### **Twin Cities** MAY DAY MEETING

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

See details page 6

# THE MULITARY

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# ALL UNIONS CONDEMN VINSON BILL

# Fascism Will Be Smashed--By A Workers-Farmers Government

### May Day Manifesto Of The Socialist Wokers Party

This May 1st is the 55th that class-conscious workers of the United States will celebrate as the day dedicated to the working class. The place of honor this May Day belongs to the Ford and Bethlehem strikers and to those loyal veterans, the coal miners. Hundreds of thousands, indeed millions of workers, have recently joined the organized working class. Despite their inexperience they have successfully stormed Bastilles hitherto impregnable to unionization. Despite all the "national defense" pressure of the capitalists and the political agents of capitalism, these new recruits have firmly fought on for labor's rights. These new evidences of the inexhaustible power and militancy of the working class give us new hope for the future. Harnessed to the correct program, that power can conquer and transform the world.

And transformation of the world is the task to which the working class must dedicate itself this May Day. The world that our capitalist masters have molded will destroy us all if it is permitted to continue. For the second time in a generation the ruling classes have precipitated World War. This war is a continuation of the last, fought like the last for the re-division of the earth among the grasping imperialists.

The ruling class of the United States is not at all interested in fighting a war against fascism. When the Nazi monster seized control of Germany in 1933, it was with the approval of both Washington and London, which considered Hitler the embodiment of 'law and order' against the 'anarchy' of a German proletarian revolution. Washington and London helped the Nazi monster to grow and arm itself: they considered it a bulwark against the Soviet Union and proletarian revolution in Europe. Only when German imperialism grew to the point of becoming a threat to the imperialist interests of the American and British ruling classes did the latter become piously indignant about fascism.

They lie who tell the workers that democracy versus dictatorship is the issue between Churchill and Hitler in Europe. The Greek dictatorship of Metaxas permitted as few democratic rights to the masses as the Italian dictatorship of Mussolini. The Yugoslav despotism was no more tolerable than that of Hungary or Bulgaria. We have seen how easily, as if changing a shirt, Petain and the other French "democrats" became dictators overnight.

They lie who tell the workers that democracy versus dictatorship is the issue between Germany and Britain in Africa and Asia. Ask the enslaved hundreds of millions who suffer in the colonies of British "democracy"! The "war for democracy" has brought even worse oppression to the 375 millions of India who are in the war by Britain's decree but against their will. Try to tell the black masses of Africa that they must fight against the Nuremburg racial laws—they who have lived under the same kind of racial laws for as long as Britain has ruled

You want them to fight against fascism, including Hitler fascism? The peoples of Asia and Africa will do so gladly—just as soon as they have torn from their necks the yoke of British oppres-

Not the least of the reasons for emphasizing Britain's reactionary role is that everyone who understands what is happening takes it for granted that the United States will, if successful in this war, fall heir to most of the power of the British Empire. Is that what America's young workers shall die for? That American, instead of British policemen and soldiers, shall beat and maim and kill fighters for freedom in India and West Africa? Yes, that is the concrete reality that lies behind Roosevelts's glittering words.

And after the war? What can we expect then, if as a result of the last war for "democracy" the toilers of America reaped only the "right" to two and a half decades of increasing impoverishment, unemployment and insecurity? At the end of the last war for democracy half the countries of Europe succumbed to dictatorships. How many at the end of this war, no matter whether Hitler or Churchill wins?

This war is not our war, any more than the war of 1917 was the workers' war. This one is conducted under the same slogans, with the same ruling classes at the helm. Under those rulers we shall gain as little in this war as in the last.

We Trotskyists, like the workers everywhere, are infinitely more interested in destroying fascism than is Roosevelt or Churchill. We never praised Hitler as Churchill did and as many an associate of Roosevelt did! We were fighting the fascist menace during years when Washington and London were wooing Hitler. Tomorrow London may decide on a negotiated peace with Hitler. The capitalists of Britain and the United States can make their peace with fascism, just as did the capitalists of Germany whom Hitler serves. But between the workers and fascism, there can never be peace.

The spectacle of the French capitalists collaborating with Hitler is a final warning to us. No capitalist class can be depended upon in the struggle against fascism.

The workers must take charge of the struggle against fascism, and cannot delegate that task to any Roosevelt or Churchill. Only if the workers are in full control, can there be a guarantee against the betrayals that were perpetrated by the bourgeoisie in Spain, France, Norway.

How shall the workers move toward taking charge? By increasing the power of the workers' organizations until they can wrest all power from the bourgeoisie.

That is why the workers are profoundly correct in striking against the bosses despite all the "national defense" ballyhoo. Our only criticism is that the insufficient program under which the strikes are carried on renders the strikes less effective than they can be.

No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking-demand that trade union officials resign from all appointive posts in the government. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and

End company unionism in politics—build an Independ-

ent Labor Party.

Ten out of eleven of the men in the "national defense" forces are the workers in the war industries, owned by fascist-minded Fords and Graces. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control!

But if the workers are to take charge of the fight against IMA auditorium here today.

fascism they must prepare militarily to defend themselves against the fascists everywhere. We are no pacifists, whether of the "sincere" Norman Thomas variety or the Stalinist variety in the service of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

That is why we call upon the workers to demand:

Military training of workers, financed by the shop, 80-hour vacation with pay government, under control of the trade unions!

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become is acquired, and a \$25 week wage tiations have been held for the

Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces —down with Jim Crowism!

Yes, we want the workers to become expert in all the military arts. We don't want the bourgeois officer-caste to have life-and-death control over the men, any more than we want the boss to have that in the factory. If the workers must fight, then they shall fight under the leadership of men whom they can trust—their own fellow-workers, chosen by them as their officers.

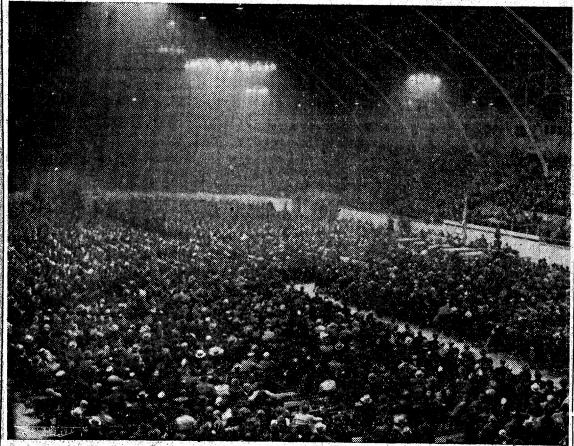
Carry out these steps, crown them with the formation of a Workers and Farmers Government -and the real war against fascism can be waged to a successful and speedy conclusion.

Against a Workers and Farmers Government in the United defended in Western Egypt and States, Hitler would soon be rendered powerless. His weapons would be of no avail against revolutionary war. He would no longer be able to frighten the German people with the spectre of another Versailles-for the American workers could then guarantee that there would be no second Versailles oppression He could no longer demagogically pretend that he was fight ing "international capitalism," and would stand revealed for what he is-agent of German capitalism.

All the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa, now conceded their independence and freedom, would join the American workers to destroy fascism. Hitler and Mussolini would fall-toppled by the German and Italian workers, now assured of the international solidarity of the workers of the world.

This is the road to wipe out fascism foreverthrough a Workers and Farmers Government. And it is the only road. Workers, on this May Day pledge April 19 that the pact was to be vaders of China, the damage is The Ford strike served to give settling strikes without wage inyourselves to follow this road!

### 30,000 Ford Workers Meet



Part of the mammoth crowd of 30,000 Ford workers which jammed the UAW-CIO mass meeting on April 10 at the Detroit Fair Grounds to ratify the settlement of the Ford Motor Company strike. Thirty thousand reasons why Ford backed down!

# General Motors Strike Vote Starts Monday

#### Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis GM Workers Are Determined To Win Wage Raises, Union Shop; Are Inspired by Ford Strike, Raises In Steel, Coal, Clothing

FLINT—Representatives of the International Executive past six weeks with practically Board of the UAW-CIO, forced to take a firm position by the no results. adamant attitude of the General Motors corporation, and by the insistent demands of the union rank and file for improved conditions, called upon all GM locals to take a strike vote beginning and has refused to give an ans-Monday, April 28. The announcement met with enthusiastic wer on wage increases, Reuther These are some of the demands that the workers must raise. cheers of an audience of 7,000 workers in a mass meeting at the

> The GM locals had voiced their demands at a delegated conference held February 8, 9, and 10 at which a proposed contract was approved providing for sev-

eral improved points: among them a ten-cent hourly wage increase, a shop steward system, a union RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS instead of the 40 hours now pre-

to all GM workers conscripted

On February 20th these demands were presented by the unvailing, a 60 day seniority clause ion to the GM corporation. Acfor new workers instead of the cording to Walter Reuther, GM ix-month clause before seniority Director for the UAW-CIO, nego-

into the armed forces.

The corporation has given a flat NO to the union shop demand, has refused the steward system reported.

WORKERS ARE FIRM

The mass meeting in Flint denonstrated beyond doubt the determination and solidarity of the GM workers behind their de

Referring to the proposed 30 day cooling off period, the speakers pointed out that the Ford workers had "cooled off" for three years and then had to strike . . and that the GM workers had been "cooling-off" for six weeks, and were now ready to turn the

COMPANY'S HUGE PROFITS Many excellent facts were offered by Reuther, Addes and afford to accede to the union's demands.

It was pointed out that the Du-Pont family alone reaped dividends last year on their common shares of \$37,500,000 - the equivalent of \$4,600 per hour, on a 50-week. 40 hour-week basis. The en-cent hourly wage increase could be paid for out of the Du-Pont's GM profits alone.

Addes further pointed out that or every dollar paid a worker in wages, GM reaped 65 cents in profit. The ten-cent increase would still leave the company 55 cents an hour to store in the bank and to distribute to the coupon clip-

INSPIRED BY STRIKE GAINS The greatest indication as to the new militancy of the GM in the coal, steel and clothing in-

# Anti-Strike, Open-Shop **Bill Blasted** By CIO, AFL

#### Main Danger Now Is Maneuver By FDR To Provide 'Compromise'

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization have gone on record expressing complete opposition to the antistrike, open-shop Vinson Bill. AFL President William Green

last Monday added his protest to that voiced the week previously by Philip Murray, head of the CIO.

The bill is expected to be reported out of the Rules Committee and on the floor of the House by this week-end.

The House Naval Affairs Committee last week approved the anti-strike, open-shop Vinson Bill and rushed it to the floor of Congress following a two day "hearing" at which but one CIO spokesman was permitted, and he was given only one hour to testify against the

The only other "witness" to appear before the committee was Secretary of the Navy Knox, who had a day and a half to expand on his endorsement of the "cooling off" principle involved in the bill.

The Vinson measure would impose a compulsory 25 day "cooling off" period before a union could take action on a strike vote. In addition, it proposes to "freeze" wages and open-shop conditions in all plants and industries directly or indirectly engaged in war production.

#### ROOSEVELT'S GAME

Representative Vinson, Georgia poll-tax Democrat introduced the bill. His closeness to the administration is indicated by the fact that he occupies the key post of chairman of the powerful Naval Affairs Committee. Roosevelt can halt action on this bill any time ne cares to nod his head.

The administration is simply playing the old game of "hard cop-soft cop" with organized labor, using the threat of drastic curbs, represented in the Vinson bill, as a club over labor's head Thomas, proving that GM could to force acceptance of some form of "voluntary" cooling off period before strikes. As Knox, Stimson and other administration spokesmen have indicated, Roosevelt does not care to risk the onus of compulsion unless it is "neces-

#### "LAST RESORT" THREAT

Secretary of War Stimson expressed the "soft cop" attitude of the administration in a letter to Chairman Thomas of the Senate Labor Committee, made public last week, in which Stimson stated that the War Department "is loath to recommend restrictive legislation concerning labor relations as long as there is hope that other methods of preventing interruption to production will prove

effective." However, when "other methworkers, was shown when reports ods," such as the intervention of were made of the wage increases the National Mediation Board, pressure upon conservative and dustries. These gains by the CIO timid union officials and the ex-

(Continued on page 4)

the Aegean. The hasty move of Soviet Union and Japan. British forces into Irak shows that the British have already discounted the defection of Turkey. Britain's Suez "lifeline" will be

at Turkey's frontier. Meanwhile whatever developments were planned by the Axis strategists to follow upon the conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese | pact are evidently awaiting the further course of the Mediterranean campaign. The week that has passed since the pact was signed in Moscow has been marked chiefly by the confirmation in Moscow that the pact accorded with the Axis strategy dictated by Adolf

Pravda, Stalin's newspaper regarded as a blow at Britain effectively done.

