

Labor's Answer To Government Strikebreaking

An Editorial

Against state police and company gangsters at River Rouge—and at Bethlehem—and at Allis-Chalmers—and at International Harvester's plants—everywhere the workers are showing their readiness to fight as hard as necessary to win their just demands.

Company towns where yesterday no worker dared wear a union button are today union strongholds: Ford's Dearborn and Bethlehem and Johnstown are only the more dramatic examples of this transformation, wrought by the workers' will to struggle.

Everywhere they have brushed aside the bosses' argument that this is no time to strike. The war propaganda has not blinded the workers. They KNOW that this is the moment to win and they are on the march!

But as they march toward victory, enemies lie in ambush. Enemies whom the workers don't yet fully realize are enemies. Unless the workers recognize these enemies for what they are, the great march of labor will be waylaid and cut to pieces.

Who are these enemies? They are those who sent the order to the Allis-Chalmers strikers to return to work. Those who declare that henceforth all unions must observe a "cooling off" period. Those who, in the International Harvester, Vanadium, Universal Cylcops Steel, Cornell-Dubilier strikes demanded that the strikers go back to work immediately and thus continue negotiations under conditions where the boss, with his plant running, has the upper hand.

The enemies of the workers are those who call upon the 48 state administrations to speed up organization of the Home Guard "to curb labor disturbances." Those for whom the six-ton armored car belching gas at the Allis-Chalmers strikers, the 30-inch riot sticks with which women and children were clubbed at Bethlehem, the Chicago killer-cops, are not enough, but who demand "Home" Guard strikebreakers by the tens of thousands—these are the enemies of labor.

Who committed these crimes against labor? Their names are known to all workers. OPM Director Knudsen and Secretary of the Navy Knox sent that order to the Allis-Chalmers strikers. National Mediation Board Chairman was responsible for telling all unions henceforth to observe a "cooling off" period. The National Mediation Board as a whole told the strikers, in every case certified to the board, to return to work first and discuss their grievances later. It was Secretary of War Stimson who, reminding the state government they would get from him all the guns they needed, urged them to speed expansion of their Home Guard units to "maintain law and order" against "labor disturbances."

Nor do these names complete the list of enemies of labor. The direst threats against the workers are coming from the poll-tax Congressmen. Summers of Texas, foaming at the mouth with class-hatred, calls for death in the electric chair for strikers in war industries. Cox of Georgia calls for industrial conscription of all workers up to the age of 65. Smith of Virginia launches a new assault on the last vestiges of the Wagner Act.

And does anybody rise in Congress to blast these poll-tax Congressmen out of their seats? Not at all. On the contrary, the poll-tax Congressmen's speeches are being used to scare the workers. Congressional "friends of labor" point to these rabid speeches and tell us: "See, unless you are reasonable, and do what the Mediation Board and the other government agencies want you to do, Cox and Summers and Smith will have their way." Thus the poll-tax Congressmen and the "liberal" Congressmen are together working the old "hard-cop, soft-cop" trick: the hard cop hits you to make you give in, while the soft cop wheedles it out of you.

Nor does this exhaust the list of those who are cracking down on the workers. Roosevelt demands "uninterrupted production" of coal, but says nothing about the fact that the miners offered to continue working on condition that any gains under the new contract be retroactive until April 1, and that the bosses refused this. By saying nothing, Roosevelt condones the refusal of the bosses and puts pressure on the miners to go back to work unconditionally.

Nor does this exhaust the list. The most outrageous acts against the workers have come from those agencies of government in which labor "representatives" are functioning: the Office of Production Management in which Hillman is co-director with Knudsen, the Mediation Board on which sit Green and Harrison, Murray and Kennedy. Hillman "vacations" and lends consent by silence, while Knudsen orders strikers back to work. Philip Murray, CIO head covers up the strikebreaking moves made by the Mediation Board on which he sits.

Add all this up. Add together the actual moves made against the workers, plus the threats of further action against the workers, and the answer is plain: the basic tendency of the government as a whole is toward systematic strikebreaking. All these individual instances are not separate and apart from each other, but are parts of this strikebreaking tendency.

This kind of strikebreaking, like any other kind, can be stopped by the workers. But they can't stop it until they understand what it is. Once they understand that it is government strikebreaking, then they can fight it successfully.

Unmask this governmental strikebreaking! Show it up for what it is! No trade union official shall serve the government agencies as a fig-leaf covering up its strikebreaking. Withdraw all union officials from the government service!

Every strike shows that the workers can win only by their own independent class action. An end to this business of union officials spending all their time fraternizing with government bodies while inexperienced picket lines are left to shift for themselves.

These and other immediate tasks of the working class become clear and can be concretely formulated, once we understand what must be done.

In the adjoining column we submit such a program of immediate tasks for the consideration of all workers and their trade unions and other workers' organizations. We welcome discussion of this program by all workers and throw open our pages to letters from trade unions and individual workers.

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A Program For Today's Fight

1. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.

Hillman and Murray, Harrison, Green and Kennedy shall no longer serve as union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking.

2. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of government cops and company hoodlums.

No more inadequately prepared picket lines. The place of union officials is directing the strengthening of picket lines and not trying to get non-existent government "help" for favorable settlements. The workers can win only by their own independent class action.

3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against law and order committees, 'home guards,' and all other anti-labor bands.

4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.

The CIO had no business lending its name to four electricians working for a boss who wouldn't sign the regular AFL union contract at Wright Field; that gave the government a pretext to crack down on what it called a "jurisdictional" strike. On the heels of that came the AFL's chartering of the company union at International Harvester, giving a "jurisdictional" cover to Chicago's cops to beat up the CIO picket line. Similar crimes are being committed by the AFL at Allis-Chalmers and Ford.

5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.

The main responsibility for a divided labor movement must be placed on the shoulders of the craft union moguls of the AFL. They can and must be forced to yield to a progressive unification of the trade union movement.

6. Independent working class political action.

"Pure and simple" trade unionism is bankrupt. Every governor, mayor, sheriff, police chief, who acts today against the workers got his office with the help of "non-partisan" labor votes. It is now a life-and-death question that the workers must have their own party, an Independent Labor Party constituted by the trade unions, all of whose candidates shall be answerable to it for all their actions. Such a party will rally the farmers and all other toilers behind it and open up the road to a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Everybody knows that when Hitler speaks of "liberation" he means enslavement. Everyone knows his "order" and "peace" is chaos and war. Everyone knows his "promise" is always a conscious deception.

But Hitler has no monopoly on this imperialist doubletalk. When Churchill, Roosevelt and their minions speak glitteringly about "freedom" and "independence" and "post-war adjustment" just what do THEY mean by these things?

Last week Lord Halifax, the British ambassador, was in New York. He made a speech before the Pilgrim's Society in which he spoke eloquently about all these fine-sounding propositions like the rights of man and the free independence of nations. The next day, however, he made the mistake of facing a battery of New York reporters who tried to pin him down to some more concrete explanation of his terms.

In his replies, the British envoy gave a pretty good demonstration of capitalist squirming. One reporter asked if the Anglo-American "cooperation" of tomorrow meant abandonment of the Ottawa imperial preference system erected as a barrier against U. S. trade inroads into British imperial markets. "I wouldn't at all be taken as saying that," the ambassador replied quickly.

Another reporter dwelt on the ambassador's promise that in the post-war world "economic difficulties" would be ironed out. He asked the envoy "to point to a specific failure in world economic dealings which may be corrected in the future."

"I think it would be unwise," Halifax uncomfortably replied.

Another reporter quoted from the Halifax speech about "equal political opportunity for all peoples" and asked if this meant Britain was ready to free India.

"It is not possible to dispose of India in a sentence," replied the former viceroy of India, adding that Britain still held to her promise to give India "dominion status" at some future time.

In this and in all the other embarrassing subjects brought up at the conference, the British ambassador showed a curious unwillingness to fill in the shadow outlines of his speechifying with concrete facts and names. He himself explained the difficulty:

"It is comparatively easy to lay down principles (but) the trouble may come when you come to the question of discussing with other nations how these general principles are to be applied."

In other words, in "general principle" Britain is for freedom for India, world economic "adjustment," freedom and independence for all. But when it comes to applying them, we always discover that Britain really means enslavement for India, continued anarchy in world economy, and continued subjection of the world to imperialist interests.

Hitler doesn't fool anybody with his big words. But neither should Churchill, Roosevelt and Halifax. None of them is really talking about freedom for the people of the world. What they are fighting about is who shall be slave-master of the world. All the rest is propagandistic and diplomatic claptrap.

Steel Workers Win In Two Bethlehem Strikes

This Human Wall Did It



An unusual shot of one of the scenes during the victorious strike of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) at the 21,000 man plant of Bethlehem Steel in Bethlehem, Pa. A mass of strikers are shown here blocking the entrance to the main gate of the plant.

Jugoslav Masses Given No Part in Army Coup

New Regime A Dictatorship, Like the Old; But the Revolt Was Popular, For the Masses Are Determined To Resist Fascism

What happened in Yugoslavia was a *coup d'etat*, staged by anti-German officers, apparently with support and connivance of the British legation, and without too much opposition on the part of the old government. What mainly differentiates the new from the old dictatorship is that it is on the side of the British—and that is why Yugoslavia is said to have "found her soul" and become a "hero nation" overnight.

While it is undoubtedly true that in their own way the army leaders will make every attempt to defend Yugoslavia against German and Italian aggression, they can at the same time be trusted by the bourgeoisie to be completely incapable and unwilling to solve that country's most pressing and dangerous problems: a fact amply and brutally demonstrated during the sixteen years of King Alexander's reign, when the army was the real power.

And yet the events of the past few days in that country may well signal the beginning of the real struggle in Europe. Unquestionably the British and American press had good reason to play up the "popular revolt" angle. But at the same time we must guard against underestimating the part which popular opposition, particularly in Serbia and Montenegro, has played in these developments.

Yugoslavia is a Versailles patchwork composed of the pre-war independent kingdom of Serbia, the Austrian provinces of Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and the unconquerable mountain region of Montenegro. Eighty per cent of the population are peasants, nominally free, but for the greater part living far below subsistence level.

Before the last war the political ties between Serbia and Czarist Russia were more than close. The Serbian royalty, educated at the court of St. Petersburg, granted refuge and lent active support to the Russian counter revolution and made their country a basis for the most ignominious white-Russian machinations against the rising Soviet power.

PRO-RUSSIAN PEASANTRY

At the same time, however, due to the similarities of culture and language, a true pro-Russian feel-

ing existed among the masses of Yugoslavia's population, a feeling vastly strengthened by the victory of the October, 1917 revolution. The Yugoslav peasants, discontented, unable to understand why in the midst of the abundance that was growing on their fertile soil they were forced to lead a life of indescribable misery and squalor, sensed dimly that their way out lay in the example of Russia.

This attitude recently found a distorted expression in the appointment of Milan Gavrilovich, long-time leader of the agrarian party, as Yugoslavia's first envoy to Moscow.

ARE STALINISTS SWITCHING?

A fact of no little interest is the curious behavior of the Stalinists in Yugoslavia. The illegal, brutally suppressed, but nevertheless not insignificant Communist party, for years vociferously advocated collective security. Just as obediently as everywhere else the Yugoslav Stalinists switched after the Stalin-Hitler pact and started whining for peace and neutrality.

The bourgeois press speaks of authenticated reports according to which the Comintern has instructed the Yugoslav section to join hands with the new government. Which may and may not be wishful thinking. However, it is an indisputable fact that the Stalinists have actively participated in the demonstrations at Belgrade, Skoplye, and Cetinje.

Furthermore, the Yugoslav minister to Moscow Milan Gavrilovich, close friend of the Stalinists and in constant touch with the Kremlin, resigned immediately after the signing of the Vienna pact. Does his pro-British conduct signal the long-expected return to the "fight for democracy" line?

But the masses of Europe are stirring. The real struggle is beginning. This is but the first stage of the struggle in Yugoslavia. In its unfolding it will go far beyond mere anti-fascism.

SWOC Shows Strength In Huge Victory Parade

BULLETIN

Score two runs in a row for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO). The strike of 15,000 steel workers of the Cambria Works of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at Johnstown, Pa., which began Friday right after settlement of the strike at the parent plant in Bethlehem was ended Sunday, March 30, with a victory for the union. Called to halt a company union election, the strike won an agreement identical with that won in Bethlehem.

By ART PREIS

BETHLEHEM, Pa., March 28—The victory parade of the Bethlehem steel strikers starts. "It's bigger than the day they signed the Armistice!" an exultant steel striker beside me exclaims.

The steel workers pour out of the smoke-filled, jam-packed Beth-Allen Casino where they have just shouted their acclaim to the agreement with Bethlehem Steel.

"Only 'twenty' per cent out, huh?" crows a big striker in a leather jacket. "Old Eugene Grace would like to make a profit as big as this 'twenty' per cent."

"God Almighty! Wouldn't this be some parade if that 'eighty' per cent who scabbed were in it?" roars another voice.

"Write this in your paper, will you, Shorty?" says the striker in the leather jacket.

High up in the air they hoist me, on two powerful shoulders. All the way down Broad Street, clear to New Street, is a sea of heads. Eight and ten abreast, pressed chest to back, the steel workers are massed in the street. And behind us I see the line swelling and growing for a block, two blocks, as new hundreds leave the sidewalks and join the parade.

"God Almighty! Eighty per cent!" Big Leather Jacket keeps chuckling out loud. "Wait'll those rats at the plant see our 'twenty' per cent."

The line starts to move. A cheer and a whoop and a holler ripples up and down the marching thousands.

