

Workers! Fight For Your Right To Strike!

Army Strikebreaking And Drafting Strikers Is Aimed At The Entire Labor Movement

The right to strike—the sacred right which was won by struggles of millions of workers over a period of decades, by struggles in which thousands of workers gave their lives—has been taken away. On Monday that right was taken away by force of arms from the United Automobile Workers at the North American Aviation plant.

And on Tuesday a government ultimatum was served on the Die Casters Union to settle immediately its strike against the aluminum monopoly or likewise have its picket lines broken by the Army. "You show me a case like the North American Aviation case and we'll act just as we acted then," says Assistant Secretary of War Patterson. Such a "case" would be any strike in any plant working on "national defense" orders. That means 90 per cent of American industry. If Roosevelt and the capitalist class are permitted to continue the tactics they followed in Inglewood, California, the right to strike will be completely done away with.

Read the text of Roosevelt's order sending the troops against the North American Aviation strikers. It justifies this foul act by (1) the "national emergency" (2) government contracts and government-owned materials in the plant (3) the strikers' refusal to continue agreeing not to strike while negotiations and mediation dragged on indefinitely. There is nothing peculiar about these three conditions at the North American Aviation plant; any or all of these conditions will be true in every other important plant. Roosevelt's reasons for sending troops against the UAW-CIO in Inglewood apply to practically every other conceivable strike in industry.

If Roosevelt's order didn't make that plain, it became crystal-clear a few hours later when, with Roosevelt's express approval, General Hershey ordered all draft boards to call up for reclassification ALL strikers previously deferred because of the nature of their work. Not "irresponsible" strikers—the pretext used by Judases like Hillman about the North American Aviation strikers—but ALL strikers.

A precedent has been set by the use of the Army against the North American Aviation strikers. From now on the employers will sit back and stall on the legitimate demands of the workers. The employers have nothing to lose. Their government is ready to break any strike the workers might decide to call.

And worst of all, this precedent was supported by spineless, belly-crawling labor "leaders" who in the moment of crisis revealed their true role as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

* * *

In his "fireside chat" of May 27th, Roosevelt called upon "both" employers and workers not to interfere with "national defense" by stopping production. In a tone of impartiality he cautioned both labor and capital.

But against whom was the army called out? The army was called out against the workers. The plant was temporarily taken over to break their strike. The employing corporation gleefully welcomed the army.

Dare anyone claim that this was because labor was wrong and capital was right in this case? The facts annihilate such a claim. The UAW-CIO won the NLRB election at the plant. The 40 to 50-cent an hour minimums and other corresponding wages at the plant are below the subsistence standard of living, even as computed by government agencies. The strikers were demanding a 75-cent an hour minimum and a ten-cent increase for others, obviously reasonable demands, in the light of the rising cost of living.

The corporation could scarcely pretend it couldn't afford the raises. Its own figures show it made a clear profit of over seven million dollars in 1940—\$855 on every worker it employed that year. It topped all other aviation firms in rate of profit in proportion to sales. With a \$204 million back-log of orders, it is certain to make far bigger profits in 1941.

Despite all this the company, when finally forced into negotiations on April 16, proceeded to stall. When, more than five weeks later, the union membership voted overwhelmingly in favor of strike on May 23, the company kept on stalling. In the thirteen days between then and the beginning of the strike, the union made every effort to reach a peaceful settlement.

The company made no effort to settle—and now we may well wonder whether its conduct throughout the negotiations was not based on an understanding with government officials. Conciliation and mediation officials showed no signs of getting the company to stop stalling. These were the conditions under which the workers struck.

To be sure, production was interfered with. If, however, the only purpose of the President was to prevent a cessation of production, why didn't he order the management to grant the workers' demands? Why did he not threaten to take over the plant if the management did not grant the workers their demands? Why did the President not take the plant over and immediately call the workers back to work by granting those demands?

Instead, all Roosevelt's pressure, all his force, were used against the workers. Roosevelt did not exert any pressure nor any force, nor did he use the Army, against the bosses. This is the naked fact and it cannot be contradicted by the apologists for Roosevelt.

These apologists will eagerly seize tomorrow upon some minor action of Roosevelt and offer it to the workers as proof that Roosevelt is after all a "friend of labor." Yes, it is true that Roosevelt is perfectly willing to go on playing the game of being a friend of labor—so long as it does not interfere in any way with vital capitalist interests. An occasional gesture in the direction of labor is made, but only when it serves the interests of the capitalists.

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ARMY BREAKS STRIKE--BUT WORKERS' MORALE IS HIGH

Draft Order Is Aimed Against Every Strike

Draft Order Is "Work Or Fight" Ultimatum To Every Trade Union

The draft administration's "work or be drafted" strike-breaking edict, issued Monday, is being put into immediate effect everywhere.

Draft boards in Los Angeles anticipated the order by reclassifying 100 striking North American Aviation strikers to Class 1-A.

Immediately following the order's issuance, Captain Charles Going, California draft head, announced the order would be put into effect against the striking CIO and AFL machinists in the San Francisco shipyards.

West Hartford, Connecticut draft officials promptly hailed the order as vindication of their previously having reclassified to 1-A a CIO striker at the Hanson-Whitney Company strike.

Cleveland draft board officials announced Tuesday that if the aluminum strike continued, strikers would be put in class 1-A.

The purpose of the draft administration's order is to supplement the use of troops to break strikes.

"Troops can't make planes!" was the slogan of the North American Aviation strikers.

No one realizes this more than Roosevelt.

TROOPS AREN'T ENOUGH

Plants cannot be operated without the workers. And not just any workers, but workers who have been trained in the job.

It isn't enough for Roosevelt to send troops to escort a few hundred scabs back into a struck plant. To break the North American Aviation—or any other strike—he must force the original workers back to work. To do this he is threatening the workers with army service at \$21 a month.

Brig. Gen. Lewis Hershey, acting national draft administrator, a few hours after the troops arrived in Inglewood, California, set in motion the second half of Roosevelt's strike-breaking tactics.

At the direct instruction of Roosevelt, Hershey issued orders to the state draft heads to cancel all draft deferments of striking workers.

Roosevelt believes, as Wilson did, that the "Work or Fight" formula will be a decisive weapon in driving workers back into strike.