The Battle of the Balkans is and the United States by virtue drawing steadily toward its ap- of the new "solid foundation for pointed end-a new Dunkerque development of friendly relations for the British on the shores of between the two states"-the From Chungking came re-

> ports that the Kremlin had "assured" the Chinese that aid to China would continue as before-i.e., in the same slow trickle. The well-informed N. Y. TIMES correspondent said that the Chinese Stalinists were "stunned" by the pact and refused to believe it could possibly mean any change in their own anti-Japanese policy. The United Press quoted a Chinese Stalinist spokesman as saying that his party's aim was still the reconquest of Manchuria, where the Kremlin has given recognition to Japan's "special position."

But whatever is done to cover up the fact that Stalin has struck nouthpiece, made it plain on a deal with the imperialist in have inspired the GM workers, tension of the OPM "formula" for

(Continued on Page 3)

# ORKERS' Negro Picket Line Wins Loho A. N. V.

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 end the Stelinists—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.

analysis of the present situation

I disagree however, with the

inference in the article that

the seamen's unions are menaced

by, if not infested with, Nazi and

I think it is apparent that such

ganizations rather than among

their ranks if they exist.

exist in the seamen's unions.

press and government agencies

ists" in the union ranks, I be-

lieve that the reference in THE

MILITANT article to Nazis and

Fascists in the seamen's unions

more or less plays into the bosses'

the union of them would be one

A STORY TOLD BY

closing its million-columned who sold THE MILITANT before

ranks and consolidating its the doors of the Transport Work-

A 'MILITANT' SALESMAN

We cannot resist the impulse

women comrades in New York

ers Union hall the other day. She

TANT in front of the Transport

Workers' building I had the good

Third Avenue lines division of

the union. When I handed the

paper to him he looked at it and

said, 'This is the only paper that

a working man can believe in.'

As he bought the paper I in-

quired if he would be interested

in our May First mass meeting.

He was delighted at the oppor-

tunity to come and promptly

"As we were engaged in con-

versation we were accosted by a

burly Irishman who began to

bought a ticket.

me a soda-pop."

virility and spirit of our party abuse me in a loud voice. I stood

membership it can be seen in the ny ground and answered his

flood of increased orders for noisy accusations. This disturb-

bundles of this May Day issue of ance brought me several bus and

dustrial center in the country much attention, while the man

have come-by straight mail, air- who had bought the May Day

mail and telegram—requests that ticket stood staunchly behind me

we double the regular number of and defended my right to sell the

workers engaged in militant "P.S.: After the big argument

"While selling THE MILI-

Our Answer

among their memberships.

in the maritime unions.

Soldiers Forbidden To Write Letters To Congressmen

EDITOR:

There were a number of sold- fascist agents and sympathizers iers here who started writing personal letters to the President and their Congressmen, protesting against some of the things the Fords, Girdlers, Mellons, Duthey didn't like in the army setup. Ponts. Weirs, etc. and their or

One day the officers assembled the whole company and gave us the relatively advanced workers a warning that this practice must who form the membership of the company's employes will be stopped. They said it was a trade unions. court-martial offense to write to the President.

this offense. I think, though, that he has encountered only two memthe mere threat was enough to bers of seamen's unions who might stop this practice. A fellow sleep- be described as Nazi sympathizing next to me had been writing ers. These men were both Gersuch letters but I didn't know it had never said anything about it to anyone. Camp X-

WORKER SOLDIER

The army's court-martial system is bad enough, but it says nothing against writing letters to Congressmen or to the President. No one, to our knowledge, has ever been court-martialled for it, nor could he be under the military law. Of course, on this score as on many others, an officer out to "get" a man would find another pretext if he wanted one; for, as Michael Cort has pointed out (in his important article, "The Court Martial System In the U.S. Army," March, 1941, FOURTH IN-TERNATIONAL magazine), the whole system lends itself to officers wreaking vengeance on the lower ranks.—EDITORS.

Protests Inference That Any Seamen Are Fascists

EDITOR:

A MAY DAY

FULL OF PROMISE

fighting organizations.

It's May First again and not

for many a year has the Ameri-

with as much hope for the future

as today. Labor is on the march,

To the Socialist Workers Party

and its press, THE MILITANT

and the FOURTH INTERNA-

TIONAL this May Day is rich

with promise. With every mail

come letters of appreciation for

the quality of our publications.

renewals, have continued to come

with every mail and those who

have delayed with their renewals

make frantic demands for the is-

sues they have missed. Frequent

requests for sample copies keep

our mailing department busy

with wrapping paper and paste

If any sign is needed of the

bundles of papers so that the paper.

literature on their holiday.

all week.

Subscriptions, both new and

The article "THE SEAMEN for the workers and should not FACE REGIMENTATION" in the provide a pretext for govern-April 12th issue of THE MILI- mental interference in the union. TANT was a clear and correct -EDITORS.

**Bus Lines** 

**Contract Signed By** Company, Negroes And Union on Jobs

NEW YORK, April 20-The picket lines of the United Negro Bus Strike Committee vesterday succeeded in gaining a contract from the Fifth Avenue Bus Co. and the New York City Omnibus elements are to be found among Corporation to hire a minimum of 100 colored bus drivers, 70 colored maintenance men, and eventually a total of 17 per cent be colored.

The writer has been an active The contract was also signed letters to your Congressmen or seaman for many years, his sea by Michael Quill and Austin Hoservice pre-dating the inception gan of the Transport Workers So far as I know, however, no of fascism and Nazism in this Union. The company agreed to one has yet been prosecuted for country, and in all those years hire the additional colored workers before hiring any other new

At the close of the recent 11man immigrants. However, I can day strike of the bus workers till they gave this warning. He state with certainty that there a movement was started in Harare no Nazi or Fascist "cells" or lem to do something about getundercover organizations in the ting Negroes jobs as chauffeurs and mechanics on the bus lines. I do not question the necessity The United Negro Bus Strike Comof the rank and file of the seamen mittee was formed and at a mass meeting in the Abyssinian Baptcleaning out such elements in ist church attended by more than However, it is ill advised for 1,000 Harlemites, it was enthusworkingclass paper to make the iastically decided to boycott and unfounded inference that they do picket the bus lines at all Harlem bus stops. Since the bourgeoisie and their

MILITANT METHODS WIN

The campaign was carried on are preparing to get maritime lan militant fashion. The bus combor bound and gagged under cover panies admitted a daily loss from of a hue and cry against "communists" and "Nazis and Fase the campaign of \$3,000.

Before any colored bus drivers are hired, 94 white workers increase, raising their wage whose seniority rights are recognized by the TWU will be put to work first. The maintenance men mum. Countermen are to receive JAMES BENNETT are to be hired immediately. The Rev. A. C. Powell, chairman of of from \$2 to \$5 for the various the Harlem committee, stated that within two months, Negroes countermen and a \$30 minimum Brother Bennett is mistaken: will be manning the wheels of for all countermen in chain stores, the article in question did not in- buses throughout New York City. many of whom are now receiving tend to imply that there are A huge open air victory mass as low as \$22 and \$23 per week. fascists among the organized sea- meeting is being planned for All these wage scales to be paid men. The point made by the Colonial Park, 145th St. and for eight hours work with a six article was that, IF there were Bradhurst Avenue, Saturday day week, except in the case of

# May Issue Of 'Fourth Int'l'

be off the press this week, fea- by the workers, and rightfully so.

Natalia Sedov Trotsky has written the story of the terrible day on which Stalin's GPU murdered of the union and maintained a to let the rest of the country in Leon Trotsky: "How It Hapcan working class inspired us on the following little anecdote

> labor movement is comprehensive the bosses. ely dealt with in two articles. One, by the editors, "Labor On the March: 1941," analyses the recent strikes. The other, by William F. Warde, "The Mobilization fortune to meet an officer of the of American Labor: 1929-1940," provides the background for understanding the present strike date no such referendum has

party, is also published. Other articles in this month's issue are: "The Permanent Revolution," by Jack Weber; a thesis THE MILITANT. From every in- trolley drivers who listened with by the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the workers' tasks in China's struggle for independence; an editorial on the Soviet-Japanese pact; and an article, by Vladimir Ivley, on trade union activity can have our another of the bus drivers bought the economic crisis in the Soviet

Good Horse-Sense



Even the horses which haul scrap for the Buffalo Steel Co. refuse to scab the strike at the company's plant and, instead, march on the picket line with the members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) who walked out for a wage in-

# Local 302 Opens **Contracts Talks**

Cafeteria Workers' Negotiators Are Under Instructions From Membership On Wages

An elected contract committee of 14, plus the three major officers of Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union, had their first conference last week with the Affiliated Restaurateurs, Inc., the association representing the majority of bosses employing 5,000

The contract delegation had been carefully instructed by the membership meeting on April 10 as far as wage demands were concerned. The following are the major wage demands: All miscellan-

the membership in their dealings

with the Affiliated Restaurateurs,

Inc. on the question of the Arbi-

tration Board.

eous workers are to receive a minimum \$2 increase, raising their wage to \$18 minimum per week. Kitchen men are to receive new minimums of \$21. Countergirls must receive a \$2 minimum

to \$20. The scale for chefs must be raised to \$50 mininew minimums with an increase stations, a \$32 minimum for night

countergirls who must receive a seven hour day instead of the present eight hour day.

OTHER DEMANDS The union membership is very

much concerned to secure the above wage demands. However, the question of wages is not the only issue in the present fight with the bosses.

There is also the question of the infamous Arbitration and Adjustment Board, the boss-stooging arbitrator for disputes be-The May issue of the FOURTH tween the union and the bosses. INTERNATIONAL magazine will The Adjustment Board is hated turing several outstanding ar- Thousands of workers, directly and indirectly have felt its sharp, boss-inspired lash. The Board has handcuffed the hands stranglehold on the throats of the workers. Everybody betog it except certain clique elements that The upsurge of the American installed it in collaboration with

> UNION REFERENDUM PROMISED

The program of the recentlyelected United Union Administration pledged as part of its united program the holding of a referen dum on the question of the abolition of the Adjustment Board. To been held. Certain clique elements have given no indication of their desire to fulfill this program pledge. On the contrary, they have indicated quite strongly that

It has become quite obvious that these clique elements don't wish to be bound by decisions of

> JUST OFF THE PRESS THE FIRST ISSUE OF

LA VERITE A Monthly Organ for French-

Speaking Marxists 5 CENTS A COPY Order from DALE EDWARDS P.O.B. 173, Station D New York, N. Y.

# Two Chilean Parties Unite On 4th Int'l Program

### Congress Will Stalinists Show Their Teeth Launch United In Their Phoney "United" Party In June May Day Committee

addition of new organizations,

presumably the Communist Party

When Arthur Burch, delegate

the parade, the chairman res-

growing short. We must get on."

had sent delegates to the first

parade in order to show a united

front against the bosses on this

historic occasion - probably the

last May Day before the United

States is sucked into World War

cial list; such as, Down with the

Imperialist War! Defend the So-

viet Union! Trade Union Control

of Military Training! Build an

Trotskyist delegation on the

were invited to remain as "ob-

The credentials committee this

Independent Labor Party! etc.

CRUDE HATCHET JOB

and its various fronts.

SANTIAGO, Chile (By Mail) Fourth International is the Congress, to be held the first week in June, unifying in one Workers Party and the Internationalist Workers Party.

The two parties are uniting basis of acceptance of the resolutions of the (1938) Founding Congress of the Fourth International.

The Internationalist Workers of the Socialist Party, which this committee on March 28. Har- order." was expelled from that reform- ry Weinstock, who gave the orleft wing's struggle against the unions participating, admitted Burch. Peoples Front policy. In devel- that some of the unions representoping a consistent class-struggle ed at the March 28 meeting had policy this left wing found its since withdrawn their delegates. way to a thoroughgoing Trotskyist program.

The Revolutionary Workers Party had been, up to that time, the Trotskyist organization in Chile.

Unification makes the Chilean Trotskyists the strongest Fourth International movement in South America.

> Join the Socialist Workers Party

#### **Brazenly Refuse To Permit Trotskyists** -A great step forward for the To Participate In May Day Parade

NEW YORK CITY, April 19.—The Stalinist-controlled "United May Day Committee," which met today at Webster organization the Revolutionary Hall, 119 East 11th St., ostensibly on the basis of an invitation to "all working class organizations" to join in preparations for a 'united' May Day parade, showed its real colors when it barred the Socialist Workers Party from participation in the parade.

The delegation from the Socialist Workers Party was denied as the Chilean section of the the floor and two union delegates who protested the dictatorial Fourth International, on the action of the committee were ruled "out of order."

