

Twin Cities MAY DAY MEETING

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON

See details page 6

THE MILITANT

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Stalin's Pact With Japan Strikes Blow At China

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HITLER DICTATED IT

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOVIET UNION IN DANGER

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

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

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

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

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

Anti-Subway Workers Bill Is Signed

Despite National CIO Opposition, Lehman Insists On Signing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Million Union Men Win Steel, Coal Wage Raises

When Ford Met The Union



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

Ford Backs Down And Settles With UAW-CIO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEGROES JOIN UNION

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

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

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

One by one Ford's weapons

GOVERNMENT AIDS FORD

It is ironic justice that Ford, the apostle of rugged individualism, who has always raged and fumed against governmental interference, was forced to call upon the government to intervene from the first day of the strike. The government, in the persons of Governor Van Wagoner and Federal conciliator James F. Dewey, did more to whittle down the union demands and cheat the Ford workers out of their signed contract than Ford's whole army of 5,000 thugs and gangsters.

The Ford workers must understand that government mediators and boards are nothing but kid-gloved strike breakers.

The unbreakable lines and unquestioned victory of the Ford strike on the picket line makes

bewildered middle-aged gentlemen

doubly fantastic the story of the negotiations of the strike (described in full on page 3 of this issue). Every Ford striker will recognize the fact that the final strike settlement although it constitutes a big victory, bears no resemblance to the victory that was won at the plant gates.

STRIKERS GIVEN NO VOICE

How was such a violation of the men's wishes possible? Because the strike was run and because strike policy was decided by a self-appointed leadership composed of the top CIO figures. Most of these middle-aged gentlemen—Haywood, Murray, Widman, old wheelhorses of the Lewis mine workers machine—have little understanding and less sympathy with the aspirations and the aims of the mass production workers.

That is how it happened that the men on the picket line were fighting for one set of demands while their leaders at the negotiating table had already agreed to drop these demands.

WORKERS MUST DECIDE

The Ford workers must now organize themselves so that they can run their own affairs and decide their own policy.

The Ford workers in their coming battles must elect broad rank and file strike committees composed of the most trusted and militant fighters out of each building who will constitute the highest authority of any strike, who will sit in continuous session and set strike policy from day to day and from hour to hour.

The negotiating committee elect-

(Continued on Page 3)

Raises Are Result Of Strike Wave

Ford And Bethlehem Strike Victories Back of Wage 'Grant'

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

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

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

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

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

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

The raise in coal, from \$6 to \$7 per day, is an increase of over 16 per cent. In steel, the raise averages 12% increase for the industry; for those getting the previous Northern minimum (62¢ cents) it is a 16% increase, for those in the South (previous minimum 45 cents) it is a 22 per cent increase. For the steel industry as a whole, the total additional wages are estimated at 108 millions of dollars.

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

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

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

STRIKES DID IT!

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

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

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

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

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

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

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

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

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

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Some Key Questions Asked About Socialist Policy

EDITOR:

How can socialists possibly win against formidable armed foes such as the Nazis?

How can socialists ever win if they are murdered just for being socialists?

Therefore, how can socialists neglect or oppose military training? They cannot meet bullets with sheets of paper.

If socialists oppose military training, how can they when in power ever maintain order against reactionary forces?

Are not socialists, therefore, living in a dream world and are they not really being given some of the protection of the capitalist army and navy in which to live arguing out their fine though unattainable ideals.

CARL PETERSON
Chicago, Illinois

Our Answer

1. Carl Peterson's question seems to imply that only socialists will fight their armed foes such as the Nazis. This is not correct. At the time of a real struggle against the Nazis, the revolutionary socialists will be in a minority, but they will have behind them the vast majority of the workers and also a substantial number, if not a majority of sections of the middle class. It will not be the "socialists" (by this term I hope you mean the revolutionary socialists belonging to the Socialist Workers Party, because the "socialists" of the Norman Thomas type will not be in the fight at all) who will fight the Nazis, but the whole working class supported by middle class allies. And at the time of the struggle, the Nazis will be in such a minority that all their arms will be of no avail to them. The workers too will have arms.

2. It is true that the Nazis now are murdering revolutionary socialists but they cannot murder their ideas. Since the enemies of socialism cannot solve the basic economic problems, there will always be advanced workers who in spite of all difficulties will suc-

ceed in creating groups and spreading their ideas amongst the workers. When life will become unbearable under the Nazi regime for the vast masses, then these masses will follow the ideas of the revolutionary socialists.

3. Revolutionary socialists do not neglect or oppose military training. It is only the Norman Thomas type of "socialist" who neglects or opposes military training. We are one hundred per cent in favor of military training for the workers. We believe that every worker should become an expert in the use of arms, but we insist that this military training be under the control of the workers' organizations. If we are not powerful enough to compel the government to turn over the control of military training to the workers' organizations, then we advise our members and every worker to get such military training when they are drafted into the army.

4. When the workers will take over power they will have the finest army in the world to protect their regime. They will have an army composed of people devoted to an idea, knowing what they are fighting for, ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the working class. They will be able through propaganda to influence the soldiers of the army under the control of the fascists. The army and navy at the present time does not protect the working class. It protects the property interests of the capitalist class.

THE EDITORS

Soldiers Told That A Mule Is Worth More Than A Man

EDITOR:

At artillery battery practice a sergeant drove home to the men the army officers' way of figuring things.

The army mules, he said, were more important than men. Because a mule costs \$100 whereas manpower is cheap and can easily be replaced. Besides, added the sergeant, it costs less to feed a man.

Boy, he certainly left a lot of long faces behind him!
Fort X—

WORKER-SOLDIER

PROGRESS MFG STRIKE SOLID IN 3RD WEEK

PHILADELPHIA, April 13. — Despite continued police intimidation and the attempts of the bosses to operate with scab labor, the 100 militant young workers of the Progress Manufacturing Company here are standing their ground with courageous determination in the third week of their strike for higher wages and union conditions. The company manufactures lighting equipment.

The fighting spirit of these strikers, continues high, union meetings are jammed and discussion is lively, and everyone is Johnny-on-the-spot when it comes to taking his or her shift on the picket line.

The strike was called by Local 90, Metal Polishers union (AFL), after the company refused to grant wage increases over the miserable 30 cents an hour minimum which it has been paying. Warren Bender, business agent of the local, has been directing the strike.

NEGROES PICKET

The Negro workers on strike are demonstrating exceptional militancy and determination. As one of them expressed their feelings, "They did it in Bethlehem and we can do it here."

These devoted Negro union members are particularly incensed by the attempts of the company to disrupt the solidarity of the white and Negro union members through the use of Negro strike-breakers. This is an old employer's trick, and the white strikers are putting the responsibility for this dirty practice squarely on the shoulders of the white boss and not on his wretched and half-starved tools.

The cops took revenge for the story in the April 5th MILITANT exposing the frameup arrests of strikers by the police, while strike-breakers arrested for carrying revolvers and other deadly arms were released. A MILITANT representative was arrested after distributing the paper to the strikers on the picket line.

When the patrol wagon drew up and he was taken to the station house, the strikers expressed their anger at the arrest. They knew the reason for this persecution was because THE MILITANT is the only paper which has been defending their strike.

After being grilled by six cops and detectives for several hours, the MILITANT representative was released. The cops also dropped all charges against the arrested strikers.

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

NEW YORK CITY, April 12.— Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party will celebrate May Day with a mass meeting in the evening at Irving Plaza.

Plans for possible participation in the May Day parade are being worked out. Whether the SWP will march with the "United May Day Parade," which is being organized by various Stalinist figures of the local labor movement, hinges on the decision of the Committee they have set up as to whether or not political parties of the working class will be invited to participate.

The following letter was sent to the "United May Day" Committee:

"In order to complete our preparations for the commemoration of May Day, we should like to know as soon as possible whether you have decided to invite political parties of the working class to participate in the 'United May Day Parade.'

"It seems to us that the immense of United States entry into the Second World War makes imperative a special invitation to all political parties of the workers to join in a militant and impressive demonstration of the working class on May Day. Despite the sharp differences among the various political parties, their appearance in the parade with their banners would constitute a powerful demonstration of the burning need for unity in the working class in the struggle against imperialist war, and the urgency of carrying forward this struggle

Fun On The Picket Line



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

A Refugee Writes From France

(The following description of conditions in France's concentration camps was written by a German Trotskyist, who is still in France, in mortal danger of being turned over to the Nazis. Funds to aid him and his German, Spanish, Polish, and Italian comrades are urgently needed. They should be sent c/o THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, New York City.)

Even before the French bourgeoisie under the protection of the German occupation army prohibited all labor organizations, at a time when they still called themselves "Republique Francaise" and were ruled by Daladier, Reynaud, and Blum, they began cleaning up the remnants of "democratic liberties" where they had to expect the least opposition: with the foreigners.

The drive against the foreigners in France formed a substitute for anti-Semitism and served exactly the same purpose. Many thousands of foreign workers who, in the boom times, had been warmly welcomed as labor slaves in the large industrial centers, were brutally expelled in the years 1938 and 1939, together with their families and all their scant possessions.

The outbreak of the war, then, served as a welcome pretext for still further oppression of these layers of the population (it was a question of about three million, mostly proletarians); the fairy-tale of the "Fifth Column" was invented and thousands upon thousands of these workers locked up in concentration camps.

The French bourgeoisie ever since the Commune has proved that, in cruelty and brutality of its penal system, it cannot be surpassed by any Balkan state. Even when there was no scarcity of food in France, the interned masses had to subsist on starvation rations.

