

Workers Of The World Unite For Peace, Freedom, Plenty!

May Day Manifesto Of The Socialist Workers Party

May Day, the international workers' holiday, is being celebrated this year amid the first rumblings of the socialist revolution. Through the noise of battle and the shattering crash of high explosives hurled on populous cities can be heard ever more distinctly the thunder of the approaching revolutionary storm.

We are in the fifth year of the second world war. Capitalism in its death agony has hurled humanity into a maelstrom of death and destruction before which even the horrors of the first world war fade into shadows. Europe is being turned into a wasteland.

With cynical indifference toward the sufferings of the masses, the capitalist rulers—both fascist and "democratic"—boast of the destruction of whole cities and their inhabitants. Millions already fill the mass graves of the second world war. The Jews of Europe are being exterminated in an orgy of anti-Semitic pogroms. Hundreds of thousands of homeless, hungry refugees wander despairingly over lands seared and ruined by the holocaust. Crippled, blinded and demented soldiers, flower of the youth of the nations, are pouring home from the battlefronts. Casualty lists are lengthening.

According to the available statistics, casualties among the armed forces of the belligerents, excluding China and Japan, already number close to 11,000,000 killed, missing, wounded and prisoners. And these figures do not include the millions of civilians killed or maimed by aerial bombardment of cities or by hunger and disease, nor do they include the thousands of merchant seamen killed at sea. And still there is no end in sight.

But already there are abundant signs that the war-weary, tortured masses are beginning to intervene. They are beginning to move independently, resolved to take their fate into their own hands and to determine the questions that involve their lives and future.

We saw the first mighty demonstration of working class resurgence and of the power latent in the proletariat by the crushing of the 20 year-old Fascist regime in Italy. We saw again that the Italian revolution, though temporarily retarded by the combined military intervention of the Allies and the Nazis, still lives. The Italian workers of the industrial North are fighting the Nazi occupation with general strikes and demonstrations.

Underground working class movements are gaining strength in all occupied countries. The shadow of civil war hangs over France. In England, the workers are demonstrating in strike struggles and political demonstrations their determination to break the noose of class collaboration fastened on them by the treacherous trade union and labor party bureaucracies. The growing frequency and increasing militancy of the strikes, and now the new punitive government decree against strikes point unmistakably to the sharpening of the class struggle.

In Germany, the vanguard of the working class, right in the teeth of the Nazi terror, is rallying its forces and assembling its revolutionary vanguard. Only the other day dispatches reported that the first underground communist convention gathered "somewhere in Germany" and reconstituted a national trade union organization. "The German Communists," we learn, "are said to be internationalists, or as they would be called in Moscow, Trotskyites."

The war structure of Japanese imperialism is at last beginning to crack. Japanese workers and peasants are engaging in strikes and hunger riots.

The Soviet masses have been conducting a heroic and progressive struggle in their indomitable defense of those conquests of the October revolution that have survived despite the arch-reactionary regime of Stalinism. Contrary to all the faint hearts, turncoats, deserters and renegades, the Russian revolution, though desecrated, betrayed and stifled, still lives. And let it be remembered, it was precisely the impact of the Red Army victories that evoked and encouraged the insurgent movements on the continent of Europe.

The defense of the USSR remains a line of demarcation in the labor movement between Marxist revolutionists and all the muddleheads, faint hearts, opportunists, centrists and renegades.

The war which has given the Kremlin bureaucracy a temporary breathing spell has at the same time completely revealed the counter-revolutionary nature of this malignant growth on the organism of the first workers state. Stalin is seeking to exploit the victories of the Red Army abroad by entering into conspiracy with the "democracies" to try to drown the European revolution in blood. Inside the Soviet Union, Stalin has used the war to deprive the masses of their remaining cultural gains. The right of free, universal education has been abrogated; co-education has been abolished; nothing remains of the protective legislation for women. The Greek Orthodox Church and its Holy Synod, together with other most barbaric traditions of "Holy Russia" have been revived with the blessings of the Kremlin. A military caste has been raised as the main prop of Stalin's regime and arrogated to it have been privileges that go beyond even the Czarist and Prussian standards.

Inseparable from the real defense of the Soviet Union is the irreconcilable fight against Stalinism, its regime and its policies.

For the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers! Down With Stalinism!

Everywhere the deadly passivity of the workers, the product of the demoralization and apathy of more than two decades of betrayals and defeats, is giving way to a new confidence and a new determination to struggle. The new vigor and new hope find their most graphic expression in the reorganization and regrouping in one country after another of the genuine fighters for Socialism.