At the same time a delegation from the Communist Party

was seated with full rights as the of the United May Day Commit-"only political party which sent a delegate!"

When Arthur Burch, the Trot-The meeting began with about skyist delegate, asked the chair-Party was formed over a year two-thirds the number that were man for "two minutes" to defend ago by the proletarian left wing present at the first meeting of his party, he was ruled "out of

"But you seated the Communist organization because of the ganizational report, listing the ist Party . . . " began Comrade

The chairman shouted through the microphone: "I declare you out of order! Sit down! All those He did not specify what unions in favor of rejecting the Socialist these were or why they withdrew, Workers - I mean of accepting but declared that their loss was the report of the credentials commore than compensated for by the mittee, say Aye!"/

"Aye!" chorused the Stalinist dominated audience.

Several delegates protested. One delegate, representing Local, 430 of of the Socialist Workers Party, the United Electrical Workers unasked the chairman what had ion tried to take the floor: been done to include all political

"Out of order!" bellowed the parties of the working class in chairman through the microphone. "I appeal the decision of the ponded: "We don't have time to chair," responded the delegate. answer any questions. Time is Joe Daim.

"It's useless . . . I mean, if you want to appeal, you can, but the matter's finished."

The Socialist Workers Party Daim stood his ground, "I appeal the decision of the chair." meeting of the United May Day Another member of the commit-Committee on March 28 to protee took the microphone. "All pose (1) that all political parties those in favor of upholding the of the working class be invited decision of the chair say, Ave." to participate in the May Day

"Aye," responded the audience, but not so heartily as on the previous resolution.

Another delegate, who did not mention what union he represented stood up and said: "I agree II and (2) to propose that cer- with the views of the body here, tain slogans be added to the offi- but I feel that since we've started out to make this a united May Day parade, the delegate from the Socialist Workers Party should at least be allowed a few minutes to give his side before condemna-At that time the credentials tion."

committee refused to seat the "Out of order! Out of order!" repeated the chairman, waving grounds that "no political parties down another delegate asking for had been invited." The delegates the floor. "The matter has already been decided. A motion to adjourn is in order."

The motion to adjourn carried time reported that every organ-by the majority immediately ization which had sent delegates, standing up and milling toward including the Communist Party, the door.

had been accepted with one ex-. Crude—but the dirty job had to ception: the Socialist Workers be done at whatever cost - Thir-Party. The chairman asked that teenth Street had ordered it. the Socialist Workers Party be Even if the "United" parade was 'rejected" by today's meeting on thereby revealed as a Stalinist afthe ground that "this organiza- fair, the Trotskyists must not be tion has not worked for the ideals permitted to march.

# Closing Sessions.

## The MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for Sessions-Week of April 28th

### MONDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m ..... by William M. Warde The Coming American Revolution. 8:50 to 10:20 p.m. ..... by Lydia Beidel

#### WEDNESDAY

General Trade Union Principles.

7:10 to 8:40 p.m. ..... by Jack Weber Imperialist War and the Class Struggle: The Workers

8:50 to 10:20 p.m. ..... by Farrell Dobbs Machine Control—The Boss Mechanism for Sterilizing

**IRVING PLAZA** 

Irving Place and 16th St.



written down for us by one of the pened."

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# Clashes In Ford Plant

# **AFL Leaders** Help Ford In **Union-Busting** Campaign

Ford Again Tries To Break Union By Race Riot

FLINT, Mich., April 20-Michael Widman, Director of the ClO's Ford organizing campaign, revealed in a speech here today that, though the smoke of battle has cleared at the gates of Ford's River Rouge empire, inside the plants the 80,000 workers are faced again with the brutality of Ford's "Service Department" and paid provocateurs.

Widman told the story at the mass meeting of General Motors workers in Flint, called in preparation for a strike vote.

The AFL top leadership, which has served as strikebreakers in the International Harvester, Allis-Chalmers and Ford strikes, is now attempting, Widman reported, to organize Negro workers in them an even greater feeling of the Foundry at Ford's into an power. AFL "union" and to pit them in | In reporting the progress of nea race riot against white CIO gotiations - or lack of progress

the help of the AFL leaders, has posals. Very interesting was the intimidated a section of the Negro company's reply to the demand workers in the plant, a small but for a union shop: "It would desimportant minority, into making troy the democracy of the union physical attacks on CIO workers. and reduce the militant spirit." This renewed attempt to provoke After this obvious hypocrisy was a race riot, this time inside the dealt with by the negotiators, the plants, is the most serious problem facing the UAW in its present position at Ford.

The majority of the Negro workers at Ford are side by side with the white workers, in the ranks of the UAW-CIO. Most of them understand the hypocritical attempt of the Ford management and their AFL agents to separate them from the CIO.

It is easy to see through the AFL campaign as company-inspir spurned for years by many AFL unions, and above all by Green and the AFL Executive Council. It was not until the CIO appeared on the scene, organizing the industrial masses of this country, that the Negroes secured in the CIO the opportunity to show what courageous union fighters they are if given a chance.

John Murphy, who heads the AFL Ford drive, himself is a representative of the Bricklayers Union, which in most places follows a Jim Crow policy. And now this Pinkerton in AFL disguise poses as the Negroes' friend!

COMPANY PROVOKES FIGHT The company campaign of pro-

vocation came to a head last Friday, when telegrams were sent to Negro workers in the Foundry informing them that the CIO was going to try to throw them out of the plant. This fooled some of the Negro workers, who came to work armed and attacked CIO

After provoking the trouble himself, Harry Bennett called upon the state to send in state troopers. This was done, and troopers are now patrolling both the inside and outside of the plant. Attempts by union men to gather in groups outside the plant have shown that the state police is not the union's friend. They broke up all groups and did not allow union men to discuss or gather.

So aroused did union men in Detroit become upon hearing of Ford's campaign of terror and provocation, that one union man and several stewards drove a sound truck on Miller Road, warning the Foundry workers against going to work where they would be attacked by armed "service" men.

Ford is trying by every means to destroy the confidence of the Ford workers, and to wreck the by an overwhelming vote for the No. 12, United Federal Workers grievances with Charles V. Mcgreat morale which was built up UAW-CIO in the coming NLRB of America (Congress of Indus- Laughlin, first assistant secreas a result of the strike. If he election that they have built an trial Organizations), said in a tary, but "apparently you gave can do this before the NLRB vote, impregnable union, and to go on letter to the Secretary of Labor Mr. McLaughlin authority only he hopes to be able to defeat the from there to a complete victory, that the union was "shocked" to to listen to the union and not to

Several union men have been Ford.

#### The Place To Win A Strike



These strikers of the Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation, Elizabeth, N. J., have given a flat turn-down to strikebreaking proposals to "return to work pending negotiations." The strikers, members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (ClO), unanimously rejected a National Mediation Board proposal that they return to work and then negotiate.

# General Motors Strike Vote Starts Monday

(Continued from page 1)

- Reuther told some of the com-The service department, with pany's answers to the union's procompany gave the real reason it feared the union shop:

> "The CIO is not only a union with economic meaning, but it is potentially a political force with a program we must fight" was in essence what the GM executives said. In other words, they are afraid the union shop would entrench the union too deeply as a force on the American scene and make it too difficult to destroy.

> different in the mass production industries organized by the CIO, than in the small plants, shops or industries organized by back-door methods by AFL leaders, when company and union agree to checkoff, and the workers gain little.

The company was so firm on the union shop point, it told the UAW committee that the union would absolutely have to strike to get it.

WAGE RAISE LIKELY

In fact the only issue on which the company showed any signs of bargaining, was the issue of wages. There will undoubtedly be wage concessions, which the union insists upon in view of rising livng costs and the huge profits of the corporation.

In answer to the company's attempt to discourage strike action by means of propaganda about defense, the union has pointed out that only 5% of GM production is working currently on defense. The union has stated it will not strike this 5%.

In answer to the corporation's argument that increased wages would mean inflation, Addes replied with the suggestion that they cut the wages of

badly beaten since the plant re opened.

But in spite of this campaign, the CIO is now a mighty force inside the River Rouge plants, and will not be so easily destroyed.

The colored workers who fought side by side on the picket line with the white Ford workers, will stick to the union, and bring with them those misled Negroes who are still under the domination of the company.

makes about \$400,000 a year out of GM, of Donaldson Brown, who rakes in over a million a year in wages and dividends, of Kettering who hauled down two and a half million dollars in wages and bonus and dividends, and the rest of the multi-millionaire board members of the corpora-

All the officers of the Internacircumstances to expose the "pa- pleted. triotic" profiteering of the comon the unions.

THOMAS' RED-BAITING which was called for the purpose It is clear from this that the speech was obviously a forerun to do. issue of the union shop is far ner of what he intends to do at

the coming HAW convention in July, where he hopes to whip up himself of some of the militants in the union who have been making life tough for him. It is not vet possible to know

whether or not a strike is going to develop in General Motors. The locals, representing a total of 78 GM plants and 170,000 workers will undoubtedly vote in favor of strike authorization. It may be that the company will give way sufficiently as a result to avert a strike.

of governmental pressure as induced them to settle the Ford in the shuffle. strike without a signed contract. WORKERS ARE READY

Charles Wilson, President, who victory, the steel and coal in creases, and the general feeling that now is the time to win concessions, all tend to put considerable pressure upon the Interna tional Executive Board.

If a strike ensues, it will come at a time of year usually marked by the curtailment of production This may prove a handicap to a strike, and serve to give the com pany some advantage. It would mean a long strike, since current tional who spoke were forced by models would have been com-

But the corporation is trying to ernmental attempts to outlaw and there is information which strikes and force waiting periods points to the fact that full production schedules will be maintained until the end of May. If In the midst of this meeting this is so, the company's strategy of welding together the workers show-down fight at the slack time for the eventuality of a strike, R of year, will have failed if the J. Thomas in his speech injected union acts promptly, which there

The GM workers are not inexperienced workers. They have a red-baiting hysteria, and rid They know they can win a strike moreover who know enough to watch every move of the Board members, and to insist that the workers' demands not be thrown into the waste basket

In his report of the negotiations Reuther did not mention once two important demands embodied in the contract drawn up at the GM conference in February.

One was the demand for a \$25 a week payment to all drafted The leadership, in spite of the workers, and the other was the militant speeches in Flint, will substitution of a 60 day for a six probably prove none too strong month seniority clause. Vigilan? at the negotiating table, and will militants are watching events to prove subject to the same kind see that these two important demands, and all others, are not lost

The general spirit in Flint in dicates that the boys who did it Nevertheless, the spirit of the in 1937, are even better prepared GM workers runs high. The Ford to fight to a victory in 1941.

### Here's A Labor Dispute For Madame Perkins!

ing to roost over every labor to its employes. conflict in the country that she hatching.

A dispatch in the New York story, as follows:

WASHINGTON, April 21-Some of Secretary Perkins's employes read her a lecture today on collective bargaining.

Oscar Witmer, president, and White and colored, the Ford Helen Miller, adjustment direcworkers are determined to show tor, of Labor Department Local had been trying to adjust its a signed contract with Henry learn that the Secretary had told negotiate; that is not collective to destroy any form of collective the Wage-Hour Division to dis- bargaining."

While Madame Secretary of continue the practice of publiciz-Labor Perkins has been attempt- ing vacancies and new positions

This action, they said, was the can sit on, a big collective bar- third step taken by Secretary gaining egg has been laid in her Perkins in recent months "in own back yard and is ready for breaking down labor standards for your own employes."

It was asserted that the Sec-Times, April 22, tells the whole retary had previously, without notice or discussion with employes, closed the cafeteria lunch counter during the morning and afternoon and curtailed the breakfast hour.

The letter said that for eight and one-half months the union

# **Drive Begun** By TWU On

Union Will Take Case to N. Y. Worker-Public

Preparing to take the offensive against the strikebreaking eforts of Mayor La Guardia, the New York Local of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) announced last Saturday that it would carry its fight for renewal of the subway workers' closed shop con-New York workers, through an extensive publicity campaign involving the circulation of millions of pamphlets, twice weekly radio broadcasts and public meet-

Union officials made this program public at a demonstration of over 5,000 members of the TWU, employed on the cityowned subway, elevated and street railway systems, before the offices of the New York City Board of Transportation.

The union's projected campaign to win mass support in its forth coming battle with LaGuardia for the retention of the union rights of the 27,000 subway workers is directly in line with the program of union publicity which of the Eastern Steamship Com- the lead and demanded a \$50 THE MILITANT has repeatedly pany. This company, long a bul-monthly bonus. recommended for the past two wark of reaction among the shipmonths. It is a program which, if owners on the East Coast, refused fully carried out, is certain to to go along with the general \$10 bring victory to the union.

