table. While the picket lines remained calm against “national defense” pressure and the rest of the patriotic ballyhoo, the officials shook with every gust from Washington and the boss press. The union officials served in many cases more as mediators between the strikers and the bosses, rather than as leaders of the workers. These are the facts. Every worker in Ford, Bethlehem, U. S. Steel, knows they are the facts.

With so little assistance from their officials, the workers, nevertheless, have made the gains we have recorded. It would be pleasant to conclude that they can go right on making gains under the same conditions. Unfortunately that isn’t true. The employers and the government have also learned from the recent struggles, and will adopt more effective tactics against the coming strikes.

These tactics can be circumvented by the workers—with a class-struggle program and with appropriate leadership. Above this editorial appears our proposed program for the present stage of the struggle; we submit it to the consideration of the workers. It is no panacea. It is but the first step in what the workers must do. And it requires for its execution militants out of the mills and plants, men of the same spirit as the fighting pickets. But without such a program and without such new leadership, the gains made by the workers will not continue indefinitely. In congratulating the workers for their great struggles and advances, we must at the same time record this unvarnished truth.

Business As Usual

While the workers of England and Germany are being urged to a war of annihilation upon each other, British and Nazi capitalists have continued to maintain friendly arrangements of mutual benefit.

Both the British and German governments are permitting corporations in enemy countries to continue maintaining their patent rights.

Before the war an arrangement existed whereby British corporations could patent in Germany their inventions, chemical and technical processes and trade marks. German corporations had the same privileges in Great Britain. And this now goes right on!

It is largely through the control of essential patents that the German trusts were able to control the world market in a number of vital chemicals necessary for medicine, industry and war. Corporations on both sides of the war front are continuing to collect profits on war materials produced in enemy countries.

In reporting the fact of this patent arrangement, the New York Times, April 12, stated:

“Presumably with the connivance of censors in both countries, Great Britain and Germany are permitting enemy inventors to conduct their international patent business as usual through patent agents whose correspondence goes through Spain.” Change the word “inventors” to “corporations,” and you get the essential picture. It’s “business as usual” during the war wherever the interests of the capitalists are concerned.

The workers of the warring nations can learn a lesson from this. They too can carry on “business as usual” during the war, by continuing the class struggle against their own bosses.

NORMAN THOMASITES CONFESS

“The labor movement today is full of ‘Socialists’ who have been so fearful of losing their influence or their jobs in the labor movement that they have ceased to have any socialist influence whatever.”—Norman Thomas’ CALL, April 12.

But the CALL delicately refrains from naming names. No wonder—the list would include all its white-haired boys of yesterday and today: Walter Reuther, William Beedie, Jack Altman, Paul Porter, David Lasser, David Dubinsky, Zaritsky, Joseph Schlossberg, Julius Hochman, etc. etc. etc.

War Orders Mirror Who Controls This Country

Eighty-five percent of all government war contracts so far issued have gone to 80 corporations, according to a survey published in the current CIO Economic Outlook.

Two of the leading financial groups, controlling eight corporations, including E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Bethlehem Steel, Remington Arms and General Motors, have between them garnered 23 per cent of the total war orders. 29 corporations hold 62½ per cent of the total.

As a result of this extreme concentration of war production in the hands of a few leading corporations, a large portion of the total United States industrial plant is not being used. On the other hand, the few companies getting the contracts have backlogs of orders which cannot be filled in some instances for three and four years.

THE PRESS IS SILENT ABOUT THIS SABOTAGE!

The agents of these leading corporations, in and out of Congress, are calling for drastic measures against labor, going so far as to demand savage prison sentences and electrocution for

strikers who “impede national defense.” They point at the fact, for instance, that slightly over 1,000,000 man-days of labor were lost in the whole month of February due to strikes and lock-outs.

Contrast this loss of man-days of labor with the man-days lost due to the “sabotage” committed by the monopoly industrialists and financiers.

Unemployment in January, according to the CIO Outlook, was estimated at 10,116,000 workers. Big Business is thus responsible for a loss of over 10,000,000 man-days of labor—per day!

If the big capitalists really wanted to expedite “defense” production, they would permit all the available production facilities to be used, and thus reabsorb a large share of these unemployed.

But it is quite evident that they are interested solely in the defense of their own monopoly war profits.

The unemployment figures of the Outlook, show further that unemployment rose 12.5 per cent in January over December. These figures give the lie direct to those

war propagandists who would have us believe that war production will eliminate most of the unemployment.