NOW THEY KNOW—

Not until this moment have these Bethlehem Steel workers fully understood what the union is, what it represents, its size, its solidity, its power.

Even inside the only available hall in the area, where three to four thousand had managed to squeeze in, while overflow thousands crowded the broad stairs and out into the streets, the full realization had failed to dawn upon them.

Not even when they heard the details of Grace's concessions—the first ever granted to a union in Bethlehem's parent plant—did they fully grasp what the union and this strike really means.

Now, when the parade swings forward, they see the UNION as it really is. They see it whole, its numbers, its dynamic power in action, stretched forward and behind as far as the eye can see.

"God Almighty!" Leather Jacket breathes one final exclamation (Continued on page 4)

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Harlem Negroes Are Picketing Bus Lines For Jobs For Negroes

EDITOR:

The New York bus strike was settled over a week ago, but in Harlem the picketing of the bus lines still continues. Various Negro organizations have joined with the Harlem Labor Union in a concerted effort to place 100 Negro mechanics and 100 Negro bus drivers on the New York bus lines. There are no Negroes employed by either of the two bus companies.

Picketing by the Harlem Labor Union has been going on along 7th and 8th avenues at all the major bus stops in Harlem. The Negro people of Harlem are being urged to stay off the busses. A free bus system has been put into operation: all cars and taxis that the Harlem union can get have been mobilized for service. These cars carry a plain white card on the right hand side of the windshield to distinguish them as service cars. A soup kitchen has been set up at the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

The strike committee has tried to contact Mayor LaGuardia, John A. Ritchie, head of the bus companies, and Mike Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union. As yet none of these people have responded to the repeated invitations of the committee, except that the TWU sent M. H. Froge, editor of the Transport Workers Bulletin, as representative to speak for the union. Froge explained that the TWU has been fighting the Transit Commission on many issues and one of the main issues has been the Commission's refusal to hire Negroes. Froge pointed out that the main responsibility for the present sit-

uation lay with the bus companies. He pledged the Transport Union's further cooperation in ending Negro discrimination on the bus lines.

Although the Harlem Labor Union has repudiated the support of the Negroes now picketing in Harlem can best fulfill their aims by achieving solidarity with the white transport workers.

Both the Negro and the white workers are subject to exploitation under the present capitalist system. The Negroes in Harlem have a strong hatred for the white boss class that gives them only the most menial tasks, that pays them the lowest wages, that exploits and bears down upon them by segregating and discriminating against them in all phases of capitalist social, political, and economic life. They see the white workers in the trade unions, with higher wages, better working conditions, than they, the Negroes, enjoy. Because of isolated incidents where unscrupulous trade-union bureaucrats have discriminated against them, they feel resentment when they see the white workers in their trade unions fighting and winning higher wages and better working conditions.

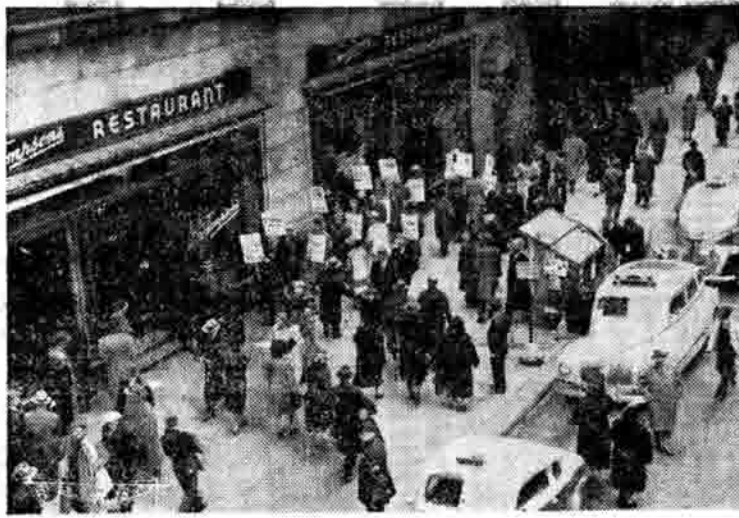
And so they say, "Only the Negro can solve the Negro's problems!"

Yes. Only the Negro can solve the Negro's problems; but he can only do it by cooperating and fighting side by side with the white worker against the boss system that has been the cause of his suffering. The struggle of the Harlem Labor Union is a fight against the boss system, just as the fight of the white workers is. Both Negro, and white worker can best achieve their task by fighting together against the common enemy.

New York City

MURRAY M.

Thompson Chain Strikers



Workers of the J. R. Thompson cafeteria chain are shown picketing one of the strike-closed stores in New York. The 250 Thompson workers, members of the powerful Cafeteria Workers Local 302 of the Food Workers Union (AFL), have been conducting a militant strike for increased wages since March 17.

GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

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.

ST. PAUL: Friday, April 11, 8 P.M. "The Role of the American Workers in the War Program."

GRACE CARLSON REPORTS WEST COAST MEETING

By GRACE CARLSON

SAN FRANCISCO, March 29—An audience of over 50 seamen, longshoremen, dining car employees, culinary workers, building trades workers and others heard the Trotskyist analysis of *The War Today* at the open meeting which I addressed in San Francisco last night.

From the interested questions and the substantial collection, one may draw the encouraging conclusion that an increasing number of San Francisco militants are accepting Trotskyism as the only solution to the problems of the working class.

On Monday night, March 24, I had an opportunity to speak in Oakland at a meeting, sponsored by the Oakland Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Copies of *The Militant* and leaflets announcing the SWP meeting were distributed there after the meeting. Some of the Negro workers who attended last night's meeting were undoubtedly attracted there as a result of this distribution.

Good meetings were also held in Los Angeles and San Pedro. The Los Angeles mass meeting, which was held on March 23, attracted over 100 people. Many of these were militants from the aviation industry, who applauded vigorously all of the attacks made upon the red-baiting tactics of Roosevelt, Knudsen, Hillman, Green and the others. One aircraft worker, who announced that he was at his first Trotskyist meeting, took the floor to express his support of our program of an independent working-class struggle against fascism.

The audience in San Pedro was made up of seamen, shipyard workers and cannery workers. Some of these were Mexicans, and they had a genuine appreciation of our analysis of hypocrisy of the Rooseveltian "good neighbor" in Mexico and South America.

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Stalinist Goons Attack 'Militant' Salesmen In N. Y.

Two members of the Socialist Workers Party, Local New York, who were distributing *The Militant* at a meeting in Manhattan Center of Local 65 of the Retail Clerks (CIO) Tuesday night were attacked by a Stalinist goon squad of 15 to 20 men. Apparently the Stalinists were afraid of letting the workers read the truth about the Soviet Union as published in the Trotskyist press.

The distributors managed to stave off the attack for about ten minutes during the time the greatest number of workers were crowding into the meeting, by calling the attention of the union members to the threatened violation of civil liberties by the Stalinists.

Most of the Militants were distributed by the time the Stalinist bureaucrats worked up this squad to a high enough pitch to carry out their dirty work. The remaining literature of the SWP members was torn from their arms.

Art Walker, one of the *Militant* distributors, suffered a blackened eye in the melee, but swore he will be back at the same spot for the next distribution.

United May Day Group Meets

Police Refuse Committee's Line Of March; SWP Delegates Seated Only As Observers

By JOSEPH HANSEN

NEW YORK CITY, March 28.—Plans for a united May Day parade were presented to representatives of trade unions and other labor organizations today at a conference in Webster Hall, called by a self-constituted Provisional May Day Committee. The conference passed a resolution to make this committee permanent, with Louis Weinstock, secretary-treasurer of District Council 9 of the Painters, as Chairman, and Harry Weinstock as Director.

The credentials committee present represented 60 organizations, 75 of the delegates representing 43 local trade union bodies with a membership of 148,375. Most of these organizations were among those which are generally recognized in the labor movement as led by Stalinist leaders and allies: IWO, Painters, Furriers, Shoe Workers, Pocket Book Makers, etc. etc.

The credentials committee recognized and seated as delegates all the representatives present with the exception of Arthur Burch and Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party, Local New York. The reporter of the credentials committee declared that this delegation was challenged on the ground that no invitations has been issued to political parties to participate in the May Day parade.

The representatives of the Socialist Workers Party were invited to remain as observers pending a decision by the permanent May Day committee as to whether or not political organizations of the working class will be invited to participate in the May Day parade.

The police at first wished to shunt the parade down Ninth Avenue, which is close to the Hudson River. They later conceded moving it to Eighth Avenue, which is a block closer to Fifth Avenue, the traditional street for parades.

The conference passed a unanimous resolution asking all working class organizations to telegraph Police Commissioner Valentine protesting his arbitrary and undemocratic attempt to detain the May Day parade.

First speaker at the conference was Louis Weinstock, who attacked British, German, and American imperialism without suggesting any program whatsoever as a real alternative to the war plans of the capitalist class. He ended his speech with such purely pacifist and highly misleading slogans as "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

Featured speaker was Reverend Clarence A. Boyer of the Madison Square Church House. He delivered a sermon on the virtues of peace which could have graced any pulpit in any chapel of any denomination at any time up to the day the professional pulpits trade in their "peace is wonderful" theme for a list of army approved recruiting slogans.

Among the attractions at the conference was a film of last year's May Day parade, a boys' band, and an elocutionist who spoke of the need of color and drama in May Day parades.

By the time the resolutions committee was ready to report, the greater part of the delegates had gone. A list of 45 slogans were unanimously approved as "official," and all resolutions were unanimously left up to the resolutions committee for "appropriate" action.

The slogans approved were in large part purely pacifist slogans of the type which the Stalinists are now shouting, such as "Get out and Stay out of the War," "The Yanks Are Not Coming," "No gold star mothers," "Defend democracy by preserving peace."

Such slogans are no different from the stock in trade of professional pacifists who shout for peace only at the last moment to jump in the war chariots and call for "total victory."

Some slogans were good, however, such as "No Jim Crow Army," and "Defend the Right to Strike," although the latter slogan needs as a supplement: "Organize Workers Defense Squads."

WHAT IS NEEDED
What is needed now, and especially on this historic May Day which may well be the last one before U. S. entry in the war, is a set of militant slogans that really provide an alternative to the capitalist war.

The representatives of the Socialist Workers Party are submitting to the Resolutions Committee for consideration the following slogans, NONE of which were included in the official slogans passed by the conference:

1. Down with Imperialist War!
2. Defend the Soviet Union!
3. Trade union control of military training!
4. Build an Independent Labor Party!
5. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!
6. For a Socialist Society!

The next meeting of the committee is scheduled for April 19. At this meeting the committee's decision will be announced as to whether political parties of the working class will be invited to participate in what was announced by the Provisional Committee as a "united" May Day parade.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

BY CARL O'SHEA

For a prime example of mealy-mouthed politics, read the statement by Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party, on the resignations of Porter, Trager, McDowell and Woodcock from the national committee, and the statement by Porter-Trager. They appear in the March 22nd CALL.

Despite their open pro-war position and resignations from the committee, Porter, Woodcock and Trager continue as S.P. members.

By the way, Thomas was not so genteel when he was expelling the revolutionary wing of the Socialist Party—remember?

No, VOGUE magazine can hardly be classed as a labor paper. But this snobbish organ features in its March 15th issue an article on the ILGWU entitled "It's a Nice Union: The powerful garment workers raise a startling new banner—'Bigger Profits for Employers.' The author tells how in recent negotiations the union 'ignored higher wages and shorter hours. Instead it insisted that the employers begin to apply streamlined efficiency methods...' For the first time, a union has mustered all its power to force employers to make money." Julius Hochman is referred to as "one of the country's most cultivated labor leaders."

Hochman and Dubinsky are beyond blushing at receiving compliments from such a journal as VOGUE. The trouble with labor leaders like Hochman is they are too damned cultivated—regard for the welfare of the garment workers has been cultivated right out of these leaders.

One of the more worthless labor papers in the nation is the AFL St. Paul UNION ADVOCATE edited by an interesting fellow named A. F. Lockhart. Lockhart, who reflects the views of the heads of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, has a hatred of militant unionism, matched only by his unblinking ignorance about the doctrines he opposes. In the March 20th ADVOCATE he instructs us on the communist movement as follows: "The late Emma Goldman and Emil Bergman were communists before communism had become an international menace. They used to mount U. S. soapboxes to glorify Marxian socialism," etc. etc.

You're doing fine, Lockhart. Only it was Alexander Berkman, not Emil Bergman. And it was Marxian socialism that they hated, not glorified. Both were anarchists, with all the traditional opposition to Marxism.

Because Big Business refuses to provide adequate safety equipment, and insists on using the war program to justify a speedup system, accidents in industrial plants are taking a terrible toll of workers, figures of the U. S. Department of Labor revealed last week. Accidents have increased 10 per cent in the last few months alone.

"Deaths and injuries due to

Workers in Chicago ought to give a good kick in the rump to the editors of the Chicago AFL FEDERATION NEWS. In its March 22nd issue this paper hails the strike-breaking work of William Green in issuing an AFL charter to scabs at the CIO strike at International Harvester. Green has put the old pie-card artist, Frank Fenton, in charge of the AFL campaign to break the Harvester strike.



BULLETIN!

Forty-one subs amounting to 84 points arrived this morning after this column was set up. They are not included below. However, they came in before the deadline, and make the week's total 161 subs, 339 points!

MASS STRIKES AND MASS CIRCULATION

Last week was a militant one—for the working class and for us.