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What Wall Street Really Thinks Of FDR's "Socialism"

What Wall Street actually thinks about the "draft property" idea is disclosed in the following report from the financial section of the New York TIMES, June 8.

"Wheat and cotton soared yesterday to new high levels for the season. Stocks followed, supported also by word that President Roosevelt is prepared to take over the North American Aviation Corporation's plant unless the strike there is ended tomorrow."

Yessir! Wall Street's all for Roosevelt's "Socialism."

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They're Still Picketing



Undaunted by the presence of 3,500 federal troops confronting them with fixed bayonets, these militant strikers of the North American Aviation Corp., Inglewood, California, last Monday continued their picket lines, marching directly up and down the ranks of the soldiers. The next day the army authorities banned all picketing.

Minneapolis Truckdrivers Vote Affiliation To CIO

Overwhelming Majority Of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Vote To Withdraw From AFL; First Step To Organize Country's Truckers

MINNEAPOLIS, June 10, 1941—The union-busting combination of Teamsters' President Daniel J. Tobin, reactionary Republican Governor Harold E. Stassen and the Minneapolis bosses was jolted by the mighty fist of Drivers Union Local 544 when its members voted by overwhelming majority at their meeting last night to quit the AFL and join the CIO.

Tobin had proposed to the Local 544 delegation at the Washington meeting of his International Executive Board, June 3, that a dictator-receiver be appointed over Local 544.

and Blair, head of the State Labor Board, to sign agreements with the bosses behind the backs of the teamsters. The swift and sudden move of Local 544 in bolting to the CIO

caught this unholy alliance completely off-guard, upsetting their conspiracy and placing the union and its membership in a strong position to take the next steps in their struggle to renew their contracts.

There is no possibility of appeasement with Tobin or any of his agents. Local 544 is through with the AFL and has gone over to the CIO, lock, stock and barrel.

A. D. Lewis, Chairman of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, had invited the truck drivers to affiliate at their Monday meeting, stating:

"We visualize this move on the part of the truck-drivers of Minneapolis and our organization as the first step towards the complete organization of all truck-drivers in the United States in the CIO."

The Executive Board of Local 544 announced that it had accepted Lewis' invitation "in order to liberate itself from the dead hand of a reactionary dictator and to align itself with a more progressive section of the American labor movement. Its CIO charter will permit it to move forward at a faster pace and on a wider scale to protect and promote the interests of its membership, to secure new wage gains to offset the swiftly rising wartime cost of living, and to find for itself and its members a place in the American labor movement where liberalism, militancy and progress will be rewarded rather than punished."

OVER 4,000 AT MEETING

The membership meeting which took these momentous actions was one of the greatest outpourings of labor Minneapolis has seen in recent years.

(Continued on page 3)

Bitter And Fighting Mad, They Vote To Go To Work

By BILL MORGAN

LOS ANGELES, June 10—3,500 strikers, members of Local 683, United Automobile Workers (CIO), still fighting mad and determined to maintain and strengthen their forces inside the plant, met this morning and accepted the advice of local union officials to formally end the North American Aviation strike.

In the late afternoon the strikers formed solid ranks and marched in a body to the plant area, where troops halted them and permitted only night shift workers to enter the plant. Day shift workers were forced to remain outside a restricted zone established yesterday by the military, within a mile radius of the plant. They will be permitted to enter the plant tomorrow morning.

As an act of reprisal against the strikers, three night-shift members of the local's negotiating committee were barred from the plant. It is expected that attempts will be made to bar other strike leaders tomorrow, as the troops are examining each worker in an attempt to weed out the leading militants. Action of the UAW International officials in declaring the local's officers suspended has served as the pretext for this discrimination.

WORKERS ARE BITTER

The workers are bitter and stunned by Roosevelt's strikebreaking use of federal troops. They have learned fast in the past two days. And the main thing they have learned, emphasized by bayonet points, is that Roosevelt is no friend of labor.

During most of last night and today, as thousands of patrolling troops imposed martial law for a mile around the plant, the area was a virtual war zone.

Outside the restricted zone, in the southwestern suburbs where most of the strikers live, motorized troops patrolled the streets throughout the night.

WHEN THE TROOPS CAME

When the troops marched in yesterday morning, the strikers were lined up 6,000 strong around the plant. As army trucks filled with armed soldiers, their steel bayonets glistening in the hot sun, first rolled up the road, some of the younger and less experienced workers cheered. The older workers smiled grimly. The soldiers didn't return any greetings. They looked straight ahead.

Then the troops formed ranks, bayonets thrust forward, and began to deploy toward the line of pickets. Machine guns were quickly placed at strategic spots, their deadly nozzles bearing directly on the mass of workers.

"Move on!" came the grunted command. No worker cheered now. They began a reluctant retreat, giving ground slowly, a step at a time.

Suddenly a bayonet flashed and there came a sharp cry. Carl Clemment, one of the pickets, had been stabbed in the thigh for not moving fast enough.

The troops moved ruthlessly. (Continued on page 3)

Dobbs' Speech to the Truckdrivers

MINNEAPOLIS, June 10—Farrell Dobbs' speech to the membership meeting of the Drivers Union follows in part:

This is a fight to the death between Local 544 and Dan Tobin. Local 544's leaders have the guts to fight the employers, which is a lot more than Tobin can say.

Tobin has a grudge against this union. His grudge is that the leaders of Local 544 are not yes-men, whom he can kick around as he pleases.

OUR FOUR CRIMES

In Daniel J. Tobin's eyes, this union is guilty of four great crimes.

Our first crime is that we believe in fighting the bosses all the way. Tobin doesn't believe in this. I hope you all read the little editorial on the inside front cover of the June issue of Tobin's personal organ, wherein he states:

"Business agents and salaried officers of unions are going to be held mainly responsible by the state and federal governments for the actions of their members as time goes on. In most instances paid representatives of local unions are in a position to stop trouble. In some few instances they are

not strong enough to stop the rank and file, but in those instances where they fail or where they are unable to protect the rank and file from themselves, they should notify the International Office of such failure."

