

The Negro's Fight For Jobs In Industry

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MEDIATION IS BLOW AGAINST WORKERS

Stalin's Fear Of Hitler Shown In Ankara Pledge

Kremlin's Policy Is Determined By Its Fear Of Involvement
In The War; Will Make New Deal With Hitler If Threatened

With the publication, in Moscow and Ankara, of a declaration pledging "full neutrality and understanding" on the part of Moscow towards Turkey in case of an attack by Hitler against Turkey, Stalin, for the second time in the period of one month, has openly indicated fear of and hostility to Hitler's activities in the Balkans.

Stalin's previous move came in the form of a note to Bulgaria in which the Kremlin chided the Bulgarian government for permitting German occupation, and predicted it would lead to extension of the war and not, as claimed by the German and Bulgarian governments, lead to peace in the Balkans.

GERMANY NOT ADDRESSED

Neither in the case of the note to Bulgaria nor in the declaration made to Turkey was there any direct indication that Germany was being warned. But the circumstances under which the note and now the declaration were issued led the whole world to conclude that Stalin was talking to Hitler. These are devious methods of diplomacy but they are also Stalin's methods of diplomacy.

A difference between the note to Bulgaria and the declaration to Turkey is in the fact that the former was sent after Hitler's armies had occupied Bulgaria while the latter was made before Hitler's armies are moving against Turkey.

That Stalin is fearful of a Hitler victory has been plain to every intelligent observer. Every move that Stalin has made since his pact with Hitler in August 1939 can be interpreted only as indicating Stalin's anxiety to avoid a major conflict and his desire to obtain strategic defensive positions against Hitler.

It was not, however, until Hitler conquered France and began his march into the Balkans that the danger to the Soviet Union became an immediate one. Hitler's occupation of Rumania and then

DARDANELLES THE KEY

Should Hitler's armies succeed in gaining control of the Dardanelles, the only all-year-round outlet of the Soviet Union to the outside world would be in the hands of a powerful enemy. Nazi control of the Dardanelles would signify the completion of a wall of steel along the Soviet western frontier along thousands of miles from the Baltic to the Black Sea. And this wall extends from the Baltic to the Arctic, through Hitler's control of Norway, Finland and Sweden.

What can Stalin do to stop Hitler? To go to war is out of the question for Stalin, for his regime is too shaky. His fear of war is the greatest single factor determining his policy. Only when it becomes certain that Hitler will be defeated or if Hitler invades the Soviet Union might Stalin set the Red Army into motion against him.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES

Will Stalin send Turkey material aid in case of an attack by Germany? If he thinks that doing this will not involve him in a war with a victorious Hitler he will in all probability do so.

Will he abide by his promise not to move against Turkey if the latter is involved in a war against

Germany? A safe prediction to make is that if Turkey is defeated by Hitler, Stalin will try to get as much booty as he can regardless of any pact.

One thing is certain. In Stalin's plans the fate of the workers of the world plays no role whatever. In his diplomacy he does not take the workers into his confidence or into consideration. The necessity of a life-and-death struggle against Hitler, the greatest enemy of the working masses, and the methods to be used in such a struggle, are of no interest to him except insofar as Hitler threatens the position of the Soviet bureaucracy which he represents.

As time goes on it will become clear to more and more of his followers that all of Stalin's so-called clever moves, like the pact with Hitler and his invasion of Poland and Finland, have only increased the danger to the Soviet Union—not only because he has permitted Hitler a free hand, but because by his devious and secret diplomacy he has estranged the only reliable ally of the Soviet Union, the workers of the whole world.

UAW-CIO SHOWS POWER AT FORD IN 3 STOPPAGES

Ford Backing Down
For the Moment, But
Fight Isn't Over

DETROIT, Mich. — The Ford workers themselves took charge of the Ford drive last week.

They got tired of waiting for the NLRB to call for an election at the Ford plants.

They got tired of waiting for Dewey, the government's "trouble shooter" to make good on his windy promises.

With unerring instinct, the Ford workers realized that they could depend on nobody but themselves and their union strength.

On March 13, a day destined to go down in labor history, the Ford workers revived the historic weapon of the CIO, the SIT-DOWN STRIKE.

3,000 workers downed tools on the huge assembly lines in the rolling mill. In less than an hour, 15 fired union men were reinstated.

On March 18, 6,000 workers struck in the Axle Building. At the invitation of the management, the Union Committee met with Ford's representatives, and secured reinstatement of twelve discharged union men.

The next day, March 19, the B Building struck. The management agreed on the spot to all the union demands. A company bus was dispatched at once to the union office and brought back the fired union men to their jobs.

Old, senile Hank decided then that he had better give in to some extent or else his whole top-heavy structure would collapse like a house of cards. On March 21 Ford's representative

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AFL Leaders Aid Cops In Scabherding At Harvester

CIO Warns It Will
Answer By All-City
Protest Strike

CHICAGO, March 25—The CIO today declared it was preparing to call a city-wide CIO strike here, after 1,400 Chicago police, this morning for the second day, escorted some 2,000 scabs into the McCormick plant of the International Harvester Company. The scabs were mobilized by AFL officials acting in collusion with the company to break the strike which had closed the plant on February 28.

Robert Travis, CIO representative, declared this morning at a mass meeting of strikers and sympathizers: "Preparations are being made to organize an all-city CIO strike in Chicago if necessary to support this strike."

Thousands of strikers and CIO sympathizers massed in the streets leading to the plant this morning in an effort to halt the "back-to-work" movement, but they were unable to penetrate the greatest strike breaking police mobilization in Chicago history.

The first move to open the plant started at 7 A. M. yesterday morning, when some 2,000 men and a few women, guarded by 1,400 armed cops, marched at a given signal through the massed strikers on the sidewalks into the plant.

OTHER PLANTS SHUT

Although the company and police, aided by AFL officials, have thus far succeeded in herding some 2,000 scabs into the McCormick plant, which normally employs 6,100 workers, still shut down is the main Harvester plant here—the tractor works employing 6,500 men—as well as the two plants in Rock Falls, Illinois, and Richmond, Indiana.

After the strike at the McCormick plant had been called by the CIO on February 28, the AFL officials in connivance with Fowler McCormick, issued a charter to the company union set-up which McCormick had been using to fight the CIO and which the NLRB had ordered disbanded.

Backed by daily publicity in the local capitalist press, the AFL officials held meetings to organize scabs, put pressure on workers in their homes, and provided the basis for some weak elements to crawl back to work under a "union" cover.

INJUNCTION HELPED SCABS

Preceding the opening of the McCormick plant yesterday, the boss courts last Saturday slapped an injunction on the CIO "enjoining the CIO against the use of violence" and limiting the CIO pickets to no more than ten at each gate.

The situation is tense and critical. The CIO can give this McCormick-AFL-Chicago Police strikebreaking conspiracy only one answer—a militant demonstration of all-out CIO strength.

So that scabs and cops will forever after fear to put forth their heads against striking workers in Chicago.

Bethlehem Pickets In Action



"Plant's closed! Get going and keep going!" these militant strikers at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Bethlehem, Pa., are telling scared scabs who attempted to drive into the strike-bound plant last Monday evening. Few scabs were able to sneak past these scrapping union men, even with a flock of city cops, county deputies and company police on hand.

Main Bethlehem Plant Shut Down By Strike

Union Protest Against Company Union
Develops Into Full-Fledged Strike Battle

BETHLEHEM, Pa., March 25—Operations of the parent plant here of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation were at a virtual standstill this afternoon as thousands of militant strikers picketed the gates and halted all attempts of scabs to enter the plant.

For the first time in years, the black pall of smoke over the Lehigh River Valley is gone. Strike leaders of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) declared that no more than 2,000 men were in the plant, which employs 21,000 men and is the largest steel plant in the Bethlehem system. Most of the scabs now in the plant had slept there overnight after the strike was called yesterday evening.

City police, who are considered the same as company police in

ing full speed through the pickets and into the plant gates.

UNIONS DEMANDS

The strike has effectively terminated the company union election which the management was sponsoring on its property, and which was the immediate cause of the strike. The demands of the strikers have broadened since the strike began.

Howard Curtiss, district SWOC leader, has announced the following demands of the strikers:

1. That all strikers be returned to work without loss of seniority.
2. That the company withdraw its permission to the company union to hold its elections on company property.
3. That the company disestablish the "Employees' Representation Plan" in accordance with the order of the NLRB.
4. That the company agree to negotiations leading up to an NLRB election to determine the sole bargaining agency for the plant's 18,000 production workers.

The strikers are in high spirits as word arrives from Johnstown, Pa., that the 15,000 workers in the Bethlehem Steel Mills there, where a previous 24-hour stoppage had been held recently, may join the strike if Eugene Grace attempts to go through with a threatened company union election similar to the one he had planned for the plant here.

COMPANY RETREATS

Baker refused to confer with the committee under the pretext that he would not speak to the two fired men. The committee turned on its heels and walked out.

"See the committee as elected by the workers or we'll strike again," the company was flatly informed.

A government conciliator was rushed to the scene. The management began to sweat.

Final result: Baker has met with the committee and the two fired men.

(Continued on page 3)

Board's Aim Is To Stifle All Demands Of Workers

Roosevelt's War Mediation Board will not only seek to settle strikes but will primarily seek to stifle the demands of the workers, thus preventing strikes by the method of bamboozling the workers to drop their demands upon the corporations.

If this was not made clear by Roosevelt's executive order of March 19, setting up the 11-man board, it became clear enough Tuesday, after the first meeting of the board.

Chairman Clarence A. Dykstra called in reporters at the conclusion of the meeting—the meeting itself was behind closed doors—and underlined to them his interpretation of the last paragraph of Roosevelt's executive order. A "cooling off" period was established by that paragraph, declared Dykstra.

That paragraph had declared it a "duty" of the workers to give government bodies "notice in writing of any desired change in existing agreements, wages, or working conditions... and such sufficient advance notice of any threatened interruptions to continuous production as will permit exploration of all avenues of possible settlement of such controversies so as to avoid strikes, stoppages or lockouts."

This, declared Dykstra, establishes a "must" waiting period during which the workers may not strike.

Under "cooling off," all a boss has to do is to stand pat against the workers' demands, while the Mediation Board and other governmental bodies exert all their pressure to keep the workers from striking, i.e., from enforcing their demands. Mediation resolves itself down to the task of persuading, urging, and threatening the workers to drop some or all of their demands and thus maintain "peace."

If the workers finally insist on trying to win their demands, and do go out on strike, the board's primary function then becomes to "place the blame for the continuation of a dispute," as Dykstra put it. In 99 out of 100 cases, we can be sure, this will mean placing the blame on a striking union for the continuation of the strike, and not in any way blaming the boss for having made the strike necessary.

BOSS GAINS MUCH

Meanwhile, in the "cooling off" period, the boss will have all the advantages of a general who has learned of the plans of the enemy. At his leisure he will prepare his counter-strike measures, hire scabs and thugs, and entrench himself for a battle. Thus some of the most effective elements of some strikes—surprise, the element of boss uncertainty over the workers' plans, the boss' lack of counter-preparation—will be lost to the trade unions, if they submit to the arbitrary decree of Roosevelt and his "impartial" board chairman.

Fortunately, the present strike struggles show the growing militancy of the labor movement. To ram the "cooling off" period down the throats of the workers, and to keep it there, will tax the ingenuity of more than one Dykstra.

(See other articles and editorial on the Mediation Board, pages 5 and 6.)

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

The opening of the "Battle of the Atlantic" raises to the forefront the next step in U. S. war participation. Passage of the Lend-Lease Law and the seven billion dollar appropriations to give it effect brought this country to the point where the next step could easily be active involvement of its armed forces in the conflict. That next step may lie just ahead.

The newspapers are already preparing the ground and so is the Gallup poll. There is obvious logic in the argument that if the country is going to spend seven billion dollars for war supplies it is not going to permit those supplies to be sent to the bottom by Hitler's sea raiders. This is simply the "logic" of the involvement of U. S. imperialism in the war.

What we are supposed to help "decide" now is whether U. S. warships should act as convoys a quarter, a third, or two-thirds of the way across the Atlantic. At the outer limit, British warships would take up the guard. The idea is already strongly advanced that U. S. convoys should extend as far as the Azores.

Actually this is like asking whether we should dip our hands

into the boiling oil only as far as the wrist or as far as the elbow. It doesn't really matter. We're going to get badly burned either way.

We don't hear anymore about "acts short of war" because there is no sense in that phrase and there never was. Every conscious act of the Roosevelt administration has been an act of war and U. S. war participation has been increasing gradually under the banner of "acts short of war." The only thing lacking has been actual military acts and the establishment of convoys for the aid-to-Britain ships is apparently to be the first of these.

We may be sure that Hitler has already discounted U. S. war entry. He is not going to abandon the Battle of the Atlantic to avoid a clash with the U. S.