On every side we witness the growing discontent and disillusionment of the workers with the war, their growing realization that both the Anglo-American and the German camps are engaged in a war that is imperialist in its aims; that the Anglo-American coalition is fighting not for high ideals or great principles, not to smash the system of Fascism, but, just as the German imperialists, for markets, for colonies, for spheres of influence, for the right to exploit. The real aims of Roosevelt and Churchill and the Anglo-American capitalist classes they represent, are not to be found in the pious platitudes and hypo-

(Continued on page 4)

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POLL-TAXERS BATTLE TO RETAIN 'WHITE SUPREMACY'

MAY DAY 1944



Southern Bourbons Mobilize To Defy U. S. Supreme Court Vow Violent Resistance to Anti-Poll Tax Bill and Ruling Against 'White Primaries'

By Joseph Keller

"Liberal" Democratic and Republican Senators have folded up like wet rags before the Southern Democratic poll-tax bloc and are conspiring to stall the Anti-Poll Tax Bill debate scheduled to begin several weeks ago. Meanwhile, the political guardians of "white supremacy" are demonstrating through their savage resistance to the Supreme Court's recent ruling against "white" primaries that they are prepared to wage a ruthless fight to preserve the poll tax system safeguarding their domination and exploitation of the Southern masses.

While some liberals have hailed the Supreme Court decision upholding the right of Negroes to vote in Texas Democratic primaries as nothing less than a "Second Emancipation Proclamation," the Southern Bourbons know the Supreme Court's decision cannot possibly threaten their political domination. But their concern is with principle. They refuse to tolerate even an intimation that the Negroes have political or any other rights.

more Negroes, not otherwise disqualified, the doubtful privilege of casting a ballot for candidates of the capitalist Democratic Party devoted to keeping the Negro in subjection. Even the Southern Bourbons know the Supreme Court's decision cannot possibly threaten their political domination. But their concern is with principle. They refuse to tolerate even an intimation that the Negroes have political or any other rights.

"LILY-WHITE" PRIMARIES

The "lily-white" primaries are in fact only a tiny sector of the weight of an armed, organized and vicious minority which maintains a crushing domination over millions and has never balked at any means, however violent and cruel, for enforcing its rule.

SENATOR MAYBANK

United States Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina spoke for the whole rich white master class of the South when he declared that "regardless of any Supreme Court decision and any laws that may be passed by Congress, we of the South will maintain our political and social institutions as we believe to be in the best interest of our people."

The entire political machinery of the South—state legislatures, courts, police agencies, Democratic party organizations—is already pouring out new legal devices for circumventing the Supreme Court's ruling. The South Carolina state legislature, meeting in extraordinary session, last week erased 150 primary laws from its statute books, making the direction of the primaries a "private" matter. The Democratic State Convention has prepared legislation removing formal racial restrictions but establishing "geographical" qualifications. Scores of other similar measures are rolling through the Southern legislative mills.

All these extraordinary measures, be it noted, are evoked by a ruling which even if enforced would offer only a few thousand

the rabid threats, the defiance of legality, the mobilization for evading and resisting the Supreme Court's decision on the primaries are but a minor skirmish, a warm-up for the battle ahead in defense of the poll tax. By this means, 97 per cent of the population of the poll tax states are disfranchised. The Southern rulers are thus able to keep the entire working mass of the South,

(Continued on page 5)

MAY DAY GREETINGS
FROM
NATALIA TROTSKY
—See Page 3—

Goodrich URW Local Backs Fight To Free The Eighteen

Goodrich local 5 of the United Rubber Workers of America, recognized in Akron and throughout the CIO as an exponent of progressive trade unionism, took an unequivocal stand last week in support of the 18 trade union and Trotskyist leaders imprisoned under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act.

In a letter to President Roosevelt, George R. Bass, President of Local 5, stated: "The enclosed resolution was adopted by the membership of Local No. 5, URWA-CIO, with instructions that a copy be sent to you so that you may use your influence to correct the injustice that has been shown the eighteen members of organized labor and the Socialist Workers Party who are now serving twelve and sixteen-month federal prison sentences.

"These men and women were not convicted for anything they did, but rather for what they believed. They are the first to be convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, which is the first statute since 1798 to make the mere expression of opinion a federal crime. The upholding of this law is contrary to every principle of democracy, and it is a dangerous precedent which can be used against other unionists and political groups.

"We can ill afford to allow the courts of this land to make such a mistake and let it go unchallenged. Our only appeal after such mistakes have been made, as in this case, is to you, as the Chief Executive of the United States.

"The membership of Local 5, URWA, requests that you grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to these people..."

The resolution is signed by the seven officers of the local union. The local also voted a contribution of \$25 to the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

THE "ADVANCE"
The Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO, reaching a quarter of a million readers, on April 15th reported: "When the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the Minneapolis

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

According to WPB expert John M. Fewkes, industrial accidents—nine-tenths of which are preventable—account for "ten times" as many lost man-hours as strikes. The Labor Department says that industrial accidents last year were "the highest in history," and that even considering increased employment, "the accident rate went up again in 1943."

Lives lost were 18,400; permanently crippled, 110,000; laid up for an average of 15 days each, 2,225,000. Mr. Fewkes's corroborative testimony says industrial accidents between Pearl Harbor and January 1, 1944, killed 7,500 more Americans than the war did; that the permanently and temporarily disabled industrial workers outnumbered military wounded and missing by 60 to 1.

one of the defense counsel at the Minneapolis labor trial, last week wrote to the CRDC:

(Continued on page 5)

Akron Locals Will Continue to Fight Against Dalrymple

AKRON, O., April 21—In a move to avert a dangerous split in the United Rubber Workers Union, Goodrich Local 5 voted at a well-attended general membership meeting April 19, to reinstate International President Sherman H. Dalrymple in the local, but resolved to carry the fight for union democracy to the next convention.