Translated out of Tobin's language into English, that paragraph is a warning and a threat to every official of every IBT local that Tobin doesn't want the drivers asking for higher wages, he doesn't want any trouble, he doesn't want any strikes, he doesn't want to pay out any money for strike benefits. And God help any business agent or officer who can't hold down the drivers and get them to lie down. If they can't do it, Tobin will have their scalps. That's what Tobin is saying in his editorial.

Local 544's second crime in Tobin's eyes is that the delegates from this union to the last convention of the IBT—Tobin permits a convention once every five years—voted against his proposal that he be given dictatorial powers to force arbitration upon any affiliated local. One of the delegates to take the floor, against this reactionary program was Miles

Dunne, who made such an effective speech it took Tobin half an hour to get the convention to order. Brother Dunne was not the only unionist at the convention to blast Tobin's program; delegates from the East and West Coasts spoke against it. By agreement with other progressive delegates, Miles Dunne made his talk; together, the convention was able to deal Tobin a stiff defeat, something unheard of at IBT conventions.

Local 544's third crime, according to Tobin, is that representatives of this union took the lead in organizing the over-the-road drivers and achieving the 11-state area contract. In this drive, about two hundred thousand new members were brought into the IBT. Tobin fought against this successful campaign from the start. He tried to disrupt our drivers' council that launched the over-the-road campaign. Once the successful fight was over, Tobin immediately clamped down and began to expel or push aside all those whom he couldn't absolutely control and integrate into his machine.

Our fourth crime is that the

Local 544 delegation voted against Tobin's request to raise his annual salary \$10,000 to \$30,000 a year. We figured that Tobin ought to be able to skimp along on \$20,000 a year—and that if he couldn't he ought to turn his case over to 544's Federal Workers Section and ask for supplemental aid from the relief officials.

There stands Tobin with his \$30,000 sack of dough over his shoulder, almost tipping him over backward, holding up his hand to the drivers, and howling "Don't strike, boys. I got mine."

Those are the four points that are the real issues in this fight. This is a fight over trade union policy, and charges of radicalism have nothing to do with it.

Radicalism? Why, Tobin hired me on May 1, 1939, to be an international organizer. Tobin knew what I was then. He knew my ideas and beliefs. He knew them even better when I resigned as international organizer a year later. At that time, he talked with me several hours, asking me to reconsider my decision. He advised me to keep my paid-up card in the IBT and said I could always return as an international organizer. Well, I have returned! I am back. I am back not to serve Tobin, but to help you fight him.

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.

EDITOR:

The peculiar sporadic quality of coverage which you give to Soviet Russian news has puzzled me and not only me. For a period you will have an article a week. Then nothing for months at a time. Is there some rhyme or reason to it? Nor do your periods of coverage always coincide with periods when Russia looms in world events. Precisely then, often, except for an editorial or so, you have nothing to say. Certainly there should be an explanation of this—to say the least—peculiar coverage given Soviet Russia.

J. R.

Detroit, Mich.

The Editor's Answer:

The manner in which we are compelled to cover the developments in the Soviet Union arises not out of choice but out of necessity. The only source of first hand information at our disposal is the arrival in this country of Russian newspapers, magazine, etc. If this material arrived regularly, it would have been possible to cover the news regularly, and we would not have failed to do so. But the whole point is that since the outbreak of the war the receipt of this indispensable material first became very irregular, and then—last November—ceased almost completely.

Primarily responsible for this condition is the rigorous censorship imposed since the Stalin-Hitler pact by the Kremlin itself. The only dispatches which still emanate from Russia are the official dispatches of the TASS—and these are few and far between. The extent of the censorship may be gauged by the fact that in the last two years no foreign correspondent or press agency has been allowed to cable to the outside world the text of any of the Kremlin's decrees. (The only foreign correspondents still remaining in Moscow are the Nazis).

In addition to this, the circulation of the official press outside the borders of the Soviet Union has been greatly restricted. Thus, for the year 1940, no issues of either PRAVDA or IZVESTIA for the first five months—from January to May—are available in this country.

Last September, copies began to arrive again, covering the months of June, July, August, September and October 1940. It was this fortunate circumstance that made it possible for us to make public the

authentic facts relating to the 1940 ukases, to expose Stalin's conscription of Soviet labor, the introduction of child labor, the reorganization of the Red Army, the vast and "bloodless" purge of 1940-1941, the demotion of the Russian Communist Party from its dominant position in the life of the country, the inflationary tendencies in economy, etcetera.

On the basis of this information it was possible to gauge the profundity of the crisis in the Soviet Union and to analyze Stalin's moves in connection with the Eighteenth Party Conference which convened last February.

In the middle of last November the regular arrival of this material ceased, and since then, as we have already stated, there has been practically nothing at all. An occasional copy of Pravda or Izvestia still dribbles through after many months delay. Even these stray copies are extremely difficult to obtain and, by a curious coincidence, are the ones that contain little or no information.

It is necessary to add that since the beginning of this year, the federal authorities (FBI) have begun confiscating printed matter from Russia and this has for the first time supplied the local Stalinists with a "legitimate" explanation of why there are no Moscow papers on the stands. Stalin's censorship supplemented by that of Washington has clamped for the time being what is virtually a hermetic seal on all news from the Soviet Union.

It goes without saying that the so-called Communist press, i.e., the Daily Worker is distinguished for carrying the least news about the actual happenings in the Soviet Union. In recent months there has been a drastic decline even in the ritualistic articles dated Moscow and painting a glowing and completely false picture of "successes." Judging from the past experience, this intensification of official silence means that startling, even colossal developments, are about to take place in the USSR.

Confronted with these conditions we must of necessity reconcile ourselves to an irregular, or as J. R. correctly puts it, a "sporadic" coverage. And we must ask the indulgence of our readers until there is a marked improvement in the objective circumstances which impose this irregularity upon us.

THE EDITORS

Trotsky On Japan Plan For Conquest Features June '4 International

Leon Trotsky's "The Tanaka Memorial," published for the first time in the June FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, just out, bares a fourteen-year secret which proves the authenticity of the document in which Baron Tanaka outlined Imperialist Japan's plans for world conquest.