If the rate of loss of British tonnage in the Battle of the Atlantic continues as at present—more than 100,000 tons a week—the question of U. S. warship convoys is certain to become more and more pressing. We're already in the war up to our armpits. When those convoys start, we'll be in up to our necks.

Thompson Chain Daren't Reopen

Food Workers Local 302 Closed Ten Stores And Will Keep Them Closed Till Settlement

The 250 Thompson strikers in New York have kept close vigil on the 10 closed Thompson restaurants for the past week and a half. Day and night the picket watch goes on and the Thompson bosses have not dared to reopen the stores with scabs this first week and a half.

And there's a good reason why they dare not reopen. The spirit and unity of the Thompson pickets, aided by other militants of Local 302, AFL, the local involved in the strike, is enough to slow up even the union-baiting Thompson bosses. The proud faces of the men and women strikers of Thompson's reads "no scabs allowed."

THEIR FIRST STRIKE

The 302 membership is very proud of the way these strikers, most of them having never been on a picket line before, have taken to picketing like veterans. At the Branch A meeting of the local last week you could see the smiling faces of the old-timers, as the shop chairman of Grand Central store reported. They felt like proud papas watching their union babes engage in this conflict.

302 is not limiting its solidarity to moral support. The membership intends to shell out and help their brothers and sisters of Thompson's financially. All indications point to a voluntary assessment of 25 cents, 50 cents and 75 cents per month (for the various categories) for the duration of the strike.

BOSS TURNS UP!

An amusing little incident occurred on the picket line March 24, Monday. It was a rainy day and some of the strikers were parked in the front entrance of the Grand Central store. A man walked over and demanded of the strikers that they leave the premises. The strikers told him something to the effect of "go fly a kite." The man called a cop and identified himself as John R. Thompson Jr.

You see, it was a rainy day and John Jr. did not want to soil his nice little yacht on Long Island Sound so he came around to watch his property. Well, John, the strikers are watching it for you, and furthermore, they're watching that nobody moves in to take away their jobs.

The strike headquarters, in particular, radiates confidence. It has become a second-home for the strikers. Hot coffee, sandwiches and hot dishes are served free of charge all during the day.

NO SCABS, PLEASE

There are rumors afloat that Thompson's intends to open some of the stores with scabs. Thompson's may believe that the militant strikers have worn themselves out with all the spirit and exuberance they put into the activities of the strike during the first week and a half. Thompson's should be immediately warned that when it comes to solidarity and action on the part of 302, the bosses haven't seen anything yet.

UAW-CIO Shows Power At Ford In 3 Stoppages

(Continued from page 1)

called in the Union Committee and agreed that over 1,000 fired workers at the Rouge plant would be returned to their jobs. Ford's representative in most of these negotiations turned out to be none other than Homer Martin, former international president of the UAW-CIO. It will be recalled that, after losing control of the union, Martin called his own paper convention in opposition to the Cleveland convention of the UAW-CIO, and attempted to lead a split-off into the AFL.

That contemptible scheme having failed, now we find Martin turning up in the camp of the class enemy.

FORD'S GAME

Ford still has many tricks in his bag. Ford still has no intention of recognizing and bargaining with the UAW-CIO. Ford's strategy is to stall and delay things, until the white-hot militancy of the Ford workers cools and he can then, with the help of cowardly, venal and corrupted AFL officials, ram a company union down the throats of the workers.

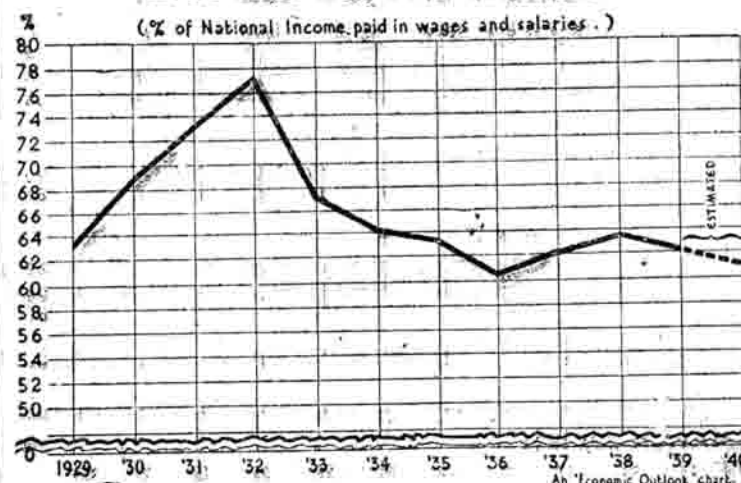
Already Frank H. Bowen, regional director of the NLRB, has stated that if the Labor Board orders an election at the Ford plants, about 60 days would elapse before it could be held.

There is no excuse for this delay and stalling. The union is all set for action right now. The Ford workers are prepared. The union must now insist on an immediate election, which it will win, without a doubt, by an overwhelming majority, and then proceed to immediate negotiations with the Ford management on a signed contract. Either Ford signs on the dotted line or he cannot operate his plants!

Midland Strike

Meanwhile the Midland Steel strikers are demonstrating to the auto barons that they are in no mood to be bamboozled or terrorized out of their just rights. The Midland Steel plant, makers of auto bodies and other parts, continues shut, while the union committee is standing pat on its demands for a wage increase to meet the rising cost of living and a union shop to assure job security.

Ever Less For The Workers



This chart shows that the more the workers produce, the less they share in the products of their labor. As the national income rose since 1932, the workers received in wages a smaller and smaller percentage of this income. Profits and dividends increasingly eat up the lion's share of the nation's income.



HERE WE ARE FOR BOTH WEEKS

This column was some sort of class-war victim last week. Such a wave of strikes struck the country the day we locked up the forms that the Militant Army column was lost in the crush. When the smoke cleared up we found the Column, all ready for action, left on the side-lines, an especially annoying situation since the Column in our opinion is an excellent barometer of the spirit and determination of the working class as reflected in our party. We therefore carry below the scoreboards for both last week and this week.

New York proves that it will make up for the time it lost in the early weeks of the Sub Drive by beating out Chicago and coming in second this week. It still has far, far to go before it can rival the one next higher. But the New York spirit seems will-ing.

Here is last week's scoreboard:

	Subs	Pts	Subs	Pts
Minnesota	33	110	269	641
Chicago	8	22	53	99
New York	7	16	37	67
Detroit	2	7	27	66
Boston	15	36	34	63
Cleveland	3	10	17	37
L. A.	2	2	16	31
Flint	6	7	19	26
Newark	1	1	14	23
Youngstown	0	0	15	22
Toledo	2	7	12	18
New Haven	2	4	12	17
Frisco	8	11	8	11
Allentown	0	0	4	7
Rochester	3	3	5	5
Patterson	0	0	3	5
Milwaukee	1	1	2	5
Pittsburgh	0	0	4	4
Palo Alto	0	0	1	4
London, Eng	0	0	1	4
Texas	2	2	2	2
San Diego	0	0	2	2
Phila.	0	0	1	2
Albany	0	0	1	2
Plentywood	0	0	1	2
Kansas	0	0	1	2
Totals	96	248	561	1,167

And here is the even better record for this week.

	This Week	Total
	Subs	Pts
Minnesota	39	100
New York	24	39
Chicago	1	3
Detroit	8	13
Boston	9	14
Cleveland	4	12
L. A.	5	16
Flint	9	10
Youngstown	8	9
Newark	1	1
Toledo	0	0
New Haven	0	0
Frisco	2	3
Allentown	0	0
Rochester	1	2
Milwaukee	1	1
Plentywood	1	4
Patterson	0	0
Pittsburgh	0	0
Philadelphia	1	2
Palo Alto	0	0
London, Eng	0	0
Rockville	1	4
St. Louis	2	3
Texas	0	0
San Diego	0	0
Albany	0	0
Kansas	0	0
Totals	117	236

MASS WORK IN BUFFALO & PITTSBURGH
Big strike situations in Buffalo and Pittsburgh saw our militant hard-working comrades on their toes and capable of taking advantage of events. Buffalo obtained and made excellent use of thousands of copies of THE MILITANT which featured reports of the Bethlehem Steel

Harry Bridges Defense Committee



SWOC Sec.-Treas. David McDonald (left) and CIO Vice Pres. Sherman Dalrymple, who have been named by CIO head Philip Murray as an official CIO committee to aid in combating the anti-labor action of the Department of Justice in its deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges.

Local 3 Men On Trial In Queens

Electrical Workers Show Up Prosecution As Bunglers In Anti-Labor Frameup

By the Queens Correspondent

QUEENS, N. Y. City, March 29.—Today marked the opening of the third week of the trial of 16 workers of the Triangle Conduit and Cable Company, who were framed by the company and the District Attorney for defending themselves on the picket line when attacked by cops and finks.

The prosecution has paraded 29 witnesses, into court, including seven policemen, in an attempt to build a case against these members of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. If the men are convicted, they could be railroaded to prison from three to 48 years. The serious aspect of the trial, however, is relieved by the ridiculous testimony of the company witnesses.

On the morning of September 28, 1940, La Guardia's police, acting in close collaboration with the company, charged the picket lines in an attempt to escort strikebreakers into the plant. During the course of the attack, a number of pickets were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct.

The District Attorney's office decided shortly thereafter that it would be profitable to discover that the men were guilty of 16 other charges including "inciting to riot." The strikers were hauled out of their beds between one and three in the morning and placed under arrest.

The company's witnesses, including the cops, have turned out, however, to be more of a hindrance than a help to the District

Attorney. One witness, after vehemently protesting against any imputation that he had been coached, on what to say, revealed that he had visited the District Attorney for a whole day on March 19, the day before he testified.

In the District Attorney's office at the same time, peculiarly enough, was the head strikebreaker, a fink with whom this witness swore he didn't have the slightest acquaintance. During his further testimony, however, the truth slipped out that the head strikebreaker had driven him to and from the court.

THE MILITANT correspondent had the opportunity to speak to Charles Mangano, shop steward of the night shift who was in charge of the strike committee. Mangano, about 24 years old, has enough phoney charges stacked against him by the District Attorney to send him to prison for 48 years. He is the center of attack.

Mangano expressed the opinion of the workers of the Triangle Company when he said:

"This is an example of what a person has to face when he tries to earn a decent living. The bosses call in cops, finks, strikebreakers."

When the correspondent asked Brother Mangano if he thought the workers would win, he stated emphatically:

"The whole trial is a farce. A few more of their witnesses and they'll have to throw the case out of court. And that before we call any of our witnesses."

Second Week Begins Monday March 31st

The MARXIST SCHOOL

Irving Plaza Irving Place & 15 St., N. Y. C.

I. Permanent Revolution in American History—By William F. Warde.

A study of the development of American history in the light of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution; sketching the main causes and characteristics; consequences of revolutionary movements; their internal inter-connections, international roots and meaning; their rise and fall.

2. The Colonial Revolt and the Constitution.
3. The Degeneration of the First American Revolution. The Autocracy of the Slave Power; the New Revolutionary Forces.
4. The Second American Revolution: The Role of the Industrial Workers during the Civil War.

5. The Democratic Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie.

6. The Coming American Revolution.

Mondays—7:10 to 8:40 P.M.—6 Sessions \$1.00

II. American Labor Movements—By Lydia Beidel.

A study of the principles, composition, function, and history of the various labor organizations.

2. Knights of Labor and the Molly Maguires.

3. Western Federation of Miners and the I.W.W.

4. The American Federation of Labor.

5. The A.F.L.—C.I.O. Split and the C.I.O.

6. General Trade Union Principles.

Mondays—8:50 to 10:20 P.M.—6 Sessions \$1.00

REGISTRATION

Registration may be made at the school office, 116 University Place, every day (except Sunday), between 12 noon and 7 P.M., or by mail.

III. The World at War—By Jack Weber. This course applies Marxist analysis—and makes some predictions on that basis—to the various aspects of World II.

2. Japan and the United States: Struggle for Asia.

3. South America: The Good Neighbor Clenches the Fist.

4. Italian and German Fascism and the War.

5. The USSR and War. Which Side Stalin?

6. Imperialist War and the Class Struggle. The Workers and the War.

Wednesdays—7:10 to 8:40—6 sessions \$1.00

IV. Trade Unionism and Politics—By Farrell Dobbs.

An analysis of the crisis now facing the trade unions in the face of World War II. A study of the daily problems of the workers and the strategy of militant leadership in the struggle against the bosses.