In his report to the meeting, Goodrich Local President George Bass pointed out that the International General Executive Board has the right "to interpret or misinterpret the constitution between conventions." The International Board had ruled that the action of the Goodrich local in expelling Dalrymple was unconstitutional. To disregard the right of the General Executive Board to interpret constitutional provisions on this matter would be an invitation to the Dalrymple

(Continued on page 2)

Murray Supports 'Wage Stabilization' As Employers Lobby To Lift Price Lid

Philip Murray is supposed to be leading the fight of the steelworkers for a wage increase of 17 cents an hour. This wage demand goes beyond the Little Steel formula. Furthermore, as head of the CIO, which went on record at its last convention to smash the Little Steel formula, Murray is presumed to be organizing the national struggle to smash the wage freeze. The wage freezing Little Steel formula, as everybody knows, is being enforced by the War Labor Board under the Wage Stabilization Act, supple-

mented by Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order of April 8, 1943. Only a few weeks ago, on the first anniversary of the "hold-the-line" order, Roosevelt endorsed a report drawn up by his "economic stabilizers" which emphasized the determination of the administration to hold the wage freezing line against the workers.

Under the circumstances, it is obvious that any struggle to smash the Little Steel formula must be directed first and foremost against the wage freezing program of the administration! But the "labor statesmen" in the leadership of the CIO are at-

tempting the remarkable feat of being both FOR and AGAINST the administration's "stabilization" policy. A number of the top leaders of the CIO, including Philip Murray, R. J. Thomas and James B. Carey, appeared before the Senate Currency and Banking Committee to urge the extension of the Price Control Act and the Wage Stabilization Act, both of which expire on June 30. These measures constitute the twin legislative pillars supporting Roosevelt's "economic stabilization program."

The N. Y. Times, April 19, reports that Murray "endorsed the

Wage Stabilization Act, but condemned its administration by the War Labor Board, charging that the board had used the Little Steel formula to hamstring labor." But the WLB is bound by Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order which in turn is based on the Wage Stabilization Act. Therefore, Murray's endorsement of the Wage Stabilization Act constitutes in actuality an endorsement of the wage freezing policy of the administration. Squirm and wriggle as he will, Murray cannot escape the inexorable logic

(Continued on page 2)

Socialist Workers Party May Day Manifesto

(Continued from page 1)

critical promises of the Atlantic Charter. They are disclosed every day in the actions of these governments.

The lie that this is a war for democracy is glaringly revealed in every sphere. When the Allied armies marched into North Africa they did not bring self-determination and liberation to the natives of that territory. These millions of colonial slaves have been subjected anew to the despotic rule of French imperialism, now propped up by Allied bayonets.

The people of Italy have found themselves betrayed. They were promised peace and liberty if only they would overthrow Mussolini and the Fascist regime. Instead their country has been converted into a battlefield and Roosevelt and Churchill are trying to impose on them the infamous police-military dictatorship of Badoglio and the King.

The Allies have already made it clear that they intend to carry out the self-same program throughout Europe. They are keeping their hands free to unite with the Vichy elements in France and establish a French "Badoglio" government to rule over the French people. They have already announced their intentions to dismember Germany and impose a military rule over its people. Roosevelt and Churchill are planning to bring to the suffering masses of Europe not "democracy," not "liberation," not the "four freedoms," not prosperity, well-being and peace. No! Their real aims are to Balkanize Europe, to convert the continent into colonial provinces under the heel of Anglo-American capitalism, to subjugate and enslave its peoples and to exploit them for the benefit of the banks, the cartels, the Wall Street and Lombard Street pirates.

Who else can they ally themselves with in Europe, who else is ready to join in this nefarious scheme, who else is left to guard the decaying, criminal capitalist system, except the brass hat aristocracy, the capitalist and landlord cliques who yesterday collaborated with Hitler and the Nazis and who stand ready to collaborate on the morrow with Roosevelt and Churchill.

The American working class, like the workers of Britain, have the clear duty of exposing the counter-revolutionary aims of the Anglo-American rulers, of fighting against this program and of rallying the ranks of labor at home against it. The cry must be taken up by the broad ranks of the labor movement:

Hands off the European revolution!