After the catastrophe and the beginning of lack of food, the position of the inmates of the concentration camps was rendered by far worse than was justified by objective conditions. Today they are, in the camps of Gurs, Argeles, Vernet, and St. Cyprien, exposed to a slow and miserable death: veterans of the Spanish civil war, German refugees, Jews, men and women of all nationalities who were arrested on account of a denunciation, or simply because they used to belong to a labor organization.

Furthermore, there are thousands of foreigners who were arrested only because they joined against war on the political plane. "If the committee should decide against inviting political parties of the workers to participate, we feel that the parade could not genuinely be characterized as a 'united' parade, since one of the most important sections of the working class, the political section, bearing the brunt of the struggle against imperialist war, would have been excluded.

PROPOSED SLOGANS: "In the 'official' list of slogans approved to date by your committee we note that slogans essential to successful working class opposition to war have been omitted. We therefore ask you to include in the official list of slogans to be carried on the banners in the parade the following:

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

GRACE CARLSON ENDS 3-MONTHS NATIONAL TOUR

Twin Cities Party Branches Welcome Her With Banquet

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 13. — Almost 100 people attended the banquet given here last night at party headquarters in honor of Grace Carlson, who has just returned home after her three-months national tour.

Speaking on the American workers' fight against war, Comrade Carlson reported on the growth of the Socialist Workers Party, coast-to-coast, as the most important part of that fight.

"Our movement in this country is very, very definitely gaining the attention of workers. Following the dictum of our Old Man to 'Go forward!' workers everywhere are beginning to think that the Socialist Workers Party will lead them in their struggle."

Comrade Carlson told of several of her meetings throughout the country. Everywhere she was received well, earnestly and sincerely by workers approaching the SWP as the only solution to this world of unemployment, insecurity, poverty and starvation.

Memphis, she said, was the "outstanding spot in the tour."

In a place where it is against the law to have a mixed white-and-colored meeting, where in the railroad station there is a "Colored Waiting Room" where Negroes are herded to stand like cattle separate from their brother whites, where always the color line is drawn until spirits are broken and it takes tremendous courage for a Negro even to be seen in the company of a white man—in this place, a very successful meeting was organized in a Negro home.

"It was heartbreaking, how warmly they treated me just for calling them human beings," Comrade Carlson said.

Describing the Rochester, N. Y. meeting, the speaker told of some seminary students who attended, asking if she ever agitated against workers' use of violence. Comrade Carlson answered question with question, "Do you ever teach employers that they should pay a living wage, and then 'violent' strikes won't come? What bothers me is that you pious people worry about the man on the picket line who gets clunked on the head and the boss who is kept out of his plant, and not about this rotten system of unemployment, poverty and starvation that causes it all."

In Detroit and Flint, comrade Carlson said, "You could feel that the workers were restless, dissatisfied." The SWP is the only party distributing papers at factory gates there.

Poverty-stricken, dispossessed farmers, 118 in all, came out to the meeting in Plentywood, Montana. "It's the day-to-day work of comrades throughout the country that's gaining hegemony over the workers," Comrade Carlson concluded. "We have the program, the leadership, the devoted cadres... that will establish a society of peace and plenty."

A new feature of this banquet was singing of workers' songs by the recently-organized Twin City Chorus.

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HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

The Rockford LABOR NEWS reports with indignation an order issued at nearby Camp Grant for bidding soldiers to patronize the 100% union lunch room owned by E. A. Cunningham. Cunningham's restaurant is near the camp. It is reported two soldiers who entered the place were later thrown into the guardhouse.

LABOR, railroad union organ, for April 1st has some more interesting figures on taxation, taken from a recent report of the Department of Commerce. Of each \$1 in taxes raised by the 48 states, 40c was raised by means of sales taxes. The states got only 9 per cent of their \$4,171,000,000 revenues through income taxes; only 6 per cent by taxes on property; only 3 per cent by inheritance, estate and gift taxes. "In short, the states are getting a small and decreasing part of their taxes from 'them who have,' and a large and increasing part from 'them who have not,' by means of sales taxes which hit the poor hardest."

The United Rubber Workers Union is running an effective ad in the Akron labor paper, listing the 44 plants in which the union has raised wages during the past year. Increases run as high as 28 cents per hour.

Here's a pip. The Chicago FEDERATION NEWS reports that embalmers in Chicago are now organizing and their union has signed up with many undertakers. However the union is having great difficulty persuading the undertakers to accept a ONE HUNDRED AND TWO HOUR WEEK. The undertakers want them to work longer hours. Wages and conditions around the death industry have always been maggoty.

The TOBACCO WORKER reports that the union has filed a petition for an NLRB election in the Camel division of the Reynolds plant in Winston-Salem. The union claims a huge majority in the division. The Tobacco Workers International has just won a new contract at Brown & Williamson calling for a nickel-an-hour straight increase. What's particularly good about this pact is that the union insisted there be no wage differential because of sex or color.

Practically all cigarette companies are now under union contract, but only the following bear the union label: Raleigh, Twenty Grand, Kool, Spud, Viceroy, Avalon, Yankee Girl, Wings, and Spud Imperial. Reynolds is the only major firm not yet signed up with the T. W. I. U.

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

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

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

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

Various union papers are now reporting the local effects of the Roosevelt program to starve the unemployed and feed the war machine. The Montana LABOR NEWS reports that in Silver Bow county about 200 WPA workers were dropped from WPA rolls last week, and about 1,200 were fired in all parts of Montana. Similar layoffs are to occur each month until July 1st, when local WPA authorities expect to have the rolls reduced by approximately 46 per cent.

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

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

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

The MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for Sessions—Week of April 21st

MONDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m. by William M. Warde

The Democratic Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie.

8:50 to 10:20 p.m. by Lydia Beidel

The AFL-CIO Split and the CIO.

WEDNESDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m. by Jack Weber

The USSR and War: Which Side Stalin.

8:50 to 10:20 p.m. by Farrell Dobbs

The Necessity for Trade Unions to Enter Politics.

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 16th St.



WE'RE RESTING AFTER THE BIG STORM

The end of the two-month subscription campaign, conducted by the party with a gusto that was almost violent in some places, has left us feeling a little like the lull after a storm.

The big job of computing the distribution of the subscriptions sent in has resulted in the following tabulation:

50c Specials—572
\$3 Combinations—123
1-year Militant—57
1/2-year Militant—145
1-year F.I.—23
1/2-year F.I.—27
Miscellaneous—8

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The question which now naturally follows is this: Will we fall back into our old habit of non-attention to subscriptions or will this fine experience serve to inspire us with a durable enthusiasm?

Several cities have volunteered answers—Chicago, Boston, Detroit, our Minnesota cities. They, who made the finest showings in the campaign, are convinced that their performance could have been still better if they had earlier realized the potentialities of the drive. They are anxious to

continue getting subscriptions in an organized manner.

The great march of labor is still keeping us moving in the printing and circulation of the MILITANT. As an indication of how our members keep a sharp eye open for possibilities of penetration into the working class mass, we have the following communication from Boston:

"With the Bethlehem Steel issue we hit the Bethlehem plant at Fore River, Quincy, Massachusetts on Monday at the 11 P.M. night shift, disposing of many hundreds of MILITANTS. The workers took the paper and stuffed it in their pockets or bags. One worker was reading it outside a cafe across the street from the main gate; he had it open full length looking inside at the story of the Bethlehem Pennsylvania strike. The paper was very well received.

"The workers coming out Monday night were mainly young workers. 22,000 work at this plant and there must have been two or three thousand workers coming out on the shift we hit."

This is the kind of work that builds a movement.

How The Ford Negotiations Were Conducted

There Was An Awful Gap Between Militant Picket Line And UAW-CIO Negotiators

DETROIT, April 14—On Wednesday, April 2nd, 12:15 A.M., the UAW-CIO authorized a strike of all workers at River Rouge, after a sit-down strike had halted all production in the plant. When the whistles blew for the Wednesday morning shift, it was obvious to everybody that the strike was 100% effective.

The union announced the following demands as the objectives of the strike:

"Immediate reinstatement of all workers discharged because of union affiliation;

"A wage increase of 10c an hour to bring the wage rates of Ford workers up to the standard of those paid by General Motors and Chrysler;

"Establishment of seniority to govern lay-offs and rehiring;

"Establishment of a shop steward system to speedily and justly handle grievances as they arise;

"Abolition of the Ford spy system and its infamous Service Department;

"And other elements of a contractual agreement which will make possible operation of the River Rouge plant on a basis of equity for the workers."

The union's statement concluded by promising that "the strike will be fought through to victory."

FORD'S FIRST TACTIC

Ford adopted the old Judge Gary formula of sitting tight. He refused to meet with the union committee, he refused to conduct any negotiations on the union demands and sent only minor company officials and Ford Service men to confer with Governor Van Wagoner and Federal conciliator James F. Dewey.

Late afternoon Thursday, I. A. Capizzi, Ford Company attorney, obtained a sweeping temporary injunction writ from Federal Judge Arthur J. Tuttle which sharply restricted picketing in the strike. The company also demanded a million dollar damages from the union. Harry Bennett charged the strike was a "red plot" and requested Roosevelt to send in Federal troops. His only reply to union demands was "we are not going to put the eight men who caused this trouble back to work. They can negotiate till Christmas."