ANSWERS BOSS LIES

active support of the millions of veral of the Eastern crews, on users of the subways will begin son, decided to "pay off" without pany and also to attack the gov- pile up a huge inventory of cars, this week with the public distri-, formally striking. bution of 1,000,000 pamphlets explaining the union's position in board at the Union hiring halls the subway controversy.

ceding the termination of the present closed shop contracts on June ny good jobs at hand and too 30, the union will distribute each much of a shortage of seamen, for shot from the shipowners assoweek 2,000,000 copies of literature anyone to want the Eastern jobs. ciation, an agreement was drawn at subway and elevated entrances

being made for twice-a-week ra- a shady nature against other bona this victory, have since followed dio broadcasts and a huge public fide unions, long covetous of the lead of their crews with borally at Madison Square Garden. SIU's Eastern control, one of the nus demands of their own and Regular outdoor mass meetings "organizers," Jack Lawrenson, is the ships are still being detained are to be held in the various sec- reported to have called up the amid continuing patriotic ballytions of the city.

In making these plans public, the speakers at the demonstration scored the misrepresentations which LaGuardia, the Board of bloody, inter-union battle would Transportation officials and the newspapers have been circulating against the union.

LAGUARDIA'S NEW MOVES Last week the Board of Trans-

portation made two further moves in its union-busting drive. It issued a four-page printed

circular to the 32,000 employes of the city's transit systems, tell the company, wishing to avoid ing them that they did not have prolonged trouble that would in men are leading the way in the to belong to a union in order to retain their rights and conditions. The circular failed to state that the present union conditions of the subway workers were won by the union and that the workers had the right to belong to a

As a gesture to cover up its trikebreaking activities, the Board also announced that it was making some "concessions" to the subway workers in the form of two-week vacations with pay, six days of paid holidays and liberalization of compensation sick

A union spokesman described these "concessions" as "wretched crumbs", to counter the union's demands for increased pay, shorter hours and genuine collective bargaining under a closed shop union contract. It was pointed out further, that the conditions offered by the Board are already supposed to prevail under the present contracts won by the union, or have been demanded for months by the union.

While retention of the present closed shop clause in the agreement is a paramount issue of the coming showdown. LaGuardia has made it clear that his purpose is bargaining on the transit systems.

# Big Publicity Seafarers Union Makes Big Gains In War Boom

East Coast Seamen Get Theirs, Unswayed Subway Fight By Bosses' Howls About "National Defense"

> has wrung important gains from the shipowners in recent weeks. Its wages and working standards by far outstrip conditions obtained by the National Maritime Union, whose Stalinist leaders con

tinue their shady practices. Most of the coastwise companies under contract with the SIU have tract this June to the millions of granted a \$7.50 increase in wages to their crews this month, bringing the average wage to about \$15 to \$17.50 above the basic pay for seamen a year ago. And last year the SIU had obtained a \$10 and \$7.50 increases from most of hese companies.

NMU wages are about \$5 per month below the SIU standard. Both last year as well as this NMU increases have fallen behind those obtained by the SIU; in fact, the NMU got increases only after the SIU had put up the pioneering fight that broke the

and \$7.50 increases last year as relying upon company stooges on According to the statements of the ships to prevent any action hullaballoo about "national deunion officials at the demonstra- by the crews. But their system fense." The patriotic hysteria was

. The jobs were placed on the with a question mark. No SIU During the month of June, pre- man would take them. Formal reason given: there were too ma-

a barrage of red-baiting. His is every sign the workers intend and at street car and bus stops. displayed their "organizing" tal. for the \$50 bonus. The unions of In addition, arrangements are ents. Long practiced in raids of the ship's officers, encouraged by tied-up ships with NMU crews. evelt mentioned as a likelihood Had this little "raid" been attempted there is no doubt that a OTHER SIU GAINS

> have ensued. Whether the NMU rank and file would have supported such a scab- war zone areas, the SIU obtained by move is highly questionable, also a doubling of the insurance altough Lawrenson, Curran and for each seaman, from \$2,500 to Co, are known to have a hand- \$5,000 and a clause which reopens picked Stalinist "goon squad" for the whole question of the bonus just such purposes.

firm in spite of this news and any port which the ships reach.

Employing militant tactics terfere with their lucrative busi- unleashed against them. They inwhich take advantage of the in- ness in boom times, quickly came tend to be as "patriotic" in decreased demand for seamen in the to terms with the SIU, granted fease of their wages and condipresent war boom, the Scafarers the men a \$10 monthly increase tions as the shipowners are "pa-International Union, confederate which together with last year's triotic" in defense of their proin the Atlantic and Gulf area of \$5 raise brings their wages on fits. They take a strictly class the Sailors Union of the Pacific, a par with those on all other coast point of view on "national dewise companies.

WAR BONUS FIGHT

Perhaps even more important is the SIU action for bonuses for trips to war zones. The SIU has been leading in this field as well. Last year a 25 per cent bonus was prevalent on these runs, which JAMES P. CANNON amounted to about \$20 a month on an average. The SIU took ac SPEAKS IN tion last year which resulted in a raise first to 33 1 3 per cent and FOUR CITIES later to a flat \$1 per day bonus. When the SIU established a new bonus rate it amounted to presships and the companies operating them, including NMU ships.

Two weeks ago, the SIU crews of the Robin Line ships operating to South Africa decided that the time had come to boost war bonus pay again. They argued very correctly that the passage of the Lease-Lend Bill and the increasing hostilities in South East Af-EASTERN STEAMSHIP FIGHT rica had made that zone far more One method by which wage dangerous. Employing the same gains are obtained by the SIU method of "paying off," the crew can best be illustrated by the case of the S. S. Robin Locksley took

The jobs were put "on the board." The union announced that there were no "takers" for them. The membership supported the well as the increases this year; crews 100 per cent. At this point the shipowners began the usual tion, the campaign to gain the broke down this month, when se let loose in the press at the Robin Line men. Washington worked wage earners who are the chief the S.S. Robert E. Lee and Madi- overtime to bring pressure on the hall). union, through all available channels.

The SIU men stood their ground, however. The ships did negotiating a government conciwith the participation of a big At this point, the NMU leaders up granting the men the demand company and offered to man the hoo with intervention by Roos-

Aside from the \$50 bonus. which is now established for all seamen sailing to Africa and other in case of the sinking of any In any case, the crews stood American ship or the bombing of Without any fanfare, the SIU

the seamen in the East, showing remarkable calm and self-possession in spite of the whole machinery of "national defense" propaganda and synthetic patriotism fense" and refuse to be bulldozed into "sacrifices" which the patriotic shipowners don't even dream of making on their side.

James P. Cannon, National Secsure for that same rate on all retary of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak in Minneapolis. Chicago, Detroit and Buffalo during the next two weeks. His schedule follows:

> MINNEAPOLIS: May Day, Thursday, May 1, 8 p. m., at Socialist Workers Party Hall, 919

CHICAGO: Sunday, May 4, 2:30 p. m., at Ashland Auditorium, Room 237, Van Buren & Ashland Ave. Subject: "Strikes And 'National Defense'."

DETROIT: Tuesday, May 6. 8:30 p. m., at Garage Workers Hall, Woodward and Alexandrine Aves. Subject: "Strikes and 'National Defense'."

BUFFALO: Thursday, May 8, 8 p. m. (See next week's MILI-TANT for address of meeting

#### Harry Bennett and William Green Are Now Together

Harry Bennett, ex-pug, union-buster and leader of the piggest army of anti-union thugs in the world, has been made an honorary life member of the AFL Musicians Union in Detroit.

Bill Green, kicked out of the Miners Union, is also in the Musicians Union. In view of their teamwork as strikebreakers during the Ford strike, it is expected their new association is the beginning of quite an orchestra.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

### Big Steel Signs Up!



CIO President Philip Murray and J. L. Perry, president of U. S. Steel's largest unit, Carnegie-Illinois Steel are shown here, in Pittsburgh, as they signed the contract between U. S. Steel and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which boosted wages 10 cents an hour for the company's 261,000 employes.

# May Days Recorded Rising Tide Of Revolt 1915-1918

## Europe Saw No May Day Parades In 1915 --- But Then Came Great Days

This year, throughout the continent of capitalist Europe, the international workers' holiday, May Day, will be observed only by tiny, isolated groups meeting in deepest secrecy.

There is nothing new in this. During the first half of the last World War, the masters of Europe similarly were able to prevent the masses from celebrating May Day. In 1914 and 1915, after the parties and leaders of the Second (Socialist) International had betrayed the workers of Europe to the imperialist war machines and in each country were supporting the war, the tide of the class struggle had ebbed to its lowest point. Only a handful of socialists in all Europe were not swept away by the

wave of national chauvinism that engulfed the warring nations during the first years of the war. On May Day, 1915, for the first time in 25 years, the marching militarism blended with revolu-

feet of the workers were not heard tion-tinted manifestations of pa in the streets of the industrial triotism. cities of Europe. The cowardly and traitorous leaders of the Second International banned the traditional minated the celebration, and May Day strike and instructed amid them the strong nuclei of the workers to continue to work Bolshevism stood out distinctly on May Day in the interests of with banners, placards, speeches "national defense."

But the monstrous repressions of the ruling classes and the betrayals of the "socialist" and "labor" leaders could not subdue the revolutionary will of the European proletariat.

#### KARL LIEBKNECHT REVIVES THE WORKERS' MAY DAY

It was on May Day, 1916, that Karl Liebknecht, a revolutionary socialist leader and member of the German Reichstag, succeeded in bringing together a huge workers' demonstration in Berlin. Liebknecht was imprisoned for his anti-war declarations and actions.

But within two years his ideas and example had permeated the German masses and led to the revolution which destroyed the German monarchy and helped bring an end to the

On May 1, 1916, not a single worker had come out into the streets of St. Petersburg and Moscow to commemorate May Day.

But one year later, May, 1, 1917, the streets of every Russian city were choked with the mightiest May Day mass outpouring that the world had ever witnessed up to that time. It was at once a triumphal celebration of the overthrow of Czarism in the February 1917 revolution, and a gathering of forces for the complete overthrow of Russian capitalism which was to come six months

Leon Trotsky described that historic May Day in his History some of the leading American of the Russian Revolution:

were drowned in meetings and city and rural public institutions ed at the head of the procession. sands. The members of the staff — un- | One of the most memorable

removed tzarist generals marched under May 1 banners The holiday of proletarian anti-

"In both capitals and in the industrial centers the workers doand shouts. Across the immense facade of the Mariinsky Palace, the refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: "Long Live the Third International!" The authorities, not rid of their administrative shyness, could not make up their minds to remove this disagreeable and alarming streamer. Everybody, it seemed. was celebrating. So far as it could the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches. banners and revolutionary songs in the trenches, and there were responses from the German side."

The May Day celebration of 1918 in Russia included no Tzarist or bourgeois generals. It was the greatest May Day in history. It was the first May Day celebration in a workers' state, the Soviet Union. It was a manifestation of that triumphant seizure of power which ended the war for the Russian workers and peasants and speeded the end of the entire world war.

#### MAY DAY IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR

May Day, 1917, was marked in the United States by anti-war dehosses' gangs.

In 1918, the traditional May Day demonstrations were viciously curbed by the government. In addition, these demonstrations were impeded by the actions of Second Internationalists, who sup-

" . . . All the cities of Russia ported the war. Immediately after the war, in demonstrations. Not only the in- 1919, there occurred one of the dustrial enterprises, but the state, largest and most militant May Day demonstrations in American were closed. In Moghilev, the history. The workers stormed the headquarters of the General Staff, streets of the leading American the Cavaliers of St. George march-cities in the hundreds of thou

Understand what's going on ...

# By Inter'l Harvester Workers

The recent militant strike of the International Harvester Company workers successfully established unionism at the company's Chicago McCormick Reaper plant, the plant which is inseparably linked with the historic first May Day of 1886.

Just last week, for the first time in its history, the International Harvester Company had to yield to the organized pressure of the workers, granting a five cents an hour wage boost for 42.000 workers.

After more than five decades, the McCormick workers are beginning to exact historic vengeance for the Haymarket martyrs

During the recent Harvester strike, Mrs. Lucy Parsons, 82 years old widow of Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs, addressed a mass meeting of the strikers and helped inspire them to continue the battle for which her husband sacrificed his life so long ago.

Thus have the living ideas of Parsons and his brave comrades bridged the gap of more than half a century to arouse the workers of our own time. Not even the hangman's noose could silence their voices.