Last week was a week of headaches for those in high places; it was a week in which our press reached its peak circulation to date. Workers in the Bethlehem victory parade snatched eagerly at every extra copy we could rush there. Workers, either actually on strike or standing at the threshold of class action, welcomed the thousands of copies of the MILITANT made available to them by the loyal and devoted work of our comrades in Allentown, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Youngstown.

SPLENDID RESULTS OF OUR SUB CAMPAIGN

Except for a few tardy subscriptions which we know are still on the way to us from the remotest parts of the country, the column below gives final results on the two-month subscription drive conducted with a gusto and enthusiasm unsurpassed by any section of the political labor movement in recent years.

A complete grasp of the significance of these totals cannot be had from the scoreboard as it here appears, but even a cursory glance will show one interesting fact: Whereas the campaign was conducted with a 50c. Special combination subscription as the base, the final total in points (1 for each 50c.) indicates that the aver-

age payment for a subscription ran well above a dollar.

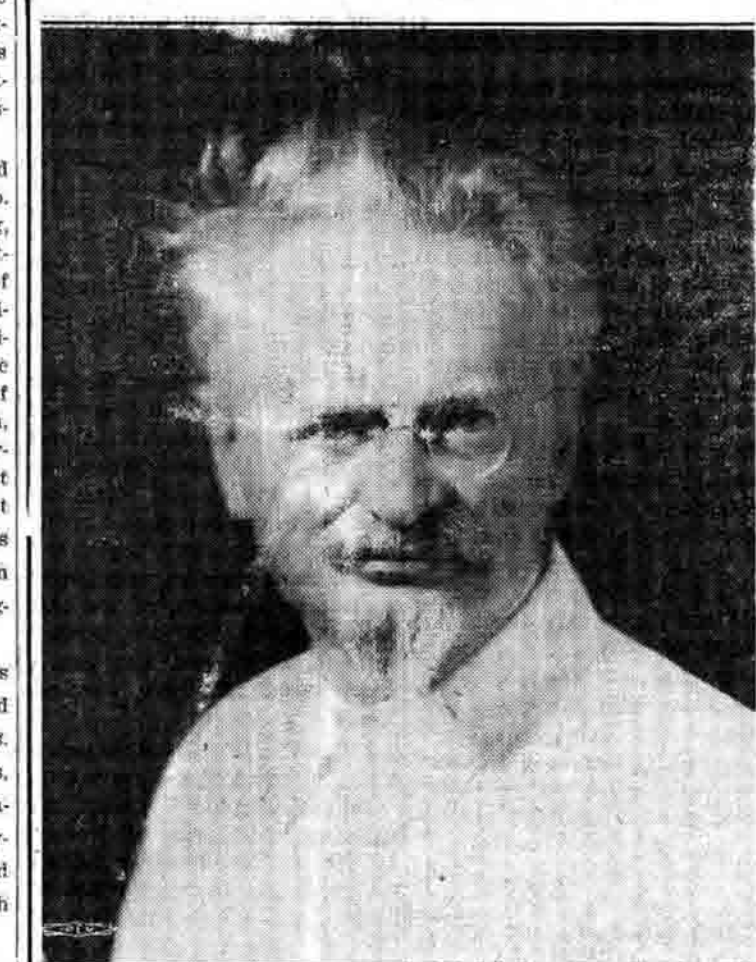
Minnesota speaks for itself; it simply ran away from the rest of the field. Chicago, which lost out to New York on a fluke last week, has redeemed herself and come in second.

The press staff of THE MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL here publicly expresses its boundless gratitude for the token of enthusiasm and devotion represented in the final totals of this short and effective drive: 798 subscriptions and 1658 points (\$829).

	This Week	Total		This Week	Total
	Subs	Pts		Subs	Pts
Minnesota	27	87	335	828	
Chicago	29	52	65	172	
New York	8	14	70	120	
Boston	10	16	53	93	
Detroit	1	2	36	81	
Cleveland	11	17	32	66	
Los Angeles	1	6	22	53	
Flint	1	1	29	37	
Newark	6	8	21	32	
Youngstown	0	0	23	31	
Frisco	4	4	14	18	
Toledo	0	0	12	18	
New Haven	0	0	12	17	
Rochester	5	8	11	15	
Milwaukee	5	5	8	11	
Quakertown	5	10	5	10	
Allentown	0	0	4	7	
Philadelphia	1	2	3	6	
Plentywood	0	0	2	6	
Patterson	0	0	3	5	
Pittsburgh	0	0	3	5	
Pittsburgh	0	0	4	4	
St. Louis	1	1	3	4	
Kansas	1	2	2	4	
Palo Alto	0	0	1	4	
London, Eng.	0	0	1	4	
Rockville	0	0	1	4	
New Castle	1	4	1	4	
San Diego	1	1	3	3	
Texas	0	0	2	3	
Albany	0	0	1	2	
Memphis	1	2	1	2	
Fresno	1	2	1	2	
Wash. D C	1	2	1	2	
Totals	120	255	798	1658	

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The MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for Sessions—Week of April 7th

MONDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m.

by William M. Warde
The Degeneration of the First American Revolution. Autocracy of the Slave Power; The Development of New Revolutionary Forces.

8:50 to 10:20 p.m.

by Lydia Beidell
The Western Federation of Miners and the Development of the I.W.W.

WEDNESDAY

Special lecture to start at 7:10 and go through the evening.

By JACK WEBER

The Situation in the Balkans

What is Hitler's goal? Are the Balkans to be Hitler's stumbling block? What will Stalin's Role be now?

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 16th St.

Newark's Relief System Exposed

After Driving Workers' Organizations Out Of Stations, City Slashed Relief Budgets

By GEORGE BREITMAN

(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for City Commission)

NEWARK, N. J.—Two years ago this month the Newark relief administration succeeded in putting through the plan it had been working on so long—the barring of unemployed organizations from the relief stations of the city.

But with the passage of the ruling that "every relief client must speak for himself," the Franklin-Malady relief administration began a series of cuts which have reduced the rolls to half the number of two years ago, and wiped out every one of the gains won in the eight years previous to that.

RELIEF TODAY

The period of waiting after application for relief is now from three to four weeks, often more, where previously it was a week or so. The special "emergency check" is now a thing of the past.

Special diets, which were granted on any doctor's recommendation, thus providing more food for sick people, are granted in only 1% of the cases which had them previously. No longer is the recommendation of any doctor sufficient; only a city doctor's word is good enough now.

Where previously as much as a quart of milk was allowed for children below 12 years of age, today half-a-quart is considered quite sufficient by relief officials.

Relief granted to strikers was always of great help to unions of newly organized workers with little finances to run their strikes. Today strikers are not allowed relief.

CONDEMNED TO FREEZE

In 1939, the department began to issue coal for the winter season in October. In 1940, "money was saved" by not issuing the coal until the middle of December. During this period a wave of influenza and pneumonia cases reached almost the proportions of an epidemic in the workers' neighborhoods.

Previously, by exerting a lot of pressure, a relief client could get an order for clothing that could be cashed in a clothing store. Now this has been done away with. Relief clients get only clothing made on the WPA projects, and extremely little of that. In 1940 less than 1c per day per person was spent by the city on clothing. The 1941 budget calls for about the same figure.

But the best example of all of

how Newark relief is conducted, now that the unemployed unions are locked out, is the recent ruling on rental allowances. In 1939 they were as follows: \$15 a month for families of six or less, and up to \$20 a month in certain cases of larger families. Gradually this was cut down so that single people received only \$12 a month, and small families received even less than \$15.

Suddenly last month the following policy was announced in a newspaper announcement headed: "Relief Clients' Landlords May Get Increased Rents":

Families of one or two were to receive a maximum of \$9 a month, families of three and four to receive maximum of \$10.50 and \$13.50. But families of over five would receive more than \$15. This was the "increase" talked about.

THE WAY OUT

The key to the relief problem does not lie in the promises made by the politicians prior to elections. Franklin, self-proclaimed "champion of the underprivileged" will be able to do everything he wants, as long as the unemployed are not organized into unions that are recognized and have the right to bargain for their members.

That is why in this election we say to the unemployed that what they must fight for is recognition of their committees. The present administration, in spite of its claims that it is "fair to labor," has shown that it is not fair to unions of the unemployed. That is why we say that the workers need a City Commission controlled by and responsible to the workers, which will recognize this right and open up the way to an improvement in relief standards.

LET LABOR CONTROL THE CITY COMMISSION! Build a labor party and elect a City Commission that is pledged, among other things, to recognition of the unemployed unions!

PROGRESS MFG. ON STRIKE IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA, March 28 — The 400 young workers of the Progress Manufacturing Company here are standing firm in their second strike of recent weeks for union conditions and wages. The present strike was called after the company refused to agree to decent wages for the workers, who have been receiving the miserable minimum scale of 30 cents an hour.

A previous militant strike, set off March 7, ended with the winning of sole bargaining rights for Local 90, Metal Polishers union (AFL) and an agreement to negotiate all questions of wages, hours and working conditions.

All classifications of work which call for more than the minimum wage are 10 cents to 20 cents an hour lower at Progress than the prevailing wages in this town. Progress manufactures lighting fixtures and appliances.

A skeleton picket line is being maintained at the plant. The workers, young men and women with a lot of fighting spirit, are determined to continue the strike until their just demands are won.

Warren Bender, bus-agent of Local 90, who is assisting the strike, has expressed his conviction of victory because of the fine spirit of unity and militancy which the strikers have displayed. During the strike, four of the workers have been arrested, with two of them still being held on trumped-up charges.

The treatment of the loyal union workers by the police is in marked contrast to that accorded strikebreakers who were arrested by the police during the last strike for carrying revolvers and other deadly weapons. These strikebreakers have all been released. Police are continuing to offer aid to escort strikebreakers into the plant.

The management is attempting to pull one of the oldest tricks in the game to divide the union members, by trying to create a race issue. The company has tried to induce as many unemployed and desperate Negro workers as possible to act as strikebreakers.

The union members, who include a number of Negro workers, are not falling for this stunt. The white workers in the shop have shown their high regard for the fine union qualities of their fellow workers by electing a Negro as shop steward.

Government's Strikebreaking Attempt At Allis-Chalmers Foiled By Labor Unity

Knox and Knudsen Believed They Had Murray's Support For Move

The story of the government's attempt to break the strike of UAW-CIO Local 248 at the Allis-Chalmers plant in West Allis, Wisconsin, must be studied by unionists everywhere. Other government strikebreaking moves are certain to come elsewhere.

The strike began January 22. The union had vainly sought to assure an end to a systematic attempt by the company to break the union. Company stooges in the plant — some operating as an AFL local — had been interfering with union activity, picking fights with UAW-CIO members, etc., although the UAW-CIO had a contract with the company.

THE UNION'S PROPOSAL

Local 248 proposed to the company that, if the union proved that these stooges were guilty of interfering with the union's activity, the company should discipline those guilty. On the pretext that such an agreement meant a closed shop, the company refused, and the union went on strike to enforce its demand.

At the end of the fourth week of the strike, the OPM called company and union representatives to Washington. On March 1, OPM Directors Knudsen and Hillman proposed that both parties agree to arbitrate on the basis that, if the arbitrator found that the union was correct in charging certain men with interfering with union activity, the company should discipline those men. The union accepted. The company refused, apparently feeling that almost any arbitrator would have to accept the proof which the union could present.

The OPM had to admit the truth; in a list of strikes submitted by the OPM to the new National Mediation Board, the OPM said: "The union unconditionally accepted the agreement. The company refused."

GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING

Did the OPM then force the company to agree? Not at all. On the contrary, all the moves of the OPM and the other government agencies thereafter were directed AGAINST THE UNION!

Why? Because private property is sacred to this government, and it would never move against the bosses. But against unions, it

would move — workers' rights don't weight in the scales against private property under this government.

First came the threat of March 21: a warning that the War and Navy Departments were "seriously considering" taking over the plant. To punish the company? By no means. The company would receive, under the laws, full remuneration for the use of its plant.

But the workers would be punished. Work, said a government spokesman, "would be carried forward with workers taken from civil service lists." (N. Y. Times, March 23). The workers in the plant would lose their jobs!

That threat didn't work. Whereupon it was decided that the Allis-Chalmers strike would be used to make the unprecedented move of a government order to the strikers to return to work. It was a bold scheme. If it worked, the back of the present strike wave would be broken.

KNOX-KNUDSEN'S ORDER

The stage was carefully set for the move. Roosevelt was conveniently off on his yacht. OPM Co-Director Sidney Hillman was equally conveniently off in Florida on a "vacation."

Then on Wednesday, March 26, the telegram was sent, signed by OPM Director Knudsen and Navy Secretary Knox, telling the company: "We must ask you to notify your entire force to report for work." And a copy to the union, adding: "We expect your full cooperation in carrying out the above program."

The Associated Press story to the nation's press described the telegram as "virtually ordering the company and its employees to resume production immediately." The main headline of the New York Times read: "Knox and Knudsen Order Reopening At Once of Allis-Chalmers Plant."

Thursday morning the War Department held a press conference, at which Secretary Stimson and Under-Secretary Patterson were present, and both endorsed the Knox-Knudsen telegram.

Thus the War, Navy and OPM divisions of the government — the most powerful sections of the war

Vanadium Strikers Accept Mediation Board Proposal

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., March 31—The strike of the 400 workers of the Vanadium Corporation here, which has been in progress since February 10, ended today with an agreement to place the issue of the strike before the National Mediation Board, on the condition that the company take back all strikers, including the six members of the strike committee, whom the company had sworn it would never rehire. The hiring of six non-union guards, which precipitated the strike, will be subject to further consideration through the Mediation Board.