But the stiff-necked stand of the Ford management did not phase the strikers. On Thursday they revealed for the whole world to see their absolute control of the situation and their ability to keep the River Rouge Plant shut.

Yet suddenly, out of a clear

sky, with no explanation, the top union committee withdrew its original demands and offered a new "basis for settlement":

STRIKE DEMANDS CHANGED
1. Recognition of the union for its members in the Rouge plant.

2. "An agreement by the Ford Motor Co. and the UAW-CIO representing its members in the River Rouge plant, that the company is to establish in the plant standards of wages and provisions for seniority, handling of grievances, etc., which are part of the union's current agreement with General Motors and Chrysler Corporation, the details of such an agreement to be worked out in joint conferences which are to be completed within a week."

3. "Upon acceptance of above points operations in the plant to be resumed with reinstatement of all strikers and all workers discharged because of union activity or affiliation, to their customary employment."

CONTRAST WITH 1937

These new proposals represented a watering down of the union demands and definitely proposed to call off the strike without a signed contract. With this one scratch of the pen, the stake for which the men were fighting on the picket line, was materially reduced.

What a step backward in comparison with the G.M. strike of 1937! There the UAW demanded and won a signed contract granting sole collective bargaining rights in all the struck plants.

Four years later, when the UAW has the whole industry organized and a membership of 400,000 auto workers exclusive of the Ford workers, these leaders propose calling off the most effective strike in the world against America's symbol of the open shop without even asking for a signed contract!

Who authorized the CIO leaders to give up the signed contract? Not the Ford workers! Unfortunately the Ford workers were still too new to unionism to understand clearly what was go-

Ford's Goons Tried It



Who creates the strike violence? This picture shows Ford's strikebreakers and armed "Service Department" thugs are here revealed as they charged out of one of the Ford gates into a public highway and began to assault isolated and unarmed pickets with big wrenches and specially made three foot long steel bars.

ing on, and to understand how to control the actions and impose their demands on the CIO leaders.

All of Friday and all through the week-end, the company continued sitting tight, and Capizzi and Harry Bennett contented themselves with hurling wild accusations of "red plots" and "communist conspiracies," at the union. The Governor and conciliator Dewey were rushing around the state wild-eyed, in a frantic effort to locate Hank Ford, while the strikers, serene and undisturbed, continued their siege of the River Rouge fortress. Over the week-end tens of thousands of automobiles loaded with UAW members streamed past the beleaguered factory, keeping a vigilant eye on the Service men and the state troops.

On Monday morning the NLRB in Washington, in a desperate effort to break the deadlock ordered an election held at the Ford Plants setting 45 days as the deadline date.

On Tuesday, the solid, unmoving strike front broke the resistance of the Ford management. Upon receiving word that Ford officials were willing to meet with him, Philip Murray left for Detroit.

Murray held a preliminary

meeting with Harry Bennett and I. A. Capizzi in the afternoon. That evening at a meeting at Bennett's home in Ypsilanti, attended by Bennett, Capizzi, Gov. Van Wagoner, Dewey, and Widman, Haywood, Thomas and Murray for the CIO, the Ford Company agreed to reinstate five of the eight fired workers, resume bargaining with the plant bargaining committees and establish a top bargaining committee of six people, two from the union, two from the company and Van Wagoner and Dewey.

And right then and there, without consulting the Ford workers or even the stewards' body, these union leaders agreed to drop their basic demands and call off the strike. Why? Why did they do it?

Because these conservative, timid union officials exaggerate in their own minds one hundred times over the power of the capitalists, and because they underestimate by the same proportion the power of the workers.

Wednesday the Governor was to make the settlement public. But the Ford officials, having gotten the full measure of the calibre of the union leadership at the Tuesday night meeting, were convinced that the persis-

ing CIO officials were more scared of the strike than even senile old Hank himself. On Wednesday therefore the Ford officials began crawling on their own agreement of the night previous and placed all sorts of obstacles in the way of the settlement. They demanded that the whole agreement be kept secret and that no part should be made public, either to the strikers or to anybody else!

The Governor understood the game of the Ford officials far better than did the union leaders. Anxious to rid himself of the headache of the Ford strike, Gov. Wagoner made the settlement public on Thursday morning in the form of a public statement proposing to both sides a new "three point peace plan" which embodied the original agreement reached Tuesday night at Ypsilanti.

The Governor's proposal read as follows:

1. "All employees shall be returned to their jobs without discrimination at once, including five of the eight men. Because of an agreement the Ford Motor Co. made with me not to reopen their plants during mediation, I am asking James F. Dewey to arbitrate the cases of the other three men.

Ray Pilon, Jack Wilkie and Andy Dewar.

2. "Grievance procedure established before the strike shall be resumed. Further I shall appoint a committee consisting of myself, representing the State; Mr. Dewey, representing the Federal Government; R. J. Thomas and Allen S. Haywood representing the UAW-CIO, and Harry H. Bennett and one other Ford official representing the company, to continue to meet and settle any other matters of dispute which might arise before the NLRB election.

3. "Both parties, likewise, agree to do all in their power to expedite the holding of the labor board election. As an example, the union should agree to an election within the plant, and the company should agree to furnish adequate payroll records.

"I request that both parties in the interest of the public welfare will accept, without further delay, this proposal."

FORD WANTS MORE

The union leaders hastened to accept the Governor's "peace plan." But the Ford officials decided to try to whittle down the union gains one more notch before giving in. The Ford Motor Co. agreed to accept the Governor's peace plan with the reservation that cases pending before the NLRB, hearings on which were due to open on Monday, April 14th in Detroit, be postponed until after the NLRB election at the Rouge plant.

These hearings constitute an important union propaganda weapon for the coming NLRB election. The UAW has aided the Board and has spent thousands of dollars in assembling sensational testimony that exposes the vicious and criminal set-up of the Ford Service Dept.

This brazen attempt on the part of the Ford Motor Co. to openly set aside the law in favor of Ford was too much even for Frank Bowen, head of the Detroit NLRB. He refused to postpone the hearing.

AND FORD GETS IT

But the top CIO officials, bombarded for days by constant telephone calls from a dozen different governmental agencies in Washington, were now in a mad rush to wind up the strike. They would not even back up the local NLRB director on this important point and of course, Bowen caved in the following day when Washington applied the squeeze.

The strike was now over. Only one little detail remained. The settlement had to be sold to the Ford workers.

30,000 WORKERS MEET

Thursday evening, April 10th, 30,000 Ford workers, shouting,

singing, laughing, jammed the aisles and hung from the rafters of the huge Coliseum at the State Fair Grounds. The CIO leaders all praised the settlement as a great victory. Yes, in spite of everything the Ford strike was a magnificent victory! And the men cheered themselves hoarse in this first paroxysm of victory, in their newly found strength, in their newly found sense of comradeship and solidarity.

All was not limited, however, to joy and rejoicing at the Coliseum. As soon as the meeting got under way, a group of Ford workers began parading around the hall carrying signs: VOTE NO—WE WANT A CONTRACT; DON'T VOTE FOR A SELL-OUT, etc. Behind them, Ford workers formed a parade, shouting and yelling their demands.

For two hours a chant kept up from the rear benches "We Want a Contract." And when Michael Widman pointed out during his speech that acceptance of the settlement proposal meant calling off the strike, a wave of boos swept over the huge Coliseum. Several Ford workers jumped on the press table when Widman was about to take the vote on acceptance of the settlement and loudly demanded the floor while their supporters kept on shouting "We Want a Contract."

It was in this atmosphere and over this kind of an opposition that the CIO leaders were forced to get the acceptance vote passed. It was in this kind of an atmosphere that the CIO officials called off the greatest strike in the world.

The Ford workers have received the real baptism of fire. They received it not only at the hands of the Ford Motor Co. and the government representatives, but even at the hands of the CIO officials. They are now ready in every sense of the word to take their places in the great army of the CIO in the fight for a militant brand of unionism that will push the American labor movement forward.

STALINIST 'PORTLIGHT' SCARED BY GROWTH OF TROTSKYISTS

In its mimeographed stink-bomb, misnamed "Portlight," the Stalinist waterfront section in New York lets loose a waft of lies and hysteria against the Trotskyists which appears to be a Thirteenth Street version of McFee's labor-baiting "Seagoing Soviets" in the yellow Saturday Evening Post. Just get this:

"The Trotskyites are polluting the waterfront with their gutter-sheet The Militant. They are sneaking their most capable rats into the unions and aboard ships by every means possible... Did you know that a nest of Trotskyites had shipped on the tankers, and even worse, some of them had already obtained permits to ship on contract vessels? etc. etc." ("Portlight," April 2, 1941).

To believe this, it is not McFee's "Seagoing Soviets" but "Nests of Trotskyites" that are practically swarming over the American merchant marine. The only thing that's missing here to make it a complete duplicate of McFee's filthy outpouring is the demand for a Congressional investigation into Trotskyist activities in maritime! Or, are we only anticipating the next step?

Of course, the Stalinist lies in the "Portlight" are more brazen than anything McFee could possibly think of. For instance, the Stalinists charge that THE MILITANT supported the discredited Jerry King in his anti-NMU stool-pigeon campaign and defended him in his recent murder trial. In what issue of THE MILITANT? On what date? They don't say.

They charge that we published King's red-baiting booklet "We Accuse" IN FULL — no less! Again, in what issue? On what date?

They will never bother to cite exact dates and places, because they are lying in their teeth and they know it.

Of a piece with these simpler lies are their slanderous amalgams which couple the Trotskyists as "shipowners' tools" together with disreputable waterfront

characters like Carlucci, "Kohlman," etc.