# AFL, CIO Fight inson

(Continued from page 1) sion as a "last resort."

bill to make considerable head-

May Day demonstrations took place that year in Cleveland, Ohio, where over 50,000 workers participated. They were met by a huge concentration of police and specially mobilized armed hoodlums, who succeeded in breaking up the demonstration after they had shot two workers to death and hundreds were beaten and injured. This savage assault upon the Cleveland May Day demonstration of 1919 became a symbol of that "democracy" for which the workers had been told to fight and die.

Today, when reaction has blacked out May Day in so many countries, we need only remember the "In our efforts to carry out this monstrations and bitter battles of history of May Day during the the marchers with the forces of last war to understand that the the government and "patriotic" revolutionary spirit and character of May Day can never be des stroyed.

> That spirit lives on in the vilest hell-holes and prisoncamps of fascist Europe, just as it lived through the darkest years of the last war. Even before the last war had ended. the workers of the world could celebrate the victory of the first successful workers' revolution. The end of this war may well witness-it shall witnessthe greatest May Day celebration of all, marking the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the world socialist revolution.

way in Congress in order to throw creases or union contracts, fail a fright into labor leaders, and to stop militant labor actions, then will offer a "compromise" the administration has made it proposal which will embody the clear that it will endorse compul- principal "cooling off" feature of the present bill but exclude the There is a strong likelihood that compulsory clause for the time Roosevelt will allow the Vinson being. Roosevelt appears to be lieve he can maneuver the top trade union officials into agree ment with such a measure, as a

> "lesser evil" to the Vinson bill, The net effect of such a "cooling off" period, whether compulsory or "voluntary," would of course be the same. It would seriously cripple organized labor in the use of its chief bargaining weapon, the strike, and would enable the employers to stall off wage increases and other concessions.

GREEN WHINES

William Green's opposition t the bill was expressed in characteristically cowardly terms.

"The American Federation of Labor has officially adopted a 'no-strike' policy in defense in dustries," Green wrote to Vinson 'no-strike' policy we have made a

wonderful record. "Do the members of Congress wish to change this situation by creating hatred and enmity in the minds and hearts of labor toward

Congress and the government?"

Despite the whining tone of Green's protest, the fact that he has been compelled to take a stand against the bill reflects the tremendous pressure which the AFL rank and file members are putting on the leadership to fight anti-labor legislation.

#### CIO BLASTS BILL

CIO President Philip Murray ast week denounced the Vinson Bill as legislation which "will se riously endanger the future existence of our affiliated unions," n a message addressed to all CIO affiliates and members urging them to protest against passage of the bill.

In a letter to Representative Vinson, Murray condemned the "cooling off" proposal, declaring that it "strikes at the very existence of unions" by subjecting them to "an extended period of governmental interference through mediation and arbitration boards" before they can exercise their ight to strike.

Murray has, however, considerably weakened the position of labor on this issue by his failure to oppose or denounce the action of the National Mediation Board, of which he is a member, when it enunciated as one of its guiding rules several weeks ago that it would invoke "cooling off" periods. Murray himself, by lending labor prestige to the Board, is helping to subject the unions to that very "extended period of governmental interference through mediation and arbitration boards," which he so correctly opposes in connection with the Vinson bill.

The chief danger to the unions in the present agitation around the Vinson bill is that Murray and the other top union officials may grasp at a worthless "compromise" involving acceptance of FORD the principle of "cooling off" periods, with the union officials enforcing the procedure rather than the administration taking responsibility for compulsion.

# Battle of May Day 1886 Now Won May Day Was First Celebrated In The United States In 1886

May Day began in America, in 1886, since 1890 it has been | workers of the McCormick Reaper | ist frameups. The judge openly celebrated as an international workers' holiday. Each year since plant had been on strike for three voiced his class hatred against the then workers everywhere have recognized May 1 as a day sym- months prior to May Day. 45,000 defendants and acted with undisbolizing their struggle for their broadest economic and political demands, a day for the expression of the international solidarity of all workers against all bosses, and for renewal of their fight for emancipation from capitalist rule in all lands.

There is scarcely a single day of the year which does not commemorate some memorable event in the history of the working class. The road of proletarian struggle during the past century and a half of capitalism is markworkers of the 1880's revived

But capitalism, with its recur-

rent wars and mounting repressions, overlays the memories of past oppressions and conflicts with ever fresh horrors.

ed by innumerable blood-stained

In reality, nothing of the workers' past is lost or forgotten, not a single crime of the master class, not one drop of the blood which has been shed for proletarian liberation. Each indignity, sacrifice and moment of struggle continues to live in our memories, not as isolated events, but as part of the fused experiences of the working class. On May Day, above all, we remember and draw fresh inspiration

#### AMERICAN LABOR IS THE WORLD VANGUARD

This May Day comes in Amervictorious wave of strikes. At the tory. moment when our proletarian brothers in Europe seem crushed by the blows of capitalist war, reaction and fascism, American labor stands forth as an unbowed giant, capable of inspiring and rallying the masses of all nations to hurl themselves in renewed combat against the ruling classes of the earth.

Today the American working class has the privilege of being able to hold high the banner of class struggle and reinvigorate the proletarian ranks of Euthe spirit of the international class struggle after the crush-

ing defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871. We recall with pride that it was the American working class that gantic mass meeting in Haymargave May Day to the workers of ket Square to protest against the police brutality. he world

The first workers' May Day oc- THE HAYMARKET MASSACRE curred on May 1, 1886, That was the day on which a group of American trade unions, later to a great squad of police suddenly form the American Federation of charged upon the thinning ranks Labor. had determined to strike of the demonstrators. Someone and demonstrate for the eight hour day. THE FIRST MAY DAY

#### On that first May Day, which

the bosses as well as the workingclass will never forget, workers in every city of the United States downed tools and conducted one of the greatest and most militant ca at the crest of a great and strike demonstrations in labor his-

The character of that first May Day struggle has lived on in every May Day since. For this tremendous strike struggle was not limited to purely economic demands. Under the influence of militant socialists of that period, the fight for eight hour day legislation assumed a political character. And it was a battle fought not simply in the legislative chambers, but by masses of workers in the streets.

Chicago became the scene of a rope, just as the American tremendous conflict. There the

other Chicago workers struck for the eight hour day on May 1, and stayed out. By May 3, 80,000 workers were out. The Chicago bosses determined to crush this movement in blood. On May 3, the Chicago police opened fire without warning on the McCormick picket line. Four workers were killed, scores injured. The Chicago workers were in

furiated by this deliberate slaught er. The next day they held a gi-

As the demonstration was break ing up, after a peaceful gathering just who has never been disclosed threw a bomb. When the smoke and confusion died away, sever police and four workers lay dead.

While all subsequent evidence indicates that this was the work of a police agent or provocateur the boss class began howling for workers' blood. Almost every labor leader in Chicago was ar-

The police and courts centered heir murderous designs upon eight of the most militant and outstanding labor leaders, August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engels, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samue' Fielden and Oscar Neebe.

The police had been unable to find Parsons, but on the day when the trial began, Parsons walked into the courtroom and took his place on the prisoners dock to face death at the side of his comrades.

The trial is a classic in capital

juised partiality. The judge's agent who had nicked the jury panel was proved to have stated: "I am managing this case and know what I am about. These fellows are going to

#### THEY WERE THE BOLSHEVIKS OF THEIR TIME

The capitalists and their press howled for the lives of these brave workers. They called them "Communards" after the workers of the Paris Commune, the first workers' government in history. "Communard" was the 1886 equivalent of "Bolshevik."

be hanged as certain as death . . .'

When this farcical trial had lragged its course, seven of the lefendants were sentenced to be hanged, and one, Oscar Neebe, vas given 15 years imprisonment.

In words of magnificent defiance, Spies declared to the court: "I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price. Call your hangmen!".

At the last moment, the death sentences of two, Schwab and Fielden, were commuted to lifé imprisonment. Lingg, to deprive the bosses of the depraved satisfaction they might gain from his hanging, committed suicide by biting a dynamite cap with his teeth. Spies, Parsons, Engels and Fischer were strangled on the gallows, breathing defiance of the ruling class with their last breaths.

The example of the Haymarket martyrs moved the working class profoundly. The American workers began to organize and fight with greater determination than

#### AN INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY

In 1889, the convention of the American Federation of Labor again set aside May 1, 1890, as another day of mass strikes and demonstrations for the eight hour day. The International Workingman's Congress of the Second (Socialist) International, inspired by the American example, decreed hat May 1, 1890 should be an inernational workingmen's holiday.

On that first international May. Day, the workers of Europe and America gave an unforgettable demonstration of international working-class solidarity. By the millions, the proletariat of the most advanced capitalist countries poured into the streets and fought against the savage military and police repressions which were hurled against them in every land.

Thus May Day was born of the iving struggles of the American working class and was baptized in the battles and blood of the international proletariat.

The ruling classes, everywhere nave tried to destroy the revolutionary spirit of May Day. And the treacherous leadership of the Second and Third (Stalinist) Internationals have tried to water down the militant tradition and revolutionary character of May Day. The trade union bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor attempted to make of May Day purely an occasion for picnics and outings; and then, in connivance with the bosses and their government, tried to do away with May Day by establishing Labor Day as the "official" labor holiday in September.

But the spirit and character of the real May Day cannot be destroyed. That is what the hangmen of the Haymarket martyrs tried to do after the first May Day in 1886. Today the names of the judge and hangmen are forgotten, while each year, on May Day, millions of workers pay tribute to the memory of the Haymarket martyrs of that first May Day struggle.

On this May Day, in the light f the class battles which the American workers have been waging within recent months, we can better understand the imperishable truth of the last words of August Spies, spoken when the black hangman's mask already covered his face:

"There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle

# Here's The Bottleneck The Boss Press Doesn't Blast

The chart below originally pub- is said to be planning to go to unused production facilities, th porations have gobbled down most of the war contracts.

of unused United States industion experts focused on this area rial capacity, are being ignored when further placing of new inby the government.

The net effect of this policy is illustrated by a report of conditions of employment in the Pittsburgh area, a typical industrial

An editorial, entitled "Jobs Wanted," published in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, April 16,

"The Pittsburgh district has had great deal of defense work, but take care of efficiently. There are in Allegheny County alone, according to figures given the Greater Pittsburgh Committee by state

"A delegation of members of

ALL OTHERS

(\$1,352,500,000)

ished in the CIO Economic Out- Washington for a conference with only way the capitalists can thin look, gives a graphic picture of Donald M. Nelson, chairman of of getting more war productio back-logs on war orders which skilled labor here and the still un chine. will take three and four years to used plant facilities of Western fill. Thousands of small plants, Pennsylvania, would help to keep representing a tremendous amount the attention of national produc-

#### WASHINGTON FILLED WITH SNARLING JACKALS

about this side of the "national defense" question. It's out to defend its holdings and profits. All the Post Gazette can think

of to change this condition is to bring pressure to bear to get a little more of the war profits not, by far, as much as it can gravy flowing into Pittsburgh. And the business class of every other section of the country is thinking in the same terms. Washington has become a jungle employment offices, some 43,000 of snarling political jackals each of capitalism. It is an essential men and 13,000 women ready to trying to snatch more war orders go to work immediately to pro- for their own business constiduce whatever the Government tuents. This doesn't mean that lacks for defense. And the num- production will be expedited. It ber rises to more than 100,000 simply means that the sections available workers in the Pitts- that howl the most will get a burgh area, which comprises 11 little more, and those that how least will get still less. With over 9,000,000 unemployed

the committee and labor leaders in this country, and tremendous

how a relative handful of big cor- the plant site committee of the is to divert production from cor Office for Production Manage- sumers goods to war materials ment. Perhaps such a visit, call- Less goods for the workers, more A few giant corporations have ing attention to the reservoir of goods for the capitalist war ma-THE WORKERS' WAY TO dustry is contemplated."

#### INCREASE PRODUCTION There is a way in which pro-

duction can be stepped up without intensifying the exploitation of labor. There is a way in which production can be increased through the utilization of unused Big Business isn't worrying facilities and unemployed labor. The war industries must be

taken away from the war profiteers and put in the hands of the workers. The government must expropriate the war industries and place them under the control and management of of the workers.

That is the first step in freeing production from the stranglehold of the profit-hungry wolves step in preparing the workers' defenses against fascism, at home as well as abroad.

If the government will not take this styp, it is because it is not interested in fighting fascism. It is concerned solely with defending the interests and profits of a handful of owning class parasites.

Remington Arms one reason why

This chart shows

there are still over

ployed. 85% of war

orders have gone to

while much of the

country's industrial

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An Economic Outlook Chart.

### Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

#### Mass Action Against Jim Crow

The N.A.A.C.P. picket lines "before the gates of industrial plants holding government defense contracts and refusing to hire colored workers," scheduled to be held in 50 key cities on Saturday morning. April 26, with an estimated minimum of 33,000 people participating, is a step to be welcomed and supported.