The lie that this is a war for democracy is likewise revealed in the attitude of the Allied governments toward the enslaved peoples of the colonies. Before the ink had dried on the Atlantic Charter which was to bring the "four freedoms" to the four corners of the earth, Churchill declared that it *did not apply* to India, where 400,000,000 colonial slaves are held in bondage by the British colonial despots. Britain has refused to return Hong Kong to China even after the war, despite the fact that it is Chinese territory and that China is an ally. Practically all the countries of Latin America are being converted into vassals of Wall Street imperialism and their peoples harnessed to the Allied war machine. Wall Street holds on grimly to Puerto Rico, where mass starvation has become chronic under its criminal rule, despite a promise of independence made more than forty years ago. As a matter of fact, the Wall Street ghouls are already plotting to partition the colonial empires of their rivals and subject them to the domination of the American plutocracy. The *Army and Navy Journal* has announced that an agreement has already been reached for the United States to take over all the Japanese-mandated islands in the Pacific, etc., etc.

On this May Day we Trotskyists again reaffirm the pledge of the Socialist vanguard to arouse the working class in support of the liberating slogans:

Freedom for the colonies! An end to colonial exploitation and oppression!

Inseparable from the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind is also the support of colonial countries against their oppressors. China, so long torn apart and oppressed by all the imperialist powers, is now fighting a war of national liberation against Japan. We support China's war in spite of Chiang Kai-shek's bestial, dictatorial rule, just as we support India in her struggle for independence against the British yoke. The struggles of the colonial peoples deal blows to imperialism and facilitate the socialist victory of the working class.

Defend China and the struggle for the complete independence of India and all the colonial peoples!

The United States entered the first world war as a debtor country and emerged out of the war as a creditor country. In the second world war the commanding position of American imperialism is growing every day. The American plutocracy possesses enormous wealth, it enjoys vast material resources, it commands an unsurpassed productive plant. Wall Street's power and influence are already beginning to reach into the remotest corners of the earth. The American ruling class, the richest and most arrogant since the advent of the capitalist system, is now preparing to establish a new super-empire of imperialism, to usher in the "American Century." This colossus seeks nothing less than world domination. In its drive for this goal, U. S. Big Business has become the leader of counter-revolution the world over.

LET THERE BE NO ILLUSIONS

Let there be no illusion among the American working class that this program, if realized, would mean greater prosperity and freedom for the people at home. The very contrary is true. In the midst of the war for "democracy," while workers are pouring out their blood on the battlefields, the capitalists have unleashed a ferocious offensive against the labor movement at home. They have frozen wages, under conditions of soaring war inflation. They have chained the workers to their jobs, in the midst of a wild, unabashed orgy of war profiteering and looting of the public treasury. They have virtually outlawed strikes, they have passed "gag" laws, abolishing freedom of speech and of the press, tearing up the Bill of Rights. Now they propose to conscript labor.

Wall Street's program of world domination spells hunger, repressions and totalitarianism at home. It means the maintenance of huge American military forces, in the words of Secretary Knox, "to police the world for 100 years." It means fighting a war against the European working class who are battling to overthrow their tyrants and to establish a new Socialist society of peace and plenty. It means putting down rebellions of millions of colonial slaves who are seeking to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialist exploitation.

The victory of Wall Street will not spell a victory for the people, for "democracy," for "freedom from want." No, it will only signify the victory of totalitarian rule, the domination of unbridled monopoly capitalism. It will spell the enslavement and pauperization of the American masses. For Wall Street aims not only to place Europe on hunger rations and keep Asia in colonial bondage but also to Prussianize the United States. They aim to keep 13 million Negroes in a condition of debasement, servitude and shame, to destroy the American labor movement and bring wages and working conditions down to coolie levels.

And yet, is it not true that the trade union bureaucracy—the Murrays and Greens—together with the social-democrats, the liberals and the Stalinists are all busy selling the war to the masses? Is it not true that they all repeat after Roosevelt that it is a war for the "four freedoms" and that the workers must support it, must sacrifice, must give up the right to strike, must give up the fight for wage increases and better working conditions? Yes, all these forces have sold out to the capitalist class, they have betrayed the people, they are servants of the war machine. They are all liars and betrayers and deceivers of the people. They are seeking to corrupt the labor movement, they are conspiring with Roosevelt and the capitalists to housebreak the unions, throttle their independence, destroy their militancy and place the American working class in the strait jacket of the war government.

STALINIST DECEIVERS

A leading role in this campaign of lies, deception and betrayal is being played by the Stalinists, who are emerging as the very spearhead of reaction inside the labor movement. Today it is becoming more and more accepted by the broad ranks of labor that the Stalinists are not an independent political force, but simply the subservient agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy and of Stalin's foreign policies. After Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the Stalinists in this country, as throughout the

In Detroit, Mich.

You can get
THE MILITANT
at the
FAMILY THEATRE
NEWSSTAND
opposite the theatre

many weaknesses which the author utilizes to prove that in 1944, Japan is the weakest link in the imperialist chain, as was Czarist Russia in 1917.

"The National Question in Ireland," a reprint of sections of the theses of the Irish Trotskyists, discusses the relationship between North and South Ireland, pointing out the necessity for national unification.

The strike wave in Britain and the role of the English Trotskyists, the steel workers' fight against the wage freeze, Roosevelt's slave-labor program, the growing disillusionment of the European workers with the role of Anglo-American capitalism, the seventeenth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, are discussed by the editors in "The Month in Review."