Further details are not yet available.

machine — joined in the order to the Allis-Chalmers strikers.

The Milwaukee Journal came out Thursday morning with a headline: "Company Acts Upon Order of U. S. Officials; Firm Prepares for Full Resumption on Friday; Calls 7,800 Workers To Return Tomorrow." Each striker received that morning an individual telegram from the company that, "In compliance with the United States government's wires to us and to the union we are notifying you and our entire force to report for work on your regular shift Friday . . ."

Fortunately, too, the international officials of the UAW-CIO realized that the life of the union was at stake and, in a statement issued from the UAW regional office in Milwaukee, backed the strikers.

POLICE FORCES READY

The forces of "law and order" were mobilized to help open the plant. William Watson, Sr., Allis-Chalmers vice-president, notified Chief of Police Thomas Kastello of West Allis that Thursday morning that the company "will expect ample protection." Kastello not only promised that the 41 members of his force would be on duty "to protect workers entering the plant," but also asked Milwaukee County Sheriff Joseph Shinnors for reinforcements.

Shinnors in turn replied that his department was "ready to handle any situation that may arise in the enforcement of the law," and added, that in addition to his regular staff of 100 deputies, he was checking civil service lists for possible appointees as special deputies.

Governor Heil meanwhile took the cue from Washington and an-

nounced: "I can assure the people of West Allis and Milwaukee County that we are going to preserve order."

STRIKERS STAND FIRM

But the strikers stood their ground. Immediately upon receipt of the Knox-Knudsen telegram the leaders of Local 248 of the UAW CIO called a mass meeting on a lot near the plant and declared that no man would go back to work. Twelve union men who had been permitted by the union to continue to work in the shipping room, in return for a company pledge not to try to recall workers until the strike was over, were called out of the plant, for the company telegram was a clear violation of the agreement. A mass meeting was called of all Allis-Chalmers workers for Saturday.

Before the meeting was held, it was a foregone conclusion how the workers would vote — against return to work. The strike had been so effective that the company had not dared to try to operate.

Just the day before the Knox-Knudsen telegram a "back to work" parade was supposed to march past the strikebound plant. It had been announced in an unsigned letter sent to strikers. But nobody turned up except UAW-CIO men to see what would happen. Government telegram or what-not, the workers had the plant tied up, and they would stand their ground.

Fortunately, too, the international officials of the UAW-CIO realized that the life of the union was at stake and, in a statement issued from the UAW regional office in Milwaukee, backed the strikers.

MURRAY'S TELEGRAM

And, a few hours later, came CIO head Philip Murray's telegram to Knudsen, demanding to know "By what power are you and Secretary Knox authorized to issue ultimatum . . .". Murray concluded by asking Knox and Knudsen the one question they won't answer:

"Why do you not insist upon compliance (by the company) with your original proposal?"

Apparently, Knudsen and the others had not expected united resistance by the CIO leadership. "Defense officials," reported Louis Stark in the N. Y. Times, Friday, March 28, "were taken aback by the vehemence of Mr. Murray's challenge." Knox and Knudsen, in their reply to Murray, said: "You were familiar with our proposal to issue an appeal to the workers to return and negotiate while the plant was in operation." Apparently they thought Murray was to play ball with them.

Faced by the united resistance of the strikers, their international union and the national CIO, the government officials decided to retreat.

Despite the plain language of

their telegraphed order of the day before, and the press description of it as an order, they now blandly declared to Murray: "Contrary to your statement, we issued no 'ultimatum' in connection with the reopening of the plant. We did appeal to the patriotism and loyalty of the men and the company . . ." Needless to say, they did not answer Murray's concluding question.

Instead, Knox and Knudsen dishonestly tried to shift their ground. Wednesday's telegraphed order had told the strikers to go back to work solely on the ground of "vitally needed defense orders without delay." Thursday, however, Knox and Knudsen said: "The final decision to ask the plant to open came after the fact was established that the original strike vote was obtained by fraudulent means. To continue the strike in view of this . . . would seem entirely unreasonable."

MEETING REFUTES LIE

The complete answer to Knox and Knudsen came Saturday when the strikers filled the State fair grounds, five miles west of the struck plant.

Even the New York Times (March 30) had to report: "More than 5,000 UAW workers affiliated with the CIO voted today at a mass meeting to persist with their strike at the Allis-Chalmers Company plant, hooting down the appeals of government officials. . . . The company reported that more than 2,000 other workers had ignored the threats of the union."

There are plenty of lies in these few sentences from the Times, but we'll skip that. The main thing is the admission, by the Times and the company itself, that the overwhelming majority of the 7,500 men at the plant are for the union and for the strike. Knox and Knudsen lied when they implied that the union doesn't have a real majority of the workers in the plant.

That great meeting of strikers adopted a resolution which said, in part:

"Be it further resolved that Knudsen and Knox be condemned for their conspiracy with company officials to try and force a government-sponsored back to work movement with all the high-handed tactics that were used by Mr. Knudsen as the head of General Motors Corporation to wreck the union, and

"Be it further resolved that we hereby instruct our union officers to make it clear to all the company officials, government officials and the press that this local union will not be used as any guinea pig experiment for settlement of this strike, that we want before we return to work exactly what the government has promised us, and that we will not return to work before."

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

Christian Charity and the Negro Soldiers

Y. M. C. A. secretaries often refused to serve the Negro soldiers. The 10,000 Negro soldiers encamped at Camp Greene in Charlotte, North Carolina, were not permitted to use the five "Y" buildings there, save to purchase stamps and paper. "This building is for white men only" read a sign over one building; a table was placed outside the building where the colored men could write their letters.

Often there were signs on Y. M. C. A. huts reading "No Negroes Allowed;" and often services to the colored soldiers would be refused even when there were no such signs. On the boats home, the Y. M. C. A. secretaries often discriminated against the Negroes. "One secretary in charge of a party sailing from Bordeaux attempted to put all the colored men in the steerage. They rebelled and left the ship, whereupon arrangements were made to give them the same accommodations as the others."

C. H. Williams wrote that " . . . A most careful investigation indicates that some (Y. M. C. A.) secretaries resorted to discrimination and segregation more than the men in any other organization and even more than the army with its military caste." And that was going some! "Sometimes," he added, "such an attitude was assumed even by ministers of the gospel."

There were times, however, when the policy of segregation was dictated to Y. M. C. A. secretaries by the army officers. In May, 1919, for instance, Colonel Doane of the Service of Supplies troops at Remacourt, issued this order: "There are two Y. M. C. A.'s, one near the camp, for

white troops, and one in town, for the colored troops. All men will be ordered to patronize their own 'Y.'"

In the Red Cross, the activities of the Negro women were considerably curtailed. They could not engage in canteen work in whole sections of the country. Not only this, but no colored Red Cross nurses were sent abroad despite the protests of the Negro press, pulpit and organizations. When Emmett J. Scott as an official of the War Department investigated the situation, he was given the run-around by the Surgeon General and the Red Cross, each placing the blame for the situation on the other, neither anxious to do very much about it. Du Bois wrote that the few Negroes who "came to Red Cross hospitals were, with a few exceptions, not only 'Jim-Crowed' but officers were put in wards with their men." An interesting commentary on the medical treatment received by the Negro soldiers during the war, is the fact that 8,350 of the 9,558 Negro deaths resulted from diseases.

The Negro Soldiers Return

The Negroes had been deluded by their leaders into accepting the slogans of Wilson. They had been told that as a result of their uncomplaining sacrifices during the war, "after the war" the program of Wilson would become a reality. Tyler, the government's official Negro reporter in France, reported the cries of joy of the men when the Armistice was signed:

"We done signed another Emancipation Proclamation!"

"That 'New Freedom' must come — we have won it."

"We came to France and won a man's chance!"

Foreshadowing the new blows in store for them, only the American Negroes, of all the Allied contingents, were not permitted to participate in the victory parade at Paris.

The war was over — but not for the Negroes. In France and in the United States, they were detained in the armed forces out of all proportion to their number. We have noted the bitterness felt by the Negro cemetery-builders kept overseas. The same situation prevailed in the United States. A Director of Colored Work described the sentiment of the Negroes at Newport News in the following fashion:

"...They resent being kept in the Army for the purpose of doing all kinds of menial work every day of the week for the good of this section of the country, which they hate with a holy hate. They say that the war is over and why should they be kept at work on something that does not pertain to war... The low morale is something appalling; the men hang around in groups brooding and grumbling. They are beginning to look on the uniforms as emblems of slavery. You can readily see where this condition of mind is leading to. It strikes me that seeds of anarchy are being planted... There is but one remedy and that is to demobilize them."

Only their colored brothers greeted the returning Negro soldiers. " . . . The black soldiers have returned unnoticed," wrote the *Nation* on June 14, 1919, "while the streets have been beflagged and whole cities turned upside down to greet their white brothers-in-arms."

False stories were spread about the cowardice of the Negro combat troops. The myth of "Rastus always 'hot footin' it' to the rear" arose at this time. Even the Negro labor regiments returned unpraised. "Scott said: 'There were . . . a few narrow and prejudiced whites believing that anything was good enough for the Negroes. There were also a good many men of color, and especially ministers and the like, who maintained an attitude of apathy toward these men returning from the war.' These Negro 'ministers and the like' had been successful in dragging their people into support of the war; they had idealized the Negro soldiers as 'crusaders for democracy.' Now they were 'apathetic' and ready to let the returning men shift for themselves."

Afraid that the Negroes would not remain so patiently submissive as before the war, the Bourbon South revived the Ku Klux Klan and in this period it reached its greatest strength since Reconstruction days. A wave of lynching swept the South. Scott wrote that 100,000 Negro soldiers had decided to move North rather than to endure their old bondage any longer. But "the North too has not been found a paradise for the returning Negro soldiers" . . .

In Pittsburgh the whites posted threatening signs on the doors of the colored people declaring that the war was over and Negroes must stay in their place. Chicago became the scene

of a race riot between Negroes and whites who bore it grievously that their community "is being invaded by an increasing number of blacks." The war was over and it was difficult to find jobs efforts were made to procure them for the demobilized whites "but the Negro soldiers experience difficulties in finding a free opportunity to live in this country for which they so nobly fought." These admissions are particularly important since it was Scott's job in the War Department to line up the Negroes for the war.

This was the awful letdown. The Negro people had been deceived by their leaders; the white bosses were as firmly entrenched as ever before. Even the smallest hopes of the Negroes had been frustrated. They were not even permitted to vote for President in the "solid South." What would their reactions be? What was their spirit? The liberal *Nation* horrifiedly described one answer:

"A bitter one. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in a most dangerous and mistaken article in the *Crisis* declares that they came back FIGHTING for their rights and that they will continue to battle for them. He and others exult that there are now 100,000 black Americans trained to arms. The new Ku Klux, they say, will not find the Negroes cowed as were the freedmen of 1865-70; they will find men ready to die for their liberties and to protect their families. This is the counsel of madness. It leads nowhere but to bloodshed without result. It threatens to make a shambles of the South. It is creating the most ominous situation since the carpet-bagger days—and every one of the lynchings reported from the South but adds fuel to the flames. The voices of the moderates on both sides are no longer heeded; the roar of the mob rises higher and higher."

Then, as now, the *Nation* and the other liberals counseled support of the wars of the imperialist masters and condemned the liberating struggles of the slaves.

But Du Bois was correct. Then, as now, the road out for the Negro masses is struggle — joint struggle with the white proletariat against their common enemy, the capitalist master class.

*** This is the seventh and final article in this series. In revised form they will be issued as a pamphlet by The National Negro Department of the Socialist Workers Party.

TWU Girds For Subway Fight

\$100,000 Fighting Fund Received By Union; La Guardia Hiring 271 Cops As "Guards"

The International Executive Board of the Transport Workers Union of America (CIO) has set aside a special \$100,000 fund to aid the New York local in its fight against the attempt of Mayor La Guardia to re-establish the open-shop on the city-owned systems when the present union closed-shop contract terminates on June 30.

That every penny, and more, of this fund will be needed by the New York local is indicated by the latest move of the city administration in the preparation of its union busting plans.

The Board of Transportation last week began a complete "reorganization" of the subway guards on the BMT and IRT systems on April 1. This "reorganization" will replace all but 69 of the present 204 guards by men taken from the regular police eligible list, and the addition of 135 more police from the same list.

The subway guards who are being replaced are members of the TWU.

This move can be interpreted only as a brazen expression of La Guardia's intention to smash the union on the subways by every means at his command, including police intimidation and violence. It is clear that the TWU is facing

the toughest fight of its history. In the propaganda barrage of the boss press during the recent bus strike was faintly mirrored the strikebreaking fury which will be unleashed on the subway workers in the next three months.

The TWU can win this fight, however, if it retains the support of the New York working population. The chief problem of the union now, as during the bus strike, is to counteract the confusing and powerful influence of the boss propaganda.

It is essential that the TWU launch a city-wide publicity campaign to acquaint the workers and the trade unionists of the entire metropolitan area with the day to day developments in the subway fight.

Steel Workers Organizing Committee Licks Bethlehem

Workers' Own Strength Did The Job

By ART PREIS
(Continued from page 1)

to the world in general, "Bethlehem ain't never seen a crowd this big before." And turning to me, he shouts: "Write it in your paper, Shorty, tell 'em what kind of union us Bethlehem fellows have got here at last."

The parade turns off Broad, the main business street, heads up New Street toward South Bethlehem; across the Lehigh River, toward Steel Town where the Bethlehem plants sprawl five miles along the south river bank; toward the smoke-blackened worn wooden and crumbling brick houses which are home to many of the steel workers.