The business of lobbying and waiting in government chambers hat in hand, and writing to Congressmen and the President, cannot do much toward breaking down the bars of industrial Jim Crowism. Talk is necessary, but it must be supplemented by action. The bosses read letters and telegrams, the government departments meet with committees of 10 or 15 people—but it takes mass demonstrations involving thousands to show them that the Negro workers are not merely asking for their rights, they are DEMANDING

It is also gratifying to learn that A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters Union, has not only called for a march of 10,000 Negroes on Washington, but is also going ahead with plans to organize it.

Charley Cherokee of the Chicago Defender states that Randolph is "quietly" going ahead with his plans for the march. We doubt that "quiet" preparations will actually mobilize the Negro masses into action. What is required is a conference of militant Negro organizations to organize and conduct the affair. We don't doubt that Randolph is seriously interested in making the march a successful turnout of the resentment of the Negro people, but we find it hard to believe that any one man, even one with the support which Randolph undoubtedly has, can by himself carry out the job.

#### Read Your Own Paper!

Horace Cayton, labor editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, this week struck out at those "race leaders" responsible for the Ford situation, "which so nearly spelt the doom for Negroes in the new labor movement." He says: "These 'race men' should be smoked out and made to take a position. There is no middle ground. In Detroit the Negro community, depending for employment on the automobile industry, must determine its attitude toward organized labor - no community organization can be impartial - they are either for or

We would suggest that Cayton read the Detroit edition of his paper, and an article from Detroit in the current issue of all its editions, written by John R. Williams, who says: "Both Mr. Marshall (Ford's hatchet man) and Mr. Patterson (UAW organizer), along with thousands of others, have congratulated The Courier for its impartial presentation of these issues . .

The Courier too might have improved the situation which so nearly spelt the doom for Negroes in the new labor movement, if it had been less "impartial." Cayton is right in saying there is no middle ground. If you weren't with the union, then you weren't with the best interests of the Negro workers. The workers needed support, not

#### Negroes and the **Mediation Board**

The Chicago Defender, in commenting on the makeup of the National Mediation Board, deplores the appointment of George Harrison, head of the lily-white Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, who is well known for his anti-Negro bias, and the failure of Roosevelt to appoint a Negro to the Board even though the Negro people constitute one tenth of our population and a much greater proportion of the working class.

"Under the circumstances," say the Defender, "Negroes must abandon all hopes of being beneficiaries of impartial judgment, unless the administration cancels the Harrison appointment and substitutes a black man in his place."

This is posing the question incorrectly. Certainly the Negro workers (and the white workers too) should rid themselves of illusions that they will get "impartial judgment" from this Board. They won't get it because there is no such thing. Either you are for the workers, or you are for the bosses.

The appointment of Harrison does serve to show how little Roosevelt considers the interests of the Negro workers. But his recall and the appointment of a Negro on the Board would not change the fundamental fact that the Negro, like the labor representatives, would only serve as fig-leaf covering to the anti-labor, anti-Negro role of the Mediation Board.

Instead of calling for the appointment of a Negro to the Board, the Negro press should join THE MILITANT in calling for the resignation of all the labor representatives from the Board and in telling them that their place is with the workers, Negro and white, on the picket lines.

#### Jim Crow Squadron Boycotted

In spite of all efforts to make the Jim Crow Air Corps Squadron at Tuskegee seem appetizing to the Negro people, there has been a definite boycott against the segregated set-up handed down from Washington to quiet the protests about dis-

The Associated Negro Press called on the colored newspapers to feature stories about the opportunities that lay in store for young men who

The Pittsburgh Courier ran an announcement on its editorial page. Mrs. Roosevelt had pictures of herself taken and printed in the Negro press, showing her preparing to go up in a plane with

And in spite of this high pressure drive, the ridiculously low figure of applicants permitted into the squadron has still not been filled. Qualified young men don't like a Jim Crow squadron. | ivia and the latter had to cede | This is what the company has ereignty of the nation; and 2 -

# The LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN THE CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF THE CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF THE THE TRANSPORT OF YUGOSIAVIA

### Its People Were Ready For Revolution, But Stalin Cut Off Their Hope

By EDWARD BURKHARDT

Yugoslavia is a creation of Versailles. She was pieced to- the Austrian monarchy and at soever, hardly any railroads, and middle class existed — led the gether out of the ancient kingdom of the Serbs, the Austrian first had wildly acclaimed their practically no roads at all. In rulers to establish free universiprovinces of Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, the independent national liberation, were given many parts of Southern Serbia ties in four major cities of the luchy of Montenegro, and small parts of Southern Hungary and no share whatsoever in the gov-the peasants are still tilling the country. But the considerable bo-Northern Bulgaria, But what differentiates Yugoslavia from the ernment of the new state. As a soil with wooden implements. the other Versailles masterpieces is the fact that the territorial result, the ground was fertile for At ridiculous prices the British solidly communist. They know, union of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was absolutely justified the development of a Croat nat and French purchased a number despite the promises of the rulers, and progressive, for all of these had in common national char-tionalist anti-Serbian separatist of half-developed mines, such as that capitalism can provide no acteristics of language and history.

more acute instead of being solved, if economic and cultural progress stopped dead before it even had started, then this was due chiefly to two reasons. One was the development of post-war European capitalism with its generally devasting results. The other was the failure of the European working class to fight its way to final victory, and the subsequent bureaucratization of the Soviet

Yugoslavia's advantageous geothe country was bound to find would unquestionably have meant kan peninsula and would have checkmated Italian fascism.

Immediately after ratification of the Versailles treaty, a government was formed under the dictatorship of prince-regent Alexander, composed exclusively of rep-

great natural resources, if the national question became ever resentatives and members of the Serbian ruling clique. (The old king Peter I was still alive, but through a conspiracy he was forced to confer the powers of ruler upon his second son Alexander, while the real crown prince, George, was declared insane and at Nish.)

ment was to suppress all progressive labor and peasant organizagraphic position at the gate of tions and to embark upon a crus-Eastern Europe proved a double ade against communism which edged sword, for sooner or later was surpassed by German fascism in nothing but a certain techitself in the path of one or the nical refinement of torture methother imperialist rival. Neverthe. ods. This suppresion has continuless, due to just this key position, ed unabated, if unsuccessful, up him vociferously in the elections). a Yugoslav socialist revolution to the present day. It is one of

aguay. The new road Standard

Oil had searched for was closed.

Standard Oil in Bolivia.

change for petroleum.

General Quintanilla, the succes-

the way of the Yacimientos Petro-

A COMEBACK

long and bloody struggle against fits. There was no industry what for professional experts — no If the country remained poverty-stricken in spite of its peasants, most of whom were land and exploited them with their a healthy mistrust of all presumowners and by far more prosper- own labor and capital. ous than their Serbian brethren.

> in 1928, which was used as pre-The first step of this govern- text for the introduction of absolute military dictatorship, Vladimir Matchek became the leader of the Croat separatists. Clumsily disguised as a champion of democracy. Matchek took the move-

At the same time the Serbian the reasons why the Stalinists ruling class found itself utterly example. And indeed, no ruling spectacle of an army of drafted a sovietization of the entire Bal- still enjoy a prestige among the unable to cope with the problems class would have been able to peasants led by peasants. masses quite out of proportion to confronting them; and indeed they stem the rising tide of rebellion. their actual strength, in the coun- were insoluble under capitalism. try, despite the general disap- Theirs was one of the richest pointment of the masses in the countries in Europe; but in order was small and without an estabpolitical development of the So- to develop it they needed tremen- lished aristocracy. (The founder dous sums of capital without being of the present dynasty was a sional group, with a peasant of

movement among the Croatian Trepca and Bor, and operated future for the country. They have

The Serbian peasants, who for This movement was soon given centuries had fought a war of naa reactionary character by its tional liberation against the leaders whose methods included Turks and against the Austrians, collaborating with fascist terror- found themselves cheated of the ists. It was led at first by the material fruits of their victory. school teacher, Stephen Raditch. The national independence they After the assassination of Ra- had craved was there - but the a Bolshevik (!) and imprisoned ditch in the Belgrade parliament economic oppression, instead of vanishing, had grown more and more intolerable.

#### ALL THE FORCES PRESENT

FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION The traditional pan-Slavic tendencies among the masses, vastly strengthened by the victory of the ment ever closer to fascism. October revolution in Russia. (Which, however, did not prevent brought about an upsurge of the the Stalinists from supporting revolutionary movement. For a while it seemed as if the country was about to follow the Russian

> How easy the revolution would have been! The ruling class itself

dv of students and graduates is ably anti-Soviet propaganda and an unswerving faith in Soviet Russia. (Heretofore they made no distinction between Stalin and the quences: why didn't Stalin save Yugoslavia? they will be asking.

that base and brutal class ins tinct which elsewhere characterizes the military hierarchy. Thus

#### BY DEVELOPMENTS IN USSR

stricken peasantry, with a communist student body and profes-The Croats, who had waged a able to guarantee immediate pro-swineherd in 1865.) Its urgent need ficer-body, and with the inspiring example of the Russian peasantry nearby, Yugoslavia was well on the way to revolution in the first years after 1918.

> ment of the Yacimientos Petrolito the idealistic students.

> > Yet the fear of revolution re

Yugoslav government tried so des Nevertheless, that defeat is perately up to the very last min-

When the Nazis finally did strike, the defense of the country We expect, however, that the from the very outset was ham-

# USSR. The latest events will not have remained without conse Lacking a native aristocracy or

a large layer of the bourgeoisie, the rulers were forced to train young peasants for military leadership. The army schools did this with considerable technical comnetence and turned out every year a large number of officers without however, being able to instil it them during the three-year course Yugoslavia provided the unique

#### REVOLUTION DISCOURAGED

With a desperately poverty-

But what the Serp rulers could not do for themselves, Stalin did As each succeeding year after 1923 brought growingly reactionary treatment to the So viet peasantry, the news seeped out into the Balkans. The Soviet alternative grew ever less attractive to the Serb peasantry. They would not make a revolution to live under Stalin - for thus the revolution appeared to them, un derstandably enough. They turn ed away from the Communist International and closed their ears

This is the explanation why the

stood idly by.

# Bolivia Fights Standard Oil

#### Despite Washington's Warning, Bolivia's Masses Will Not Yield

By QUEBRACHO,

BUENOS AIRES (By Mail)—Bolivia is the strangest of new government of General Penthe republics of South America. Situated in the interior of the oranda. On its behalf a group of feros Fiscales. continent, it has no outlet to the sea. It lost its seacoast as a result | senators have just raised in Conof a war with Chile in 1879, which also meant the loss of large gress the proposal to formally re in the last, few, weeks has disdeposits of nitrates found in that locality.

Reduced thus to its inland position, Bolivia has the peculiarity that the major part of its inhabited territory consists senators point to the advantages the United States for the sale of of an arid plateau (more than 11,000 feet above sea level) where of arriving at a satisfactory agreed its tin and is ready to conclude almost all of its three to four million inhabitants, mainly In- ment with the company in order another one for the sale of its dians, are concentrated.

wealth of Bolivia, are found in the highland. That country is the world's second largest producer of tin following the Malay Straits Settlements. Exports of that min-STANDARD OIL PAYS THE eral comprise 70% of Bolivian ex- PRICE OF DEFEAT

acres of oil lands.

#### STANDARD OIL INCITES AN UNSUCCESSFUL WAR

The Standard Oil Company of least means of communication. When the wells of Standard Oil that of Toro. began to produce, a grave problem

the shortest route, was impracticable. There only remained the possibility of constructing it towards Argentina or Paraguay. But moves in that direction didn't bring any results, principally because Dutch Shell, which control- STANDARD OIL BEGINS led the Argentine markets, and was in a privileged position there, did not want to have the S'andard

Oil Company as a competitor. follow the latter's footsteps as far There only remained one road as petroleum policy was concernand Standard Oil chose it: to extend the frontiers of Bolivia to contrary, obstacles were placed in wards the Paraguay River, by having that country seize the liferos Bolivianos as a step lead-Chaco territory which was in dis- ing to its liquidation and the respute with the Republic of Para-toration to Standard Oil of its guay. The war between the two old properties. The company had countries which broke out in 1932 not of course ceased for one mo lasted 3 years until 1935. Fortune ment its efforts to reestablish it in arms was unfavorable to Bol- self in Bolivia.

now tried to do openly under the to obtain credits for the developise the attitude of the government toward the company. The has just signed an agreement with to gain the good will of the Unit- wolfram. The result of that epi-The large tin mines which constitute at present the principal ed States, and to be able to con- sode has been a serious defeat tract a loan of 10 million pesos, for Standard Oil in spite of the mained in the rulers. They undersince the Department of State in support given to its imperialist stood how precarious was their ment with Standard Oil is indis- "great democrat" and "good pensable before a loan would be neighbor" Roosevelt. granted.