Readers of Fourth International who have been following with keen interest the translation of Trotsky's pamphlet, "Military Doctrinism," will want to read the last section of this brilliant work which appears in the April issue.

THE MILWAUKEE BRANCH
of the
S.W.P.

Pledges Solidarity
with the 18 Fighters
for Socialism

Members of the
BOSTON LOCAL, S.W.P.

This May Day reaffirm their loyalty to International Socialism and to their Imprisoned Comrades. We extend May Day Greetings to our absent members, and we remember those Comrades who have died in this imperialist war.

Less than a Year
Old the Southside
Branch Celebrates
its First May Day
with Warmest Comradely
Greetings
to the 18

SOUTH SIDE BRANCH
LOS ANGELES LOCAL, S.W.P.

Trotskyist May Day Marchers



Banner of the Trotskyist contingent in the United Front 1934 May Day demonstration in New York City. Workers of every tendency in the labor movement, except the Stalinists, marched in a five-hour long demonstration.

world, climbed on the bandwagon of Wall Street's war. They quickly became the most brazen defenders of American capitalism. They quickly became the most brazen sell-out artists in the trade unions. They were the first to campaign for the reintroduction of piece work and the speed-up into the plants. They are in the front ranks in the dastardly work of betraying and breaking strikes, they are in the forefront in covering up and defending the anti-labor crimes of Roosevelt. They jumped to the fore in the unions to support Roosevelt's campaign for forced labor, they are in the front ranks of those who seek to keep the workers tied to the capitalist parties, heading off independent labor parties, and savagely fighting the labor party movements where they arise.

But the American working class is not taking things lying down. They are not merely passive clay, nor unthinking cannon fodder. They are not an inert mass, mere objects of exploitation and oppression by the capitalist war machine, and objects for betrayal in the hands of the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinist finks. No! The American working class while still backward politically, while still tied to the capitalist parties and not yet committed in its majority to the struggle for a new Socialist society is nevertheless a class that has made giant strides forward in its political thinking since Pearl Harbor. The American workers are beginning to break from the prison house of capitalist politics, as witness the new labor party developments in Michigan and elsewhere. They are already challenging the wage freeze and the repressive war machinery as witness the four coal strikes, the rail struggles and the numerous smaller strike struggles throughout the country; they are already beginning to challenge the no-strike pledge, as witness the actions of leading Detroit auto unions.

The class conscious Socialist militants in the labor movement will work to organize this movement of resistance on broad national lines and to equip it with a conscious program. They will expose the infamy and crimes of the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists, and work to destroy their influence among the broad masses of labor. They will rebuild the labor movement on

new militant foundations and arouse all of its ranks behind the militant fighters who are fighting for a new workers' society.

Revoke the No-Strike Pledge! Smash the Wage Freeze! For the Escalator Clause—the Rising Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living!

Confiscate All War Profits! Nationalize Industry under Workers' Control! Break with the Capitalist Parties! Build the Labor Party! Abolish Jim Crow! Forward to a Workers and Farmers Government!

The longer the war continues the more unavoidable becomes the political awakening of the war-weary, tortured peoples of the world. It is already clear that the conflagration that will sweep the European continent as a consequence of the present world slaughter will be far more widespread, far more furious, far more conscious and determined than the revolutionary conflagration that swept Europe 25 years ago. All the accumulated hatred, all the bitterness for the sufferings, the deaths, the horrors and tortures will burst forth on the heads of the perpetrators of these crimes, on the capitalist rulers who bear the responsibility and who seek to perpetuate the system of hunger and exploitation which gave birth to the war; and it will be vented on all the traitors and scoundrels, the trade union bureaucrats, the Social Democrats, the liberals and above all the Stalinists who lied, deceived and betrayed the masses in the hour of crisis and who are continuing their treachery today in frantic efforts to prop up the decaying, dying system of capitalism. In the days to come, these deceivers, these betrayers will be spurned, their names will be dishonored, their influence destroyed. Only we Trotskyists, the disciples of the great revolutionist Leon Trotsky, the heirs and continuators of the program and teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the only genuine followers of the Bolshevik traditions and of Marxist internationalism—we Trotskyists alone have told the truth, we only have stood apart and have done our revolutionary duty. Only we have fought for the interests and the future of the working class and have guarded its revolutionary heritage.

On this May Day the Trotskyists stand forth in all countries as the sole consistent defenders of both the immediate and historic interests of the working class. That is why 18 leading American Trotskyists are today confined to prison, where they were railroaded by Roosevelt under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. That is why the British Trotskyists are being hounded by Churchill. The working class is learning to understand this. As part of its struggle against the anti-labor campaign of reaction it will take up the defense of the imprisoned Trotskyists. As part of the campaign to protect its organizations and rights, it will take up the slogan:

Free the Imprisoned 18 Trotskyists!

To the plans of the capitalist rulers for continuing the slaughter of the peoples so that the survivors may be enslaved, the Trotskyists counterpose a program for the fraternal union of the workers of all lands, to the end that capitalism may be abolished and a peaceful, progressive social order established in which war, hunger and misery will have vanished forever.