The employers and government, of course, are trying to claim that most of the present unemployed are incapable of working in modern industry, lacking both training and capacity. This is so much buncombe, as was proved during the last war when many hundreds of thousands of women, who had never previously even seen the inside of a factory, were absorbed within a few months into the industrial machine and capably filled the places of the men in the army.

Each day brings forth further facts to re-affirm the contention of the Socialist Workers Party that if the government were honestly intent on fighting fascism, and really wanted to guarantee a maximum of war production, it would immediately expropriate the war industries, free production from the restraints of the war profiteers, and let the workers operate these industries under workers’ management and control.

Two Out Of Five Called For Draft Found Unfit

When the first batch of draftees were called up for physical examination last November, the government and army officials were “shocked” to learn that over 40 per cent of these young men between the ages of 21 and 35 were physically unfit for army service.

Some attempted to attribute these first disturbing figures to mere coincidence, or to explain them away by some other far-fetched or obviously silly reasoning.

The latest report on the state of the draftees’ health, issued two weeks ago, shows that this figure of over 40 per cent rejections for physical unfitness has continued to hold true. This, then, is a true reflection of the health picture of the United States as a whole, made more shocking by the fact that it represents that section of the population which is normally the strongest and healthiest.

The apologists for capitalism and its fruits are trying to draw some picture of “progress” from the fact that the present percentage of rejections is a couple of points less than during the World War I draft.

It will be recalled, however, that the World War I figures covered draftees ranging up to 45 years of age.

The real significance of the

present figures can best be understood in the light of the progress of medical and health knowledge during the past 25 years. Knowledge in the prevention and treatment of diseases has advanced further in the past quarter century than in the previous 100 years. Incalculable strides have been made in our understanding of sanitation methods, causes of nutritional deficiency diseases, prevention and treatment of most communicable diseases, particularly those of childhood, and in the treatment of degenerative and organic ailments.

The present draftees, whose childhood spanned the last post-war years, have had an immeasurable advantage over their fathers in learning in the public schools, and from the press and radio, the lessons of health and hygiene.

Nevertheless, the present draftees have reaped little benefit from this vast expansion of knowledge.

A DIRECT RESULT OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Most of those rejected suffer from no permanent defects. Their deficiencies are largely remedial, affecting mainly the eyes, ears, nose and throat, and teeth. Most of the deficiencies were preventable, provided they had been adequately treated in their initial

stages, or that the masses of people had had a sufficient amount of proper food during the past 11 years.

There is no complicated reason for this state of the nation’s health. It is the result of bad food and bad living conditions. It is the result of long medical neglect. In a word, it is the result of poverty.

An unemployed worker does not run to the nearest dentist at the first sign of decay in a tooth. He holds off until his jaws swell up and the pain is unendurable. If a low wage earner starts getting pains in his eyes when he reads his evening paper, he does not run to an eye doctor. He stops reading papers.

The tragic picture of lowered efficiency, pain, misery, and fore-shortened lives which the draftee health figures reveal, is merely one glimpse of the terrible price the workers have had to pay, and must continue to pay for decades to come, for the continuance of capitalist exploitation during the past 11 years.

And the workers may now chew on the additional bitter cud of the fact that they are being driven into a bloody imperialist war whose essential purpose is to defend and preserve that very capitalist system which it has wrecked on their bodies.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

The Stalinist “Peace” Movement

If there is anything that is more difficult to struggle against than confusion it is consciously-created confusion. To argue with a person who says that peace is something attainable by men of good will is a task requiring the utmost patience, at times leading to complete nervous exhaustion. But to argue with people who consciously confuse issues in order to conceal their real designs and to confuse the innocent is well-nigh impossible.

And conscious confusion constitutes the essence of the program for peace promulgated by the Stalinist-led American Peace Mobilization.

The Stalinists are far from being pacifists but they understand that many in the ranks of those who are anti-war are pacifists and they are perfectly willing to give a pacifist tinge to their anti-war program in order to gain support from innocent pacifists.

The A.P.M. program has a strong isolationist tinge. The people who drafted that program are not isolationists but they know that much of the anti-war sentiment is based on isolationism and they do not hesitate to give an isolationist color to their anti-war program. Nowhere and at no time has a movement based itself on so much deceit as the Stalinist movement.