We are marching up-hill now. The head of the line appears six blocks in the distance, rising over the crest of the company's toll bridge, with its sign "One Cent for Pedestrians, Three Cents for Motor Vehicles."

SYMBOL OF DEFIANCE

Day in and day out the workers who have entered the realm of Bethlehem Steel over this little bridge have given their offerings to the power and greed of the corporation. Millions of pennies have paid for the bridge ten times over.

No pennies today! Over the bridge the parade rolls in a solid stream. Ten thousand marchers and not one penny. "Let 'em try and collect their goddam penny today!" A symbol of industrial servitude is ground into dust under 20,000 feet crossing a small bridge.

All along the way we pass thousands of workers, their wives and sweethearts, cheering, yelling greetings, smiles and joy everywhere. Almost everyone on the sidewalks has an SWOC pin, an "SWOC Picket" slip in bold letters, a "Join the Union" sticker proudly displayed on hat or coat. All traffic is halted. Hundreds of cars, packed tight with strikers and their friends and families, are wedged along the curbs bumper to bumper.

SILENT FACTORIES

As we go over the bridge there is a sudden quiet. "Feel that?" "What?" I ask in turn. "There's no vibrations. It's the first time when I didn't feel the vibrations from the works. If those plants were operating, you could feel the vibrations all through you. Now you know what a — the company and the *Globe-Times* have been putting out about 80 and 85 per cent of the men working during the strike."

A head in front of me jerks sideways and upwards. A huge fist waves high in the air. "Hide you rats, you dirty scabs! Go on, hide! We can smell from here!" I look where the fist is pointed. I see three pairs of eyes, wide-open, scared, staring over a third floor window ledge of a plant building. "It'll be a miserable thing for those scabs when this bunch gets back in the plant," a short, middle-aged Hungarian worker says, almost in half-pity. Another marcher answers with a loud burbling lip-sound, scornful and merciless.

TOWN IS SWOC

The trolleys are halted on the tracks. They are pasted over with stickers, "Join the SWOC." From every window and doorway the marchers are cheered and greeted. All one can see is "SWOC" buttons, stickers, banners, picket tags. The whole town has literally become SWOC. For over 12 miles the parade winds through the town, past the length of the plant, and then returns.

This is the vindication of the strike, this is the moment of triumph.

The workers had left the plants on Monday night, the start of the strike, tense, uncertain, not too sure of their power. But now they know.

They have smashed the Bethlehem myth. "Bethlehem plant in Bethlehem will never be organized," they had been told. "It's the heart of the corporation. It's been a company town for 50 years, and it'll be a company town for the next 50. Grace will never

SWOC Keeps Brill Phila. Shops Shut

PHILADELPHIA, March 28 — The strike of 1500 production workers at the J. G. Brill company here, world's largest manufacturer of street cars, is continuing as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) yesterday rejected the company's counter-offer of a five cent an hour "bonus" increase. This "bonus," intended as a speedup device to get more production out of the workers, would be paid only monthly, according to the company.

A meeting of the strikers unanimously turned down the company's offer, and voted to stand pat for an eight cent an hour increase over the present minimum for unskilled labor which is 50 cents an hour.

The union has advised the company that it would extend the strike to plant firemen, office workers and maintenance help if the company refuses to comply with the union's demands by this Monday. The union officials have also indicated that a mass picket line will be thrown about the plant, especially in view of the rumor that the company intends to attempt to start a back-to-work movement with strikebreakers.

Wages for skilled workers in the Brill plant are far below the union scale. Toolmakers, for example, who receive \$1.30 an hour in other shops, get only 90 cents at Brill.

The strike has been in progress since March 10.

yield to a union in this town."

But Grace has.

The company union, the "Employees' Representation Plan," whose attempt to hold a plant election precipitated the strike, has been licked. I saw steel workers this morning lined up in hundreds in the lobby of the meeting hall and all down the stairs, waiting to sign up with the SWOC. Thousands of those who had held out, friendly but waiting to see if the SWOC could pull the trick, are now joining up.

SETTLEMENT TERMS

In addition to stopping the company union as sole bargaining agency for the workers, the company has granted recognition to the SWOC for the first time, explained John Riffe, SWOC regional director, at the meeting prior to the victory parade. The union will be able to post its bulletin in the plant. A regular grievance machinery will be established, whereby the union men will be able to deal with the foremen and supervisors in the departments, all the way up the line to the company heads themselves.

The company union can no longer claim to represent the workers. The SWOC has been granted the right to bargain for its own members, and that will undoubtedly include 99 per cent of the workers after this.

All the strikers are to return to their jobs without any discrimination, the SWOC committee having balked the efforts of the company to exclude arrested strikers from the terms of the agreement.

WORKERS KNOW FIGHT STILL LIES AHEAD

The demand, formulated after the strike was already on, that the company union be disbanded, remains unsolved. The NLRB election to determine sole collective bargaining rights is to await outcome of the company's court appeal against the NLRB decision, which 19 months ago ordered the company to disband the company union. This may be a huge stumbling block to the SWOC, in the days ahead, and every worker knows it.

The workers here have few illusions about what it will take on their part to enforce the terms of even this limited agreement.

At this morning's mass meeting, when the terms were voted on, members of the local strike committee stressed their distrust of the company and advised the workers to carry on their organization drive in the plant with redoubled vigor and crack down hard on every single instance of the company's refusal to deal with

the union according to the terms of the agreement.

"We must back up the contract with strong pressure on the job," one speaker advised. "We know the company will use every device to evade the contract."

Another brought resounding cheers when he urged:

"Let's go back into the plants with our chins out. And when the first damn boss steps on our toes, we'll have to step back twice as hard. As for the men who haven't signed up in the union yet, all I can say is, if anybody won't join up the nice way then we'll have to use more persuasive ways."

One committee speaker summed up the feelings of the rank and file in a very picturesque fashion: "Brothers," he said, "We have witnessed a marriage today. Bethlehem Steel has just married the SWOC. But it wasn't a case of love at first sight. This was more in the nature of a shot-gun wedding. Now we have a marriage license, which is this agreement — and a shot-gun. And, brothers, we'd better hold on to both of them."

STORY OF THE STRIKE

On Monday night, when the workers first pulled out, there was no disorder or violence. The workers massed in thousands around the plant, with their wives, sweethearts and children out to support them. No one was hurt. There were no scabs coming in, except the few hundred who had remained in the plant after the night shift walked out.

(These scabs had a tough time as some of them admitted later. They were compelled to work a 16 hour shift to keep noisy machinery going to make an impression, live for two days on sandwiches and muddy coffee, sleep on benches. By Thursday night, the ambulance was clanging in and out of the main plant gate almost continuously, hauling away the scabs who had collapsed).

The company, aided by the city and county officials who are in its direct or indirect pay, immediately wanted to bring in state police. Six hours after the strike started, and when there had been not a single instance of disorder, County Sheriff Nickel appealed to Governor James for state troopers.

POLICE PROVOCATION

The pretext for bringing in the Pennsylvania "Cossacks" — the only name the workers have for these government strikebreakers — was manufactured Tuesday morning.

A car with a company cop in plain clothes drove up to the main gate where several hundred strikers were picketing. The strikers were in high spirits. They halted the car, tipped it over, and made the cop get out. He wasn't hurt. The car was righted without any damage, and he was permitted to get back in the car and drive into the plant.

Several city police scout cars immediately began to circle around the pickets. Without a word of warning a tear gas shell was fired point blank at a group of strikers, blinding five of them. Another shell was fired. In self-defense the workers fought off this unprovoked assault.

When the police continued their provocative tactics, the workers continued to defend themselves. By nightfall the police were routed. The company and city officials yelled for state cops.

During the course of the day, several hundred scab cars in the parking lots around the plant had been overturned and generally "renovated." A dozen or so were tossed off the Minsi Trail bridge into the "Mud Hole." Neither the company nor the police have been able to bring forth any evidence that this was the work of the strikers. In fact, the strikers have charged the company with organizing the damaging of these cars as a further excuse for James' sending in the state cops.

But John Riffe and other SWOC top leaders, who had shown a certain vacillation throughout the strike, and had done little to help the inexperienced local committee to organize the picketing, urged caution. Many of the workers had tears of anger in their eyes. But they accepted the advice of these leaders to discontinue the picket lines temporarily.

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California Auto Pickets



Mass picketing at the Oakland, California plant of General Motors where the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO) are striking against the provocative action of the company, which locked out 26 welders who had protested against the terrific speed-up.

They included many spectators, women with babies in their arms, children.

A squad of mounted state police rode out of the gates. Without a word of warning they charged into the unsuspecting crowd. Behind them scores more of state cops poured out of the gates on foot, charging the workers with 30 inch riot sticks. Women and children were knocked down, clubbed. The crowd broke and ran. The coppers chased them up side streets.

On one side street the Cossacks encountered a group of women on the porches of a row of frame houses. The women began to jeer the cops. Onto the pavement the police drove their horses, riding along the porches and clubbing the women, driving them into their homes.

WERE THESE COPS?

One of the surprising things about these state police was that most of them were wearing the old style London "Bobbie" helmets of the former State Constabulary, the murderous gangsters and gunmen hired by the coal and steel companies and deputized by the state, who used to spread terror throughout all the coal and iron towns. These coal and iron police were dissolved in 1936.

Yet the uniforms worn by these thugs during this strike was the old long-coated black uniform of the coal-and-iron cops. Onto their sleeves were sewed the Keystone label with "State Motor Patrol." These uniforms were "explained" away by a statement in the press by Colonel Adams, State Police head, that these "police" had brought the wrong uniforms!

The regular State Motor Patrol police were there also. These were scarcely less vicious than the coal and iron cops, but they showed less experience, were younger, not so beefy as the helmeted cops. The faces of the coal and iron cops were those of the pig-eyed, black-jowled killers who used to be brought from the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh underworlds before the outlawing of the coal and iron police four years ago.

When the word of this vicious assault came to the workers at the mass meeting, they wanted to go down in a body. Their instinct was to attack and not retreat.

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plant during this period, the strikers may have become demoralized and the strike broken.

One of the reasons advanced by Riffe for this yielding up of the right to picket, was the assertion that the government would make the company come to terms. The workers soon understood how untrue this was.

On the very day of the assault the government had awarded another \$75,000,000 war order to Bethlehem Steel and did not lift a finger to enforce the NLRB order to disband the company union. Riffe also said he had withdrawn the pickets at the request of certain government officials whom he did not name.

THEIR ONE REGRET

During the victory parade this afternoon, the mighty forces of the passing strikers contrasted sharply with the feebleness of the state police force who were still out at the plant. I repeatedly heard the regrets of the workers that they had not come out in this great mass after the police attack Tuesday night and given the state cops a lesson.

"Don't I wish those Cossacks would try to stop us now," "They're not up against women and kids now. We're ready for 'em now." "If we'd have had a line like this Tuesday and Wednesday, we'd have shipped those bastards out of town in wooden crates."

AFL WORKERS HELP

Contrary to the lying propaganda put out in the boss newspapers here and everywhere in the country, the people of this town were overwhelmingly behind the strikers.

Particularly inspiring was the example of the AFL union men and women in Bethlehem. The Lehigh County Central Trades and Labor Assembly (AFL) passed a resolution supporting the strike and has invited the CIO to a joint meeting to protest the use of the state troopers.

The AFL Bricklayers, building the new coke ovens, walked out in a body. The International Ladies' Garment Workers, girls working at the Lehigh Dress plant, pulled a half-day sympathy strike the first day of the strike, and marched in a body in the victory parade. Any ILGWU member whose husband or brother was found to be scabbing was warned that she would be put out of the union.

The AFL top officialdom, however, tried to get AFL workers to help break the strike. Borrelli, general vice-president of the Structural Iron Workers, wired Local No. 36, with many members in the steel plant, to go through the picket lines or each

Maryland's Anti-Strike Laws Defied By SWOC

Sparrows Point Fight To Bring Bethlehem To Terms Goes On

BALTIMORE, March 29.—While Maryland industrialists and reactionary politicians of the State legislature joined hands in passing the infamous Anti-Sabotage law, throngs of Bethlehem steel workers of Sparrows Point, came to hear their union officials denounce the law and its sponsors.

The Anti-Sabotage Law, passed last Thursday by the Maryland state legislature, punishes by fine up to \$10,000 and imprisonment up to ten years any worker involved in a strike, work-stoppage, or any kind of "interference with production" in national defense industries.

At a mass meeting called last Friday by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) rank-and-file as well as union leaders called upon Sparrows Point steel workers to ignore anti-strike laws and to "continue the fight against Bethlehem Steel, even if it means strike!"

Ed Abbott, a leading rank-and-file militant, vigorously denounced the corrupt political machine of Maryland. He charged that "the State delegates, the Governor, and the State Senators are working hand in glove with the corporations of this state." Abbott's advice to his fellow workers was: "Men, we must fight and fight

light to be seen over the plant at night: the pipe which burns off the excess gas generated by the coke ovens. This was burning continuously, and showed that the gas was overflowing the tank and was not being used.

The picket lines began to build up again on Thursday, as the workers kept edging into the lines about the nine gates, "chiseling" away at the picket "limitation."

On Thursday the company agreed to meet with the union committee. The workers sensed the coming victory then. If the company's fake reports of plant operations had been true, Eugene Grace would never have consented to such a meeting. And victory did come!