To the demand for national unity in the interests of capitalism, put forward by the Stalinists, the Social Democrats, the labor union fakers and all other betrayers of the working class, the Trotskyists sound the clarion call for workers' struggle against capitalism.

Above the carnage of the battlefields we raise high the banner of socialist internationalism, humanity's only hope. Beneath its folds the revolutionary vanguard of the war-weary peoples is already assembling. Its victory is certain.

Long live May Day—day of workers' struggle and solidarity!

Against the Imperialist War! For Peace through Socialism!

Long Live the Struggle for Socialism!

Long Live the Socialist United States of Europe!

Forward to the Socialist Society. For a New World of Peace, Freedom and Plenty!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST WORKERS
PARTY

MAY DAY GREETINGS

SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH

Socialist Workers Party

SOLIDARITY WITH OUR
IMPRISONED COMRADES

GREETINGS OF SOLIDARITY TO ALL TROTSKYISTS

On this May Day we bow our heads
in honor of our Martyred Dead
and Imprisoned Comrades
throughout the World.

SEATTLE LOCAL
Socialist Workers Party

Articles On Italy, Japan Featured In April F. I.

The April issue of *Fourth International* features a detailed analysis of "Nine Months of Allied Rule in Italy," by E. R. Frank. Since the armistice between the Badoglio government and the Allies was signed on Sept. 3, the allies have betrayed the Italian workers, suppressed all political activity, hamstringing the awakening trade union movement, encouraged the growth of the new monarchist "Blue Party." How all these moves fit into the "blueprint" of Anglo-American

war aims, methods and plans" is irrefutably demonstrated in this important study.

The role of women in Japan, their double victimization under the semi-feudal peasant economy and the distorted capitalist economy of the cities, is graphically told in the third of the series, "Japan Faces the Abyss," by Li-Fu-Jen. The virtual slavery to which Japanese women are bound, is only one manifestation of the complex, contradictory nature of Japanese economy, one of the

EVERY READER OF THIS PAPER CAN

Aid Labor's 18

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" - KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

Why the Negro Struggle?

Many genuine progressives view the question of the Negro struggle for equality in a purely formal manner and thus arrive at the position where they attempt to completely ignore the racial factor. Basing themselves on this false position, they refuse to take an active part in the Negro struggle as such. Although sincere in their motives, they may as well for all practical purposes capitulate to the capitalists and bow off the stage. For they are of no value to the workers when they stand aloof from the battle and gaze nonchalantly in the other direction.

Admittedly, there is a wealth of scientific facts which are able to lead one off on this tangent of ultra-leftism. For example, there is reason to believe that at some prehistoric time there was but one race of men. Various groups were later split off by glacier movements. These tribes were left to evolve under different environmental conditions. Thereupon "survival of the fittest" became the motivating factor in the determination of external appearances.

In the snowy Caucasus mountains the blondes survived because the light color of skin and hair served as natural camouflage. In Africa and other equatorial regions only those individuals survived whose outer skin contained the greatest amount of the dark brown pigment, melanin — our only natural protection against the burning ultra-violet rays of the sun. In the same manner a bushy texture of the hair developed as a further protection against skull fracture in the deep jungles where there was danger of being struck on the head by falling objects. These changes took centuries to effect. In the future they may disappear, now that so many inventions of man protect us artificially against the elements of nature.

ANOTHER FACTOR

Here is another fact that is frequently pointed out: When we examine any so-called Negro group we see people of many shades — from very deep brown to yellow and pink. The color and texture of hair may be entirely different. This, of course, is mute evidence that the slaveholding plantation owners of the South had their own ideas long before Senator Bilbo came on the scene with his warnings against "mongrelizing" America. It also supports the claim that there is no true Negro race today.

Coming now to the sociological aspects of the question, why should the Trotskyists, knowing these facts, devote special or separate attention to the Negro in their effort to hasten the building of a socialist society for all the inhabitants of the world?

Does our Negro Struggle column which consistently fights Jim-Crowism represent the gross contradiction of being a form of Jim-Crowism itself?

Are we merely shadow-boxing by fighting the Negro race when there is no such homogeneous group in existence? Why use the word Negro, (which means black), while those of even dark

Poll Taxers Fight To Keep 'White Supremacy'

(Continued from page 1)

white and black, in economic and political subjection. In turn, the abysmal conditions of the Southern working class have placed a drag on the living standards and wages of the entire working population of the country. The system of political servitude in the South, bolstered by the poll tax, exists as a focus of virulent



Senator James O. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat from Mississippi, who claims he has 1,000 amendments ready for the Anti-Poll Tax Bill in case the "White Supremacy" bloc fails to kill the bill by a filibuster.

infection that can spread and destroy civil rights and liberties everywhere.