It must be understood that we are not talking about the thousands of sincere people who believe in the program of the A.P.M., but of those who consciously pull the strings and are the prime movers in the formulation of the program. Sincere pacifists could write a program which would be nothing but confusion; the same is true of sincere isolationists. But only Stalinist bureaucrats are capable of writing an anti-war program designed to confuse.

“We must secure a foreign policy freed from imperialist aims” is part of the A.P.M. “plan to get out of the war.” Is there any indication as to what kind of a government will follow a policy freed from imperialist aims or how such a government can be secured? That is a matter left to the imagination of the reader.

It is only those who have read Lenin’s pamphlet on Imperialism who understand that imperialism is not a policy followed by a government composed of bad people. It is a stage in the development of capitalism and every government of an imperialist country necessarily follows an imperialist policy.

For a government to follow a non-imperialist policy, it must be a government placed in power by the working masses for the purpose of destroying the capitalist system which is the basis of imperialism.

It is only those who have read and follow Lenin and those who are interested in telling the truth to workers who would make clear the necessity of destroying the capitalist system in order “to secure a foreign policy freed from imperialist aims.”

Ignores the Nature of Capitalist War

What is true of this particular aspect of the APM program is true of the whole program. There is not a single suggestion in it that the war now raging is a product of the capitalist system and that to fight against the war it is necessary to mobilize the working masses for the purpose of destroying that system. The program is pacifist, that is, it is not based on the concept of carrying on a revolutionary struggle against war.

In and by themselves the proposals advanced in the program may be perfectly acceptable. To get out and stay out of the world war; to defend and improve the American standard of living; to regain and strengthen our constitutional liberties etc., are not objectionable demands. But the program definitely creates the impression that all that is necessary for the American people to do is to ignore the war that is going on, stick to our own country and everything will turn out for the best. A strictly isolationist position with a pacifist tinge. Surely Norman Thomas should be invited to become president of the organization. But Norman Thomas is a pacifist who knows that the Stalinists are not pacifists. He is not an innocent, and the Stalinists must have real innocents who, because they are fooled, thereby are in a better position to fool others. The Rev. John Thompson, national chairman of the A.P.M. is a better person to head the organization than Norman Thomas.

Not A Word About Fascism!

In the program itself, as printed in the Daily Worker of April 7, there is nothing to indicate that fascism exists in the world and constitutes a danger to the workers everywhere. Is that because the Stalinists are still following the policy of the early period of the war when they left Hitler alone and concentrated their attacks on British imperialism? That cannot be because in their press and manifestos the Stalinists now openly attack both imperialist camps, indicating thereby Stalin’s fear of Hitler and the possibility of a shift to the democratic imperialist camp.

The real reason seems to be that the Stalinists are at the present moment, because Stalin is not yet ready to throw in his lot with the democratic imperialist, unable to give a proper answer to the problem raised by every thinking worker as to how to fight the danger represented by Hitler. There are only two ways of fighting Hitler. Either one accepts the idea of fighting him under the leadership of Churchill and Roosevelt representing the imperialist interests of the capitalist class, or of turning the war into a real struggle against fascism by the workers taking power. The Stalinists are not yet ready to accept the leadership of the democratic imperialists and they are certainly fearful of a revolutionary solution to the problem of the struggle against Hitler.

Thus does the Peoples Front continue to sow confusion in the ranks of the workers. For it must be remembered that the Peoples Front still exists. It has simply changed its policies. Whereas before Stalin’s pact with Hitler it advocated the policy of uniting the democracies with the Soviet Union for war against Hitler, it now advocates a policy of uniting with the Soviet Union for a “people’s peace.” Stalin is anxious for peace. If Hitler will not give it to him we shall witness another change of policy on the part of the Peoples Front.

MAY DAY MEETINGS

May Day 1941 sees America’s Sixty Families plunging the United States into World War II.

Hear how the workers can end this second imperialist slaughter for profits!

Hear the program of Trotskyism, the revolutionary road to a socialist society!

In New York

Speakers:
ALBERT GOLDMAN
Attorney for Leon Trotsky

ART PREIS
Associate Editor, THE MILITANT

THURSDAY, May 1 8:30 P.M.

Irving Plaza
Irving Place and 15th St.

In Twin Cities

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

THURSDAY, May 1 8:00 P.M.

Socialist Workers Party Hall
919 Marquette Ave., Mpls.

Auspices: Twin City Branches, SWP Admission: 25 cents