But their plain and untrammelled fury against THE MILITANT even surpasses their filthy lies. Because THE MILITANT is, apparently, making its way into the foci of the NMU rank and file and the militant Communist Party members among them in particular. And THE MILITANT explodes the whole tissue of falsehoods with which the corrupt Stalinist leadership has been baricading the path between the revolutionary Trotskyists and the fighting communist and class conscious seamen in the National Maritime Union.

THE MILITANT fights the shipowners, the governmental plans for the regimentation of the seamen, the Dirksen Bills and the sink-holders. It shows what militant seamen in the SUP and the SIU have been able to achieve in wages and conditions superior to those in the NMU, because of their freedom of action when unhampered by the strangulating control of the Stalinists.

THE MILITANT lashes away at the "patriotism" harmful to the interests of the seamen, whether it is sponsored by Joe Curran or by Harry Lundeborg.

THE MILITANT has a program of struggle for the seamen which coincides with the needs and temper of labor.

That is why the Stalinist waterfront section spews its hysterical poison in the "Portlight."

This hysteria is not, of course, an isolated matter with the waterfront Stalinists. It is merely an application of the recent decision taken by the Communist Party's National Committee, after our success in the Minnesota elections, to conduct a furious campaign against the Trotskyists in all fields.

While the Stalinists toss and turn with every wind from the Kremlin, from blatant "patriotism" to stupid pacifism, and back again, the Trotskyists will continue to show the seamen the class struggle road: towards the unity of organized maritime labor and the defeat of all vicious proposals to regiment them!

The Government's Anti-Strike 'Formula'

By DON DORE

The similar settlements of the Ford and Bethlehem Steel strikes have inspired the Roosevelt administration to begin projecting a universal "formula" for ending strikes.

A Washington dispatch in the New York Times, April 11, affirms this "line" of the administration, as follows:

"High government officials stated that the formula presented to the principals in the Ford case... was virtually identical with that submitted by the OPM in the strike at the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. "Officials were asserting tonight that this formula might be a method of preventing 'finish fights' between unions and employers during the defense program."

What is this cure-all "formula"?

The management agrees to re-employ all strikers and negotiate with the union committee on the grievances of its members. The management further agrees to an NLRB election to determine sole collective bargaining rights. The workers return to their jobs without a contract.

This "formula" is simply a method of maneuvering labor into acceptance of the cheapest possible strike settlements. After the union works finally back recalcitrant employers like Ford and Grace up against the wall and are in a position to gain some concessions which can fill the stomach, the government mediators and conciliators step in and say, "Boys, we'll make this employer meet with your committee and maybe even press for an NLRB election. Then you be good patri-

otic fellows and go back and work like hell."

This sort of "settlement" doesn't put one more bean into the worker's pot. It doesn't at all prevent "finish fights" between the workers and bosses. It merely rescues the employer from a tough fight in which he has been getting the heavy end of the slugging.

CONTRAST THESE

"SETTLEMENTS" WITH 1937

Compare the "settlements" in the Ford and Bethlehem Steel strikes, which merely tend to postpone the ultimate showdown over a union contract, to the settlements won by the General Motors and Chrysler workers in 1937. The immediate issues in these strikes were identical with those in the recent battles. The GM and Chrysler workers wanted collective bargaining rights and union recognition. The opposition they faced was as tough, or tougher, than that which confronted the Ford and Bethlehem men.

They achieved far from ideal settlements, it is true, but the absolute minimum they agreed to accept was a SIGNED CONTRACT granting wage increases, seniority and improved working conditions. They also secured an NLRB election, but this served merely to extend into every plant of these corporations the material benefits

which the strikes had already won and embodied in contracts.

It is no "settlement" for the government to step in after the plants have been shut down by the workers and belatedly "persuade" the Fords and Graces to obey the minimum stipulation of the federal labor laws. Formal adherence to the Wagner Act by the employers is no substitute for a signed contract covering better wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions.

Workers do not strike for the occasional "privilege" of being able to sit around the same table with their employers. They strike for more of the necessities and comforts of life.

GOVERNMENT MAY OPENLY TAKE STAND AGAINST WAGE INCREASES

Obstructing the winning of wage increases, the government's "formula" may well become part of a general government policy against wage increases.

That this is the tendency of the government's "formula" is borne out by the statement of Leon Henderson, newly-appointed Federal Price Administrator, reported in the New York Times, April 13, as follows:

"On the labor unions whose demands might cause increased prices of important commodities, Mr. Henderson in effect served notice that he would throw his influence as a price fixer against what he regarded as 'unwarranted' wage rises. "We will watch wages as a

prime cost factor," he said in response to questions. "If unwarranted wage rises are in prospect, we will have a decided interest in them."

Workers who have won only formal union recognition and an NLRB election by such strikes will more than likely be forced to strike again for wage increases.

The new "formula" gives the employer who is on the defensive an opportunity to reorganize his anti-union forces for a later and more desperate "finish fight."

This does not discount the possibility that as a measure of strike insurance Grace and Ford may "grant" some temporary wage increases without further immediate strikes. But they will, in all likelihood, balk like angry mules at signing a union contract which will guarantee to the workers that any increases will not be withdrawn just as soon as the corporations think they can get away with it.

WHAT THIS FORMULA

ENABLES A BOSS TO DO

The Ford workers may shortly learn the full meaning of this "formula" when they begin to press Henry Ford for some genuine benefits in the form of increased wages. Harry Bennett, Ford personnel manager, weeks before the Ford strike, showed he clearly understood the meaning of this formula when he stated:

"If the NLRB orders an election, of course we will hold one... The CIO will win it of

course, because it always wins these farcical elections, and we will bargain with it because the law says so. WE WILL BARGAIN TILL HELL FREEZES OVER BUT THEY WON'T GET ANYTHING."

Harry Bennett may not care to repeat these words, out loud, but they still hold good as an expression of basic attitude.

All this is not intended to belittle the gains made by the Ford and Bethlehem strikers. Their militant actions have given the auto and steel workers a new sense of confidence and organized power. Their strikes have revealed the basic weakness and rottenness of the once impregnable-seeming walls of the open-shop industrial fortresses.

But these are far from ultimate victories. They are merely successful beginnings. Truth to tell, the Bethlehem workers now realize, as the Ford workers no doubt strongly suspect, that they have been persuaded to exchange million dollar strikes for two-bit settlements. The least they could have settled for was signed contracts and increased wages, similar to what GM, Chrysler, Good-year and other major corporations had to yield in 1937. Strikes powerful enough to force Ford and Grace to recognize the unions were powerful enough to have made these open-shop die-hards sign a real union contract.

The Ford and Bethlehem "formula" is not likely to avert any "finish fights." Nothing short of

Delegate Couldn't Get Hearing At APM Meeting In New York

Mazey, Detroit Union Delegate, Refused The Floor By Stalinist Managers Of the "Convention", Tells THE MILITANT His Story

By ART PREIS

"They talked a lot at this American Peace Mobilization convention about fighting to win democracy here at home first before sending an army to fight for democracy in Europe. Well, after sitting through this so-called convention for two days, I think the fight for democracy ought to begin right inside the American Peace Mobilization outfit."

That is how Ernest Mazey, vice-president of Detroit local 29, State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO) and his union's delegate to the two-day American Peoples Meeting of the American Peace Mobilization held April 6-7 here in New York, summed up the APM convention to this MILITANT reporter.

"Fight for democracy at home? A rank-and-file delegate would have needed a whole Army division to get to the 'mike' in that 'Peoples' Meeting. I ought to know, because I tried it for two days," said Mazey.

Mazey has the distinction of being the sole delegate, of the "4,225 delegates and 748 official observers" whom the APM claims attended the convention, who even had the temerity to ask for the floor during the general sessions of the convention. In fact, his insistence on being permitted to discuss the main resolution of the convention, after its presentation to the general session Sunday afternoon, created almost a full-blown panic amongst the sundry top officials who ran this "peace" travesty with an iron hand.

A STALINIST FRAUD

The story of Mazey's attempt to exercise his right as a delegate to speak at this "Peoples" convention demonstrates the fraudulent character of the APM as a genuine peoples movement against the war.

"The delegates never had a chance to discuss any of the resolutions or the program! The whole first day, Saturday, was spent in getting the delegates straightened around, registering them, and so forth. In the afternoon, they trotted us out in the rain to Randall Island stadium and after we soaked around there for about half an hour, they trotted us back.

"We didn't get down to business until Saturday evening," Mazey went on. "Then we found that there were no general sessions for that day at all. We could merely sit in on one of a dozen or so discussion 'panels' and commissions. The conference on the topic 'Labor and War' was divided into six different sections alone. Imagine trying to have a voice on the resolutions or trying to discuss before all the delegates in that kind of set-up.

"These 'panels' were a joke. The chairman, 'keynoters' and secretaries of these 'panels' were all hand-picked in advance. We didn't have a chance even to vote on them. They came in with the complete drafts of all resolutions and programs prepared in advance. These resolutions were shoved through on greased skids.

Everything was cut and dried."

Mazey then described in detail how he tried unsuccessfully to get the floor Sunday afternoon at the general session.

STALINIST GAG RULE

"I wanted to represent my union honestly, and fight for the program against war which I believe is in the interests of the workers. I was determined to speak if I disagreed with any resolution. I was sitting up on the platform not more than 15 feet from the chairman, at the Sunday afternoon session in Mecca Temple.