2. Marxist Strategy in Mediation: Arbitration, and Negotiation of Trade Union Contracts.

3. How to Lead a Militant Strike.

4. The Role of the Trade Unions in the Epoch of Wars and Revolutions.

5. The Necessity for the Trade Unions to Enter Politics.

6. Machine Control—The Boss Mechanism for Sterilizing Organized Labor.

Wednesdays—8:50 to 10:20—6 sessions \$1.00

ATTENDANCE

Those who do not wish to register for a full course may attend single lectures. The charge for single lectures will be twenty-five cents.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

The Chicago FEDERATIONIST reports that Teamsters Joint Council No. 25 has formed an American Legion Post consisting of war veterans who are members of the Council. The action is motivated by "the apparent political ambition of some of the aggressive leaders" of the American Legion which has "resulted in the advocacy of sentiments and the suggestion of action . . . definitely at variance with the primal principles of the organization."

There is grave danger, however, that a Legion Post within the union movement may be the instrument by which the most reactionary and pro-war program is pushed in the unions.

The concept of organizing union war veterans is not in itself reactionary. Such a veterans' organization in the hands of union progressives and subordinated to union control, might become the nucleus of a Union Defense Guard. War veterans might undertake to teach fellow unionists the military arts, so that the union membership can defend itself and its organization and its picket lines in the coming period. God knows the unions are going to need the most militant and trained Workers Defense Guard from now on if unionism is to be preserved against the strikebreaking Home Guards.

This isn't from a labor paper, but it's going to interest labor!

THE FORT SNELLING BULLETIN, mimeographed paper for draftees, in this military post in Minnesota, reports on the increasing importance of the Military Police Battalions. These Military Police Battalions will have the following tasks as foreseen by the War Department:

1. Protect sensitive points on railroads and waterways.

2. Protect wharves, docks, and bridges of special importance.

3. Guard government plants, storage depots, terminals and other government interests and agencies.

4. QUELL OUTBREAKS AND UPRISINGS OCCURRING WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE PROPERTY GUARDED.

5. ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN CARRYING OUT ALIEN ENEMY PROCLAMATIONS.

6. Guard prisoners of war.

7. ASSIST ALLIED AND CIVIL POLICE IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF MILITARY LAWS AND REGULATIONS WHEN SO DIRECTED BY COMPETENT AUTHORITY.

"In order that they might carry out their mission," the BULLETIN states, "the War Department has amply supplied these organizations with rifles, pistols, shot-guns, machine guns, sub-machine guns, mortars, and two fully equipped scout cars."

You can bet your bottom dollar that the Military Police Battalions will be used first of all against organized labor.

Tellers of the UMW have issued official returns on the union election held last December. John L. Lewis received 123,046 votes for president; Philip Murray, 143,423 votes for vice-president; and

GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

Comrade Grace Carlson arrives in San Francisco this week, on her national speaking tour. She is now on the last lap of the long tour which began January 2 in Milwaukee and ends April 9 in Minnesota's Twin Cities.

The rest of her tour follows:

SAN FRANCISCO: Friday-Sunday, March 28-30. She speaks Friday, 8 p.m., at 421 Kearny St. Subject: "The War Today."

PORTLAND, Oregon: Monday, March 31.

SEATTLE, Washington: Tuesday, April 1.

PLENTYWOOD, Montana: Friday, April 4th, 8 p.m., at the Farmer Labor Temple. Subject: "The Right To Life."

FARGO, N. D.: Monday, Tuesday, April 7 & 8.

TWIN CITIES: Wednesday, April 9.

Thomas Kennedy, 141,652 votes for secretary-treasurer. All votes unopposed. No doubt about 20,000 miners sought in this way to rebuke Lewis for backing Willkie in the recent elections. A much greater number of union miners did not even bother to vote, there being no contest and no issues involved.

The St. Louis LABOR TRIBUNE reports that the AFL Machinists have just signed an agreement with the local Curtiss-Wright aircraft plant, involving about 10,000 workers. The agreement provides for wage increases of 3c-17c hourly, with a bonus of 7c hourly to workers on the first night shift. Hourly minimums for unskilled workers are set at 59c, for skilled workers at \$1.12. Seniority, vacation with pay, and time and one-half and double-time for overtime are specified.

The AFL Machinists won a Labor Board election at Curtiss-Wright on December 12th by a 3-1 majority.

A story headlined "U. S. FARMER HAS BIG STAKE IN BRITISH VICTORY," in the March FARMERS' UNION HERALD, describes the line the administration is taking to line up the farmers behind the war program. The article describes the talk Claude Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, made before the National Farm Institute in Des Moines recently.

"Exports had marched gradually down hill for years, but a few months of this war stopped for eign sales of farm products almost completely. Whether we will ever regain them is a question. Certainly their return is unlikely in the event of a Nazi victory. If Britain triumphs, we might begin to sell our cotton, wheat, lard and other farm products overseas in something like their pre-war volume," Wickard promised the farmers.

How does the Railroad Labor Disputes Law work out for the railroad workers? Not so good, if you consider the settlement the workers on the Rutland, Vt. railroad just got handed by the emergency board appointed by Roosevelt. According to LABOR, the 15 railroad unions have now taken "a voluntary deduction of five per cent for employees earning over \$15 a week." In return, the railroad crosses it heart that "back wages due employees will be repaid if and when the carrier's revenue increases to a certain point. The management also agrees to consult with employees before making any substantial decreases in working forces."

That is a stunning union defeat in any worker's language.

Philip LaFollette appears to be seeking to revive his Progressive Party. According to THE PROGRESSIVE, an open house was held last week in the Progressive House in Madison where ex-Governor LaFollette predicted that "all those problems that we had in September, 1939, are going to be back on our doorstep, no matter how this war crisis may develop." LaFollette urged a political realignment around his party.

LaFollette always plays along with one of the two boss parties when it pays him to. His latest proposal means that he perceives growing mass dissatisfaction with the old parties.

Latest Issue of Russian Bulletin

The latest issue of the Russian Bulletin of the Left Opposition is just off the press.

The contents of this issue are extremely important. It includes a special article by Natalia Trotsky, widow of the founder of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky, who was murdered by the G.P.U. This article is entitled, "So It Was."

In addition, the Bulletin features exclusive information on conditions in the Soviet Union and other articles dealing with the revolutionary labor movement throughout the world.

Copies of the Bulletin may be secured at 116 University Place, New York City. Sympathizers of the Russian Left Opposition are urged to bring this issue to the attention of their Russian-reading friends.

MASS MEETING !!

The GPU and Stalin's Rule Of Terror

Speaker:

Albert Goldman

Recently returned from Mexico where, as attorney for Natalia Sedov Trotsky, he cross-examined the GPU assassin who sank a pick axe in the brain of Leon Trotsky.

HEAR:

The facts which brand Stalin as murderer of Leon Trotsky.

A profound crisis is shaking the Soviet Union! The workers' state is in deadly danger! Stalin must be overthrown before it is too late!

BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 5th Street New York City

FRIDAY: March 23

The meeting will begin promptly at 8:30 P.M.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Union Victor In N. Y. Bus Strike

Forces Bosses To Drop Wage Cut Proposal; Battle On Subway Will Come In June

NEW YORK CITY, March 22—The latest attempt of Mayor La Guardia and the New York City Board of Transportation to undermine the Transport Workers Union (CIO) has failed.

After an 11-day effort to smash the strike of 3,500 bus workers of the carriers of 90 per cent of the city's bus traffic, La Guardia and the companies had to back down and agree to a settlement last Thursday favorable to the union.

What is more, everybody understood that thereby the union had won the preliminary round in the greater battle to maintain union conditions on the subways.

The ability of the bus workers to shut down the bus lines, hold their ranks solid for 11 days, successfully beat off the blows of the companies and city officials and the strikebreaking barrage of the big business newspapers, is an inspiration to the subway workers, whose showdown comes at the end of June.

SETTLEMENT TERMS
The busses rolled this morning for the first time since 5 A. M. Monday, March 10, with the bus drivers and helpers triumphant in the knowledge that they had defeated the companies' demands for wage cuts, longer hours, elimination of sick leaves, reduction of paid vacations and the firing of one out of every two men on the Fifth Avenue two-man busses.

The bosses have instead, agreed to renew the old contract and, in addition, to arbitrate the union's demand for wage increases totaling up to \$1,000,000. Up to the last moment the companies had insisted that arbitration include the companies' demands.

Mayor La Guardia, abandoning any pretense of pro-labor sympathy, launched a vitriolic radio attack on the union on the Sunday preceding the strike. In a lying broadside, La Guardia declared: "They just want to strike. They refuse to arbitrate even though the companies are willing to extend the present contract."

What the companies had actually offered was disclosed in their own full-page ads carried every day for a week in all the major newspapers in the city. "We offered to extend the existing contracts for 30, 60 or ninety days, or whatever time was necessary to IRON OUT ANY DIFFERENCES."

That is, the companies had merely agreed to a purely temporary extension of the old contract, but remained adamant in their insistence that negotiations be based on company demands for wage reductions and destruction of other vital union conditions.

STRIKEBREAKING MOVES

La Guardia continued throughout the strike to collaborate in the companies' attacks and the propaganda campaign of the millionaire press by his public insistence that the union should immediately call off the strike and arbitrate on the company's basis.

Police Commissioner Valentine, undoubtedly on orders from La Guardia, sought to intimidate the strikers by announcing he was prepared to give full police protection to scabs in the event that the companies tried to operate the busses.

But the strength of the union and the plainly expressed determination of the strikers not to permit strikebreaking forced the city and the companies to retreat from their provocative plans.

La Guardia then tried to maneuver the union into an unfavorable light by his appointment of a "fact-finding" three-man board to "study" the strike and to determine whether the companies' arbitration proposals were "reasonable."

When the board was named by La Guardia last Wednesday it was abundantly clear what its strike-breaking purpose was. The members were Noel Dowling, conservative law professor of the corporation-financed Columbia University; William S. Menden, former president of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation; and Thomas E. Murray, former receiver for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company.

WHO IS THE PUBLIC

During the strike the boss press kept hammering away at the "inconvenience to the public." The "public," that is the huge working population of New York, composed in the main of unionized workers, their friends, relatives and sympathizers, took the strike very differently than did the newspapers. They simply rode the subways, which were slightly more

overcrowded than usual, and in their contacts with strikers showed their friendly sympathy.

The intent of this phoney line of newspaper propaganda was to pave the way for a frenzied barrage about "public interest" and "hardship" in the eventuality of a subway walkout three months hence.

PUBLICITY PROBLEM

Offsetting the boss press propaganda was a central problem of the strike, and here, unfortunately, the union leadership demonstrated a serious weakness, one which must be overcome in the next weeks before the subway fight comes to a head. A daily strike newspaper, to be distributed throughout the city, was needed but was not forthcoming.

Every avenue of approach to the workers of this city must be utilized to bring home the need for full support of the transport workers on the subways.

The TWOC must endeavor to keep the entire New York labor movement officially acquainted with each step of the developments in the coming decisive battle with the city and to involve every union local behind its fight.

The support of the trade union movement may be the key to victory or defeat for the TWOC in the days to come. An important measure of such support was lacking in this present strike because of previous antagonism between the TWOC leadership and other local trade union officials over issues of a political character which are not directly connected with the immediate fight of the union transport workers for better conditions and higher wages.

Such extraneous issues must not be permitted on either side to bar the necessary fraternal aid for the militant transport workers.

Given a well-thought out and persistent general publicity campaign in the next three months, plus the full support of the entire labor movement, the transport workers have demonstrated through this successful preliminary strike that they have the fighting qualities to carry through to victory against the plot of La Guardia and the bankers to destroy the union on the subway systems.

James B. Carey Comes Out For Red-Baiting

James B. Carey, president of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union last week gave public sanction in the march 22 *UE News* for all locals in his union to bar "communists, nazis and fascists" from office in the union.

Carey's latest move completes his break from collaboration with the Stalinists in the leadership of the union and begins his offensive against the Stalinists as a leader of the pro-war elements in the CIO.

If there was any doubt as to the meaning of Carey's move, his opponent, Julius Emspak, editor of the *UE News*, adds a hostile note to Carey's column. Emspak says that Carey, after first agreeing not to print this article, now "for reasons best known to himself has notified me from Washington that he insists on printing his views prior to the meeting of the General Executive Board."

With the help of his Stalinist allies, Carey was able to maintain his reputation as a militant working class leader. His statement today makes it clear that he takes his place with those labor bureaucrats who are acting as the agents of the war drive inside the trade union movement.

His statement is an open invitation to all the reactionaries with-

Member of the National Die Casters Association of America and the United Automobile Workers, both CIO affiliates, picketing the Harvil Aircraft Die Casting plant at Ingelwood, California, where 350 workers just settled their 10-day strike for union recognition and wage increases.

Life And Death Issues In The Vanadium Strike

Every Striker Has Miner's Asthma From This Death-Dealing Work: Without A Union's Protection These Men Will Die So Much Sooner

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., March 23—When Sidney Hillman intervened eight days ago against the 400 striking workers of the Vanadium Corporation here and attacked their union, he was dealing a blow at the very lives of these workers.