SPEARHEAD OF REACTION

Today, in fact, the Southern poll tax bloc in Congress is the very spearhead of the Roosevelt-Wall Street anti-labor offensive. This bloc exists as a powerful, solid force, the legislative shock troops of reaction who have led the assault on all labor through the wage-freezing Stabilization Act, the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, the Smith "Gag" Act, the "Rich Man's Relief" tax bills. The poll tax which helps to keep the "white supremacy" Southern Democrats in Congress is thus a direct and immediate concern of all labor.

No other national issue today so thoroughly exposes the "progressive" and "democratic" pretenses of the Roosevelt regime; no other issue is as embarrassing for the pro-Roosevelt liberals and labor bureaucrats, who must perform elaborate acrobatic stunts in their efforts to skip over the salient fact that the political mainstay of the Roosevelt administration is the "Solid South" of the poll tax and lynching.

The poll-taxers themselves offer the best testimonials to the enduring alliance between the "white supremacy" Southern Democrats and Roosevelt. In the very sessions of the South Carolina legislature which removed the primary laws in order to

circumvent the Supreme Court ruling, State Senator R. M. Jeffries, an ardent poll-taxer and Negro baiter, counseled: "The remedy for the national problem even though we do not agree with the President on much of it does not lie in deserting the Democratic Party. Roosevelt at his worst is better than any Republican on the racial or any other issue."

SENATOR BILBO

Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who is preparing to lead the filibuster in the U. S. Senate against the anti-Poll-Tax Bill, in the midst of his recent address before a special joint session of his state legislature begged leave to "digress long enough" from his rabid defense of the poll tax and "white supremacy" to pour words of praise upon Roosevelt. "Let no good Democrat vote against Franklin Roosevelt because he dislikes some of his associates. The interest of Mississippi and the South will be best conserved by the continuation of a Democratic administration. With Roosevelt, now a world leader, we can win."

These words advertise in advance the farcical nature of the "conflict" now ensuing in the Senate between the poll-tax Rooseveltians and his "progressive" wing over the anti-poll Tax Bill. The note of travesty was struck from the start when the "liberal" Democrats graciously postponed debate for weeks, in deference to the poll-taxers.

CONTRASTS

Master parliamentarians, who know how to shove through an anti-labor measure in a few hours, suddenly find themselves tripping like clumsy novices over the parliamentary devices the poll-tax bloc has put forward to postpone the debate. Senator Mead shakes his head sadly and in public print concedes defeat in advance. It's all the fault of the "Republicans," who are planning a "double-cross" and won't vote for cloture to limit debate and permit the bill to come to a vote. Roosevelt, with his eye on the Negro vote in the North, weeks ago mumbled his "for the record" opinion that the poll-tax is to be "deplorable." He has since retired within the White House to meditate on the "Four Freedoms" everywhere but in the poll-tax South.

Not the least significant aspect of the whole issue of the

"lily white" primaries and the poll tax is the contrast between the treatment Roosevelt's administration accords the poll-taxers and those who fight the poll-taxers and all they stand for. United States Senators and Representatives, state governors, the rich "elite" of the South openly proclaim defiance of the Supreme Court's decision and federal law. They issue a virtual call to arms against any encroachment on "white supremacy." No FBI bloodhounds are on their trail; they are not hauled up on trial for "seditious conspiracy."

But 18 Trotskyist leaders who fought for their socialist convictions are put behind prison bars. The poll tax and the rotten system of mass servitude it represents will never be seriously challenged by Roosevelt or any other capitalist politician. Only the working class, in militant unity, has the will and the power to destroy the bastions of capitalist rule in the South. For that, labor, white and Negro, needs its own independent political party, a labor party not bound in any way to capitalist politics, a party which will wage merciless struggle against all the works of capitalism, including the Southern slave system of "white supremacy."

NOTICE

The National Office of the Socialist Workers Party is very much in need of a good typewriter for the next few months. If you have a typewriter you can loan for the next period or contribute, will you please communicate with the National Office, S.W.P., 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Greetings from the

BOSTON BRANCH

of the S.W.P.

May Day Meeting
SATURDAY, APRIL 29
8:15 P. M.
Speaker: Eloise Black
158 BROADWAY

Heartiest

May Day Greetings

from
NEW HAVEN BRANCH
of the
S.W.P.

Free the 18!
Let Us Go Forward!

Warmest May Day Greetings and Solidarity with the 18!

Best Wishes for the Magnificent Six-Page Militant!

BUFFALO BRANCH
Socialist Workers Party

Revolutionary May Day

Greetings to the 18 Trotskyist Leaders from
CENTRAL BRANCH
LOS ANGELES LOCAL, S.W.P.

THE ST. PAUL BRANCH

of the
Socialist Workers Party
Salutes May Day 1944
and Extends Greetings of Solidarity to Our 18 Imprisoned Comrades and all Class-War Prisoners

LIBERATE THE 18 AND KELLY POSTAL!

May Day Greetings to the Militant and Socialist Workers Party!

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, S.W.P.

The 18 Imprisoned Trotskyists are the Banner Bearers of the Revolutionary Traditions of May Day

SAN PEDRO BRANCH
LOS ANGELES LOCAL, S.W.P.