"The main business of the Sunday afternoon general session, which began about four in the afternoon, was the report on the Declaration of the American Peoples Meeting. This was the key document of the convention and was supposed to summarize its entire program against war.

"When Fields, the executive secretary of the APM, finished his report on the Declaration, I rose to my feet before the entire assembly and in as loud a voice as I could muster I shouted: 'Mr. Chairman, I want to discuss this Declaration!'

"The Chairman just ignored me as if he didn't hear me. He went on to introduce the next speaker. That's all there was to this 'convention', anyway. A bunch of hand-picked speakers, most of whom didn't represent anyone but themselves, who took up the whole time of the convention. The delegates were just shoved out in the cold.

"Right after the chairman had introduced the next speaker, Donald Henderson, who was to give the report of the Resolutions and Program committee — which the delegates didn't elect — I went to the chairman to find out why a delegate couldn't get the floor in this convention.

"The chairman gave me a very evasive answer to my question. He tried to say he hadn't heard me — and I was shouting at the top of my voice just a few feet from him. Then he told me to put my request in writing.

"Well, I've been to a lot of big union conventions, but if the chairman of any of those conventions had told any delegate who wanted to speak on

a serious question that he had to ask for the floor in writing the conventions would have been stopped right then. I've seen and heard about a lot of bureaucratic practices, but nothing to come close to this.

"Alright, I wrote my request for the floor on a slip of paper and gave it to one of the ushers and told him to give it to the chairman. He went up and gave it to the chairman. The chairman read it and passed it on to Rev. Thompson, who was the general chairman of the whole convention.

"Then I saw Thompson leave the platform immediately with the request note in his hand. 'I waited quite a while, maybe an hour, to see if they'd give me the floor. Meanwhile, the resolutions and program were being presented and adopted. Every single one was simply read off and put to a voice vote without any discussion. There were plenty of things on which I am sure many of the delegates disagreed, but a lot of them must have seen what happened to me when I tried to discuss, and so they just kept their mouths shut. The chairman didn't even call for discussion.

"By this time, I was getting pretty sore. I moved up to the very first row of seats on the platform where the chairman couldn't say he couldn't see me or hear me.

"Then I went up to the chairman again, just a couple of feet from the loud-speaker, and again loudly asked for the floor. Somebody else hastily grabbed the 'mike.' The chairman began to argue with me and deliberately lied about not having received my written request for the floor. Then he said there were too many 'regular' speakers for the delegates to be given a chance to speak.

"By this time, I was burned up. I pulled out my credential, wrote out another request on the spot, and personally handed it to the chairman, who then handed it again to the Rev. Thompson, who, in turn, went into immediate private conference with Fields, the executive secretary.

JUST A CIRCUS
"Some 'peoples' convention! We heard Congressman Marcantonio, we heard Paul Robeson sing, we heard that well-known Stalin stooge, Corliss Lamont, tell all about how the Soviet Union was not in Hitler's camp and 'makes pacts with both sides.' But we didn't hear one authentic voice from people, the real people, the workers like me who had come hundreds of miles thinking we were going to discuss and draw up a program which would be really effective in the fight against war.

"Finally, someone started to make some announcements over the loud-speaker. I was startled to hear a high-pitched voice frantically calling all over the hall, 'Will Ernest Mazey please contact Fred Fields on the stage immediately!' Wasn't that a hot one, and me standing within ten feet of Fields all the time.

"Fields began by asking me why I wanted to speak. 'What do you want to say? What do you want to discuss?'

"I answered plenty sharply. 'I don't have to tell you what I want to discuss. I'm a bone-fide delegate and I want the floor thrown open for free discussion. What I have to say, I want to say to the delegates. That's my elementary right as a convention delegate. Do I have to submit to a censorship before I can get the floor?'

THEN COME THREATS!
"I guess I was getting a little too tough for Fields to handle so he then called over a fellow named De Lacy, who had been the chairman in the morning session and who is president of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

"De Lacy got pretty ugly. 'I'm a politician,' he started out. 'And I don't think you should get the floor. If you should get the floor by any chance, I'm warning you now, you'll be attacked!'

Attacked? Why, that fellow didn't even know what I was going to say! He went on, 'I'm a politician, and if you speak, I'll get up and denounce you as a disrupter.'

"Then this De Lacy took Fields a little aside and said in an ugly tone, loud enough for me to hear 'Maybe I'd better get in touch with the public relations committee.'

"Well, he didn't have to hit me over the head for me to know what he was probably talking about. I'd seen Homer Martin's 'public relations committees' in action against progressive unionists in the auto workers union in Detroit. Only we called them 'goon squads.'

"I stopped trying to get the floor then. And peace once more reigned over the American Peace Mobilization. But not for long. I'm going back to Michigan — I told those birds this — and I'm going to spread the word as far as I can among the 500,000 CIC members there about what kind of fake convention this was."

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Mazey also gave some of his impressions about the composition of the convention, its program and sponsors.

MAINLY BOURGEOIS PACIFISTS
"I never saw any convention like that. Anybody could come in. It was top-heavy with middle class and professional people. Of the 4,200 delegates, only 1700 were claimed from trade unions, and the biggest single groups of these were from office, professional and government employees unions. There were over 1,000 delegates claiming to represent professional 'peace' groups, the kind that howl for peace and then fold up under the first real pressure.

A PHONEY PROGRAM
"I'm not saying there were not a lot of good union elements there, who did represent a genuine following. But these workers surely didn't come out of this merry-go-round affair with any program that they could honestly offer to the workers as a program which could actually put a stop to war.

"The only thing they added to the ideas that were in the Call they issued before the convention, was the slogan, 'The Yanks Are Still Not Coming.' That had about as much sense as the old slogan which the Stalinists used to sling around the unions, 'The Yanks Are Not Coming.'

"If any worker wanted to understand what causes wars, and how wars are an inevitable product of the economic and social system, and how you have to change the system to stop wars, he didn't get a chance to learn it at this convention.

"They talked about fighting for democracy within the armed forces, but how, they failed to say.

"As for this being a 'peoples' meeting, that's plain hooey. You show me any ordinary meeting of workers, any union say, where the mention of the name of a book about the Soviet Union will start up a big ovation. Well, when one of the speakers referred to the Dean of Canterbury's book, 'The Soviet Power,' which I know the

British 'Democracy' In Operation

After securing the arrest of six leading strikers, British Labor Minister Ernest Bevin on April 4th broke a strike of 6,000 engineers apprentices in the Manchester district, England, with a threat of imprisonment, according to a London dispatch in the New York TIMES, April 5.

The dispatch further states: "Several times since the outbreak of war, persons have been arrested for absenting themselves from war work, but until now Labor Minister Ernest Bevin has avoided arresting actual strikers."

Stalinists have been pushing, there was a great big applause.

TOMORROW'S WAR MONGERS

"What was Corliss Lamont doing there as an invited speaker? He gave a big speech about what the Soviet Union is doing for peace. The American Peace Mobilization says it's against sending American troops to fight on foreign soil.

"But Lamont got a hand when he said that the Soviet Union and the United States ought to sign a pact to join together against Japanese aggression. And these same people will be telling us tomorrow, if such a pact is signed, that we ought to support this government in a war against Japan because it will help defend the Soviet Union!

"The plain truth is that this whole outfit is just another Stalinist 'front' organization. The whole thing smelled like this morning's Daily Worker. Most of the speakers and leading figures were persons known for years to be close to the Stalinist movement.

"The whole bureaucratic, high-handed way in which this convention was run smacked of the kind of thing we've long since learned was characteristic of the Stalinists in the trade unions.

"This kind of movement can never fight for democracy here at home. It can never stop war. All it can do is confuse and mislead the workers, and discredit and disorient the anti-war fight."

Newark Negro "Leaders" Drop Colored Candidate

No Longer Backing Any Colored Man For City Commission Race; Back Machines

By GEORGE BREITMAN

(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for City Commission)

Every colored worker acquainted with what goes on in Newark's City Hall knows that he has no friends there. That is why every time elections come around, there is a rumbling among the masses, and the beginning of organization to oppose the City Hall machines and to elect an independent colored candidate as Commissioner.

It is always at this point that the so-called colored "leaders" jump into the picture and try to head off or break up an independent colored political movement.

Early in this campaign several Negroes announced their candidacy. The different colored organizations began to stress the necessity of fighting for the election of a colored Commissioner. Talk began to spread about uniting the different groups behind one candidate by holding a city-wide conference representative of the organizations.

Then the lawyers and doctors and wardheelers stepped in.

Holding one or two conferences representative only of themselves, and supported by the colored press they decided to push the candidacy of Rev. William P. Hayes, a safe and sane conservative whose only role in political life has been to oppose the \$21,000,000 relief referendum of 1929 at a time when defeat of the measure would have meant starvation for thousands.

Hayes, said these leaders, would antagonize no one, and so everyone would get behind him. None of the City Hall factions would oppose him (because he wouldn't oppose them). So all the colored ward heelers could support him at the same time they supported their individual factions. The fact that Hayes did not stand for any particular program, they said, was in his favor.

And so all the other colored candidates, and all the working class candidates were ignored and their campaigns played down, while Hayes' was built up by the colored press.

This went on until about two weeks ago when Hayes left them holding the bag by declaring that he was too busy in the church

LaGuardia Asks Court To Outlaw Subway Union

Mayor's Latest Moves Strike At AFL Unions As Well As CIO; Subway Workers Prepare For Showdown On June 30th

Another union-busting step was taken by LaGuardia last week.