For the union means life itself to the fighting Vanadium workers, and that's why Hillman got nowhere.

Before they had a union, a production job in the plant was considered almost a sentence of death. Today, because of the union, the workers have compelled the company to maintain some of the minimum health and safety requirements.

Back in the early thirties, the Vanadium workers worked for as low as 25 cents an hour. The union has won them a minimum wage of 72 cents an hour.

Even today the saying goes in this town that few men can last in Vanadium more than five years.

DEATH-DEALING JOBS

The Vanadium plant is a killer. Almost every worker has a cough, the sign of the miner's asthma caused by the action of the vanadium dust eating away at the respiratory organs, the throat and the lungs.

One-third of the plant's workers have been on the job less than a year. Two-thirds have been at the work less than two years. Only 66 men of the plant's production personnel have managed to survive at the job more than five years.

And the job is a killer for other reasons. The handling and mixing of the heavy vanadium dust is gruelling, back-breaking labor. Two men in stifling masks, shovel and mix the sticky substance for 15 minutes. That is as long as a man can last at the task. Then two more workers relieve them.

A BAND OF HEROES

In the past six weeks, these 400 Vanadium workers have stood off the stupendous pressure of the company's officials; they have withstood the venomous lies of the boss press of the entire nation; they have jeered their defiance of the strike breaking efforts of Governor James and his scab-herding state police; they have refused to bow before the might of the federal government itself, when Hillman, acting in the interests of E. T. Bransome, "labor consultant" on Hillman's staff and president of the Vanadium Corporation, tried to club them back to work last week with "national defense" threats.

Only today, for the first time since the strike began, Anthony Federoff, regional CIO director who supported the company and deserted the strikers by ordering them back to work against their own democratic vote, was forced into direct conference with the strikers. They rejected, by a 111 to 70 vote, Federoff's proposal to accept Hillman's proposal to return to work and submit unconditionally to third-party arbitration.

It is interesting to note that as recently as three weeks ago, Carey indignantly denied the charge that had been made in THE MILITANT that he was changing his line. Carey's answer to the MILITANT was that he was always critical of the Stalinists. In reality, however, he had been a bedfellow of theirs in the People's Front period. But now he has shown that it is not a matter of "criticism" of the Stalinists, but a drive to outlaw them and the union militants as well.

Carey's answer to THE MILITANT doesn't read so well now! He will learn what his more experienced and cynical fellow bureaucrats in the war machine have learned a long time ago; namely, never to say anything on a principled issue lest he have to eat the paper it was written on.

guards were used inside the plant to push, goad and harass the workers.

The workers realized that this was the beginning of a company plan to break their union step by step. And so the Vanadium work-

It is against this death-dealing exploitation that the 400 Vanadium workers are fighting. They are fighting against no little independent corporation. The Vanadium Corporation of America holds a complete monopoly on the world supply of the valuable vanadium ore at its source in Peru. This metal is an essential steel-hardening alloy, which in minute proportions vastly increases the ductility and tensility of steel.

Who controls this essential steel processing element? The transfer agent of the corporation, holding all its records and transactions, is the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, one of the financial institutions of J. P. Morgan and Company. The registrar of the company, holding all its bonds, is the Chase National Bank, controlled by the Rockefeller interests.

Thus, behind this seemingly small corporation, which employs about 1500 workers in its Bridgeville and Buffalo, N. Y., plants, is the combined wealth and power of the two mightiest financial oligarchies in the world.

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WHY THEY STRIKE

The strike was called February 10th after the company hired six professional company police to act as spies over the workers. The union protested on the basis of a provision in the union contract, that if the company insisted on hiring plant guards the jobs must go to union men.

It is clear that the guards, all strangers from out of town, have been secured from one of the notorious union-smashing agencies like Pinkerton's or Railway Audit. As soon as they were hired, these

California Aircraft Pickets



Member of the National Die Casters Association of America and the United Automobile Workers, both CIO affiliates, picketing the Harvil Aircraft Die Casting plant at Ingelwood, California, where 350 workers just settled their 10-day strike for union recognition and wage increases.

Bethlehem's Main Plant Is Struck

(Continued from Page 1)

"election" of "representatives" to a company union council.

The latest move of the Morgan-dominated Bethlehem Steel Corporation to stem the tide of unionism in its vast domain is to bolster its "Employees' Representation Plan" through a company-sponsored, company-financed and controlled "election" which begins tomorrow. Last week flag-draped ballot-boxes were suddenly placed in all the departments of the many mills of the company dominating the length of the Bethlehem valley.

STRIKE NOTICE SERVED

Notice of the strike was served on the company officials and Sidney Hillman, associate director of the Office for Production Management, by Howard T. Curtiss, local director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO).

Curtiss declared that the Bethlehem workers intend to shut the plant down tight if the company does not agree before tomorrow to call off its "primary" election to the E.R.P.

The fighting temper of the workers here was shown recently by a two-day stoppage involving 5,000 workers when the company refused to meet with union departmental committees to settle a rising flood of grievances.

A PROTEST STRIKE

The strike is intended primarily as a protest, to focus national attention on the fact that Bethlehem Steel is still operating a company union nine months after the N.L.R.B. ordered its dissolution and that the second largest steel corporation in America is the only major steel company still maintaining a company union set-up in violation of the Wagner Labor Act.

Despite the decisions of the N.L.R.B., the government has not made a move to enforce the dissolution of this anti-labor set-up. The balloting for the company union is to be conducted on company property under the direct supervision of the plant's foremen, supervisors and company police. The management has not permitted the SWOC to be listed in the ballot, well aware that the union commands an overwhelming majority in the plants.

COMPANY UNION'S METHOD

The company tries to give its "company union" an appearance of "independence" by not paying the company union officials directly for their services as finks. They are given soft jobs around the plants while being listed as rollers or similar types of workers and drawing down pay as high as \$15 a day.

Under the pretense of "investigating" the grievances of the men, these finks loaf around the

He's Not Smiling Now!



Harry Bennett, Ford Motor Company personnel manager and head of the Ford "Service Department" army of thugs and stool pigeons, isn't smiling like this now. This picture was taken before the United Automobile Workers (CIO) succeeded in organizing tens of thousands of Ford Workers and scaring hell out of old Hank Ford.

departments spying on the workers, or often hang around the neighborhood beer spots and pool halls during work hours. Frequently they don't even bother to change from their street clothes into work clothes.

While the company union officials are "permitted" to deal with the department foremen and supervisors inside the plants on company time, the CIO representatives are compelled to deal only with the personnel director, and on their own time.

There are no membership meetings of the company union. The workers are merely compelled to vote in a Hitler "ja" election for "representatives" to a central council which elects its own officers as designated by the company.

A typical meeting of the management and the company union

officers usually runs as follows: the plant manager opens the meeting with a long patriotic speech and then leaves, and an assistant or the personnel manager then conducts the "negotiations," involving such important grievances as a new drinking fountain, cleaner toilets, increased parking space or how to increase "efficiency," that is, speed up the workers more. And that's all.

The company union system has been in existence in Bethlehem Steel for over 20 years, ever since the smashing of the 1919 steel strike.

But the hours of Eugene Grace's "Employees' Representation Plan" are numbered. "O little town of Bethlehem, how still we see thee lie," will not be sung in this little steel town until the SWOC gets Eugene Grace's signature on a union contract.

BUFFALO COMMITTEE DEMAND AIRCRAFT JOBS FOR NEGROES

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Committee to Defend Negro Rights, composed of white and Negro workers and progressives, has launched a campaign against the Curtiss-Wright Aircraft Company and other corporations here, to force the companies to abandon their refusal to hire Negro workers.

The committee—headed by Lyman Covert, international representative of the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO) and organizer for the Curtiss-Wright local; Paul Kujac, representative of the Workers Defense League; and Reverend J. Hahn, pastor of the Evangelical Reform Church—recently called at the Curtiss-Wright plant and forced a hearing on their demands for jobs for Negroes by the personnel director of the plant.

The committee went to the plant after the management ignored a registered letter from the committee asking for a conference.

The committee is continuing to hammer away at the corporation.

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The Negro's Fight For Jobs, Equal Rights

Future Outlook League Growing In Cleveland

Negro Organization Uses Militant Methods To Win Jobs; Encourages Its Members To Join The CIO And AFL Trade Unions

By GEORGE SCHRAUM

"The first Negro motion picture operator in Cleveland, is going to work tonight, across the street in the Globe Theater. Today he is going down to join the union. We do not object to that. Our concern is that the shows living on Negro patronage hire Negro operators, and that when they are in the union, they get the same deal as the rest of the members."

This was cited as an example by John O. Holly President of the Future Outlook League, when I asked him how his organization stood on the matter of trade unions.

The F.O.L. is an independent Negro organization whose slogan among its people is, "Don't spend your money where you can't work!"

In answer to my query as to whether the F. O. L. attempted to speak for the Negro on the broader social political issues affecting his race, Mr. Holly replied:

"Of course we have our own personal opinions but as an organization we stick pretty close to the economic issue of jobs, and let the other organizations take care of such issues. We also have a housing committee which is working to remedy the deplorable housing conditions of the Negroes in the city."

HOW THE F.O.L. GETS JOBS FOR NEGROES

Six years ago, when the F.O.L. was founded, very few merchants in the Negro area hired any but white employees, and the few Negroes were underpaid porters. Today, these merchants employ 1100 members of the (F.O.L.) Employee's Association who are working under negotiated agreements affecting wages and working conditions.

Altogether the F.O.L. has 16,000 members and several affiliates such as the Employee's Association, the Beauticians Association, and the Independent Ice and Coal Men's Association. The Employee's Association keeps five business agents busy enforcing contracts. A steady stream of people going through the organization's headquarters attests to the influence which the organization has in its community.

In the beginning, the F. O. L. started by making a simple appeal to merchants but soon became convinced that appealing to a

business man on a basis of honesty and justice was about as profitable as talking to an iron dog. American business is ruthless, without ethics, without honesty. It recognizes only one thing—force—so the F. O. L.'s year book states.

Therefore the organization adopted a militant policy of boycott and picket lines. Once after being faced with an injunction, it issued the following statement:

"Laws and legal technicalities and decisions of judges that will allow other groups (whites) to picket in the heart of downtown, or picket in any other part of the city, and at the same time prevent Negroes from using the same method in demanding their economic rights will never be obeyed or recognized by the Future Outlook League. There is no power on earth that is going to stop this organization from fighting against the injustices that are accorded the Negro."

F.O.L. SAYS IT STANDS FOR TRADE UNIONISM

Naturally, the F.O.L. has drawn fire from enemies as a result of its militant methods. It has been charged with racketeering but, as far as we can find out, with as little justification as Pegler and other boss agents have in making the same charges against the union movement. More serious are the charges that the organization is guilty of a race chauvinism which would prevent Negro and white workers from working together in the trade unions, and of sponsoring the view that the Negro can solve all his problems by building up a separate economic life through the establishment of Negro business. However,

these charges appear to be largely unfounded.

Mr. Holly recognizes that the methods of his organization are limited. He admitted, for example, that Negroes could not put pressure upon Thompson Products by boycotting airplane parts. And while his organization advocates the establishment of Negro-owned business, it does recognize that the struggle for Negro rights is mainly a labor struggle.

The organization generally favors the trade union movement. In some cases it has had clashes with AFL unions whose reactionary leadership refused to recognize the right of Negroes to work in those fields where the unions had jurisdiction. Where the established trade union movement does not take in Negroes or offer them any job security, the F. O. L.'s Employee's Association acts as a union for these workers.

Robert S. Warren, president of this association, states:

"The employees believe in unionism, because it is the trend of the working class of today... The day has passed when Negroes can be used to break strikes. Today, both Negro and white strike together, and for the same purposes, economic freedom and more wages. That's why the Employee's Association is strongly in support of mass organization."

Job competition is part of the capitalist system; Negroes competing with whites, non Jews against Jews, men against women, married against unmarried, young against old—that goes on as long as there are not enough jobs for everybody. Not until all these workers unite under the program of our party to establish a workers' government, where all can have jobs at decent pay, can prejudices and hatreds among workers be eliminated.

In the meanwhile, we stand for full social, political, and economic equality for the Negro people, and will support such organizations as the Future Outlook League in their fight for their oppressed race.

ODELL WALLER



MOTHER WALLER



MAY PROBE JIM CROW IN WAR INDUSTRIES

Senator Byrnes of South Carolina, Roosevelt's floor leader and chairman of the powerful Senate Audit and Control Committee, looms as the most immediate stumbling block to the passage of Senate Resolution 75, which provides for an investigation of discrimination against the Negro workers in the war production plants.

Before the measure can be brought to the Senate floor for a vote, it must first be passed by the Audit and Control Committee. Under Senate rules, all measures providing for expenditures from the Senate contingent fund must first be approved by the Audit and Control committee.