THE CHILDREN'S WAR

The smallest tot in this town is union conscious. After the breaking of the picket line Tuesday night, bands of forty and fifty children, from the ages of 8 to 14, roamed the streets and alleyways leading off from the plant and made life miserable for the state cops.

They would taunt and jeer the cops, lure isolated cops down dark alleyways, and then pelt them mercilessly with rocks, bricks and broken bottles. One cop, caught in a dark alley between two bands of rock-throwing kids, howled for mercy, and received the bitter answer, "Did you show any mercy to our Daddies?" They put all the lights out on Emery Street, near the Saucon plant, taunted the mounted police to charge them, and tripped up the horses with a concealed cable stretched between two poles. Twelve state cops are reported to have required medical treatment Tuesday night.

THEN AND NOW

The workers outside this city don't know the full meaning of walking down Bethlehem streets proudly displaying a union button.

This has been a completely company town ever since anyone here can remember. The company has controlled everything and everyone in this town of 58,000 people, the majority being steel workers and their families. The newspapers, the Mayor, the banks, the property, everything has belonged to the company.

When I was in Bethlehem last, in 1934, unemployed steel workers trying to organize to get relief had to meet in complete secrecy, in the dead of night, in groups of four and five. Even so, the company spies, ever on the alert for the first signs of any kind of workers' organization, would report back to the com-

pany. The only gangsters I saw were the thugs in the coal and iron police helmets and uniforms. It might be embarrassing to Governor James for the union to ask him to make public the names and records of these men, and how long they have been "State Motor Patrol" members. They look and act just like the gangster scum imported into the coal and iron towns during the days of the State Constabulary.

Incidentally, it is significant that these state cops were housed on the company property, and admittedly were fed by the company in its cafeteria and on dining cars rolled into the plant.

THE NEXT STEP

The workers are going back into the plants flushed with a victory. But they know they still have the biggest battle ahead: to force the company to discontinue the company union altogether, to end the speedup group bonus, or "home-less" system, and get their base pay jacked up from the present minimum of 42½ cents an hour. They must go after a complete signed contract, covering wages, hours, working conditions and sole bargaining rights.

Perhaps the most frequent phrase I heard today was, "The next time we strike..." The word, "strike," no longer sounds as forbidding as it did a week ago. It is taken for granted that sooner or later there is going to be another strike, unless the company gives in to the full demands of the workers.

The experiences, the lessons, the mistakes of this strike have sunk deep roots into these Bethlehem workers. The next time they strike, they are going to know who their friends and enemies are. They are going to know that the government and the officials are on the side of the company. They are going to know the tactics the company and the police will use. Above all, they will know their own organized strength and power, and they will use it.

A Financial Writer On The Bethlehem Strike's Meaning

"The Bethlehem agreement may break down the 'last ditchers' in industry who hoped to keep out unions by waving the flag."

C. F. Hughes, financial writer for the New York Times, in the issue of Sunday, March 30, 1941.

pany any worker at whose home they had seen a group entering or leaving. These workers would find their relief cut off altogether.

The Bethlehem mayor tried his week to emulate the tactics of the mayor of Johnstown in 1937. He blustered about organizing a "secret" vigilante committee to preserve "law and order." The members of the committee would remain "secret" because they might be physically attacked if they were known publicly, Mayor Pfeifle declared.

WORKERS LEARN POLITICS

At the mass meeting this morning one of the local speakers declared: "We steel workers put Pfeifle in four years ago. But at the next election, we're going to put one of our own men in, a union man who won't threaten us with vigilante terror and ask for the Cossacks to come in and ride down our women and kids." These workers are learning that their struggles must also be extended to the political field!

And they are learning about national politics too. The company and the local press raved about "national defense," but no striker seemed to bother about it. During the mass meeting this morning, and from individual strikers throughout the strike, I heard repeatedly, "National defense or no national defense, we're going to get ours now. Grace is getting his apenty from the government. That national defense line is just an alibi."

One of the most vicious pieces of strikebreaking slander against the strikers came from Mayor Pfeifle who said he had asked for state cops after learning that "500 to 1000 gangsters had been imported into Bethlehem by the union."

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

AN URGENT APPEAL

The National Negro Department of the Socialist Workers Party is working at the present time, in conjunction with Pioneer Publishers, on a program of publications relating to problems of the Negro people.

We are sure that readers of THE MILITANT who have displayed an interest in the articles on these questions printed in this paper will be interested in their speedy publication.

One of the pamphlets now in preparation deals with the struggle to break down the Jim Crow bars against Negroes entering into the all-inclusive war industries in skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Another, already completed and ready to go to press, is a revised version of the series of articles just concluded in this paper, The Negro and The U. S. Army, by Eugene Varlin. The revision of this excellent series of articles brings it up to date, explaining the present situation of the Negro in the armed forces.

The third pamphlet, which will be a long work, is a basic discussion of the Negro struggle, analyzing the situation from all angles and presenting the program of the Socialist Workers Party for the Negro struggle for equality.

These pamphlets, which will be of great help to workers who want an all-sided picture of the problems and needs of the Negro masses, will be ready for distribution as soon as we have the necessary money to bring them off the press.

We are therefore making an appeal to all our readers to help us in this ambitious enterprise. We ask for contributions, and we ask for them as soon as possible. Readers who can give us \$10.00 and readers who are able to donate only 25 cents — please help us get out this badly needed literature. Send all donations to this column, 116 University Pl., New York City.

REPEATING 1917

The war may not have taken exactly the same course this time as it did during 1914-1918, but the treatment of the Negro in the armed forces is so exactly the same that one might think the bureaucrats in control of the army were simply reading a history of what happened then and applying it today.

For example, there is the treatment of conscientious objectors.

Charles H. Houston, former Lieutenant of the 368th U. S. Infantry Regiment, in his series of articles called "Saving The World For Democracy," which were printed in The Pittsburgh Courier last year, recalled the following about 1917:

"There was one outstanding exception to the general pattern of segregation at Camp Meade (Maryland): white conscientious objectors were housed with Negro conscientious objectors in a barracks in the 368th Infantry area with an armed white guard over them.

"It must be remembered that the Army considered conscientious objectors as cowards and scum. In the case of white conscientious objectors at Camp Meade the camp command considered them too low to associate with the white soldiers, so it housed them with Negroes and stuck them in a Negro regimental area.

"The Army considered the white officers of our own regiment too good to share the same quarters or even live in the same area with us, their fellow Negro officers, but it could think of no greater degradation for white conscientious objectors than to house them with Negroes in a Negro regimental area."

And now, in 1941, comes an announcement from Washington, via Major Campbell Johnson of the Selective Service Board, that there will be "no separate Negro camps for conscientious objectors" and that the camps being set up will serve for all objectors, Negro as well as white.

The most brazen statement of any boss receiving contracts from the federal government was the one made last week by J. H. Kindelberger, president and general manager of North American Aviation, Inc.:

"Applications for jobs in the plant, where we will employ upward of ten thousand persons, will be received at the temporary Kansas City offices in the near future. We will receive applications from both white and Negro workers. However, the Negroes will be considered only as janitors and in other similar capacities. . . . While we are in complete sympathy with the Negro, it is against the company policy to employ them as mechanics or aircraft workers. We use none except white workers in the plant in Inglewood (California) and the plant in Dallas (Texas) and we intend to maintain the same policy in Kansas City. There will be some jobs as janitors for Negroes. Regardless of their training as aircraft workers, we will not employ them in the North American plant."

You can imagine what the attitude of this company toward the Negro would be if it were not "in complete sympathy with the Negro!"

That the New York State Employment Service helps the bosses in discriminating against Negroes, Jews and Catholics was admitted by a spokesman of the Service in a discussion of the employment application blanks on which "Personal Description" is followed by several initials: "S M W - W N O - C P J," meaning "Single, Married, Widower; White, Negro, Oriental; Catholic, Protestant, Jew."

The spokesman tried to clear the Service of responsibility by saying: "It's entirely the employers' fault. You can't legislate discrimination out of existence."

It is true that it's the employers' fault, for it is they who want to know this information so they can discriminate. But that doesn't excuse the Service for helping them!

Britain's People's Convention

The Stalinists Saddled It With A Petty-Bourgeois Pacifist Program

By C. VAN GELDEREN

LONDON, England (By Mail)—2,234 delegates attended the Stalinist-inspired "People's Convention" which met in London on Sunday, January 12th.

The People's Convention had its origin—according to its Chairman, Harry Adams—in the "Men of Munich Must Go" movement which the Stalinists fostered after the disastrous defeats of the Allied armies in Scandinavia and France last year. The emphasis of that movement was not directed against the imperialist war but against Chamberlain, Halifax, Kingsley Wood and the other appeasers in the Cabinet. It left untouched Churchill and the Labor Ministers whose declared aim was "war to the end" against German Imperialism.

This "Men of Munich Must Go" movement did not evoke much response among the working class. Then came the Blitz over London and the hopeless inadequacy of the Government's Air Raid Precautions Policy was revealed in all its ghastly horror. The Stalinists seized this heaven-sent opportunity to extend their influence in the labor movement. They whipped up a campaign on the shelter issue. This was actually the birth of the People's Convention movement.

The official literature of the Convention claim that the 2,234 delegates represented 1,200,000 people in 1,304 organizations. Of these, it is claimed, 1,014,950 represented 1,136 Trade Unions, Factory Committees and other workers' organizations.

Anyone acquainted with Stalinist arithmetic will find it a simple matter to discover how these figures were arrived at. The Aircraft Factory employs 1,200 workers. Of these from 12 to 20 support the Stalinists. This handful of workers would send a "delegate" to the Convention who would simply be listed as representing 1,200 workers in the Aircraft Factory.

While the Stalinist figures cannot be accepted at anything like their face value, it would, however, be fatal for revolutionary workers to ignore the portent of the "People's Convention."

Misled by the treacherous Labor Party leaders, the majority

of the British working class are today lined up behind the Government's war policy. There is a genuine belief among great sections of the workers that they are fighting a war against Fascism. This is due to a great extent to the Stalinist policy in the months preceding the war and in the first three weeks of the war, when the Communist Party was even more vociferous than the Labor Party in whipping up support for the "War for Democracy" against "Fascist aggression." When Moscow ordered the right-about-turn, not all of their supporters followed the new line.

But in the trade union movement there is a small but militant minority who are today definitely under Stalinist influence.

One of the most significant features of this war was the early re-emergence of the Shop Stewards' Movement, which played such a magnificent role during the war of 1914-18. In the first Imperialist War it wasn't till 1915 that the Shop Stewards' Movement began to make its weight felt. In the first year of this war it is already an important factor in the working class movement.

In the trade union field, therefore, the Stalinists are compelled to adopt a militant policy in order to keep the support of this militant minority. To counter this, their political program is deliberately vague and can mean all things to all people.

As part of their political demands, the People's Convention

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION?

Thousands of people sincerely devoted to the struggle for peace are rallying around the "American Peace Mobilization" which meets in New York this week-end.

Will they find there a program adequate for their needs? No more than the British workers who went to the "People's Convention."

The program they will find there is that of pacifism. Both World War I and World War II have shown that program to be completely impotent to prevent war or to stop war.

Pacifism wants to stop war without destroying the basic cause of wars: the capitalist system with all its rivalries and conflicts. Failing to strike effectively at the roots of war, pacifism is impotent to fight against war.

Revolutionary Marxism, on the other hand, recognizes that the struggle against this war is the struggle against the capitalist order. It recognizes, furthermore, that in this epoch of war and militarism, all questions will be solved arms

in hand. What the workers need is not a pacifist policy but a proletarian military policy which will carry them to power and socialism—and thereby to peace.

Not only is the APM program pacifist, but the APM is controlled by the Stalinists. That means that those who control the organization are not against war. They are simply following the foreign policy of Stalin. Yesterday they shouted for "collective security." Since the Stalin-Hitler pact they shout pacifist slogans. Tomorrow, if Stalin switches, they will be yelling for the "war for democracy." Woe to those who follow these misleaders.

There is only one road out of this epoch of war and militarism—the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of revolutionary Marxism. We are confident that many of those who are now in the APM are serious enough to think their way through the Stalinist lies and buncombe and find their way to the revolutionary road.

calls for a "People's Government and a People's Peace." None of the speakers at the Convention made it clear what was meant by these ambiguous slogans. Some of the delegates obviously interpreted it as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, while to others it meant a Popular Front Government à la Blum. Not one of the three speakers from the platform so much as mentioned the word "Socialism."

On the crucial question of control of the armed forces, the People's Convention proposes nothing except: "Effective democratic rights for members of the armed forces." A meaningless phrase.

How shall the worker-soldiers secure such democratic rights? What about putting an end to the life-and-death powers of the bourgeois officer-caste? The absolute need of universal military training under the control of the labor unions? The fact that the working class, as a class, must become masters of the military arts in

this epoch of war and militarism? The Convention is silent on all this: in a word, it mirrored the purely pacifist policy of the Stalinists and not a proletarian military policy adequate to bring the working class to power and socialism.

The Stalinist crime of preaching impotent pacifism is all the greater because the Convention leaders had fine human material to work on. Although the labor bureaucrats had threatened with expulsion anyone who participated, many militants, especially from the Clyde and the mining areas of South Wales, sent their representatives to London.

Besides the worker delegates, the Stalinists collected together for the occasion all their old friends from Popular Front days. Principal speaker at the Convention was the King's Councillor, D. N. Pritt, who sold his services to the Kremlin as long ago as the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial. Pritt was Labor Member of Parliament

for the Hammersmith Division, and the Hammersmith Labor Party has demanded his resignation. But, though Pritt and the C. P. claim popular support for their Convention, he refuses to take up the challenge and stand for reelection to give the workers of Hammersmith an opportunity to show their feelings at the polls.