This was the city administration's request to the state Supreme Court to issue a judgment upholding LaGuardia's contention that the city cannot legally negotiate or continue to recognize any contract with any union of the subway workers.

While directed primarily at the 27,000 TWU-CIO workers on the subways, this move also strikes at the Railroad Brotherhoods and the AFL. The subways are under collective bargaining contracts with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen and Local 65 of the AFL Technical Engineers Union. In addition to the TWU closed-shop contracts which expire June 30.

The powerful AFL New York Central Trades and Labor Council went on record last week opposing the infamous Wicks bill, just a few days before a public hearing on the bill was held Monday at the state capital, Albany.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, personally had announced that the national organization has thrown its backing behind the subway workers. Murray made public a letter he sent to LaGuardia, challenging LaGuardia's refusal to engage in collective bargaining with the subway workers.

LaGuardia is asking the court to rule that it has no authority or power, under the state civil service laws, to carry out the terms of the existing union contracts (signed before the city took over the subways) or to enter into new ones. LaGuardia wants the court to rule that the city cannot make any union agreements with its employees which would involve the questions of the closed or union shop, wages, hours, working conditions, seniority, promotions, hiring and firing.

Murray charged in his letter that the city wishes to place the subway workers completely under the domination of the three appointive members of the Board of Transportation, who are responsible to no one and have unlimited powers.

"To deny the employees of this board the right of collective bargaining in respect to their wages, hours and working conditions," Murray asserted, "is to place them at the mercy of three men with unlimited power."

"I know of no law, and I am certain that you can point to none, which prohibits the all-powerful Board of Transportation from dealing with labor as it does with steel, coal and other corporations, namely, through the negotiation of contracts which will define the terms and conditions under which the employees shall work."

If the court grants the ruling demanded by LaGuardia, it would mean that not merely the transit workers, but tens of thousands of municipal, county and state employees under civil service status would be denied collective bargaining rights.

WOULD OUTLAW STRIKES
LaGuardia's letter of April 4 to John H. Delaney, transportation board chairman, indicated LaGuardia's game. This letter declared in part:

"The city does not and cannot recognize the right of any group to strike against the city."

"An employee improperly leaving his employment without authority is subject to charges and may be dismissed from service thereby losing not only his position and his seniority, but also his pension rights. The Board of Transportation cannot re-employ a discharged employee except in accordance with the provisions of

the Civil Service Law. Many causes of dismissal subsequently disqualify an applicant from taking another civil service examination."

LAGUARDIA RETREATED BEFORE
LaGuardia used similar threats just a little over a year ago when he was preparing to complete unification of the subway and elevated systems under municipal ownership. He then tried to abrogate the closed shop agreements which the TWU had won from the private utilities.

But the stern stand of the TWU in March 1940, backed by a decisive strike vote, forced LaGuardia to retreat then. He had to agree to assume the existing contracts pending court decisions invalidating any given section. A decision of the state Court of Appeals at that time upheld the CIO's closed shop agreement on the BMT subway lines despite the city's contention that it had an interest in the lines.

HE SERVES BANKERS
In his present union-busting moves, LaGuardia is serving the same bankers at whose behest he took over the subways.

The financiers were anxious for he city to salvage their loans and holdings in the bankrupted transit corporations which they had looked for many decades. LaGuardia guaranteed the bankers the colossal sum of \$362,000,000 in payment for these dilapidated and bankrupted transit systems.

He added the additional service of attempting to smash the powerful TWU. His intent was — and is — to reduce wages and employment on the transit systems and thus assure bigger and more regular payments to the bankers.

The termination of the TWU subway contracts on June 30 has provided LaGuardia with the opportunity for opening the throttle wide in his union-smashing campaign. He calculates that he is now in a better position to successfully accomplish what he failed to do during the last two years.

For two years LaGuardia has been sponsoring bills before the state legislature calculated to strangle the union rights of the transit workers with a legal noose. He was behind the Wicks Civil Service bill of 1939 which placed the employees on the city-owned transit lines under a civil service status interpreted by LaGuardia to rule out unions.

MAY BOOMERANG
But LaGuardia's efforts may well prove a boomerang. In his desperation, he has become so openly vicious and anti-labor that even the most conservative labor bodies may be forced out of self-protection, to come out in opposition to him. In addition, LaGuardia is receiving such eager and unrestrained support from the most reactionary papers, including the yellow Hearst press, and from the arch-reactionary financial and business groups, that his motives are becoming increasingly suspect among the millions of New York City's working class population.

It is these workers who can determine the final outcome of the impending subway strike. The immediate problem of the TWU is to transform the present passive sympathy of these workers into active and direct material support.

UNION PAPER NEEDED
The TWU faces a severe handicap in that it is denied any genuine voice in the boss-controlled daily press and is rigidly restricted in the use of the radio. The only practical way in which the union can overcome this handicap is to publish and circulate its own public daily paper before and during a strike.

The need for such a paper, which can reach and arouse the broad strata of workers and give an immediate reply to the daily slanders of LaGuardia and the boss press, is more urgent than ever. LaGuardia's drive has already reached a furious tempo. The showdown is approaching with extreme rapidity. The TWU must use every possible means in the limited time left to fully mobilize mass sentiment behind its momentous struggle.

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

The biggest thing about the Ford strike was the miserable failure of Ford, Bennett and Marshall to preserve the open shop by provoking a race riot between the Negro and white workers. The fact stands out, big and proud, that the overwhelming majority of the 12,000 Negro workers in the plant, in spite of a barrage of anti-union, pro-Ford threats and promises, went with their class.

Ford found that he could not use the Negro workers to break the strike, for a good 80% or more of them saw through his trick, resisted the pressure of many of their "leaders" and went out with the union.

In order to preserve the remnants of this vicious plan, that would have put back the cause of the Negro workers for many years, Ford and his assistants had to depend on a comparatively small number of Negroes who were brought into the plant during the last month from the South.

These Negroes, not at all acquainted with what was going on, never having had the opportunity to hear the arguments of the union, in no way familiar with Ford's anti-union, anti-Negro scheme, were all he had to depend on when the strike actually began.

The other Negroes, the workers who have suffered under the Ford speed-up, spy system and low wage rate for many years—the real Ford Negro workers—knew where their best interests lay: with the union.

So although Ford did have a small group of Negroes to use for his scheme, and he certainly did use them in every way he could, he could not break the strike, nor arouse a spirit of white chauvinism in the union members. Everyone involved in the situation could see that the great bulk of the Negro workers were fighting with the union, not against it.

Incidentally, those Negroes who fell for and helped to spread the pro-Ford propaganda before the strike, must have felt pretty cheap to see how Ford and the boss press consciously directed so much of their publicity toward making it appear that the strike was a race conflict, rather than a struggle of workers of all races for improved working conditions.

The Negro Ford workers did their full share in saving the day for the union at Ford's. It is up to the white workers in the labor movement now to recognize that they need the full support of the Negroes in the coming struggles and to raise high on their banners the demand for full equality for their colored brothers.

The Crummiest Speech

The distinction of having made the worst speech of the year this far belongs to the president of Tuskegee Institute, F. D. Patterson, who declared before the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers:

"We are asking for a lot of things that are not of immediate importance though they aim at noteworthy ideals. One that is of apparent import to a lot of people is that we should be integrated in companies and regiments with white soldiers, claiming that the discrimination of the nation's soldiers on the grounds of color and race is a breach of democratic procedure.

"All that is admirable, but what we should be concerned with at the moment is an opportunity to serve in any capacity..."

"We should stop fretting too much about discrimination, and focus our attention on getting an opportunity on a basis of equality."

He isn't aroused about the Negro soldiers being placed in separate regiments where they can be more easily used as suicide squads and as labor battalions.

That's what he's doing—serving "in any capacity." Nothing too low or foul for Patterson.

Discrimination Legislation

Recently two bills pertaining to discrimination against Negroes in employment were passed.

One, in New York, amends the civil rights law and penal law to "make it unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation engaged to any extent whatsoever in the production, manufacture or distribution of military or naval material, equipment or supplies for the state of New York or for the federal government to refuse to employ any person in any capacity on account of the race, color or creed of such persons." This measure is now awaiting the signature of the governor.

The other bill, already signed by the governor and now a law, was passed by the Kansas Legislature. It prohibits any labor union in the state from being certified as a bargaining agency if it "discriminates against, bars or excludes from its membership any person because of race or color."

It is not hard to make predictions about these bills. The New York bill will be signed and made a law too. But it won't mean a thing so far as getting jobs for the Negroes. The employers will just stop saying they refuse to hire Negroes; they will just not hire them. And the Negro people will still have to continue their struggle to force open the doors of industry.

The Kansas law also will not help the Negroes. It will not change the attitude of those reactionary AFL union leaders who now bar them from admission to unions. All it will do is enable the employers, who are really responsible for the lily-white ideas of their labor agents, to divert attention from their refusal to hire Negroes. And it will offer a handle to employers to attack and break up unions.

Help Publish Our Pamphlets

The two pamphlets we have prepared on the struggle of the Negroes to get equal rights in the army and jobs in the war industries are still awaiting publication. The only hitch is the money necessary. We urge readers who would like to see their publication to send a contribution, no matter how large or how small to us, c/o Albert Parker, 116 University Pl., New York, N. Y.