The rumor that Byrnes is Roosevelt's choice for the present vacancy on the United States Supreme Court has evoked a sharp protest from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Never during his public life has he (Byrnes) deviated from the position he took more than twenty years ago," the memorandum says, and quotes Byrnes' speech in Congress, August 25, 1919, in which he said:

"If the two races are to live together in this country, it may as well be understood that the War has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro. If, as a result of his experiences in the War, he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any country he wishes, and his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country who desire no disturbing factor in their midst."

UNIONS SUPPORT DEFENSE OF ODELL WALLER

Moral and material support of more than a hundred labor organizations throughout the country have been given Odell Waller, young Negro share-cropper temporarily saved from death in the electric chair by a stay of execution, after his conviction by an all-white planter's jury in Virginia in the self-defense killing of his white landlord.

Scores of local unions have sent resolutions of support and funds for Waller to the Workers Defense League, which is handling the organization of Waller's defense.

The CIO Council of Detroit and Wayne County voted a unanimous resolution in defense of Waller and made a substantial financial contribution. The Council followed this up with an appeal to every CIO local in the area to take similar action.

Other important unions which have joined in the Waller defense are the New York Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union, International Ladies Garment Workers (AFL), the New York and Pittsburgh Joint Boards of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO), etc.

Many Bills Introduced Against Discrimination

But Not All Of Them Are Really For The Benefit Of The Negro; One Group Of Them Is Really Bosses' Weapon Against Unions

By ALBERT PARKER

A considerable number of bills dealing with discrimination against Negroes in employment have been introduced in several state legislatures and in Congress. Negroes and trade unionists are quite naturally interested in learning what these bills are all about, which ones are worth supporting, which ones are harmful.

Most of the bills can be divided roughly into two categories: (1) Those which penalize employers who discriminate against Negroes in hiring; and (2) those which penalize trade unions which bar Negroes from membership.

In order for Negro workers to arrive at a correct approach toward these bills, it is necessary for them to think about them, not only as Negroes, but also as Negro workers.

To do that, they must be aware of the fundamental conflict between the bosses on one side, and the working class, including the Negro workers, on the other side.

The main interest of the bosses in running factories is to make money. They can't make it unless they have people working for them. These workers produce the material which the bosses can sell at a profit. Basically, the bosses don't care who works for them. The ruling class as a whole would just as soon exploit and sweat a Negro worker as a white worker. It looks upon both in the same light: as sources of profit, as shoulders on which to place the burden of depressions created by the capitalist system, as cannon fodder to be used in the wars for profit and privilege.

But the bosses who control industry have found it useful to exclude Negroes from almost all jobs but domestic service and agriculture. The bosses have done this because of their desire to find methods of keeping the working class divided, so that the workers will be less able to unite against their oppressors.

The bosses have poisoned the minds of large numbers of white workers with practices and theories of "white supremacy" and "Negro inferiority." By their methods of propaganda, the schools, movies, newspapers, magazines, radio, etc., the bosses have sought to convince the white workers that they are not so badly off, because the Negroes have even less than they have.

As a result of all these boss

methods, many white workers have been taught to look down on the Negro people; as another result, Negro workers have been filled with suspicion of all white people, including white workers. All this is right up the bosses' alley.

THE FIGHT TO GET JOBS FOR NEGROES

In this situation, where the bosses are the exploiters and the Negroes are oppressed, it is correct to use every possible means to force the bosses to open the doors of industry to the Negro. It is correct to demand that the employers, who are getting billions through war contracts, refuse such contracts if they refuse to hire Negroes.

This does not mean that we should place very much reliance on these bills as a means of winning jobs for Negroes. To do so and to forget about the method of mass action and mass demonstration to win concessions from the bosses, would be a great mistake. One good picket line is worth a dozen bills.

We must never forget that the government which is designated to carry out the provisions of these bills is a bosses' government; that it believes in the same things the bosses believe in; that it sets the example of "white superiority" in its army and navy; and in civil service; and that all ready there are plenty of anti-discrimination laws on the statute books which are not enforced.

BILLS AGAINST UNIONS WILL HARM NEGROES

The bills penalizing employers may do some good. But the bills penalizing unions can do no good at all and are certain to do harm both to Negro and white workers. Both the white worker and the Negro worker are victims of the capitalist system. Each suffers from wage cuts, depressions, fascism and war. Each suffers from the bosses' divide-and-rule policy even though many white worker (like many Negro workers) don't see this very plainly yet.

Both the white worker and the Negro worker want the same things: decent jobs and homes; the right to live freely and happily. They are both denied these things by the capitalist system of private property and profit. What they must do is unite their force against their common enemy and take the things they have built and created and use them for the common good of all.

Unfortunately, the workers of both races don't see things as clearly as that yet. They don't fully understand that they have a common goal and that they must act together and for each other. Fortunately, large numbers of white workers in the CIO union have begun to learn this through their own experiences of fighting side by side with Negro workers in strikes and on picket lines.

We can readily understand and sympathize with the resentment of the Negroes against the Jim Crow leadership of some of the AFL unions and the railroad brotherhoods. We of the Social Workers Party have always fought inside the trade union movement for full and unqualified equality for the Negro people. Our record shows that we have consistently fought William Green and Co. on this question.

Nevertheless we are forced to oppose passage of any bill penalizing unions. We oppose such bills because they will hurt the interests of the Negro and white workers alike.

The bosses could and would try to use such bills, in the name of "destroying discrimination," to destroy the labor movement. We

cannot delegate to the bosses or to the bosses' government the job of destroying Jim Crowism in the unions, for the bosses are the friends of neither the Negroes nor the unions. They would try to destroy the unions, not to help one section of the working class, the Negroes, but to cut wages and lengthen hours of all workers including the Negroes.

WE CAN'T LET ENEMIES "CLEAN" OUR HOUSE

We cannot depend on the boss government which Jim Crowism in the unions, for the bosses are the friends of neither the Negroes nor the unions. They would try to destroy the unions, not to help one section of the working class, the Negroes, but to cut wages and lengthen hours of all workers including the Negroes.

Passage of such bills against unions would not serve to educate the backward white workers in the unions. On the contrary, it would tend to arouse their antagonism to colored workers. The "lily-white" leaders in such unions would point to the bill and say that the Negroes are cooperating with the enemies of labor in destroying the unions, and would use that to incite the backward white workers still further against the Negroes.

THE CIO SHOWS WHAT CAN BE DONE

The only way to educate the backward rank-and-file unionists to the need of admitting Negroes on an equal basis to all unions is by showing them that unity is necessary to protect the union's gains, and that Negroes are good unionists who want to protect the unions.

This is often a hard job, we admit, but there is no other way to unite black and white. That it is impossible is shown in the example of the powerful CIO, where Negroes are admitted as members with full equality and play a leading role in the unions. The example of the CIO can be effectively used in the fight to expose the reactionary policy of the lily-white leader like Green and Harrison.

Summed up, this means that bills penalizing unions will never accomplish the purposes hoped for by many sincere Negroes, and that instead of serving to integrate Negroes into the labor movement, such bills would tend to make that task more difficult.

"But," some Negroes will say, "these bills are not aimed at all the unions, they are aimed only at some unions guilty of Jim Crowism. We believe in unionism, we want to be good union men, it is the enemies of the Negroes who are keeping us from becoming good and devoted unionists."

There is truth in this argument, but still it is not enough to change the fundamental task. Opening "only some" unions to the attacks of the bosses and their government is a springboard for opening the union movement as a whole to such attacks. For once some unions can be smashed, the appetite of the bosses will be whetted, and they will not be satisfied to let it go at that. We cannot ask our enemies to clean our own house, for they will not do it in our interests. And the labor movement is the house of the Negro people.

As against the bosses, we must defend the unions, even when some of their leaders or members have done wrong against the working class. If in any way we help the bosses to weaken our own class organizing, we lay ourselves open, and the Negroes lay themselves open, to attacks that if successful will send us all back ten or 15 years.

Meanwhile, the advanced workers, the class conscious workers, the more far-seeing workers of all races, will work with us in educating all trade unionists. Widespread discussion of these bills can do much to awaken backward white workers to the necessity of admitting Negroes into all unions on an equal and comradely basis for the struggle to improve the conditions of workers of all races.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

The Negro And The U. S. Army

Once again the colored people of America are being exhorted to join the "war for democracy." Once again there are Negro "leaders" who, like the Judas Goats that lead cattle to the slaughter, are telling their people that support of the war will lead to better treatment of the Negro at home. Once again—for all this happened in 1917-18. What the promises of white rulers and Negro "leaders" are worth can be judged by reading these articles on the Negro's experiences during the last war.—EDITORS

By EUGENE VARLIN

The ruling class approved the utilization of the colored people for the non-combatant work, that is, for the drudgery so essential to the functioning of a modern army; two-thirds of the Negroes drafted were used this way. There was by no means the same unanimity on the use of colored combat units. The South, particularly, was afraid to arm the Negroes.

"What chiefly disturbs the South," wrote the New Republic on October 20, 1917, "is the probable effect upon the Negro population of the return of the men who have served their campaigns. Will the Negro be the same kind of man when he is mustered out as he was when he was mustered in? Will he accept the facts of white supremacy with the same spirit as formerly? Or will he have acquired a new sense of independence that will make of him a fomenter of unrest among his people?"

After drilling in preparation for duty at the front, thousands of Negroes were placed in Labor Battalions. Of 3,380 men recruited by November, 1917, into the colored 372nd Regiment 1,680 were shifted to labor work and only 500 were sent to a combat organization at Camp Upton. The Harlem 369th after landing in France in January, 1918, was temporarily assigned to the engineers. The same fate befell the 370th, 371st, and 372nd Regiments.

It is interesting to note that the arrival of the Negro combat troops and their whereabouts in France were kept hidden from the newspaper correspondents by the American General Staff. The Literary Digest of June 15, 1918, reported: "For more than a month, they (the Negro combat troops) have played a part in the vast theater of war, yet save for certain personages at head-

quarters, nobody in General Pershing's command has been any wiser." This secrecy was supplemented by a careful censorship of their mail. The treatment they got was thus effectively concealed from their friends at home.

Inadequately Trained for Fighting

We have discussed how colored officers were prevented from getting artillery instruction; similar difficulties were faced by the colored combat troops. The dispatch quoted above stated that the men of the 369th Regiment, though "recruited voluntarily a year before we declared war went into the trenches with less training on French soil than any other troops have had."

The Y.M.C.A. workers, Mrs. Hutton and Miss Johnson, wrote that Negro troops "had to be taught to load a gun after they reached the front line trenches; their ignorance of how to protect themselves in battle caused the list of killed and wounded to be much larger than it would otherwise have been."

Du Bois believed that "the cruel losses of the 369th Regiment" could be attributed in part to the fact that the French used them "at first" like Senegalese who "were rushed at the enemy almost with naked hands." The 368th Regiment, which went over the top in the Argonne drive on September 24th, had no artillery support until the sixth day of battle; it had no trench-fires, signal-flares, or shears with which to cut the German barbed-wire entanglements. Mrs. Hutton and Miss Johnson wrote that these colored troops were not even "equipped with rifle grenades... absolutely necessary for use in the destruction of German machine-gun nests" and that, furthermore, "none of the enlisted men had even seen such a grenade... The absence of this weapon in warfare where guns alone were practically useless, caused a retreat which resulted in several colored officers being arrested and sent to prison for cowardice." After the war, they were exonerated when a Negro attorney, Captain Leroy Godman, established the truth of these facts.

Despite these obstacles, the colored soldiers made a brilliant record on the field of battle. Two Negro fighters of the 369th Regiment were the first American soldiers to receive the Croix de Guerre.

The entire 367th Infantry was cited for bravery and awarded the Croix de Guerre. General

Pershing addressed the Negro troops assembled at Le Mans before their departure for the United States as follows: "... You have measured up to every expectation of the Commander-in-Chief... I commend the 92nd Division for its achievements not only in the field, but on the record its men have made in their individual conduct."

In general, however, the American officers tended to deprive the Negroes of the military honors to which they were entitled. After a particularly notable exploit of the 372nd Regiment, says Du Bois, "Congratulations came in from everywhere except American Headquarters."

Attitude of the White Soldiers

The white and Negro rank and file drew closer during the war, learning from common experience that they were allies, not enemies.

O. E. McKaine wrote from France that "the white and colored Americans in the ranks mix nearly everywhere, indiscriminately. There were times when they ate out of the same mess outfits, drank out of the same canteen and bunked in the same hay pile at night. They—the white and colored soldiers—have been seen strolling and eating with French women without the least embarrassment. Many times the white soldiers have invited the Buffaloes over to their billets for a good time and they have fairly lived among us."

The white officers did everything in their power to destroy the growing solidarity of the white and Negro soldiers. Anti-Negro actions, said McKaine, "were due to the policies of the officials rather than to the inclinations of the men themselves."