In the lengthy discussions But the gravest situation for But the territory of Bolivia Standard Oil came thereafter. The which took place in the Senate, a stretches out from the east of the people of Bolivia began to blame good part of its members spoke tal for the development of the a class they could not rely upon Andes mountains in the declivity the company for having been the out against the maintenance of Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales the army; they feared that in the of that mountainous chain towards cause of the war which had cost the Yacimientos Petroliferos Fisthe Atlantic, a zone known as so much in blood and sacrifices cales and in favor of the restitu-"Oriente boliviano." A petroleum and from which came such a tion of Standard Oil's properties able to surreptitiously regain that deposit which became the object shameful defeat. Popular clamor and concessions. During many of great speculation in the years against Standard Oil rose to such days, while the ministers of Genfollowing the first world war of a high pitch that the government eral Penoranda participated in 1914-18 was discovered there. All of Colonel Toro decreed national the debate and bore the burden sorts of concessions passed into ization of the petroleum industry of making public the pressure of the hands of the Standard Oil in 1937, which signified the con- the Washington State Department Company of New Jersey which fin- fiscation without indemnity of all in favor of Standard Oil, the sesally had in its power five million the properties and concessions of sions of the Bolivian senate held the vigilant attention of the peo-The tremendous petroleum re ple of Bolivia.

#### serves of this country were now MASS PROTESTS HALT to be directly exploited by the Bo | STANDARD OIL'S RETURN

Bolivia was organized in 1921 and livian state which, with that end Foreseeing a maneuver tending it began in 1923 to exploit the in mind, organized the Yacimien to reestablish in their country the lands whose rights it had acquir- tos Petroliferos Fiscales. This pol- hated imperialist enterprise, the ed. Those lands consisted of al. icy was continued vigorously by people poured out into the streets, most virgin territory without the the government of Lieutenant demanding the maintenance of the Colonel Busch which succeeded Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales and protesting against the atti-Busch who demonstrated sym-tude of the Washington governconfronted that company: the dif- pathies for Nazi-fascism, also ment and any steps which would ficulty of getting the oil out of clashed in a death battle with the signify an agreement with Stand-Anglo-Yankee-Bolivian mine com- ard Oil. The Chauffeurs Union A pipe-line across the Andes panies (Patino, Aramayo and registered its protest by declaring mountains to trasport it to the Rothschild) which ended suddenly a strike, while the leftist parties Pacific, which would have been with his "suicide" at the height raised their voices in the same of that struggle, just after he had sense. reached an accord for the cons-

The point was reached where truction of a pipe-line to the Par- talk was heard that a revolt, utilaguay River which was to have izing the agitation provoked by the been installed by Germany in expetroleum question, would take place during Easter week.

Confronted by this state of public unrest, President Penoranda was compelled to issue a commusor of Busch, did not faithfully nique emphatically declaring that the old properties of Standard Oil would not be given back to ed. During his government, on the the company under any conditions, and in case an accord should be reached, it would not be contrary to the interests of Bolivia. For its part, the Senate definitely decided the following:

1 - To liquidate the question pending with the Standard Oil. Company in an honorable fashion, maintaining the prestige and sov-

Such has been the episode which turbed Bolivia, a country which Washington hinted that an adjust- policy by the government of the rule.

nothing more than apparent. The ute to prevent war. decision to welcome private capi- But the rulers knew well that as opens a new road whereby the chaos of total war they might Standard Oil Company may be lose control and lose it forever. which it formerly possessed.

Bolivian people will discover in pered and crippled by these very time the maneuver and be able same fears and misgivings. More to hinder it. For the bad name over, the Croats, embittered, probof Rockefeller's company in the ably were none too ready to die highland country is such that a The Balkans, kept divided by the government which has not previ- imperialists, had already fallen, ously established a bloody dicta- piece by piece to Hitler. The torship could only with difficulty bourgeoisie, unwilling and unable defy popular opinion by permit- to fight fascism, led the country ting the reestablishment in Bo- to speedy disaster, while Stalin livia of Standard Oil.

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### The Balkans ---Pawns Of The **Great Powers**

By JACK WEBER

Bourgeois writers of history, when they spoke unguardedly, and therefore frankly, called the Balkan or Eastern Question "the problem of filling up the vacuum created by the gradual disanpearance of the Turkish Empire from Europe." In this manner of posing the "problem" there was not a trace of thought given to the Balkan peoples themselves. Long before Hitler was born, the Concert of Europe - was there ever a more ironic name for it? - moved diplomatically to carve up the Balkans among the great powers.

The first great rivals for the inheritance of the Sick Man of Europe, (so they called the Sultan) were England and Czarist Russia. Russia wanted Constantinople and an outlet to the sea. England wouldn't have minded that so much, except that she already possessed India. Hence she dared not tolerate any power having a hold on the Mediterranean which might dominate her lifeline to India and the Far East.

Each of the great powers was anxious to become the "protector" of the small Balkan nations. The Czar was the first protector and in true gangster fashion exacted his price. But in the Crimean War, England muscled in and took over the protection. Today it is Hitler who shoulders aside England, as well his ally Italy, to become the "protector."

#### It Was Also Napoleon's Strategy

Hitler is following closely in the footsteps of Napoleon. The latter said: "Really to conquer England we must make ourselves masters of Egypt." By this Napoleon meant breaking the sea route in the Mediterranean that was a matter of life and death to British imperialism.

The first World War was fought over this same issue when Germany attempted to build the strategic Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. This would have brought the Kaiser close to the Suez Canal. Now Hitler again wishes to use the Balkans as the stepping-stone to Suez. In the last war Germany wished to gain complete domination of Europe in order next to break up the British Empire. Hitler has followed the same formula, thus far with much greater success.

People who do not understand the working of imperialism in the small nations wonder why Hitler was so successful in keeping the Balkan states apart and swallowing them one at a time. In this Hitler merely inherits the "benefits" derived from the intrigues of all the imperialist powrs of Europe. If the Balkan countries had been able to unite in an economic and military Federation, they might have held off all the imperialists. Many a Balkan statesman, even among the bourgeoisie, dreamed of achieving such a union.

#### Why No Balkan Federation Existed

But every time a move was made in this. direction the big powers used every machination to frustrate it. We take a few among innumerable examples. In the first Balkan War, Serbia. Greece and Bulgaria formed a League to gain complete independence from Turkey. They were stepped in and cleverly set the allies against each other by offering support to Greece and Serbia to seize Macedonia, which was predominantly Bulgarian. This brought on the Second Balkan War of 1912-13. To cap matters Germany attracted Bulgaria to her side in the first World War by then holding out the reward of righting the wrong done her!

In 1923, when the peasant leaders, Stambuliski in Bulgaria and Raditch in Yugoslavia, tried to settle their countries' disputes peacefully and form an alliance, Mussolini found all his plans disturbed. He had a hand, with the army clique of Bulgaria, in bringing about the assassination of Stambuliski through the use of the Macedonian terrorists in his pay.

Thus the history of the Balkans shows nothing more clearly than the impossibility of the Balkan peoples to live their own lives while imperialism is master in Europe. Imperialism reaches down right to the heart of the small countries of Europe. It lays hold of the financial and banking interests which are tied up closely with the interests of the bigger bankers of the capitalist powers. Through its economic domination it also controls the major political parties and the governments set up on the basis of these parties. Often each party is in the pay of a different imperialist power. The only recourse of the native bourgeoisie is to gravitate from the orbit of one of the powers to that of the other. Its bargains ing power lies only in the fact that rival imperialists bid against each other for influence.

#### Only Socialism Can Save the Balkans It is this interference by powerful outside

forces that has made of the Balkans the most unstable section in the world, the powder keg of Europe. Internal stability is unthinkable in small countries where all the complicated lines of diplomacy cross and recross. The Balkans as backward countries under the yoke of a native feudalcapitalist ruling class, could not possibly withstand the enormous pressure exerted from outside. The flerce class struggles in the Balkan countries, unable to culminate in proletarian revolution, have resulted in army and monarchical dictatorships.

Hitler has for the time being seized hold of the Balkans and he will attempt to adjust their economy to suit that of Germany. But that will depend on his ability to force the peasants to work their fields for him, so as to supply the grain and other foods that Germany got previously from the Balkans. But these peasants have for years been accustomed to a Balkan jacquerie peasant warfare. They will now transfer this from a fight against the native oppressors to a fight against Hitler. The Balkan Question will remain. Its only solution is the formation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

# THE MILITANT

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LYDIA BEIDEL

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

#### PROGRAM FOR TODAY'S FIGHT

- 1. No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.
- 2. Organize the picket lines for allout militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government
- 3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against 'law and order committees,' and all other anti-labor bands.
- 4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.
- 5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.
- 6. Independent working class political action. Build an Independent Labor
- 7. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.

### Stalin's "Peace" Line

If there is any one idea that the Stalinist leadership is trying to put across, it is that Stalin's foreign policy is one that achieves peace and prevents the spread of war. It is an idea which the Stalinist leaders hope will counteract the bad effects which Stalin's pacts with Hitler and with Japan have had upon the Soviet sympathizers throughout the world. If it were true, then the masses of those countries which obtained peace

To put this idea over, Pravda, discussing the Soviet-Japanese pact, hails it as "a new big achievement of the Stalinist foreign policy which steadfastly and consistently fights for peace and against the spread of the war."

But, accepting the premise of Pravda that peace is desirable under any and all circumstances, it is obviously easy to prove that Stalin's foreign policy has, at best, achieved peace for the people of the Soviet Union at the expense of war for the peoples of other countries.

Was not the Stalin-Hitler pact followed by Hitler's attack on Poland and therefore acted as a match that helped ignite the European flame?

Mind you, we are not arguing that the Stalin-Hitler pact was the fundamental cause of the war, which we consider a result of basic imperialist rivalries. We simply show what poppycock is the argument that Stalin's foreign policy resulted in peace.

Can it not be argued with far greater effectiveness that if Stalin had not signed the pact, Hitler fearing a war on two fronts, would not have dared launch his attack and thus war would have been avoided altogether?

Again, mind you, we are not arguing that this is true but that it can be used as a conclusive answer to the Stalinist argument.

And does not the Soviet-Japanese pact free Japan so that it can, if it wants to, attack more easily in the Southern Pacific? Of course it does, and thereby, if Japan should attack, the pact would not bring peace but war. Here again it can be argued that, if Stalin had not signed the pact, Japan would not attack and the war would not be extended.

The same thing holds true with reference to Stalin's acts in the Baltic. Had he taken a strong position against Hitler with the intimation that Hitler would have to risk war with the Soviet Union if he dared attack in the Balkans, the attack would not have been made.

The truth of the matter is that Stalin's "pacifism" simply serves to confuse and disorient thousands of advanced workers.

What Stalinist foreign policy actually does is to deliver millions of workers into the clutches of Hitler's and Japan's imperialism, and ties other millions close to the democratic imperialists. And in the end it does not and cannot bring peace to the Soviet Union. It can and does weaken the Soviet Union by antagonizing workers throughout. the world.

### Hillman's Uses

Representative Taber, like many another employers' man in Congress, has a tendency to go all to pieces at mere thought of a union card. This is often apt to warp his immediate judgment concerning what is in the best interests of his class.

For instance, take his statements last week about Sidney Hillman. "And what is Mr. Hillman's situation?" asked Taber.

"He is at present drawing his salary from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America— \$12,500 a year. He is on the payroll of the United States Government for \$1 a year. Is it not time that divided allegiance ceased and that if Mr. Hillman is to continue in the employ of the United States Government in a most trusted position that he be paid by the United States Government alone?

"Is it not time," continued Taber, "that Mr. Hillman ceased at the same time that he is joint head of the Office of Production Management to be the head of a labor union, with conflicting duties to each position? Is it not time that those who were called to the service of the United States made that job the first claim upon them?"

What Taber overlooks is that Hillman, divorced from the union movement, isn't worth a red cent in his present government post to the employing class and its government.

Hillman couldn't hold down the job of White House janitor without his union connections. That's the only thing he has to sell to the bosses. That's what he and every other union official who takes a post with the bosses' government have to offer. It is their official union prestige which enables them to perform the useful service to the employers of covering up the fundamentally antilabor character of the OPM, the National Mediation Board, and all the other government war agencies.

The instinct of the workers impels them to an undivided allegiance to their own class interests, a fact that Taber realizes. After all, he's that way about his own class.