GPU Buys Mexican "Justice"

Court Releases Harte Murderer

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY—The organizer and chief of the May 24, 1940 unsuccessful attack on Trotsky's life is free on bail. Yes, the leader of the band of Stalin's professional murderers who kidnapped Trotsky's secretary-guard, Robert Sheldon Harte, fired two shots through his brain and hid his lime-covered body in a shallow grave, is "cleared" of the murder charge because of "lack of evidence." David Alfaro Siqueiros, GPU agent with a murderous record of international service to the Borgia of the Kremlin, is free to continue his terrorist work against Stalin's enemies.

On Wednesday, March 26, two judges out of three voted in favor of dropping the murder charge because no "concrete" evidence could be shown that he pulled the fatal trigger. This decision followed a refusal by the prosecution to oppose the petition of Siqueiros' counsel.

In Mexico City there is scarcely a person to be found—even among the Stalinists—who explains Siqueiros' liberation by anything except bribery. The press is either hostile and ironical about the decision or, at best, non-committal and "impartial."

As Natalia Trotsky observes, in spite of the "lack of concrete evidence" there remain the bullet ridden bedroom and beds; there remains the record of Trotsky's wounded grandson; above all there remains the corpse of Sheldon Harte, Siqueiros' victim.

There remains the recorded testimony of the women spies hired and paid by Siqueiros to report on the life in Trotsky's house in Coyoacan; they worked their way into confidence of the police and in various ways prevented interference with the attack on the night of May 24th.

Preserved in the court records is the testimony of captured participants in the attack, proving that Siqueiros supplied them with police uniforms and arms for their assignment.

SIQUEIROS' ADMISSIONS

The fact persists that Siqueiros' wife, Angelica Arenal, and Antonio Pujol bought the cot which was to be Harte's death-bed and then delivered it personally to the lonely hut where Harte, after being kidnapped, was killed. Likewise remains the fact that Siqueiros, according to his own admission paid the "caretaker" of this hut.

In defense, Siqueiros pretends to have given orders "not to kill anyone." Thus by his own admission he was in command of the gang. And who, then, gave the orders to kidnap Harte and later to kill him?

The purpose of the attack? To discover documents, says Siqueiros. The fact that there was a complete lack of evidence of a search for documents daunts neither Siqueiros nor the judges. Not a sheet of paper was disturbed in the room where Trotsky's archives were kept although the attackers passed through this room.

The purpose of the hundreds of shots fired from the machine guns of his band? "Psychological" reasons says the judges—more cynically than Siqueiros himself.

Upon leaving prison, Siqueiros said: "Gentlemen, I find myself very much indebted to the newspapers EL POPULAR and EL NACIONAL for helping me in a case of conscience more than a case of law." This report was published in EL POPULAR itself!

LIE UPON LIE

True to Stalin's technique, not only do his gunmen murder but they also slander. Aided by their allies in LA VOZ DE MEXICO (official C. P. organ) and their agents in EL POPULAR (Tolendano-controlled organ), they first developed the theory of "self assault." "Trotsky organized the assault himself in order to discredit Mexico and help the reactionaries," they lied.

Defeated in this attempt when Trotsky demonstrated its absurdity, they retreated to the theory of Harte's complicity. "Trotsky's own guard betrayed him," they declared hypocritically. "Harte opened the door and then disappeared." Then Harte's body was found and belied this falsification.

And still they slander, each time more fantastically, believing with Hitler that the more absurd the lie, the more likely are people to accept it. Federico Sodi, Siqueiros' lawyer, made a statement congratulating the prosecuting attorney for his "civic virtue" when he refused to oppose the dropping of the murder charge. He offered three "hypotheses" on the murder of Harte: 1. Harte was killed by

thieves who wanted to rob him; 2. Harte was an accomplice and was killed because of fear he would talk; 3. Harte was killed in vengeance by order of Trotsky who organized a Fifth Column to find and murder him.

The first "hypothesis" can only be brushed aside as too ridiculous to bother discussing. The second and third "hypotheses" constitute what is left of the original "self-assault" theory. They are the latest attempt to slander Harte and Trotsky. When seen in relation to the latest inventions of Jacobson—one understands the story that the GPU would like to establish: "Harte was killed by Trotsky; Trotsky was killed by one of his secretaries!"

Jacobson stated last Friday that he was a secretary to Trotsky! Just how he hopes to establish such a fantastic tale remains to be seen. When he was first questioned, in the weeks after he assassinated Trotsky on August 20, 1940, he pretended to be a disillusioned sympathizer whom Trotsky had asked to kill Stalin. In the subsequent questioning conducted by Trotsky's attorney, Albert Goldman, Jacobson was shown to be an inconsistent liar and an agent of Stalin.

THE GPU'S NEW PLAN

Jacobson is trying to eliminate all this revealing testimony by saying that these questionings were carried out when he was under the effects of a "strange liquid" injected by order of the police. This liquid, he says, prevented him from knowing what he was saying and signing.

What is the GPU's plan to free Jacobson? Why does he now say that he was a "secretary"? Perhaps they plan to implicate Trotsky's actual secretaries in the crime. Perhaps they plan to say that Jacobson killed Trotsky because Trotsky threatened to have him killed as he had "ordered" Harte killed. No possibility is too grotesque for the GPU to use. And for a judge who would say that shots fired into a victim's bed are fired "with psychological intent"—for such a judge the accrediting of almost any fantasy is possible. The GPU is operating on the theory that if cynical and obvious lies plus huge bribes succeeded in freeing Siqueiros, so may they free his colleague, Jacobson.

A New Pioneer Publishers Pamphlet

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The Proofs of Stalin's Guilt

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Attorney for Leon Trotsky and Natalia Sedov Trotsky

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Connection Between Siqueiros and Jacobson

By NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY

The unsuccessful attempt of the terrorist Siqueiros against the life of Leon Trotsky on May 24, 1940 was connected directly with and led to the bloody crime committed by the terrorist "Jacobson" on August 20, 1940. Both crimes were perpetrated by one and the same organization called the GPU which is international in its character and which has at its disposal a mighty apparatus and unlimited resources. Both of the terrorists mentioned above are agents of this organization of Stalin's.

This is clear—and nobody in the whole world doubts it. Everything to the contrary which is stated in this connection, is said in order not to say that which really is, in other words, a lie, and a very deliberate lie. The infamous speech delivered by the

attorney of Siqueiros before the tribunal called upon to judge, i.e., to analyze the crime, impartially and to render its highly competent verdict on the basis of a thorough investigation of all the evidence—this speech rings like a vicious mockery of the investigation, of the court, of the blindfolded judges and of public opinion.

The connection between the two crimes is incontestable. The court did not take this connection into account. "Jacobson" succeeded in accomplishing what his predecessor Siqueiros failed to do—failed owing to a fortunate accident.

WAS JACSON THE UNIDENTIFIED "FRENCHMAN"? During the original examination in Coyoacan of the captured members of the gang, the defendants testified to the presence among them of a foreigner who spoke with a French accent. Unfortunately the identity of this individual was not established by the investigation nor was he apprehended. The defendants gave the same testimony during a subsequent examination. But not enough attention was paid to this detail. The defendants testified that they had not seen this "Frenchman" prior to the attack and they did not know him.

JACSON'S FIRST ROLE: TO OPEN THE GATES

"Jacobson" also participated in the first attack: he devoted three to four months prior to the attack of May 24 to studying our gates and the methods of our defense when the gates were opened. He would ride up to the gates in an automobile, ring the bell, ask questions of this or that comrade, call him out, engage him in conversation on the street in front of the locked gates or transmit something, for example, an assembly kit of a toy plane for our grandson, etc., and then would leave immediately.

This was repeated systematically. The fact is that he did not once request an interview with L. D. and made no attempt whatever to enter the patio. He confined himself to the gates. At this stage of the joint plan with Siqueiros this was entirely sufficient for him. Nothing else interested him. He needed the gates. His role in this bloody conspiracy came down to this: open the gates at the necessary moment. The role, it will be observed, was small but nevertheless central: to open the gates for Siqueiros.

He thus accustomed our guards to open the gates for him; the guards knew him as the husband of Sylvia who was a member of our organization, and considered him a sympathizer of our organization. Some of the comrades of our defense guard visited Sylvia and consequently visited him also. If during the night of May 24, after a four-month long experiment with having the gates opened for him, "Jacobson" rode up at 4 A. M. to the house as usual, although not at the usual hour, but with a warning message—immediately to inform about a danger threatening L. D.—he would in that case have had the gates opened for him: the GPU gang in this way gained entry to the premises.

The slander circulated by the GPU concerning Bob Sheldon Harte and the latter's agreement with the head of the gang, Siqueiros, is a lie. Harte was to have

GPU keeps silent on this point and not without reason because inanimate objects which do not lie and which it is impossible to circumvent, testify against him.

I shall not dwell on the fact that doors, windows, walls, in all the rooms through which the criminals passed, were riddled with bullets. In the door leading to our bedroom sixty bullet holes were left. The door to the bedroom was literally left a sieve. The angle at which the shots were fired proves incontestably that eight bullets which left traces in the wall at the head of the two beds, and which penetrated both mattresses in four places, and lodged themselves in the floor under the beds, could have been fired only inside the bedroom itself.

There is also the testimony of the cartridge shells found on the floor, the two traces in the blankets with singed bindings and also the wounded foot of our grandson. No speech of the cleverest attorney, no lies and pretenses of the criminal can refute the mute, inanimate evidence of the gaping bullet holes left behind by the political murderers. The court of Coyoacan saw all this, when it visited our house and conducted its investigation carefully and thoroughly. But this was not taken into account by the Corte Penal Primera. (The court to which the case was transferred). And in this circumstance is hidden the malice and the premeditation of the decision which freed the terrorist on bail.