IT ENDANGERS THE REAL MILITANT TASK

The People's Convention movement represents a potential danger to the labor movement. By attracting the most advanced sections by its demagoguery the Convention threatens to split the labor movement just at a moment when it is necessary for all militants to concentrate all their energies on riding the movement of the "leaders" who have betrayed them and entered the war cabinet.

It is of course not accidental that the political program of the People's Convention is so vague. The Kremlin's foreign policy is in an impasse. Stalin lives in fear of Hitler. Today, Soviet foreign policy is still oriented towards the Axis. That is why the British Stalinists in the factories put forward a policy which would, if effective, seriously hamper the war efforts of British imperialism. When Stalin signed the German-Soviet Pact, he also sold to Hitler a part-share in the Comintern. But tomorrow Stalin may be forced to line up with the "Democracies" and in a much active form than he has hitherto participated in the war.

STALIN'S BRITISH AGENTS READY FOR SWITCH

So the British Communist Party keeps open a line of retreat — the vagueness of their political program. Not anywhere in the "anti-war" propaganda of the Stalinists do they so much as hint at revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist regime.

Stalin's British stooges are keeping a wary eye on the Balkans and they are ready to jump at any moment should the Kremlin show a sign that it is turning towards the Western powers. The People's Convention would overnight cease to be an "anti-war" movement. The Stalinists would discover, not for the first time, that Winston Churchill had all the necessary qualifications for heading a "People's Government."

By banning the Daily Worker, the bourgeoisie dealt the Stalinists a shrewd body-blow. Having no real roots in the mass organizations, the Daily Worker was almost their sole means for making their influence felt and for spreading their propaganda. Its suppression has been taken very calmly by the workers who in their present patriotic mood welcomed the ban in many cases. Nowhere have the Stalinists even dared to call for a demonstration against the suppression of the "workers' own paper." Certainly, the London meeting of the People's Convention would not have achieved the success it did without the sustained daily propaganda of the "Worker."

To the British Section of the Fourth International falls the vital task of awakening the militant workers to the dangers inherent in the People's Convention and to counterpose to its false policy our proletarian military policy, based on the historic needs of the working class at this critical moment in the life of humanity.

Britain's Labor Leaders---Their Actual Role

By JACK WEBER

The most reliable and indispensable instrument to British capitalism in the war is the trade union bureaucracy. It is through leaders like Bevin, Morrison, Cline, Alexander that British imperialism entraps the working class into fighting solely for the interests of capitalism.

Suppose Churchill had tried to force the total conscription of labor on the English proletariat by himself. Suppose an out-and-out Tory government had given to itself the totalitarian powers enacted into law in the Emergency Power Act. This act gives the government the right to arrest and detain in prison without any charges, without any trial, without any explanation of any kind, any person it sees fit — for the duration of the war! It gives Churchill the right to conscript all men and women, of whatever age, and to send them to work or to other duties anywhere in the land.

Workers Would Have Battled

Would the workers have entrusted such sweeping powers to a Tory government? Of course not! They would have put up a tremendous battle for their rights. They would have denounced a government which tried to put an end to all their democratic rights. Very wisely, therefore, Churchill put to use those labor "leaders" who dominate the trade unions by use of their powerful machinery of bureaucracy. He established a Tory-Labor "Coalition" government; that is, a government in which the false representatives of the working-class make the workers responsible for the functioning of the capitalist system.

Did the Tories completely and callously neglect to build air-raid shelters for the masses of people? They put a labor man in charge of this department, and let him assure the working class that everything possible is being done — when nothing is actually done. Is it necessary to produce more in the factories, to have the factory hands put in long hours, to have them put up with ever worsening conditions? Then let good old Bevin take the matter in hand. Bevin lays down the (capitalist) law — no strikes or disputes during wartime! The workers must submit to compulsory arbitration, of course with their "own" man on the board that settles issues.

Hiding Signs of Discontent

War always means such suffering and hardships for the masses that their hatred for a system which imposes these unbearable conditions is bound to flare up sooner or later. In England elections are held periodically for members of parliament. Since the beginning of the war, there have been fifty-two such elections. To hide any signs of discontent, Churchill got a political "truce" from the Labor Party when he elevated its leaders into the government. Parliament must stay the same during the war — so many Tories, so many Labor members.

What have the workers to gain from all this? Exactly nothing. On the contrary, they lose all along the line. Capitalism strengthens itself at every point at the expense of the proletariat. The workers are tied hand and foot, not only at home but in the colonies as well where the same laws are made to apply with the benediction of Bevin and Company. Under the EPA (Emergency Power Act) the militant fighters for working class rights and for colonial freedom are seized and put in jail. Thus Wallace Johnson, President of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress, was jailed at once. So was Uriah Butler who led the militant West Indies strike of 1937. He was deported to a small island (Nelson) off Trinidad. Militant Hindu leaders were similarly disposed of.

A Capitalist's Frank Remarks

The capitalists use these privileged labor leaders to tie the trade unions and the Labor Party to the capitalist state. But let no one suppose that the factory owners have anything but contempt for these tools! The English writer Crowther, of the British financial journal, the Economist, expresses this contempt in the New York Times (March 23rd):

"Trade union leaders are elderly gentlemen who want to get higher wages for their members, but otherwise wish to change nothing. . . . British trade unions occupy approximately the same place in politics today as the Church of England occupied in the last century. . . . The presence of trade union leaders in the Cabinet is no more a portent of revolution than the fact that Bishops of the Established Church sit in the House of Lords. . . . Nothing has been more noticeable in Churchill's cabinet than the personal mediocrity of the labor leaders."

Crowther would be quite wrong if he thought that the class conscious British workers enjoy the spectacle of these mediocrities pushed around with Churchill's cane. It is these workers who are demanding an end to the truce between labor and capitalism. This question will come up at the Labor Party Conference to be held this June. But it seems unlikely that the British workers will have gone forward enough by that time to force their leaders to break off the truce and the coalition. Such a step would mean a tremendous sharpening of the class struggle. It would be the greatest news of the war.

Meantime the American working class can learn a great deal from the situation in England. Men like Hillman, Green, Murray, Lewis follow closely in the footsteps of their British prototypes, Bevin and Morrison. They must not be permitted to put over a truce with United States capitalism during the war. The workers would be completely at the mercy of their bosses in that case. The American proletariat must fight for its own interests!

Belgium's Official Labor Leaders

Servants of the King, They Now Serve Hitler or Churchill

By J. VAN DEN COSTE

Before the outbreak of the war, the Belgian Trotskyists predicted that the reformist leadership of the Belgian labor movement would inevitably undergo a fearful degeneration. No one, however, could have imagined how speedily and in what grotesque forms this degeneration has taken place.

Most of the leaders of the Belgian section of the Second International (the Belgian Labor Party and the trade unions) are today in the service of Hitler. The rest perform equally vile services for Churchill. At the beginning of the war, in the name of "national unity" they called upon the Belgian proletariat to renounce the class struggle; and now they continue to preach

ted to become a great power, but must be Balkanized.

There is really nothing astonishing about Huysmans' point of view. He, who denied the reality of the class struggle in Belgium and insisted on the reality of "national unity," is consistent enough in imputing such "national unity" to Germany and in calling for a war of extermination against the German people.

Needless to say, Huysmans' co-thinkers in this country, the scoundrels who edit the New Leader, warmly praise Huysmans' services to Churchill and conceal his views on the question of war aims. Let us remind our reader: those are the views of the President of the Second International! The only other internationally-known Belgian "socialist" in London is De Bronckere, who is collaborating in de Gaulle's paper, France.

"SOCIALISTS" IN THE SERVICE OF HITLER

The overwhelming majority of the Belgian Second International leaders, however, either remained in or returned to Belgium after the occupation, and made their peace with Hitler. This, too, is not inconsistent. They always preached "national unity" in the service of a great power. They did that when Belgium was a satellite of France; now they do it when Belgium is a satellite of Germany.

The chairman of the Belgian Labor Party, Henry de Man, issued on June 28, 1940 the Manifesto of the Belgian Labor Party. It said:

"Do not think that it is necessary to resist the forces of occupation. War has brought

the collapse of parliamentary government... a free path has been opened to us... Peace... can emerge out of Europe, unified by arms, in which economic frontiers will be destroyed... This new order, despite everything in it alien to our habits of thought, does more to destroy class differences than the so-called democracies... Consider the political role of the Belgian Labor Party as finished... Prepare to enter into the cadres of national resurrection which will draw all the living forces of the nation... united by their loyalty to the King..."

Boris Nicolaevsky, the Russian Menshevik, writing in the New Leader of March 29 supplies a number of the hitherto missing links in this ugly story. He reports that "a meeting took place in Limoges (France) in August (1940) of the representatives of the Belgian trade unions. All agreed to the necessity of returning to Belgium."

Then, at the end of August, a meeting of the leaders of the Socialist and Independent trade unions in Brussels adopted a resolution in which they stated:

"They wish, like de Man, to unite all the constructive forces of the nation in a great movement to serve the national collective and with that end, to put an end to all party politics. . . . They believe that the phenomenon of class struggle, arising out of a free capitalist economy, must and will be transformed in our country into a social and economic order in which trade unions, representing the collective and under the control of the government, will fix the conditions of labor and regulate production."

They conclude with the slogan of the German Nazi labor front: "The obligation to work, joy through labor, the labor front!"

WHY THESE "SOCIALISTS" NOW SERVE HITLER

Neither Nicolaevsky nor the New Leader make any attempt to explain how their comrades — there can no longer be a pretense

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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.

Grim Anniversary

An old man with a bulbous nose and a pot belly draped with a heavy gold watch chain participated recently at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet to raise funds for Greek war relief. When Wendell Willkie, the principal speaker, concluded his remarks with "Pray God that day—British victory—will not be far away," the old man jumped to his feet and added his croaking voice to the cheers of the audience. The old man was J. P. Morgan.

Such a cheer from Morgan has a gruesome sound. We know, for we have heard that cheer before—exactly 24 years ago this April 6th, the anniversary of United States entry into the World War.

The present imperialist slaughter is not something new and unrelated to that last war. On the contrary, it is a continuation. It springs from the same imperialist ambitions and unresolved rivalries which fostered the first world war.

J. P. Morgan is the living symbol of this continuity. He, more than any other one man, contrived our participation in the last war.

In 1915, Morgan became the exclusive Allied purchasing agent in the United States. In addition he and his banker colleagues floated private loans to finance the Allied war efforts.

A letter which Colonel House, Morgan's friend, sent to President Wilson shortly before war was declared, has since been published. In this letter House pointed to the financial catastrophe to American capitalism if the Morgan-sponsored loans to Britain should be wiped out by a British defeat. House demanded a declaration of war. And it came.

The financial interests of Morgan and his breed are far more gigantic today than in 1917. Britain is now at best a junior partner of the American bankers. Morgan's gruesome cheer is for a war that means many more billions in profits for him and his kind than in 1917 and equally as much more death and agony for the masses.

This war is a continuation of the last in still another sense. Out of the last war was born the Russian Revolutions of 1917 and that great proletarian revolutionary tide which swept through Europe and stopped the war.

A continuation is not a repetition. This war will not simply repeat the events of the last. The present imperialist armed struggle is the expression of a capitalist world far more decayed than it was in 1917. It involves masses who have within their reach the knowledge and experiences of the

October Revolution and the lessons of the invincible Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

The last war witnessed the overthrow of the weakest link in world capitalism, the Russian bourgeoisie. This war places on the order of the day the revolutionary overthrow of the entire world system of capitalism.

In this overthrow, the American working-class is destined to play a decisive part. The American workers have passed through a tempering fire of vast struggles in the past ten years. They are more hardened and matured in the class struggle. Compared to the stripling who faced 1917, the American working class is now a full-grown giant.

Trotsky wrote in 1940, "...the objective situation and the experience accumulated by the American workers can pose within a very brief period of time on the order of the day the question of the conquest of power..."

It is this conquest of power by the American proletariat which will put an end to this war and to all future capitalist wars. Then we shall really celebrate the anniversary of April 6, 1917!

They Praise Violence!

The thing that happened in Yugoslavia last week is what is called the violent overthrow of a legally-constituted government. The army ousted the regular government ministers from office, arrested them, occupied government buildings. The regent, Prince Paul, was put to flight, and young Peter Karageorgevitch was proclaimed King.

Now we have been hearing a lot from President Roosevelt, Churchill & Co. about "violence and disorder." We are being told every day that we are going to have to go to war to combat these evil things. We just can't have governments being ousted, overthrown, parliaments ignored, ministers arrested and all that. It just isn't democratic.

What must be our surprise then to hear Roosevelt and Churchill both and all their radios and their newspapers hailing with joyful satisfaction this reversal of orderly democratic processes? Churchill said that "Yugoslavia has found her soul." Roosevelt promptly sent King Peter a promise of help. The New York Times called the military putsch "the choice of a free people."

Can it be that our rulers are not really defenders of democratic orderliness at all times and under all conditions? Is it really, really possible that they are ready to blink their eyes a little at deviations from the true path when their higher imperialist interests require it?

So it would seem. How else can we explain their pleasure over a violent military putsch? Or their alliances with the bloody Greek dictatorship? Or the inclusion of a dozen Latin American dictatorships in the hemispheric "democratic" front? Or the recognition of the hangman and butcher Chiang Kai-shek as a "democratic leader"?