Trotsky's article — one of the last he wrote — reveals for the first time how the secret document was secured from the guarded files of the Japanese government. Japan's imperialist rivals have helped suppress this story. Stalin, who concluded a pact with Japan at the expense of China, though he well knew Japan's plans for China's enslavement likewise suppresses the facts.

The projected July 1st Negro March to Washington as a protest against Jim Crowism in the armed forces and the defense indus-

tries, is analyzed by Albert Parker.

The first of a series of informative articles on the armed forces of the United States is presented by James Cadman in "After the Blitzkrieg: The New American Army." The preparations of the U. S. Army to cope in battle with the German armed forces are described in detail. The difficulties of the officer caste in effecting a reorientation to the needs of modern totalitarian warfare, are analyzed.

"The Balkans," by Jack Weber describes the age-long thwarted struggle for freedom of the Balkan people in a world of expanding imperialism.

"Jak Valtin: 'Out of the Fight,'" by John G. Wright shows Valtin's betrayal of Bolshevism, first to Stalinism and now to bourgeois "democracy."

"How Paris Fell," by Terence Phelan is a gripping eyewitness story, his second to appear in the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The renegade James Burnham's "alter native" to socialism, The "Managerial Revolution" is dissected by Joseph Hansen.

No reader of THE MILITANT should permit himself to be without a copy of the latest FOURTH INTERNATIONAL for a thorough understanding of the forces behind the current news.

She Daren't Unmask



Fearing that she might suffer reprisal from her employer, this girl had to appear masked at a union quiz program staged by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (CIO) over WMFR, High Point, North Carolina.

Strike Wave Gains in Detroit

United Auto Workers Is Spearhead Of Detroit Battles To Defend Unionism

DETROIT, Mich. — The battle of the American workers to defend their unions and their living standards against the combined attacks of Wall Street and Roosevelt's Mediation Board, gathered momentum this week, as wave on wave of union reinforcements took to the picket line, the spearhead of which is the United Automobile Workers.

The biggest wage drive in the history of the UAW, inspired by the victory of the Flint General Motors strike which forced a ten cent wage increase throughout that corporation, is now reaching into every automobile plant in the country almost without exception.

In Detroit the Chrysler workers followed up the GM wage increase with a demand for similar increases, and reopened the contract which was to have frozen wages for several months. The corporation was obliged to grant an 8-cent general wage increase.

With the NLRB vote tucked under their belts, the Ford workers are now negotiating a contract with the Ford Motor Company.

FORD TRIES SPEEDUP

Already Ford has shown he will not give in peacefully, and has initiated a union-busting policy in the plants which thus far, however, has been met successfully by the militant Ford workers. The Ford management has allowed department after department to become depleted of workers who have been called by the draft or have left because of illness or other reasons. Ordinarily these men are immediately replaced.

But now Ford has not filled in the vacated places on the assembly line, and has attempted to initiate a speed up among the remaining men to make up for the work of those who had left. This was a calculated policy to provoke difficult situations throughout the plant.

The union men refused however to do the work of two or more men. Each man performed only his own duties, and the union committees demanded that the company hire new men to fill in vacancies. In an unsuccessful attempt to intimidate the union, Ford closed down the Ford assembly on Saturday. The company cried that a "slow down" had forced a shut-down. The union has not been fooled by this trick and is holding firm, determined to make Ford sign a real union contract.

HEARINGS NAIL FORD

The Labor Relations Board hearings in Detroit have exposed a cross-section of the vicious system of espionage and terrorism which prevented unionism in the Ford Empire prior to the great strike of April 2. Witness after witness testified to the fact that huge sums had been paid for spying on unionists, union men had been beaten, intimidated and locked out of the plant. The whole dirty underground stoolpigeon system was revealed and has shown the fraud of Ford's claims that his workers were satisfied with conditions. The hearings prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Ford ruled his open shop only by threats and spying and intimidation.

With 60,000 dues-paying members in Ford, there should be no doubt as to the outcome of the battle to sign a union contract with the tyrant of River Rouge. It is possible that a strike may be necessary, but in that case the strength of the union will be more openly obvious to all.

Negotiations for wage increases covering approximately 250,000

auto workers are now in various stages in the Detroit area. The Briggs workers have served notice of their demands for wage increases to meet increased living costs, and a strike vote will have been taken by the time this article appears in print.

A total of 61 tool and die plants in Detroit have been served with strike notices by the UAW; the union is demanding the die shops sign union shop contracts, and grant pay raises and vacation with pay.

The Budd Wheel plant has demanded a ten cent blanket wage increase and has served notice that it will back up its demands with a strike if necessary.

The Bohn Aluminum plant is also on the verge of a strike, which has taken the limelight in Detroit because of the fact that it was the first plant to serve strike notice with the state after Roosevelt's speech declaring a state of unlimited emergency.

The Gar Wood industries also are in the midst of a fight for wage increases and other concessions.

A strike is in progress at the Detroit Steel products company. An attempt to break the strike by injecting a company union into the scene has failed.

CONVENTION FIGHT COMING

With the UAW workers at North American Aviation in Los Angeles out on strike, in defiance of the Mediation Board, and in spite of the attempts to delay the walk-out by the UAW International of fliers, the ranks and file of the UAW has shown that it cannot be stopped either by governmental bulldozing or by the trickery of bureaucrats at the top of the union.

The wave of militancy in the UAW, and throughout the organized labor movement in the country, has served to awaken the militant elements throughout the union, and all are pointing to the coming UAW convention in Buffalo in August. In Flint, for example, the powerful Buick local backed by the Fisher Body Local No. 581, has an unwritten program to get rid of all the top bureaucrats of the International and elect militant elements to the leadership.

With Roosevelt more and more openly attacking the union efforts to defend living standards, the coming UAW convention will sharply pose the question of independent political action to the delegates. The great economic battles now raging serve to point the way for an independent labor party in order to cast aside the Wall Street politicians who have so openly shown their hand against labor.

When Walter Reuther attacked the recent Flint GM strike as "communist inspired" the Buick

Stalinist Hoodlums Beat Salesgirl For 'Militant'

Socialist Workers Party Protests Thug Tactics In Labor Movement

A lone MILITANT salesgirl, Kathleen O'Brien, was subjected to a well-organized and obviously premeditated assault by forty members of the Communist party and the Young Communist League, on Wednesday, June 4, at 8:30 P.M., before Manhattan Plaza in New York, where a "Free Browder" meeting was being held under the auspices of the Communist Party.