The white officers were afraid of the effect that contact with the French would have on the colored American soldiers and tried, in every way possible, to prevent such contact.

Negro soldiers were forbidden to move about freely in the French towns. Here are typical examples: On October 18, 1918, General Goybet, commanding the 157th Division, prohibited "the entrance of inns and the sale of spirits to the American colored troops of the division."

In November 1918, General Horn ordered the officers (colored) of the 167th Brigade Detachment to stop attending the dances tendered by the French ladies of Vannes. On December 26, 1918, when the war for "democracy" had already

been brought to a successful conclusion, Brigadier-General Erwin of the 92nd Division of colored troops issued the following order:

"The special duties with which military police are charged are...

"(B) To prevent enlisted men from addressing or holding conversation with the women inhabitants of the town..."

"(F) To prevent enlisted men from entering any building other than their respective billets, with the exceptions of stores, places of amusements, and cafes."

On August 7, 1918, at the behest of American General Headquarters, the French Military Mission stationed with the American army issued a document entitled "Secret Information Concerning Black Troops" to the mayors and prefects of France:

"... The French public has become accustomed to treating the Negro with familiarity and indulgence."

"This familiarity and this indulgence are matters of grievous concern for the Americans. They consider them an affront to their national policy. They are afraid that contact with the French will inspire in black Americans aspirations which to them appear intolerable. It is of the utmost importance that every effort be made to avoid profoundly estranging American opinion."

"Although a citizen of the United States, the black man is regarded by the white American as an inferior being with whom only relations of business or service are possible..."

"We must prevent the rise of any pronounced degree of intimacy between French officers and black officers... We must not eat with them, must not shake hands or seek to talk or meet with them outside of the requirements of military service..."

"We must not commend too highly the black American troops, particularly in the presence of Americans..."

"Make a point of keeping the native cantonment population from 'spoiling' the Negroes. Americans become greatly incensed at any public expression of intimacy between white women and black men."

This is the sixth article in this series. The final article will appear next week. Don't miss it!

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

The Fight Against Ford

In his latest broadside against the CIO, D. J. Marshall, Negro personnel head of the Ford Motor Company (who will be fired by Ford, not by the union, if Ford is organized), hurls the following challenge at the United Auto Workers Union: "The proposition seems to resolve itself to this: The union tells colored people that, if they will join the union, they will get industrial freedom; the Negroes at the Ford Motor Company tell the union that if they will give the colored workers this independence in the shops where the union is already established, then they might consider unionism."

To answer this challenge successfully would be to win the great majority of Negroes over to the union and to practically assure that the workers' ranks would be united and indivisible against Ford, Bennett and Marshall. As THE MILITANT has pointed out before, what is needed now is an aggressive policy, a program that takes the offensive against the bosses, on the question of Negro rights in industry. It is not enough to prove that the CIO has not been guilty of discrimination. It must be demonstrated that the CIO fights for Negro rights throughout the industry, which of course Ford will never do. And the CIO can demonstrate this.

Negroes should say to Marshall: "The proposition is also this: You and Ford tell the Negro that he is better off in Ford's open shop than elsewhere; the Negroes tell you that if you will call off your anti-union squads of thugs, and if you'll raise wages 10c an hour so they'll equal wages in other auto plants, and if you'll reduce the speedup, and if you'll stop threatening to fire us all if we join the union, then we might believe you. But you won't do these things, because those are the only ways you have been able to keep Ford workers from joining the union in previous years."

Who Taught Hitler

Greatly played up nowadays is the story of how badly Hitlerism treats and intends to treat the Negroes. The purpose of most of this hullabaloo is to work the American Negro up to support the "democracies" in the imperialist war.

The Crisis and the Pittsburgh Courier this month have both shown that, cold-blooded as is the policy on the Negro announced by the Nazis, it is really only a duplication of the policy on the Negro carried out in most parts of the United States since 1877.

And if there is anyone who doubts that the Nazi policy on this question is stolen right out of the handbook of British colonial policy, he ought to read the following Associated Negro Press dispatch from Cape Town, South Africa, dated March 6:

"Restrictions and segregation even more vicious than that of the Southland of the United States, are in vogue here and growing constantly worse. Recently, when a new railway station was planned for Hugenot, two separate entrances were provided, one for whites and one for non-whites. Waiting room accommodations for whites were arranged for in the main building but non-whites were given a waiting room in a separate building . . .

"It appeared that an important step forward had been made when two months ago the Witwatersrand University agreed to allow non-Europeans (the local designation for any other than whites) to attend medical school at the university and to work for both medical and dental degrees. The number of non-European students was restricted to ten. The chief problem which the school authorities had to overcome was the matter of providing bodies for dissection during the student's fourth year. It was finally solved by deciding that non-European students should be permitted to dissect only black bodies."

A Washington dispatch from the same agency had this to report a week later:

"No thought will be given to assigning colored doctors, dentists or nurses to centers where they might at any time be called upon to serve white soldiers, according to an official U. S. Army announcement."

"This determination to confine colored professional personnel to troops of their own race was emphatically declared by Surgeon General McGhee, Friday, during a conference with members of a committee from the National Medical Association . . .

"The general professing to represent Northern sentiment, said that under no circumstances could he see colored and white doctors working together in the same hospital or as examiners of recruits."

"Advised that colored physicians had served white soldiers in recruiting stations during the World War, he said it was inconceivable to him that colored doctors could work on an examining team with white doctors, and that no attempt would be made to integrate them into white medical teams."

Strange bedfellows have turned up around a bill to deport all American Negroes to Africa. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who stands for "white supremacy" and hates the Negroes, is the author of the bill. J. R. Stewart, successor to the late Marcus Garvey as president general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, in a speech in Chicago early this month, endorsed the bill of the enemy of the Negro people in the following words: "As a long range measure, though not through any heartfelt benevolence, Bilbo of Mississippi has a bill which would deport us to Africa (Liberia) . . . I am not for Bilbo but I am for this bill and will fight to support it."

In other words, the Garvey movement which once attracted the hopes of so many millions of Negroes is now acting as the tail to the kite of America's outstanding exponent of "Negro inferiority."

The War Labor Board Of 1918

The Story Of The Model Which Roosevelt Has Used For His Present Board

By MICHAEL CORT

When Roosevelt created his mediation board, he was not launching one of his "social experiments." He was following the well-beaten path blazed by Woodrow Wilson and, to a great extent, by Roosevelt himself in 1918, when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

The present board, and all the circumstances attending its creation, parallel the establishment of the National War Labor Board during the last crusade to "make the world safe for democracy."

Then, as now, American industry geared itself for war profits, launched an offensive against the living standards of the workers and, with the aid of the top union leadership, attempted to shackle the trade unions to the apparatus of mediation.

The boss strategy in 1918 is obviously the blueprint being followed today and to understand what the bosses plan now against labor, all one has to do is to examine history.

In December, 1917 (as in January 1941) the bosses' National Economic Council published a compilation of the man-hours of work lost in war industries, due to strikes. The "patriotic" bosses demanded legislation outlawing strikes.

GOMPERS' ROLE

Samuel Gompers, AFL President (like Green now), pledged no strikes in war industries, and sponsored a national board to mediate all strikes that he might be unable to prevent. President Wilson immediately saw the advantages of Gompers' proposal and in February, 1918 created the National War Labor Board.

The Board was composed of 12 members: five "labor representatives," five bosses, and two "representatives of the public."

Frank J. Hayes, President, United Mine Workers; William Hutcheson, President, Brotherhood of Carpenters; Thomas J. Savage, International Association of Machinists; Victor A. Olander, Seamen's Union of America; and T. A. Rickert, President, United

Garment Workers, were the "labor representatives."

The "public" representatives were the co-chairmen of the Board, ex-President, William Howard Taft, and the prominent attorney, Frank P. Walsh.

The names of the five industrialists on the Board mean little to us at this time but, like those on today's board, they were tough and able representatives of their class.

HOW BOARD OPERATED

The Board assumed jurisdiction over practically every worker in the country. During the entire history of the NWLB only 50 cases were dismissed because of lack of jurisdiction. And these few cases involved luxury consumer goods and affected a very small number of workers.

Early in its existence the Board developed a sleight-of-hand trick which enabled it to deal off the bottom or the top of the deck, depending on whether the boss or the workers were the plaintiffs. The Board ruled that its decisions were enforceable only when both sides of a controversy appealed to the Board. If only one side appealed, the Board could hand down only a mere "recommendation."

So that, if the Board was about to decide in favor of the boss, on an appeal filed by workers, it was a simple matter to tip that boss off, let him participate in the appeal by an amendment to the complaint, and thus

make the Board's award binding upon all involved.

And what happened to the workers if they (imitating the bosses) took it into their heads not to participate in the appeal and thus, under the Board's own ruling, to regard the Board's decision as only a recommendation? Then Wilson evolved a new weapon . . . starvation! The workers in the Remington Arms plant in Bridgeport, Conn., disregarded a Board decision in 1918 and went out on strike. Within two days they, and the press of the country, received a letter from President Wilson which read, in part:

"I desire that you return to work and abide by the award. If you refuse, each of you will be barred from employment in any war industry in the community in which the strike occurs for a period of one year. During that time the United States Employment Service will decline to obtain employment for you in any war industry elsewhere in the United States as well as under the War and Navy Departments, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration and all other Government agencies."

THE RUN-AROUND

Once the NWLB had established the necessary strikebreaking precedents, it delegated its functions to a corps of field examiners and only sat itself as an appeal body. The 1921 report of the Department of Labor reveals that these examiners heard and decided over 10,000 cases in a brief 12 month period. The slim chance the workers had of getting beyond these examiners to the Board itself is revealed by the fact that the Board heard, during its entire existence, only 1,251 cases.

In other words, the workers had only one chance in ten in getting the examiner's arbitrary decision even reviewed by the Board. And if they did beat the

10 to 1 odds, there was still less than a 50% chance that the Board would reach a decision on their case; for the records show that the Board made decisions in only 39% of the cases it heard.

Meanwhile, of course, the workers were expected to stay at work under the conditions they were protesting.

STRIKEBREAKING RULES

One of the first steps taken by the Board to prevent strikes was the enactment of a rule that provided that once workers in any plant struck, their case was "outlaw" and their grievances could not be presented to the Board.

Once a strike had been branded "outlaw" all the agencies of the government mobilized bourgeois public opinion against the workers; if this failed, troops were sent in.

If the workers struck after the Board had made a decision, the strike was also branded as "outlaw" and the same oppressions were applied.

As a concession to Gompers, the Board declared, upon its creation, that labor had the right to collective bargaining. This concession was an empty one, however. The Board handed down 200 decisions concerning with the right of collective bargaining but these decisions usually consisted of instructions to the workers to resubmit their grievances to the boss, and if they then failed to reach agreement, to submit their case to arbitration. In other words, the red tape attending such decisions always nullified their effectiveness.

More than that, the Board prohibited the closed shop and thus hamstringed effective collective bargaining by a ruling that:

"Where union and non-union men and women work side by side the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance."

The Board was indeed safe with

such rules in going on record as endorsing "the principle" of collective bargaining!

Another concession to Gompers was the declared intention of the Board to establish nation-wide minimum wage scales in war industries. After stalling on fulfillment of this pledge for almost a year, the Board published its findings on the matter of minimum wages.

Its findings read, in part: "...for the present the Board or its sections should consider and decide each case involving the principle (living wage) on its particular facts and reserve any definite rule or decision until its judgments have been sufficiently clear to make generalizations safe."

Needless to add, the Board's judgments never did become "sufficiently clear to make generalizations safe."

GOMPERS GETS "REWARD"

During 1918 the National War Labor Board served the bosses well, for while it didn't eliminate strikes entirely, it did break the back of trade union militancy.

Nor did the Board's usefulness to the bosses cease when the war ended. The bosses used the Board and its war time decisions to shackle the workers to their machines in peacetime.

The Board continued to function, while the five industrialists on the Board launched, in 1919, a campaign for the enactment of a legislative program which embraced the following points: prohibition of all picketing; organization of open-shop associations in every community; the suspension of credit in any community where a strike occurred; and the placing of the entire population on a cash basis (i. e., no credit to strikers); the pledging of all business houses to boycott any publication which editorially supported "the forces of disorder."

WANTED TO CONTINUE

For the bourgeoisie, having with Gompers' help enslaved labor during the war, was in no mood to free it in peace. Moorfield Storey, president of the American Bar Association, said:

"Reason (no strikes) must apply now as during the war. This association will soon try to frame a law to make strikes a criminal offense. These men who control the labor organizations threaten us with calamities hardly second to those which happened through the acts of Germany."