But the spectacle of the Hillmans in government posts confuses the workers as to the completely employer class character of the government.

A union post and a government post involve "conflicting duties," admits Taber; that is, irreconcilable class interests. The union serves the workers; the government serves the owners.

With this premise of Taber's we heartily agree. We too are opposed to divided allegiance. But we do not agree with Taber when he says that union officials should desert their unions for government posts. We contend that union officials should get out of all appointive government posts and remain with their unions.

In addition to becoming a captive of the employers, a union leader in a government post is a peddler of stolen goods. He is taking something that doesn't belong to him alone, the patrimony of the labor movement, and trading it in for a mess of employer-government pottage.

### Why Convoys Wait

velt momentarily paused from taking the next step to lead this nation into war?

Arthur Krock, a leading national political press commentator, writes in last Sunday's New York Times:

"... Short of War,' the pledge of the campaign, has been abandoned as a phrase. But it is still acting as a brake on policy because the Administration is not certain whether it would dare to take the brake off. Its disposition has been to defer facing that decision as long as possible and pretend there is no future by the simple process of refusing to admit plans for it.

"Thus, though every detail of American naval escortage of supply ships has been worked out, the President dismissed every question on the subject and his responsible Congressional spokesmen continue to assert they never hear the subject mentioned in conferences at the White House."

Roosevelt wants to take the next step of naval convoys, all right. "Every detail of American naval escortage... has been worked out." But he does not "dare" to make the move.

Why? Because the majority of the American people are opposed to it! They understand that convoys will lead to naval clashes and thus to direct military participation in the war. Roosevelt may cynically abandon his "short of war" campaign pledge. But the American masses have bitten into that phrase and are grimly clamping it

The latest Gallup Poll, reported in the New York Times, April 20, shows that four out of five Americans oppose sending any part of the American army to help British imperialism. The Gallup results were 79 per cent against, only 17 per cent for. The same overwhelming results, with slight variations, held against sending any part of the air force or navy.

These results are more impressive when it is understood that the Gallup polls are frequently so weighted as to give the edge to the Administration side of a question. It is notable, for instance, that the poll has refused to pose the specific question of convoys—undoubtedly refraining in order not to embarass Roosevelt with the results.

Roosevelt intends to drag this country further into the war. But it is clear that he will do so only by deception and fraud, just as he put over his lease-lend bill by his "short of war" pledge. The war for "democracy" will not be an expression of the democratic will of the American people.

That will, disorganized and poorly expressed as it is, has been powerful enough, nevertheless, to make Roosevelt hold back on his convoy plans.

# Why Labor Must Defend Harry Bridges

down to a technical quibble over ism will be dead. whether or not the head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union actuinist party.

of the stool-pigeons who have group they see fit. turned on him. This, to us, is

The main issue is: does or does not the right of free political opinion apply to labor leaders and union men and women? Can Bridges or any other union member belong to the Communist Party - or any other radical party - without being faced with deportation if a non-citizen, or with jail if he is a citizen?

#### TO DEFEND BRIDGES IS TO DEFEND UNIONISM

say only those belonging to par- of the labor movement. ties of the employing class, the lead the unions? If the govern- ous law. may not belong to one party, it stand. But it is a stand that will ciples.

The official defense of Harry can go on to dictate that he may appeal to all workers and arouse Bridges against deportation for not belong to some other party them to the menace against themalleged some-time membership in too. If that principle is permitted selves which is involved in the the Communist Party has bogged to be enforced, then free union government's action against

The defense of Bridges is not the defense of an individual are opposed to the legal defense ally ever held a card in the Stal- against an unjust accusation. The of Bridges. On the contrary, we defense of Bridges is the defense insist that the government should We don't know. As far as we of a principle: the right of the be compelled to show proof in are concerned, we take his word workers to believe in and belong court for every allegation and

> ground of non-membership. The government says Bridges is in Alien Registration Act of 1940. The defense says he is not. We say, it's immaterial. We're concerned with a vicious anti-labor law which is directed at victimizing members of organized labor.

ported Bridges' policies inside the the government that it will drop unions. We have attacked his the Bridges case like a hot popolicies just as we have those tatoe. of Greene, Murray, Lewis, In a word, is the government to Hillman or Dubinsky. We thought dictate to the union movement and such policies against the interests

But in this instance, in defend-Republican and Democratic parties ing Bridges we are defending the

Bridges.

That does not mean that we for it that he is not, against that to any organization or political that this evidence should be subjected to every question and The Bridges defense cannot rest doubt which can be thrown the least issue in the Bridges on the purely technical legalistic against it. But this is not enough to save Bridges in a boss government trial, in a boss court, charg-

> this country in violation of the ed with violation of a boss law. Bridges will not be saved from the persecution of the government inside the bosses court alone. He will be saved only by a powerful mass movement of the workers which can bring We do not and have never sup such militant pressure to bear on

> > Such a mass movement cannot be formed on the basis of a legal quibble and technicalities.

The Bridges defense must be shifted from the always narrow and shifting base of boss legality. which rule the government, shall rights of all labor against a vici- It must be placed upon the broad and solid foundation of a fight ment can say that a union man Ours is not a purely legalistic for fundamental rights and prin-

# Stalin's "New" Edition Of Lenin's Works

By OSCAR FISCHER

land and Finland, and the assas- The hitherto known — and by peacefully in the walls of the again with Lenin.

lished, comprising forty volumes ist murders can be defended by does not escape the Vyshinsky. and containing "about 500 hith- those works of Lenin which are And slowly but surely Stalin, his erto unknown documents."

At first one is tempted to take there is more here than a satire the situation. They will justify Lenin. when we think of the "500 hithmust have been discovered. But the true creator of Leninism. Le- work will be all but buried.

larger part of the 500 documents Hitler-Stalin pact.

known so far.

who discovered it? And where? | nin is being "co-ordinated" -There are only too many rea- with the Moscow trials, the ter-

sons why we can assume that the rorism of the GPU, and with the - if not all of them - have been And he is getting a break inas-

'discovered" by the GPU on or much as he is not being dragged expected.

ders from Stalin. Certainly these for years through the torture Stalin, after having finished the 500 documents, hitherto unknown, chambers of the GPU and forced Moscow trials, the pact with Hit- will offer ample proof that Stal- ultimately to confess before a Vysler, the glorious wars against Po- in's policy is indeed "Leninist." hinsky. He is being left to sleep sination of Trotsky, believes it Stalin not yet revised — docu- Kremlin and Stalin himself writes timely to occupy himself once ments of Lenin prove just the op- what is being expected from him posite: neither the theory of "so- today. Since he can no longer be The press carries the report that cial fascism," nor the strategy of shot, Lenin must submit to a a new edition of the complete the "People's Front," neither the slight "addition" to his complete works of Lenin is about to be pub- Hitler-Stalin pact nor the Stalin- works. In this manner he, too, GPU, and his theoretical come-But these "hitherto unknown dians will have completely rethis report as a satire. And yet documents" will radically alter written the complete works of

The real purpose of this new edi- and defend all that until now They already have done that tion we can easily understand could not be defended in the light with other documents. The his of Leninism. Lenin is dead and tory of the revolution, of the civil erto unknown documents." These can neither capitulate nor con- war, and of the Bolshevik Party documents, of course, must be ar fess; but his "sifted" works, and have long been re-written for the ticles, speeches, and letters of particularly the "hitherto un sake of the greater glory of Stal-Lenin. And there are no less than known 500 documents" will in his in. Even Krupskaya had to re-"about 500" of them. A very con- stead once again call the opposi- write her memoirs of Lenin, or siderable amount. One does not tion directed against Stalin "trail at least submit them for revision. find such a large quantity some- tors, spies, and mad dogs" and Now it's Lenin's turn. So many where in a trouser pocket or in a celebrate Stalin as the father of "new discoveries" will probably be forgotten drawer; a large archive the people, and perhaps even as made that in due time the original

So finally Stalin's theoreticians under the control of the GPU are raising the dead Lenin to "Stalin's soaring heights." It was to be

# We Stand By Albert Goldman

#### Why We Defend the Soviet Union

Since many various and contradictory interpretations are being given to the recently signed Soviet-Japanese pact, it offers another opportunity to point out that our defense of the Soviet Union depends neither upon what Stalin does nor upon the significance which we attach to any agreement entered into by the Kremlin murderer.

It will be remembered that when Stalin openly proclaimed to the world in August 1939 that he would henceforth play ball with Hitler rather than with the democratic imperialists, a number of people within the ranks of our own party (who subsequently split away and formed their own organization), decided that they could no longer defend the Soviet Union. By their decision they in effect stated that they were willing to defend the Soviet Union only if Stalin would fight alongside the democracies but would not defend it if Stalin fought on the side of Hitler.

On our part, we insisted that our policy of defending the Soviet Union was based on the existence in that country of those property relations which had been established by the October Revolution and which had not yet been destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Defending the Soviet Union means defending these property relations, and not Stalin. whose policies we invariably condemned, including his pact with Hitler and his invasion of Finland.

We interpreted the pact and all Stalin's subsequent acts as indicating a fear on his part of being involved in a major conflict, a desire to avoid such a conflict and at the same time to get military-strategic advantages to guard against a future attack on the part of Hitler. The minority in our ranks, as well as the Social-Democrats and most bourgeois democrats, interpreted the pact as evidence of a close partnership between Hitler and Stalin for the purpose of conquering and dividing the world, at least the British Empire. By this time the latter interpretation has become so ridiculous that even the minority which left us has dropped it. (I don't see any references now to the "Moscow-Berlin Axis" in their paper.)

The point that it is essential to make, however, is that it is possible for us to make a mistake in interpreting the causes and the significance of an agreement made by Stalin, without its having any effect on our policy of defending the Soviet Union.

Many questions have, for instance, arisen with reference to the signing of the Soviet Japanese pact. Did Stalin sign the pact because it gives him a free hand against Hitler? That is hardly plausible for the simple reason that he is not foolish enough to trust the Japanese imperialists in case of a war between the Soviet Union and Germany.

Hitler's Pressure Behind Pact With Japan

The most plausible explanation of the pact is that it was entered into under pressure from Hitler. The pact creates the impression that Japan is now ready to send its military and naval forces towards the Malayan Peninsula and the Dutch Indies. Such a move on the part of Japan, or even the threat of such a move, Hitler hopes, will prevent the United States from involving itself too deeply in the war in Europe. It does not seem likely that Japan will make any actual attack in the southern Pacific until it appears that Hitler is fairly certain of winning the war. The pact therefore can be taken as having been signed under the pressure of Hitler, a pressure which became all the greater with his decisive victory in the Balkans.

There are other questions about the pact which are difficult to answer. Does it mean that Stalin has made a deal with the Mikado with reference to China? Will Stalin continue to send aid to the Chinese in their struggle against Japan? The Stalinists are trying hard to create the impression that such aid will continue, but it is hardly probable that a pact between the Soviet Union and Japan should be signed without taking into consideration such an important

#### Pact Is A Blow At China

It is impossible for anyone to be absolutely definite in answering such questions. Marxism offers no key to solving the riddle of Stalin's intentions and purposes at any particular time or in any signing any particular agreement. Whether Stalin will attack Hitler or refrain from attacking him; whether he will help Turkey against Hitler or divide Turkey with Hitler; whether he will cease or continue giving aid to Chiang Kai-shek, are all questions subject to a great deal of speculation. Basing ourselves on all the relevant facts we can indicate the most probable course that Stalin will follow.

Marxism does offer us a method of analyzing the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the nature of the state over which Stalin has control. Marxism also enables us to predict with certainty that Stalin will be unable to solve the problems confronting the Soviet Union and consequently we can predict with certainty the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the Soviet workers.

We do not have to speculate on certain questions involving the Soviet-Japanese pact, just as we did not have to speculate on certain questions involving the Stalin-Hitler pact. We are absolutely certain that the mere signing of the pact is a blow at the Chinese people who are exerting every ounce of energy to expel the Japanese imperialists. We may be wrong in thinking that Stalin will cease sending military, aid to China but we are not and cannot be wrong in indicating the adverse effect that the treaty must have upon the struggle of the Chinese people.

And as we have pointed out on innumerable occasions the signing of these pacts reacts against the Soviet Union because the millions of workers and peasants who are not trained to make the distinction between Stalin and the Soviet Union can no longer, by virtue of their resentment at the pacts, be relied on to defend the Soviet Union.

Stalin's politics-domestic as well as foreignweaken the Soviet Union but thus far have not changed the essential property relations in the Soviet Union. And it is always necessary to remember that we defend only the Soviet Union and not Stalin.

# 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

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

THURSDAY, May 1 8:00 P.M.

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