The group of Stalinist hoodlums emerged from the hall and took positions surrounding the girl. Some of them displayed some impatience for beginning the assault at once but were warned by others to wait until the number of "outsiders" standing or walking in front of the building was small. When the ringleaders felt the moment was ripe, the gang made a concerted move upon her, snatched the literature from her arms, punched her in the mouth, hurled her to the ground and knocked her unconscious. Then they retreated hastily into the hall and left the girl lying on the pavement.

The girl's lip was badly cut, a tooth loosened and her body bruised.

An onlooker who witnessed the assault and tried to make some protest was hustled into the hall by the Stalinist gang.

PROTEST LEAFLET ISSUED

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, realizing that criminal acts like this can only result in the embarrassment and injury of the entire working class movement, decided to launch a campaign to halt such practices by giving them wide publicity.

A leaflet was addressed to members of the Communist Party, calling upon them to protest to their leadership against such sadistic and fascist aping conduct on the part of party members.

The leaflet reads in part:

"This is not the only instance of its kind; it is simply the latest of such assaults upon members of working-class political groups not in agreement with the Communist party line. We lay the responsibility for these hoodlum tactics — sadist and fascist — directly at the door of the leadership of the Communist party. We do not believe that the rank and file is itself capable of perpetrating such vicious acts.

"Such behavior can only hurt the fight to free Browder. Who, may we ask, can take seriously your announced fight for democracy when you yourselves

LABOR VICTIM



Ina Wood, 32, now on trial, faces a ten-year jail sentence and a \$5,000 fine because she is allegedly a member of the Communist Party, a "crime" in the state of Oklahoma. She is the fourth Oklahoman to be tried for this "offense," her husband and two others having already been sentenced on the same charge.

deny it—and by physical violence—to other sections of the labor movement, simply because they are not in political agreement with you?

"We call upon you members of the Communist party to renounce such tactics and in no uncertain terms voice your true feelings to your leadership. Only a united front of all workers irrespective of their political beliefs can safeguard the democratic rights of labor."

Cafeteria Workers Vote N. Y. General Strike

By LOU COOPER

Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union of New York, the second largest local of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union, prepared to use its man-power of 10,000 workers this week for general strike in the industry. Monday night, June 9, at a membership meeting of over 4,000, the workers threw back the insultingly meager offers of the employers with a ringing challenge.

The reasonable demands of the union had been stalled off by the bosses since the expiration of contracts on April 31, and the membership was determined not to repeat another half-year stalling, as happened in 1939.

A minimum two dollar general wage increase would still not allow the workers to meet the tremendous rise in rents, food and clothing. If salaried men, steamfitters, night countermen, were to receive \$25 per week, and day countermen \$32 per week, they would still not make up for the cuts forced upon them by the bosses four years ago. They would still be working 48 hours, 6 days per week as compared with 40 hours, 5 days per week enjoyed by many New York workers in other lines.

The demand for the \$2 wage increase was again the tragic plight of the miscellaneous workers in the industry. The miscellaneous would still find themselves working 48 hours, 6 days per week, and supporting families on \$18 (male) and \$16 (female) per week.

While the union is at the present time not demanding a general decrease in hours and work days for all categories, the membership is, however, definitely demanding a decrease of these slave hours for the women workers. A six-day, seven hour week for the women workers would be a 45 minute cut below what they now work each day. Is that too much to ask for the counter-girls who work at such tremendous speed behind the counter?

FOR EQUAL PAY

By far the most important demand of the union is for the elimination of wage differentials, the same pay for the same work in all cafeterias, (chains and independents). The situation in the industry is one in which chain stores such as Silvers and Stewart, pay countermen 21, 22 and 23 dollars per week compared with the \$30 minimum in Branch A (independent) stores.

Chefs in the chain stores receive \$25 and \$30 dollars compared with \$40, 45 and \$50 for chefs working in independent union stores.

A deep-rooted feeling of fight has swept the chain stores since the workers learned that the union is taking up the cudgels for the elimination of these wage differentials. The 302 membership at last feels equal to the task of abolishing the virtual open shop within its own ranks.

War Chest Drive Speeding Up As Branches Act

The second week of the War Chest campaign saw the amount collected go up from \$917.32 (collected by the end of the first week of the drive) to \$1,887.45. In other words, approximately 10 per cent of the \$10,000 was collected in the second week of the campaign. That's good going.

Cleveland has nosed out Buffalo for first place and is now heading the list with 40 per cent of its quota fulfilled. We of course don't count the members-at-large as a branch, but it is worthwhile noticing that members-at-large have already paid in 71% of the amount pledged.

There are, however, still too many branches that have not yet sent in any money on their pledges.

With great events demanding more and more activity on the part of our party, it is mandatory on the part of every comrade and sympathizer to send in War Chest funds at the earliest possible moment. Organizers must be sent out, the circulation of the paper must be enlarged, more pamphlets must be published — the party must grow speedily in the face of the imperialist World War and Roosevelt's Blitzkrieg against the trade union rights of the workers. Let us mobilize with equal speed!

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Cleveland	\$ 150.00	\$ 60.00	40%
Boston	350.00	93.50	40
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	292.33	26
Flint	200.00	50.00	25
Buffalo	60.00	14.00	23
Philadelphia	125.00	29.00	23
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
Newark	500.00	100.00	20
New York City	2500.00	464.00	19
Portland	30.00	5.00	17
St. Paul	300.00	50.00	17
Reading	25.00	3.50	14
Minneapolis	1200.00	142.00	12
Chicago	1200.00	132.62	11
Detroit	500.00	45.00	9
San Diego	100.00	5.00	5
New Haven	50.00	1.50	3
Los Angeles	500.00	0.00	00
Youngstown	150.00	0.00	00
Akron	50.00	0.00	00
Fresno	50.00	0.00	00
Rochester	50.00	0.00	00
Toledo	50.00	0.00	00
Pittsburgh	40.00	0.00	00
Louisiana	25.00	0.00	00
Quakertown	25.00	0.00	00
Seattle	25.00	0.00	00
St. Louis	25.00	0.00	00
Texas	20.00	0.00	00
Baltimore	10.00	0.00	00
Milwaukee	10.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	555.00	395.00	71
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$1887.45	19%



SOME ITEMS FROM OUR FAN MAIL

The publishing office of a left wing labor periodical receives certain indices of the popularity and value of its publication. This week we have several such encouraging items:

One publication, not essentially in agreement with our political position, in a letter requesting additional information from us on one of our articles says: "We receive a great number of radical newspapers in our editorial offices but we find THE MILITANT by far the most interesting."