Charles Evans Hughes, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, said:

"We need a permanent solution to these problems (strikes). War legislation is not permanent and war remedies merely attest a need which may survive them. The time is at hand when we must establish suitable machinery for industrial justice . . . to be followed by the refusal to allow the workers to hold a club over the head of the community."

That was Gompers' reward for wartime collaboration.

THE FRUITS RIPEN

The terror loosed upon the workers immediately after the war culminated in the infamous "Palmer raids" which hounded and persecuted liberals and radicals of every kind. This terror was the natural child of the War Labor Board. The workers' inability to resist the terror was directly traceable to the gradual emasculation of their unions during the war by the Board. It was a full decade before the American labor movement was able to recover from the blows.

NOT THIS TIME!

Now the bosses remember the useful role played by the NWLB and have assigned that same role to the National Defense Mediation Board. And again the trade union top leadership plays the bosses' game.

Fortunately, they do not and cannot control the labor movement of today as Gompers controlled the AFL of 1918.

Symbolic of the new situation are the workers' organizations in the key war industries — steel, auto, coal. A strike epidemic now faces the bosses and their newly created Board. Hard as they have tried, Hillman, Murray and Green have not been able to prevent or control these strikes.

It will take more than a repetition of the 1918 tricks to cross up the workers this time!

Stalin's Analogy Between Himself And Bloody Ivan

By JACK WEBER

The American press has taken a great interest in an article on Ivan the Terrible that has appeared in the official Soviet organ, Izvestia. That article portrays the first Czar as a heroic, if cruel figure, whose great achievements for Russia have not been understood. Naturally the world press is little interested in a figure of the Sixteenth Century. It accepts, without saying so, the obvious analogy between Stalin and Ivan the Terrible. But it is puzzled by the semi-admission of this analogy in Stalin's press.

The Stalinist bureaucracy certainly rules in the style of Ivan the Terrible. It speaks of itself almost, at one and the same time, as the continuator of Leninism and of Peter the Great and now of his predecessor Ivan the Terrible.

How can one explain this admission?

The explanation lies in the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy has no solid social foundation under it. It rests neither on the working class nor on the bourgeoisie. The existence of the ruling clique of the Kremlin is therefore highly unstable and its future is dangerously uncertain. It seeks frantically for some historic tradition on which to rest firmly, but which way shall it look? Its right petty bourgeois wing, growing stronger and stronger, drags Russia back towards the restoration of capitalism. Its left wing, growing ever weaker, pulls back in fright towards the working class and the proletarian revolution. From the point of view of the reactionary wing, the position of Ivan the Terrible in history is highly significant.

Ivan's Role In History

Ivan the Terrible fits into that period in history when national states arose. Ivan, the first Czar, like Louis 11th of France and James I of England, used the new force in society, the burghers or commoners, to help subdue his rivals among the nobility, the boyars or lords. Having succeeded, he set himself up as absolute ruler of the feudal nation. In this struggle the Czar, like the Kings, played the progressive role of unifying the nation and establishing the wide boundaries inside which the capitalist forces could expand and develop.

However, once the King or Czar had achieved power, he turned upon the commoners who had helped him into the saddle. He then rested his power on the submissive feudal aristocracy. In order to overthrow feudalism, the capitalists had to dethrone the absolute Kings.

Stalin would like us to read history in reverse. Those who move in a certain political direction, want to persuade themselves and others that their motion is forward. But how can one make reaction appear progressive? By comparing it to that period of history when the same phenomenon, apparently, was progressive. Stalin wants to give the impression that he is using his terribly cruel methods out of necessity, the same necessity that drove Ivan the Terrible to build a strong, lasting nation. Stalin is building Russia!

But in what sense does Stalin rebuild the nation? His whole work all these years has been one of damming up and stifling the proletarian revolution inside the Russian boundaries. The proletarian revolution cannot be confined inside one country. It tends to spread and sweep away the national boundaries. The capitalist revolution united the nation. The socialist revolution unites the working class and all the oppressed of the entire world. In this day and age, when the national boundaries have become the greatest of obstacles to the progress of humanity, the attempt to bolster them up is reactionary to the highest degree.

The more the Stalinists turn to the traditions of the Russian nation and of capitalist patriotism, the more this indicates that their face it set towards capitalist restoration. But to accomplish this, the bureaucracy will have to settle accounts first of all within its own ranks even more that it has done. It would have to burst into fragments.

We Grant Stalin His Analogy

We readily grant Stalin his right to the analogy with Ivan the Terrible so far as cruelty and sadism are concerned. Ivan killed his own son, Izvestia now has it appear, because he was a traitor. Stalin too—do we read the analogy correctly?—killed, those he once loved, the great Bolsheviks, because they had become traitors. Ivan the Terrible confessed publicly all his sins. Perhaps Stalin will do the same! Let us aid him. To what were the Bolsheviks traitors? To the revolution? No, only to Stalin's lust for power, a lust that made of him the willing tool of reaction. In the interests of this reaction, directed against the workers' revolution that had boosted Stalin to power, Stalin, like Cain, killed all his brothers and many, many more besides.

Even Ivan stands higher in history than Stalin, for at least his cruelty went with a progressive historic cause. Ivan the Terrible strengthened the nation. Stalin undermined the workers' revolution and weakened the nation. Ivan added territory to Russia. Stalin, by agreement with Hitler, added Finland and the Baltic states. But in doing so he lost the sympathies of the world working class, far more than he gained. If Ivan the Terrible is the symbol of the victorious nation, Stalin is the symbol of working class defeat.

Let Stalin find his tradition in Ivan. The Russian workers and the world proletariat must regain the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, of working class victory. They must hurl down the sinister Stalin who belongs in the Sixteenth and not the Twentieth Century!

The Giant Insurance Monopoly

By DON DORE

366 life insurance companies, yielding 95 per cent of the policies, control total assets exceeding \$28,000,000,000 (twenty-eight billion).

Five companies, listed in order of size—Metropolitan, Prudential, New York Life, Equitable and Mutual—at the end of 1938 had control of 54.2 per cent of all insurance company assets.

Two companies alone, Metropolitan and Prudential, had 32 per cent of the total, with combined assets of almost \$9,000,000,000 (nine billion).

The mammoth wealth of these companies is controlled by a handful of self-perpetuating officers and directors. They can manipulate this wealth as they see fit, invest it in whatever enterprise they like, vote themselves any conceivable salaries or bonuses, fix insurance rates at whatever point they think will bring them the most returns.

They are subject to no laws or regulations, save the weakest type of state legislation, and even this has been unenforceable. In those states, like New York, where state life insurance commissions have been established, these commissions have become adjuncts of the big insurance companies. Five out of the last eight state examiners in New York graduated into big-time executive posts with insurance corporations.

TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS ARE EVERYWHERE

Through interlocking directorships, the five largest companies are linked with 780 corporations and banks. Each director on the boards of these five insurance companies, holds, on the average, directorships in six other corporations. Many are directors in the banks in which their companies have large deposits.

47.7% of all corporate bonds and notes sold in this country in 1938 were purchased by the life insurance companies.

The five leading companies are the largest owners of land and real estate in the United States. They have the greatest investments in government bonds.

\$10,000,000 of capital flows from the pockets of the American people into the hands of these companies, every day of the year; from this capital, these companies gain an annual income only slightly less than that of the federal government.

But the 64,000,000 policy-hold-

ers and Mutual companies failed even to advise their policy holders of their rights to initiate nominations, and did not even send the policy holders ballots or proxies. Metropolitan and Prudential did not publicize their elections "until after the time for independent nominations was past."

With the control of these companies in their pockets, these directors have everything their way. Each year, by rate-fixing through mutual agreement, these companies have been able to gouge tens of millions in extortionate rates from the policy holders.

TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT'S GOING ON!

The costs on which these rates are fixed cannot be determined. "No adequate cost accounting has been developed, so the cost of new business and the cost of servicing old business are unknown," says the report.

The books are, in most instances, inadequately audited, if at all.

The report further discloses that "life insurance operation is characterized by an utter lack of modern accounting methods." As a result, the policy holders can have no idea of the stability of the company or what is being done with their money. "The financial statements of the companies may be distorted and frequently give an unrealistic position of financial position. . . .

And if the policy holders attempt to get legislation passed to put controls on the companies, there is a powerful lobby acting through the Association of Life Insurance Presidents which has been able to prevent the passage of any bill in any state legislature and in Congress, which the companies have deemed detrimental to their interests.

The vilest practice of the insurance companies has been the promotion of "industrial" insurance, "sold to low-income families," which the report characterizes as the "most expensive form of life insurance available."

Fifty million workers and low wage earners hold such policies now, valued at 22,000,000,000. 95 per cent of these policies will lapse, according to the report, before they are paid out. Most of

these policies are sold on small weekly and monthly installments, and are known as "burial" insurance, because they provide only enough upon death to pay for the funeral.

Only five per cent of these policies have ever paid for even funerals.

HOW THEY HANDLED THIS HOT POTATO

Now that the facts have finally been made known, what will be done about this "concentration of economic power which is not equaled elsewhere in the American economy?"

Before making the report public both the TNEC and SEC explained that neither body assumed responsibility for the report.

Senator O'Mahoney, when he released the report, stated that he was against any legislation, observing that "by and large, the insurance companies have come through this study in pretty good shape. Of course, they are not perfect, as no human institution is perfect. . . .

The only proposals for putting some curbs on this most gargantuan of all the business rackets have been the personal recommendations of the writers of the report, Gerhard A. Cessell and Ernest J. Howe, and Sumner T. Pike, Republican member of the SEC.

These recommendations, put forth simply for "study," involve nothing more drastic than asking the respective states to set up better insurance commissions and pay the insurance commissioners "substantially increased" salaries to keep them from the temptation of the greener pastures offered by the insurance companies. The federal government, it is suggested, might set up an agency for "giving advice, disseminating information and exercising some slight supervision over certain primarily interstate aspects of the business."

It is safe to predict that this report will go the way of all similar investigations of the big trusts and monopolies. There aren't any capitalist politicians who would want to buck up against the power of \$28,000,000,000 of concentrated wealth. That is a job for the workers.

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

The Mediation Board

There is a very simple proof that Roosevelt's Mediation Board, by its very existence and functioning, will be directed against the workers and in no way directed against the bosses.

If, to prevent strikes, Roosevelt would be ready to act against the bosses whose vicious exploitation makes it necessary for the workers to strike, then Roosevelt would not have created this board. No board is needed to bring bosses into line. All that would be necessary for that would be the enactment of a law compelling the employers to deal with the unions under penalty, if any boss refuses, of having his property taken away without compensation. As far as wages are concerned, it is only necessary to pass a law making mandatory the payment of a minimum of one dollar an hour with the provision that the minimum be increased as the cost of living increases.

These two steps, rigidly enforced, would make unnecessary practically all of the strikes now going on in the war industries. Needless to say, however these steps cannot be expected from a government which is primarily occupied with preparing for a war on behalf of the imperialist interests of the same bosses who would have to be curbed by such laws.

Hence all the curbs against strikes are directed against the workers and their unions. The Mediation Board's ostensible aim is simply to straighten out labor difficulties in industries connected with the war efforts of the government. Under the category of "labor difficulties," however, the Board and other governmental agencies will aim only to hamstring organized labor. The role of mediation was strikingly illustrated by the statement of a federal conciliator, quoted in the March 25 New York Times. The conciliator had been intervening in the CIO strike at the McCormick plant of International Harvester in Chicago. Mediation, he now said, was no longer necessary, since the strike "had been broken." In other words, where the boss and the cops can do the dirty work themselves, mediators need not intervene.

The Mediation Board will prevent and terminate strikes by doing its utmost to prevent the workers from strengthening their organizations and improving their conditions. That is the only way it can operate. Its mentality must essentially be that of a cop. If workers demonstrate, strike, risk life and limb to fight for their demands, the cop looks for the "agitator." That the workers' struggles arise out of their bitter economic need, that they would much prefer not to have to strike but to secure their needs another way—all this is irrelevant to the cop. His attention is turned entirely to making "peace" by ending the demonstration or strike and dispersing the struggling workers. This same mentality must, at bottom, be the attitude of this Mediation Board, for the simple

reason that neither it nor its creator Roosevelt has either the power or the inclination to solve the economic needs of the workers.

Many workers may not yet understand the real nature of this Mediation Board. They may have illusions about it—but not for long. We predict with confidence that the Board will not be able to put an end to the great strike struggles. The workers have already shown an admirable indifference to the exhortations lavished upon them by the bosses and their press and government. The workers have disregarded all the buncombe about the necessity of being patriotic and therefore being satisfied with the conditions the bosses are willing to give them. On the contrary the workers have taken advantage of the opportunity created by the spurt in the war industries, to build their unions stronger, to organize the unorganized, and to press the bosses harder and harder for better conditions and higher wages. To their great credit the workers have understood that now is the time to win their demands; for after war production ends and mass unemployment returns, the workers would not be in a bargaining position to enforce their economic demands.