In other words, we learn again that all this talk about "democracy" and "orderly processes" is a lot of bunk. When it suits their imperialist interests, our rulers are quite ready to be pleased with violence and disorder, even with the overthrow of governments by means other than orderly elections.

Let us not, on our part, be hypnotized by empty words. Our bosses are quite realistic. We have to be too.

Convoys Next

"It is going to mean nothing in winning the war unless the goods we produce and ship reach their destination. But due to thinness of protection, ships are sunk and goods are lost... It is an essential part of German tactics to throttle the American supply. We have got to make up our minds what we are going to do about it. Are we going to deliver the goods?"

These are the words of Colonel William J. Donovan in his radio address of March 26. Donovan was "reporting" on his recent three months tour of the war zone as an "unofficial" Administration observer. His words are, of course, the ideas of Roosevelt himself.

This statement of Donovan's was the opening gun in the campaign for armed convoys.

Donovan implies, that the only way goods can be delivered to England is with the protection of the United States Navy.

It is significant that Donovan's "report" to the American people dwelt exclusively on the single question of implementing "Aid to Britain" and stayed clear of telling us the state of affairs in Europe. Not for the masses is the actual report he made to Roosevelt on the conditions in Europe, the war aims of the Allies, the commitments exchanged with Churchill. Ours not to reason why or to know why or wherefore.

The Administration defeated the attempt to amend the lease-lend bill to ban the use of convoys. Nevertheless, the bill as passed does include the clause: "Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize or permit the authorization of conveying vessels by naval vessels of the United States."

This clause was thrown in as a deceptive sop to appease the fear of the masses that the lease-lend bill would pave the way to armed convoys and war. It was a lawyer's trick. The clause does not prohibit such convoys.

The fight of the anti-war forces must be concentrated now against the use of armed convoys. Only the sternest opposition of the American masses can give Roosevelt pause in taking this next step into the war.

GPU Frees Siqueiros; Buys Mexican "Justice"

Leader of May 24, 1940 Machine-Gun Attack On Trotsky House Is Released On Bail Despite Guilt For Bob Harte's Murder

MEXICO CITY.—The GPU does not forget its agents. With its vast resources it has succeeded in corrupting Mexican justice and liberating David Alfaro Siqueiros, the leader of the GPU gang that made the machine-gun attack on the Trotsky home on May 24, 1940, murdering Trotsky's young guard Robert Sheldon Harte.

Siqueiros has not been fully liberated as yet. He has, however, been freed on bail. The bail bond required was the sum of 800 dollars (4000 pesos). Unless within Mexico there is a reaction to this perversion of justice it is easy to predict that Siqueiros will be completely liberated or suffer a slight fine or small sentence.

After the attack on May 24th the Communist Party and its fellow travellers, trying to throw people off the track, demanded that the culprits guilty of the attack be apprehended and dealt with severely. They then raised a howl that the attack was organized by Trotsky himself.

Unfortunately for the GPU, some of the gang participating in the attack were caught and it became clear that the GPU was directly responsible.

SIQUEIROS' GUILT

Siqueiros was named by his accomplices as the leader of the attack. After much criticism the authorities finally succeeded in locating his hiding place and capturing him. During the hearings

he claimed that he had charge of the "external" side of the attack but had nothing to do with the machine-gunning of Trotsky's bedroom.

It was proved, however, that Siqueiros came to the scene dressed in the uniform of a major of the Mexican army; that he directed the tying up of the policemen on guard at the house.

About 300 bullets were fired into Trotsky's bedroom and other rooms of the house. Incendiary bombs were hurled into some of the rooms. Robert Sheldon Harte, the young guard, was kidnapped and murdered.

HIS ABSURD ALIBI

Siqueiros made the preposterous claim that the purpose of the attack was to get some documents to prove that Trotsky was a "counter-revolutionary."

Was it necessary to fire 300 shots from machine guns to get

these documents? Did it require the murder of Harte to get the documents? And why were no documents taken by the gang? Did Siqueiros know where those documents were?

Siqueiros' fantastic story was enough to convict him before any body. He was guilty of many crimes — the most serious being the attempt on the life of Trotsky and the murder of Harte.

But the GPU is stronger than Mexican justice. It has limitless amounts of money and tremendous influence.

MAY FREE ASSASSIN

And now that Siqueiros is out the GPU is already mobilizing its forces to liberate Jackson, the assassin who killed Trotsky on August 20, 1940. It sounds fantastic but let no one be surprised if the GPU succeeds in "proving" that Jackson was insane at the time he attacked Trotsky or became insane afterwards.

There must be many Mexicans hanging their heads in shame at the spectacle of GPU murderers going scot-free. But it is not enough simply to be ashamed. An active campaign against the GPU is necessary to prevent the greatest travesty of justice.

Union Officials' Salaries Must Rise, Say Officials

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International (AFL) opens its Golden Jubilee Convention on April 21, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Whatever else the convention does or doesn't do, the one thing its international officers are determined on is to get a raise.

More interesting than this news are the reasons given by the officials to justify increases in their own salaries.

The stage was set for the increase in an article "The Case For More Adequate Salaries," in the international's monthly, *The Catering Industry Employee*, in January. The key sentence in that article read:

"They (the union officials) must constantly meet and fraternize with employers and professional elements, many of whom receive far greater salaries than we have been in the habit of paying (to our officers) and many have been the embarrasments suffered by uncomplaining officials because of this fact."

The international officials "fraternize with employers" and therefore should be able to live the same kind of life, financially, as the employers. That's what that sentence says, and quite baldly!

THE RESULTS OF "FRATERNIZATION"

What happens to union officials who "fraternize with employers" and live the life of the employers, with costly homes, vacations in Florida, etc.?

With their touching desire to avoid embarrassment for those who can't live on the same scale, such officials spare such embarrassment to the rank and file of the unions by the simple expedient of never "fraternizing" with the rank and file. They spend their time with those who can "fraternize" on that scale: other international officials and the bosses.

After a few years of that they understand the "problems" of the bosses infinitely better than they understand the needs of their "own" rank and file. They are no longer workers' leaders: they are "labor statesmen," performing a "national service" by graciously controlling the unions.

One local union protested against "The Case for More Adequate Salaries," and was sufficiently influential to secure publication of its letter in the March issue of *The Catering Industry Employee*. This was the Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Local 228 of Oakland, California. Its letter made a number of very cogent points:

On "fraternizing with employers" it said:

"Now it seems to us that as a matter of strict trade union principles; any of our officials, local or international, must meet with employers. However, we do not feel that the best interests of trade union principles are served by fraternizing with these groups."

On salaries it said:

"In the fourth paragraph (of the article) it is stated that Brother Meaney, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, worked for the very modest stipend of \$10,000 and is now raised to \$18,000... The maximum for a miscellaneous worker on the West Coast is from \$17.50 to \$20. per week in union houses. Many workers whom we sign up are receiving as little as \$8 to \$10 per week, and we wonder if the author of that article ever tried to sell Unionism to people receiving \$10 and less per week, only to have them join the union and read in our official magazine reference to the 'very modest stipend of \$10,000 per year'?"

The letter concludes with the warning that, with talk "about modest stipends of \$10,000 or \$18,000 a year, is it any wonder that the newer members of our International Union think that unionism is a racket? We as (local) Union are not opposed to adequate salaries to officials; however, we feel that a decent salary plus an expense account is sufficient."

The International's answer to this letter—written by the monthly's editor—avoids most of the questions raised, but more than makes up for that by one utterly revealing sentence:

THE BUREAUCRAT'S VIEW OF THE WORLD

"You take exception in your fifth paragraph to my statement that 'Brother Meaney, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, worked for the very modest stipend of \$10,000 and is raised to \$18,000.' All right—I repeat that statement. All things are relative, and we do not compare (workers') wages with salaries paid our Business Representatives, Secretary-Treasurers of locals, let alone our National and International officers."

"We do not compare" a worker's wage with that of the officer who is supposed to serve him! Just absorb the full meaning of that revealing phrase! The working stiff and the union official—they are not of the same clay, they belong to different worlds, their incomes cannot be compared with each other. There is the soul of the labor bureaucrat!

Naturally, if he finds it impossible to compare in any way

the wage of the worker and the salary of the worker's "own" official, how, then, can the bureaucrat compare the wage of the worker with the "earnings" of the boss?

Horror is the natural sentiment which rises in the soul of the bureaucrat if he hears a worker say, to hell with the boss, we do all the work and we ought to get the fruits of our work. Horror—for what kind of a world would it be if the worker could squeeze the boss dry and—good heavens!—perhaps even reduce the boss to the living standard of the worker? Where would the international union official be in such a world?

"No," says the soul of the bureaucrat, "the world must be a place where common clay gets one kind of living, and an entirely different kind of living is reserved for those whose incomes 'do not compare with' the workers' wage—the bosses and those who 'fraternize with the employers.'"

Such is the soul of the labor bureaucrat—one which cannot conceive of any other kind of world except the capitalist world of privileged and underprivileged, of those who toll and those who reap the fruits, of the worker and his exploiters. That is the soul of practically all top trade union officials—the soul of labor-leutenants of capitalism.

The workers will be led to complete freedom not by these men but by those pledged to destroy capitalism—the revolutionary socialists.

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Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

For the Independence of Ethiopia

With the expulsion of the Italian imperialist army from Ethiopia, the people of that country should lose no time in demanding the immediate retirement of all British troops and complete independence. And, what is more important, they should prepare their forces to conduct a serious struggle to win those demands.

One can be absolutely certain that British imperialism will hold on to Ethiopia as long as it possibly can and will not grant independence to the Ethiopian people unless it is compelled to do so.

When in 1935 Mussolini sent an army to subjugate the Ethiopians, the Trotskyist movement unhesitatingly came out in favor of the Ethiopian people against the Italian imperialists.

Some people were surprised at the fact that we took such a position. How could a revolutionary party representing everything that constitutes progress defend a backward country like Ethiopia? It was asserted, and the truth of the assertion could not be challenged, that feudalism and slavery characterized Ethiopian society and that Haile Selassie, the "Lion of Judah," was nothing but a cruel slave-driver.

There were those who argued further that the conquest of Ethiopia by an advanced capitalist country would be progressive because its backwardness would thereby be destroyed. Others, recognizing the imperialist aims of Italy, were unwilling to take sides in the struggle, also offering the backwardness of Ethiopia and the cruelty of its ruler as justification for their attitude of neutrality.

Revolutionary Marxists brushed away all these arguments as superficial and presented the basic Marxist contention: that in the modern world imperialism constitutes the most reactionary force because it is imperialism that prevents the growth and further development of the productive forces. Consequently the struggle of any group, even though living in a backward country, against any section of the imperialist world is progressive in character and must be supported.

We did not support Ethiopia against Italian imperialism because we preferred the Ethiopian backward economy to the capitalist economy of Italy but because a victory of the Ethiopian people would have been a blow at the whole system of imperialism.

There was of course, and there can be, no danger whatever that a victory of the Ethiopians might lead to the supplanting of capitalist economy by the feudal and slave-owning economy of Ethiopia. Capitalist economy can be replaced only by a socialist economy and a defeat of Italian imperialism at the hands of the Ethiopians would advance the interests of the future socialist economy.

At the time of the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy, British imperialism was willing to permit the subjugation of the Ethiopian people by a rival imperialism. The British imperialists were not exactly overjoyed at the spectacle but still did not consider Mussolini's venture of such danger to themselves as to justify going to war about it. Under the leadership of Eden a small section of the British ruling class favored taking drastic measures to teach Mussolini a lesson, but Eden was overruled. The loss of independence of the Ethiopians was a matter that did not disturb the British imperialists. All they did was to give the "Lion of Judah" asylum in London, no doubt thinking that he might come in handy in the future.

Sure enough Churchill and Eden had a chance to dust off the Lion of Judah. When the British imperialists found themselves at war with Mussolini they shipped Haile Selassie back to mobilize the Ethiopians against the Italian army.

The Ethiopian tribesmen, not belonging to the leftist sects that plague the revolutionary movement of the advanced capitalist countries, but being practical people, decided that it was perfectly proper to accept guns from the British imperialists and use them against the Italian imperialists. The main enemy were the robbers who had actual possession of the house and it was necessary to utilize all means to kick them out.

The Fight Against British Imperialism

And now that the Italian exploiters have been compelled to get out, the Ethiopians should turn their attention to the British who helped the Ethiopians not out of any altruistic motives but because it served British imperialist interests to do so.

The leaders of British imperialism have already announced that they will take the Ethiopians under their tutelage and grant them independence only after a period of preparatory training.

That the Ethiopian people require help to develop their country is something that cannot be denied. But that the Ethiopian people require training by the British imperialists in order to be independent is disproved by the fact that they have been independent for centuries without the aid of the British imperialists.

It would be perfectly possible for Great Britain to help the Ethiopians develop their country industrially without subjecting them to any period of tutelage. But that is out of the question for the British ruling class which is not interested in the progress and independence of the Ethiopians. It is interested only in exploiting the Ethiopians.

Only a socialist regime in England would grant independence to Ethiopia and at the same time help the Ethiopians develop their country industrially. Under a socialist regime it would be to the advantage of the English people to see to it that all industrially backward countries received their help. Under socialism the standard of living in one country rises to the extent that all countries are fully developed. That is why the colonial and semi-colonial peoples must join the revolutionary proletariat of the advanced countries in the struggle against imperialism.

Whereas the Lion of Judah can come to some agreement with the British Lion and thus obtain some crumbs for himself, the Ethiopian people have no other recourse than to demand complete independence from the British imperialists and to struggle for it with all weapons at their disposal.