This week there has been a noticeable increase in the number of subscriptions sent in with the blanks clipped from copies of the paper, which indicates that workers who have read either one or several issues have been sufficiently impressed to move them to send in money for more. There is a moral in this for the party branches, too. If the paper by itself has this much pull, then a very little solicitation by members ought to put a good proportion of our lapsed subscriptions back on the mailing list.

A censored letter came to us this week from England asking that an address be changed at once in order that no issues of the paper will be missed. The change, our informant says, "has been made necessary by enemy action." Enemy action in more senses than one, not forgetting the important sense that a proletarian residence has been wiped out by the internecine war of the enemy class.

NEW INCREASE IN BUNDLE ORDERS

Two cities this week — one in the automobile area and one near a nationally important steel center — have asked for permanent increases in their bundles and

both of them have completely liquidated their old debts with the paper.

Cleveland, heroically pulling itself out of a financial hole which the comrades at present active there had no hand in digging, this week sent in a check bringing them practically half-way out.

Youngstown, in one sweep of the pen, this week wiped out its whole debt to the paper and, as a sort of embellishment, included in the same check payment for three long-term subscriptions.

Elsewhere in this issue is the story of a vicious assault upon one of our salesgirls in New York. The Communist Party probably has no idea of the extent of damage it did itself when it sent out a gang to do its dirty work, but it is the determination of the New York Local of the S W P means anything, the Stalinists will soon be wishing they had been mercifully struck by lightning when they sallied out of that hall to do their stuff.

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So This Is What the Army and Navy Is Used For!

Draft Order Is Threat To Unions

(Continued from page 1)

bound plants. It is not unrelated to the use of armed force as in the North American strike. It is, in fact, the direct complement of that force, an essential part of Roosevelt's strikebreaking technique.

While Hershey's formal order does not directly mention "strikers," it is clear that it refers precisely to strikers.

TEXT OF ORDER

The exact words of Hershey's order reads:

"The basic principle upon which selective service operates is to keep the man on the job where he can render the greatest service to his government. The citizen who has been deferred because of the job he is performing in the national defense program, cannot expect to retain the status of deferment when he ceases to work on the job for which he was deferred. The status of deferment and the responsibility to perform the necessary work are inseparable."

"Therefore, I hereby direct all agencies of the selective service system to take the necessary action to reconsider the classification of all registrants who have ceased to perform the jobs for which they were deferred, and who are, by such failure, impeding the national defense program."

A GENERAL POLICY

The order is not directed against any given group of workers. It covers all workers, in all industries.

This is not a matter of policy in a given strike. It is the Administration's general policy.

This order, in effect, utilizes one more means to deprive all the workers of the right to strike.

By this one stroke, Roosevelt has wiped out any misconceptions that might exist about his actions in the North American strike.

These strikebreaking actions are not directed against one isolated group of workers, a few "irresponsible" elements. The national "work or fight" order is all-inclusive. It is a strait-jacket intended for every young worker in the United States.

OLD CAPITALIST WEAPON

Roosevelt, in this strikebreaking technique, is following a well-beaten path. His formula is the classic one of every capitalist government in the world.

It is also a direct parallel to the strikebreaking method utilized by Woodrow Wilson in the last war, — with this difference: Wilson's "work or fight" order was addressed to one group of workers; Roosevelt's order is directed at every worker.



Federal troops sent by Roosevelt to break the strike of 12,000 workers at North American Aviation Corp. plant are shown deploying in regulation skirmish formation, with fixed bayonets, as they drive back the pickets. These troops are not

draftees, but hardened professional soldiers of the regular army, who have seen years of service in the interests of American imperialism in China and other foreign territories, where they helped to break Chinese strikes.

Army Breaks Aviation Strike

(Continued from page 1)

They drove the workers back with blows from their rifle butts. Cries broke out from the workers' ranks, "Heil Roosevelt!"

These were not ordinary police methods against strikers. These were full military maneuvers on the scale of dealing with a major insurrection. The Army seized the opportunity to rehearse as against a revolution.

The city police, who earlier in the day had attempted to smash the pickets lines with tear gas and clubs and had been driven back by the militant resistance of the strikers, were sent home.

Additional troops continued to arrive, to the number of 2,500. Another 1,000 were to arrive by night.

These were no young draftees. They were the toughest regular army troops, seasoned by years of campaigning in China and other foreign territories.

Trench mortars, anti-tank guns, machine guns, automatic rifles, and two anti-aircraft guns were set up. Field kitchens, hospital units, radio units moved in.

Patrols of soldiers led by corporals entered the massed

crowds and began calling for volunteers to return to work. They got little response. The troops opened lanes among the strikers to escort a few scabs through, mostly office workers and foremen.

The army and company officials began rounding up all available scabs. They finally got together about 800 of the 12,000 workers normally employed. The troops again lined up in full force and slowly drove back the crowd of strikers.

Whenever a worker dared to raise his voice in protest, an officer would point him out. Six or seven soldiers would surround him with a ring of bayonets. Sixteen such workers—pointed out as "trouble makers" or "ring leaders"—were heaved into trucks and taken to Fort MacArthur, 25 miles away. No charges were placed against them, and they were later released.

The strikers held firm, however. Frantic appeals were repeatedly broadcast over the radio for scabs. "Loyal workers" were promised an escort of two soldiers each.

Late Monday night, martial law was declared for a mile zone around the plant. The union con-

tinued the fight. Strong picket lines were established at the zone limits. The publicity committee, strike kitchen, picket squad captains, who had done a splendid job all through the strike, stuck grimly to their posts and continued to function. The morale was not broken, and not until the workers voted to go back the next day, was the plant really able to operate.