At this stage of the game, the government and the bosses would not dare to create such a board without finding labor "representatives" to sit on it and thereby to endow the board with the necessary moral authority in the eyes of union officials and workers. Ways and means were found to get CIO head Philip Murray to line up. Murray knows very well what this board really is. He served on one like it in Pennsylvania during the last war. A week before he agreed to join this one, he made a damning criticism of all such boards (we print his statement elsewhere on this page). And then he lined up on the wrong side, as he always does on really fundamental questions.

Roosevelt needed Murray more than anybody else because there has been gradually developing among the workers some understanding of the role of such labor leaders in the government like Sidney Hillman and Daniel W. Tracy. Large sections of the workers look upon these men as renegades. Fresh labor leaders were needed by Roosevelt to take up the slack. In reality, however, as will become increasingly evident to the workers, there is no difference between a governmental post like Hillman's and one on the Mediation Board. Both are Roosevelt appointees in governmental bodies.

In such periods of history as the one we live in, a man's moral credit in the labor movement can be wiped out in a day. Collaboration with Roosevelt will destroy the confidence of the workers in any labor leader who stays openly in his service. Whatever moral authority this Mediation Board begins with, we are certain it will not last long. Life itself will teach the workers better.

Halifax's Speech

It took a world of gall to call Tuesday's speech by Lord Halifax an "outline of the war aims of the British," but the New York Times has that amount of gall. The speech was, in reality, designed to hide Britain's war aims rather than indicate them, and the New York Times' headline was merely an attempt to mollify the many who want to know what those war aims are.

At one crucial point, however, Halifax found it well nigh impossible to conceal altogether the plans of Anglo-American imperialism. This was on the question of what will be done to a defeated Germany. Halifax said:

"The gulf that has thus been dug between them (the German youth) and our own younger generations will take time to bridge. And, therefore, after the war is over and until we can be satisfied of Germany's cooperation, I can hardly doubt that nations resolved to preserve both peace and freedom must needs retain sufficient armed strength to make their will effective."

In short, even if the German people overthrow Hitlerism and sue for peace, they can look forward only to a period of a defenseless Germany in a world policed by the armed might of British and American imperialism. At the best this will be a repetition of Versailles.

The full implications of Halifax's position are brought out if we recall that, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Halifax authorized Sir Robert Vansittart Chief Diplomatic Adviser of the government, to make a series of broadcasts blaming the entire German people for the crimes of the Nazis. These broadcasts were to pave the way for the punishment of the entire German people, i.e., the subjugation of Europe to British imperialism.

That Halifax was behind Vansittart was confirmed authoritatively by the political correspondent of the British Sunday Times of February 23, 1941, who answering criticism of Vansittart, said:

"Any uninformed reader might have supposed that Sir Robert Vansittart had, on his own initiative and authority, violated the whole tradition of the British Civil Service. What, then, has really happened? The rules, regulations, customs and usages of the Civil Service are intact."

"It was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, then Halifax, who approved of Vansittart making the broadcasts."

The policy of Halifax is, of course, the policy of the British government, no matter what its labor lackeys may say. And this policy helps Hitler as almost nothing else could. So long as the German workers feel that the defeat of Germany will be followed by another Versailles or worse, Hitler is immeasurably aided in keeping the German workers in subjection.

Here is but another proof of the fact that "democratic" imperialism cannot fight fascism. Only the workers can smash fascism everywhere. Only when the workers take the power in Britain and America can they wage a real war against fascism and a victorious war, by joining hands with their German brothers against fascists of every stripe and nation.

"Good Neighbor" Mexico Means A Good Servant

The Consequences Of Camacho's Policy Mean That Mexico Would Be A Colonial Dependency Of Yankee Imperialism

By BERNARD ROSS

Recent events in Mexico have indisputably disclosed that the government of President Camacho is moving to the right. The land reform, financial and labor policies of Cardenas which did little enough for the Mexican masses are being altered, if not completely shelved.

With the trend in internal politics, there is coupled a decided reactionary turn in the country's foreign policy. Camacho is determined to iron out all outstanding differences between Mexico and the imperialist rulers of the United States.

In the process, President Camacho is not only yielding to the times and pretensions of Yankee imperialism, but is assuming more and more openly the role of lackey for Wall Street. The foreign policy of the Mexican government can be adequately summed up in one phrase: far-flung economic and military cooperation with Yankee imperialism, which concretely means endorsing Uncle Sam's plans to make Mexico altogether a colonial dependency of Wall Street.

This was sufficiently revealed when Foreign Secretary Ezequiel Padilla testified at a session of the Mexican Senate recently. He was compelled to appear before that body and attempt to allay the fears and suspicions of a substantial part of Mexican public opinion, which has been alarmed at

reports and rumors that secret accords and commitments, including the cession of air and naval bases, exist between Mexico and the United States.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Padilla agreed to answer all questions asked by the senators. Of course he only meant harmless, innocuous queries which would not force him to reveal the true nature of Camacho's foreign policy.

Unexpectedly one senator, Alfonso M. Flores, asked Foreign Secretary Padilla a number of embarrassing questions which the latter evaded and refused to answer:

"Has the foreign secretary trustworthy data that any non-American power has intentions of attacking Mexico?"

"Will the pact of mutual assistance cover aggressions only directed against the Americas, or will Mexico be compelled to aid the United States if the latter's possessions in other parts of the world, for example, Hawaii or the Philippines are attacked?"

"Is the mutual assistance pact solely a defense against foreign aggression, or will Mexico be equally obligated to declare war if the United States declares war on a foreign country?"

"What precautions can the Mexican government take, or what guarantees will Mexico receive, that the United States will quick-

ly abandon sites occupied in our country?"

"Should the mutual assistance pact allow the United States to occupy strategic military points in the country, what restrictions concerning length of time and extent of area ceded, will the secretary put into the treaty?"

"With what funds will they (naval and air bases) be constructed, since it is not even possible to increase the national defense budget?"

"If these bases will be financed by the United States—in what manner will Mexico guarantee the value of those investments which will considerably augment the country's foreign debt?"

PADILLA'S "ANSWER"

Since he is only foreign minister, Padilla lamely said, those questions could only be answered by the minister of national defense. The senators were satisfied with this preposterous reply forgot about the questions, and went home.

The present course of the Mexican government can only worsen the condition of the country's sick economy. If the nation's natural resources and limited manpower are placed at the disposal of the Yankee war machine, Mexico's economic backwardness will be perpetuated and aggravated. The land south of the Rio Grande will increasingly become a financial dependency of American capitalism.

Philip Murray's Remarks On The Mediation Board

In the official organ of the CIO, the CIO NEWS of March 10th, an article appeared, under the headline, "Murray Scores Plan For New U. S. Board To Act On Strikes." We print that article verbatim below. As you read Murray's article, try and figure out what possible excuse he can now give—he has given none yet—why, on March 16, less than a week after this article appeared, he agreed to nominate himself and UMW Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy as the "labor representatives" on this anti-labor board.

Murray's article follows:

WASHINGTON, March 8.—The proposed Federal labor board to settle disputes involving defense industries will present "an obviously impossible task and one that will not meet the needs of the situation," Philip Murray, CIO president, warned in a memorandum presented to the Labor Policy Committee of the National Defense Commission. The memo was presented by Allan S. Haywood, CIO organization director.

The new board proposal, which has been backed in Administration circles, was described in Murray's memo as having anti-labor implications.

"Under the new program," Murray wrote, "in effect three public representatives are charged with the responsibility of understanding and formulating solution for the labor problems of all the industries in the nation. This is obviously an impossible task and one that will not meet the needs of the situation."

INDUSTRY COUNCILS

Murray referred to the industry council plan presented to the Administration last December, which "would have given labor

bear on labor to agree to arbitration in practically all situations."

3. Policy-making powers assigned to the board could easily bring about interference with the workings of the Wagner Act, the wages and hours act, and the Walsh-Healey act, since the agencies administering those acts would be unable to resist the board's pressure.

4. This in turn would make the Labor Relations Board merely a formalized agency "confined entirely to avoiding labor disputes," stripping it of the power to require employers to bargain collectively under the Wagner act.

5. The setup of the proposed board carries strong anti-labor possibilities in the three members supposed to represent the public. These members "are to settle controversies, make special investigations hold hearings and issue reports, and arbitrate disputes," making them the real powers in the board, since the other members representing labor and industry would simply have advisory powers.

"It has been the experience of labor that representatives from the public are usually taken from the ranks of retired businessmen," Murray wrote.

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Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

QUESTION: When you say that this is an imperialist war both on the side of Britain and Germany do you mean to say that you don't care who wins and that you contemplate a victory of Hitler without being disturbed by it?

ANSWER: It means nothing of the kind. When we characterize the war as imperialist, and say that all of the imperialist countries involved are fighting for their imperialist interests and not for or against democracy, we thereby simply indicate that it is impermissible for us as revolutionists to support either side.

QUESTION: But then it means, does it not, that you are willing to sit back and permit Hitler to conquer Britain and the United States?

ANSWER: No, it does not. It simply means that our task in this war is different from the task of the imperialists. They want to defeat their rival to protect their imperialist interests. We cannot and must not support them in such a task. Our task is to organize the working class for the purpose of taking over power and transforming this war into a real war for democracy.

QUESTION: But you claim to be revolutionary defeatists and that means that you want your country defeated by Hitler, isn't that so?

ANSWER: Not at all. Any one who says so either does not understand what revolutionary defeatism is or he is simply a vicious slanderer. We are more interested in defeating Hitler than is Churchill or Roosevelt. Both of these representatives of the capitalist rulers of their country can easily come to terms with Hitler.

QUESTION: But are you not helping Hitler win by not supporting the war?

ANSWER: Not in the least. All that we are doing now is educating the workers to our point of view. We are telling them the truth as to the character of the war and what to do to win the war against all the capitalists. Both our members and the workers whom we influence must go to war and do what they are told by the rulers of this country. So long as we do not have a majority behind us we are in no position to do anything except obey orders. It is true that we do not assume responsibility for this war in any way whatever, but to draw from that fact the conclusion that we thereby help Hitler win, lacks logic and common sense. The conduct of the war against Hitler is in the hands of Roosevelt and Churchill representing the American and British capitalists. That is unfortunate, and we are trying to convince the majority of the working class that they should take the power of government and the conduct of the war into their own hands, but we defy anybody to show that we are doing a single thing that helps Hitler, the greatest enemy of the working class.

QUESTION: But I am given to understand that, if the U. S. went to war against Hitler or against Japan, your party would try to prevent war materials from being shipped for the purpose of fighting the Japanese or the German armed forces.

ANSWER: I don't know who gave you to understand such a nonsensical idea, but I can tell you that there is absolutely nothing to it. We do not believe in individual action nor in the action of small groups. As I said before, until we gain a majority to our ideas there is nothing for us to do but to educate workers until we get a majority.

QUESTION: Then there is nothing to the idea that your policy of revolutionary defeatism has anything to do with sabotage?

ANSWER: Absolutely nothing. Reactionary red-baiters and those who know nothing about our program try to connect us with sabotage. Revolutionary defeatism to us is a political concept. It simply indicates that we do not support the war and that we carry on the class struggle at home regardless of the fact that it might have some effect on the front.

QUESTION: Doesn't that mean, then, that you would do certain things which interfere with the conduct of the war?

ANSWER: It means that we advise the workers to continue their struggle against the bosses at home, and if that affects the conduct of the war the blame is entirely on the bosses and their government. Why should the workers not take advantage of the increase in production due to war orders in order to organize themselves and better their conditions? The bosses are making huge profits; the cost of living is going up. It would be extremely foolish for the workers to be influenced by the propaganda of the bosses and refrain from demanding better conditions because such demands interfere with the conduct of the war. Let the capitalists grant the demands and then there will be no interference.

QUESTION: But then, if you will succeed in getting a majority of the workers behind you and try to take over the government, the capitalists will resist and will that not give Hitler a chance to win the war?

ANSWER: I don't think so, but if we have a majority of the workers behind us, we must take that chance. Because if the workers take over power, Hitler is sure to be defeated, while if we let the capitalist stay in power, Hitler's chances of a victory are much greater. Look what happened to France. The capitalists were in control. And they led the war in a miserable manner and capitulated in a miserable manner. Why? Because important sections of the French capitalist class sympathized with Hitler and other sections were afraid that a French victory would lead to a workers' revolution. In general, the capitalist class cannot inspire the masses with the confidence and the determination to fight to the death against fascism. A workers' government has a thousand times better chance to win the war against Hitler, if the capitalists resist the attempt of the working class to take over power they will, to that extent, interfere with our struggle against Hitler; but it is far better for us to take that risk than to let the capitalist class continue to rule. For if the workers let the capitalists rule we will be conquered by fascism—either by a victory of Hitler or of the fascists in our own country.