MEXICAN PUBLIC OPINION KNOWS WHAT HAPPENED

The public opinion of Mexico has been aroused by the court's order. The entire press speaks ironically of the conditional freeing of the criminal and terrorist, numbering all his crimes. The lie already meets with no credence. And history will take everything into account, will disclose everything, will deepen all the circumstances relating to the case, all the details, cast light on its political side, sweep away the falsifications and once again reveal the impeccable political activity of the victim of these two indubitably connected crimes of the GPU.

Only by the turn of our epoch towards black reaction permits the existence of such institutions as the GPU and the Gestapo. Hitler and Stalin personify this black reaction. The Hitler-Stalin alliance crowns the obscurantism of the Middle Ages raised to the 20th power. Stalin has destroyed the entire generation of the October revolution and he has gone even further. Here is what Ignace Reiss had to say in this connection in a note on Slutsky, an important functionary of the GPU:

"In May 1937, Slutsky under the influence of some fresh impressions became frank and bitterly complained that the Leningrad Komsozols who faced the firing squads went to their death with the cry: Long Live Trotsky."

Among them might have been our grandchildren. "Long Live Trotsky!" This is the fundamental reason for the crimes of Stalin. Mexico City, D. F.

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ATTENTION QUEENS

Sunday Forum

Will the Trade Unions Survive The War?

Speaker: A. BURTON

SUNDAY, April 20 8:00 P.M.

Jamaica Labor Center

92-21 165th Street

Queens, Long Island

(In Alden Theater Building)

Baltimore And The Battle Of The Atlantic

By JOAD HAWKINS

BALTIMORE, Md.—Each time the German blockade sinks a British freighter, another trainload of goods bound for the war piles up at the rail and steamship terminals here. Range up and down the 127 miles of our waterfront and see for yourselves, first hand, the effects of the Battle of the Atlantic—docks and warehouses groaning under a staggering load of finished and semi-finished products shipped in by rail.

Most of it comes from the steel and industrial centers of western Pennsylvania and the Middle West. Formerly, when warehouses and wharves were crowded, box cars were shunted onto sidings to be unloaded when the ships came in. But now fewer and fewer ships come in and the box cars are sorely needed elsewhere.

Motor trucks built in Michigan for the French Government before it collapsed are piled up three-deep on the docks—all crated up and no place to go. It won't be long before this moist climate begins to coat all these precious war materials with rust. Someone is going to lose a lot of money unless the local congestion is broken up by the breaking of the German blockade. It's enough to wring the heart of Baltimore's shippers and munitions makers—enough to wring out of their mouths a long peeling war cry.

Last month 50 ships from England, including some of the British Government sweepers from Belgium, Holland, Norway and Greece, steamed into Baltimore Harbor—far too few to carry away much of the piles of war materials on our docks. Before the month is over several of those ships will be sent plunging below the waves by German submarines and bombers. It's dollars to doughnuts that 50 ships from England won't steam up the Patapsco River next month. Foreign trade, reports the Baltimore Sun, for the period of January through March of this year, amounted to \$61,728,201—a drop from \$74,743,681 for the same period last year. Exports dropped 26%. This great port is faced with strangulation and the blight of stagnation!

Baltimore's Bosses Need War

Before this war started Baltimore civic associations could boast that the city had grown to the status of a world port—second in the nation, sixth in the world—surpassing Osaka, Antwerp, Hamburg, Philadelphia, San Francisco and a dozen other more widely known port cities. The funny thing about it is that the local publicity hounds were right. You may be sure from this that the local big shots will set up a terrific huller for war in order to clear up the mess in Baltimore Harbor.

To incoming industrialists and shippers the city fathers point as inducements to Baltimore's open-shop conditions, low wages and fine industrial and shipping facilities. To business men they talk in a Yankee accent; but to the working class population of the city they talk in a Southern accent—encouraging that indigenous feeling that Baltimore is, after all, just a grown-up Southern town where everyone knows everyone else. (Mister, can you introduce me to all 900,000 of them?)

The result has been that the workers of the city have only now begun to feel their way toward class consciousness. Confronted with an unorganized, disoriented working population, the stingy city fathers and industrialists haven't had to shell out much money for civic improvements, decent wages and housing, adequate unemployment relief or WPA.

It's War Or Groaning Docks

"But," says a New York comrade to me recently, "I thought Baltimore was a suburb of Washington, D. C." The reverse, comrade, is true; certainly as far as Baltimore shippers and manufacturers are concerned. They can hot foot it forty miles down to the nation's capital faster than any one to demand that American ships start sailing for England under convoy of the American Navy. The Baltimore Sun, formerly a bit stupid as far as understanding the precise needs of American imperialism, now transmits the groaning of the docks and the hollering of the imperialists:

"Port interests see the opening of the Red Sea to American-flag ships as a major step to ease the burden on British shipping. They also favor the turning over of ten Coast Guard cutters for escort duty."

Coast Guard cutters today, tomorrow battle-wagons. These port interests aren't a bit concerned about saving British shipping or American "democracy." What they are worried about is all that stuff piling up on the docks along the Patapsco River.

In his usual terse manner, Samuel I. Brooks of the Pittsburgh Courier sums up the Ethiopian situation in three sentences:

"Native revolt against Italy is spreading in Ethiopia. Armed by the once indifferent British, the warriors of Haile Selassie are smiting the Italians hip and thigh. This will be good practice for running out the British when Mussolini's men abandon the territory."

A columnist in the Evansville Argus recently asked an appropriate question of Wendell Willkie. He wanted to know why Willkie didn't go on a tour of the Negro quarters in our American cities and go back to Congress and make a report on that. Willkie may answer the remarks that the Nazi leaders make about him, but we're quite sure that he won't answer this one.

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PROGRAM FOR TODAY'S FIGHT

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

Labor On The March

The strike wave appears to be receding. But not because of boss and government threats! The strikes, above all the strikes against Bethlehem and Ford, have brought in their wake "peaceful" gains for many workers. The raises in the steel industry are the most outstanding, but not the only example, of this process: having seen that the workers are ready to battle, the bosses are making some concessions. The main strike now on, in the bituminous coal industry, is certain to be settled for the Northern and Western mines with a victory for the union, limiting the arena of further conflict to part of the Southern mines. This is certain to be followed by a similar settlement for the anthracite miners. The wage raises in steel and coal give the union the whip hand in the negotiations with General Motors and, since the UAW leadership is more than anxious to settle for partial concessions, they will bring heavy pressure to settle without a strike.

Thus the strike wave of the last month is about over. At the same time, however, the demand for wage increases is becoming more and more widespread. The bourgeois commentators already concede that the steel raises pave the way for raises in steel fabricating plants. A hike in wages in General Motors sets the stage for the negotiations with Ford, later with Chrysler. We see by the papers that even one of Hillman's locals, Local 169 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is demanding a 25 per cent wage increase from New York manufacturers of boys' clothes! It is a foregone conclusion that all crafts in the shipyards will seek substantial wage raises in the forthcoming "stabilization" meetings arranged by Hillman. These raises will inspire workers everywhere to do likewise. We confidently predict in advance that the bosses will resist the general demands for wage increases and out of the conflict will come a new strike wave, for labor is on the march.

In the coming months the workers will find inspiration in the victories they have chalked up in the past strike wave. The most sketchy balance sheet shows how considerable these victories have been. The workers have demonstrated that the biggest plant of all, Ford's, can be closed down by militant picket lines: some 100,000 auto workers have thereby been added to the ranks of unionism. Rising union strength in steel is now an unquestionable fact: most of the Bethlehem Steel workers can now be listed as union men, veterans of the Johnstown, Bethlehem and Lackawanna strikes; and the SWOC lodges in the U. S. Steel plants are far more powerful today than they were even a few months ago. Less dramatically, but no less surely, the CIO unions in the shipyards, electrical manufacturing, and other fields have grown substantially.

Perhaps most important of all, is the training in struggle which great masses of rank and file workers have experienced in these battles. There is no substitute for the school of the picket line. There the workers learn what their united strength concretely means. There they learn the limits of the bosses' power. There they learn that glib negotiators get nowhere except as the picket line gets results. There, too, they learn that much that they win on the picket line may be given away in negotiations by union officials who, ignoring or fail-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Business As Usual

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NORMAN THOMASITES CONFESS

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

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

War Orders Mirror Who Controls This Country

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

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

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

THE PRESS IS SILENT ABOUT THIS SABOTAGE!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two Out Of Five Called For Draft Found Unfit

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

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

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

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

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

The real significance of the

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

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

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

A DIRECT RESULT OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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

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

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

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

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

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

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

The Stalinist "Peace" Movement

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

Ignores the Nature of Capitalist War

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

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

Not A Word About Fascism!

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

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

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

MAY DAY MEETINGS

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

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

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

In New York

Speakers:
ALBERT GOLDMAN
Attorney for Leon Trotsky

ART PREIS
Associate Editor, THE MILITANT
THURSDAY, May 1 8:30 P.M.

Irving Plaza
Irving Place and 15th St.

In Twin Cities

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

THURSDAY, May 1 8:00 P.M.
Socialist Workers Party Hall
919 Marquette Ave., Mpls.

Auspices: Twin City Branches, SWP
Admission: 25 cents