THE WORKERS' DEMANDS

The demands of the strikers were for a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour, and 10 cents an hour more for all workers. This was the demand which J. H. Kindelberger, company president, had scoffed at with the remark:

"I don't have to pay anymore to my workers because most of them are young kids who spend their money on a flivver and a gal."

FRANKENSTEIN'S ROLE

On the day the strike was called, Richard Frankenstein, international representative of the UAW, rushed to the strike scene by plane.

Frankenstein did not wait to consult the strike committee. He broadcast a denunciation of the strike that same night over a national radio hook-up.

On Sunday morning, 10,000 strikers and sympathizers massed around the plant. Members of the Longshoremen, Warehousemen, Electrical and Radio Workers, Auto Workers and other CIO unions, as well as many AFL members, were out to give them support.

The huge throng of strikers gathered in a nearby beanfield to hear Frankenstein's report.

Before Frankenstein spoke, the local leaders explained to the workers the whole story of the Mediation Board's run-around.

They told how Frankenstein had conferred with the union committee and urged them to fight for a 75 cent minimum and their other demands. They told how Frankenstein had himself set the strike deadline and had pledged the full support of the international officers.

When Frankenstein spoke, and ordered the workers back to work, he was hooted and jeered down. The workers were through with stalling around. They were through with treacherous leaders.

Next morning, the strikers massed in thousands at the plant. And from this point on they fought the battle out to the bitter end.

Local 544 Accepts CIO Invitation To Affiliate

Overwhelming Majority Of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Vote To Withdraw From AFL; First Step To Organize Country's Truckers

(Continued from page 1)

cent years. Over 4,000 truckdrivers crowded into the three halls of the General Drivers Union headquarters to hear the reports of their leaders, while thousands more jammed the streets outside, tying up all traffic for blocks around.

Vincent R. Dunne reported for the delegation which appeared before Tobin and his International Executive Board in Washington last Tuesday, Local 544's board has been under charges made by the employer-inspired "Committee of 99." Dunne charged that these accusations had been made "with malicious intent" for the purpose of soliciting Tobin's help in removing 544's leadership.

He pointed out that none of these charges were concerned with the conduct of union affairs, but were exclusively based upon charges of "radicalism," and that these charges have been launched not only against the entire leadership of 544 but also against large sections of the stewards and the most active members. Tobin had picked up these charges as pretexts for removing 544's leadership and getting complete control of the union.

Dunne also pointed out that these were the identical charges which had been hurled against the leadership ever since 1934. They were the same charges made three years ago by the five finks backed and financed by the Associated Industries and the bosses who sought court removal of the leadership. The Minneapolis newspapers had printed these accusations with flaring headlines in countless articles. Tobin himself made the same accusations during the 1934 strikes and again in 1935 when he expelled the union from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

A year later Tobin took the union with the same leadership back into his International, after he had accused them of being "reds," etc., and had sworn that they would never again be permitted to lead a union in his International.

THE UNION'S RECORD

Despite this barrage of attacks and accusations, the membership, in free and democratic elections, has re-elected the same leaders year after year to their posts. After the union returned to the I. B. T. by agreement with Tobin in 1936, the Minneapolis drivers entered into a period of great expansion. The union raised wages, bettered conditions, signed excellent contracts. It built a powerful Teamsters Joint Council, infused new life and militant spirit into the entire Minneapolis labor movement, and helped organize and secure uniform contracts for more than two hundred thousand over-the-road drivers in the surrounding 11 state area.

Despite all these achievements, and in the face of another tough struggle with the bosses, using the "Committee of 99's" disproved and discredited charges, Tobin published another article in his personal organ threatening to discipline and remove 544's leadership.

Tobin ordered a committee from 544 to attend a hearing held April 8th in Chicago. "At that hearing," said Dunne, "we completely refuted the charges. That was not enough for Tobin. He again lashed out against us in his magazine. He called another hearing in Washington and suggested we send a union committee. Kelly Postal, Ray Rainbolt and myself went to Washington and confronted the I. B. T. Executive Board with honest, truthful and clean statements.

"We were, however, under no illusions about the real situation," declared Dunne. "We noted that the employers were refusing to negotiate contracts. We knew that they were conspiring with Governor Stassen and his man Blair to resist the union's demands. Blair's action in invalidating our strike notices was part of this conspiracy. The bosses were relying upon Tobin to move in and cut off the heads of the union, and to split

the union if necessary to give the bosses their way.

"We had information that Blair had telephoned Tobin to get up here quickly with International organizers to oust 544's leaders and negotiate contracts behind the backs of the members of this union.

"The greatest danger to our union today is represented by this three-pronged assault from the bosses, Stassen and Tobin. Tobin is the foremost prong in this assault."

Dunne reported that the 544 delegation as well as the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council committee had been treated by Tobin in a humiliating and insulting manner. The only committee that seemed to have any standing with Tobin was the fink "Committee of 99."

WHAT TOBIN SAID

"For thirty or forty minutes Tobin read from a bulky manuscript of about 35 pages containing charges that 544's leaders were radicals and not entitled to be leaders or even members of the union. Not one of these charges was of trade-union character.

"From time to time Tobin would interrupt himself to admit that these same leaders have built the union; that they had won great gains in wages and conditions; that they had helped build the teamsters movement in that area; that they were fighters and knew how to fight the employers. 'But,' he repeated, 'we can't have them in our International, because they are radicals and members of the Socialist Workers' Party.'"

"Tobin was the only one to speak at the board meeting. None of his other board members dared open their mouths before this senile dictator except to interpose the most harmless remarks.

"At the hearing the Committee of 99 presented 9 fresh affidavits repeating mostly on hearsay evidence that the members of 544 were radicals. When a committee of four representing the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council came in to the meeting, Tobin kept them standing and rudely attacked them. 'You know you were not invited here. Why did you come? Why did you put the Council to that expense? But as long as you are here, what have you got to say?'"

Each member of the Council committee, in his own way, and according to his understanding, declared Dunne, presented a defense of Local 544, stating that its leadership was honest, had lived up to their promises and had helped build the union movement.