The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party sends May Day greetings to Kelly Postal and to the Eighteen Minneapolis prisoners. Their uncompromising devotion to the working class stands out as a beacon light to guide us to a socialist future which will end injustice and exploitation forever.

(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," pp. 19-20; published 1939 by Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Pl., N. Y., 128 pp. 25c.)

Haymarket Demonstration Scene



The scene of the police assault on the Chicago demonstration in Haymarket Square, May 4, 1886, which was called in protest against the murder of four McCormick plant strikers during the historic struggle for the eight-hour day that marked the first May Day 58 years ago.

An unknown person, believed to have been a hired provocateur, threw a bomb into the police ranks and killed several. This was the signal for savage reprisals by the employers and their government tools. Eight strike leaders, Spies, Parsons, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, Schwab, Fielden and Neebe, were arrested and tried for murder. Their trial was a brazen frame-up. Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fischer were hung; Lingg committed suicide to cheat the bosses' executioners; Schwab and Fielden were sentenced to life imprisonment and Neebe to 15 years.

When he stood up to be sentenced, Spies uttered the words which have inspired the labor movement ever since: "I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the price. Bring on your hangman!"

Akron Union Urges Pardon for the 18

(Continued from page 1)

"You may consider my contribution the balance of my bill, which amounts to \$250, and I will make that my contribution to your efforts to free the 18."

The Local CRDC committees are swinging vigorously behind the national campaign to gather 10,000 signatures by July 1st on the petitions appealing for Presidential pardon, making a total to date of almost 4,000 signatures. From the New York Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, ILGWU, 135 signatures were received. The Local Committees which have established their quotas on signature gathering are Bayonne, Buffalo, Flint, Milwaukee, Newark, San Francisco, Toledo, Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Following the endorsement of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, both San Francisco and the Minneapolis NAACP have sent resolutions of protest against the imprisonment of the 18 and have called for a presidential pardon. The Minneapolis NAACP has sent a \$25 donation to the CRDC, on behalf of its campaign.

READ
'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 28, 1934

NEW YORK—"All Out to Madison Square on May Day," rang out the headline of *The Militant*. An article signed by James P. Cannon called upon revolutionary workers to march under the banner of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist), at a united front demonstration which included the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, the I. W. W., the needle trades and other New York unions, but not the Stalinists. Cannon explained, "the idea that the political and economic organizations of the workers, regardless of their differences in principle, must form a united front of action against the class enemy — this idea, which was rejected with such fatal consequence in Germany, has brought a host of organizations together and governs their practice in carrying out all the arrangements . . . each organization shall preserve its own banner . . . March separately, strike together — this is the fundamental basis for the united front of the workers."

The Stalinists, in line with their splitting policy of the "third period," had organized a separate demonstration to be held at the same hour at Union Square. The Trotskyists, pursuing a Leninist policy, were working "to convince the workers, in the course of common action, of the inadequacy of reformism and the necessity for revolutionary policy and leadership . . . In intransigent principled struggle against social reformism we shall work for the new party and the new international. Meantime, now as always, we shall stand for the united front in concrete struggle of the day."

The May Day Manifesto of the Communist League of America, appearing in *The Militant*, reviewed the events of the preceding year, the betrayal by Stalinism of the German workers, the heroic struggle of the Austrian proletariat, the sprouting of fascist Silver-shirts in the United States. *The Militant* warned, "Now, as never before, the united front of all working class organizations must be formed . . . Against company unions; against lynching; against the growth of Fascist movements; against the growing danger of imperialist war."

USSR—Rakovsky, heroic figure of the Russian Revolution and first President of the Ukraine, leader of the Trotskyist left opposition, announced his capitulation to the Stalinist bureaucracy. He declared his intention to "submerge his differences with the Party and to submit completely to discipline." Leon Trotsky wrote in *The Militant*:

"In Rakovsky we mourn a lost political friend . . . Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. . . As a revolutionary factor the Comintern is dead. From the Moscow leadership the world proletariat can expect only obstructions, difficulties and sabotages . . ." Trotsky pointed out that the defeats suffered by the working class in Bulgaria, Germany, Estonia, England, Poland, Austria, and the consequent decline of the world revolutionary movement, were all sharply reflected in the ranks of the Left Opposition, driving many of its adherents into the orbit of the bureaucracy. Trotsky concluded: "The Leninist current in the Soviet Union can from now on only be revived by great revolutionary successes in the West. Those Russian Bolsheviks who remain true to our cause under the unheard of pressure of national reaction — and there are more of them than we suspect — will be recompensed by the further course of development. But now the light will come not from the East but from the West. Even the shamelessly betrayed Chinese Revolution waits for a new impulse on the part of the world proletariat."

"We have no time to weep long over lost friends — be it even comrades of thirty years of struggle. Let every Bolshevik say to himself: 'A sixty-year old fighter with experience and prestige left our ranks. In his place I must win three twenty-year old ones and the gap will be filled.' Among the twenty-year old ones new Rakovskys will be found, who with us or after us, will carry forward our work."

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THE MILITANT
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