"After dismissing the Teamsters Joint Council with an insolent air, Tobin launched into a speech about the international situation, the war, the necessity for his union and the whole labor movement to knuckle under the demands of the government, to make sacrifices, to give up their gains, and even perhaps to give up their unions. Tobin showed that he had no stomach for fighting the employers or their government agents. Throughout he showed a fighting attitude only toward a militant leadership like that of 544, that wants to do something for its membership."

"The hearing concluded on Tuesday without Tobin or the Board taking any action, but with an agreement that the 544 delegation would hold a private interview with Tobin the following morning in his office.

THE SHOWDOWN

"At this interview Tobin proposed to the 544 delegation that it recommend to the executive board of the union that it ask Tobin to send in an outside dictator-receiver to run the union, with full power to remove or expel any officer or member.

"The delegation replied that it represented a democratic union, that it had no power to make any decisions, but had come to Washington only to receive Tobin's proposals and bring them back to the

Board and membership. Although Tobin kept pressing for an immediate acceptance and decision, it was finally agreed that the Committee would return to Minneapolis and convene its Executive Board as soon as possible to discuss Tobin's proposal. The Board met and rejected this proposal.

"Tobin was informed of the Board's decision at 11:00 on Saturday morning. That was the last Local 544 heard from Tobin. Since then, Tobin contacted members of the Teamsters Joint Council. He talked with Governor Stassen and his man Blair. He talked with newspaper reporters. But he has not talked with us.

"We know what the score is," Dunne concluded. "We know Tobin and Stassen and the bosses are getting in a position to negotiate contracts behind the backs of Local 544's membership, and that Tobin wants to confront us with the ultimatum that our union accept his contracts or face expulsion."

"Tobin's proposal is one that cannot be accepted by honorable union men.

"Your committee while it was in Washington talked to other people, to friendly people, to people of another labor movement, quite different people, people who were sympathetic to our union. The CIO officials we talked to in Washington were very sympathetic to Local 544 and interested in our fight.

"Summing up this report, I say to you that this union is not going to permit itself to be handled with rough hands, that it is not going to accept dictatorship, no matter from whom. (Prolonged applause.)"

"Tobin is not going to get away with his plot. We will have a union, we shall continue as union men." (Loud and lengthy applause.)

Farrell Dobbs, former secretary-treasurer of Local 544, followed Dunne with a brilliant, fighting speech which brought down the house.

While the hall was still ringing with applause for Dobbs' fighting speech, Miles Dunne, President of 544, after a brief review of the history of 544's relations with Tobin, presented the proposal to disaffiliate from the AFL and become part of the CIO.

Only one speaker came to the microphone when the floor was opened for discussion. He opposed entrance into the CIO. "That's what happens under a Trotskyist leadership. Here you have got your example of a revolution," he shouted to the laughter of the audience. If this was a Trotskyist revolution, the members of 544 were for it.

The motion to break with the AFL and join the CIO was carried by an overwhelming majority, with only a few dissenting voices. The meeting closed to enthusiastic applause when banners were unfurled bearing the slogans: "LOCAL 544-CIO" and "MAKE MINNEAPOLIS A CIO TOWN."

The action of 544 has had a bombshell effect on the Minneapolis trade union movement. Many other local unions are already debating the question of following in the footsteps of 544 and joining the CIO.

A People's Army?

"A list of 319 more appointments of officers in the Home Guard was issued yesterday. It includes peers, baronets, knights and brigadier-generals. There are only 19 plain 'misters.'"—DAILY TELEGRAPH (London), April 15, 1941.

In Los Angeles

Buy the MILITANT at Lazerus Candy Store 2109 Brooklyn Ave. Book Store E. 1st St. & Rowan Ave. Sam Smith's Newsstand 5th & Main St.

Sidelights On The Plant "Seizure"

Roosevelt didn't use draftees against the North American strikers. The troops he used were professional soldiers of the 15th Infantry, described by the N. Y. DAILY NEWS, June 10, as "composed of bronzed veterans recently returned from long service in the Orient. To even get into the 15th, a soldier has to have seen previous Army service..."

Roosevelt doesn't trust workers recently drafted out of the factories to bayonet and terrorize other workers.

The 15th Infantry captured an "enemy" flag during the first day's skirmish.

One of the CIO pickets was carrying a large, gold-tasseled American flag as he stood in the path of Roosevelt's troops. The troops deployed smartly around the striker and seized the flag.

This should teach the workers that the flag protects only the bosses.

Colonel Branshaw authored the funniest story of the strike, when he claimed that the government was taking the plant away from "both" the company and the strikers.

That ain't the way Wall Street heard it!

"(Wall) Street liked the statement of President Roosevelt indicating the temporary nature of the government's interference in the North American situation... Possession of the plant... will not disturb the rights of the stockholders... The Company will receive... compensation so it will not be without income for the period." (WALL STREET JOURNAL, June 10.)

If anyone was afraid the War Department might be unduly severe with the North American Aviation bosses, Secretary of War Stimson's statement was guaranteed to allay concern.

Stimson stated to the press: "J. H. Kindelberger (North American Aviation Corp. president) has a good reputation with the government for making planes and as a square shooter. There are not enough like him. We do not want to do injury to such a man. You may draw your own inference from this."

Our inference is that J. H. Kindelberger thinks Stimson's a pretty swell guy too.

Col. Branshaw, in answer to

the question what wages the government would fix for the North American workers, said that the workers could "figure on approximately the same rate that now prevails" at the plant.

North American's minimum wage rate runs between 40 and 50 cents an hour, 3 cents below the average in the aircraft industry in Southern California, and 5 cents below the minimum at Vultee Aircraft, where the CIO conducted a successful strike last November.

The Wall Street Journal, which used to wall about Roosevelt's "confiscation" and "socialistic" program, doesn't feel so badly now that Roosevelt has given the financiers a rough idea of how it works.

"The Government's firm stand in the North American Aviation strike... produced a strong final hour on the New York Stock exchange. The War Department's statement that the strike had been 'broken open'... had decidedly favorable implications."—(WALL STREET JOURNAL, June 10)

"Of course, forcible suppression of these disorders means a step toward totalitarianism in this

country. Necessarily civil liberties will take it on the chin... but that's just too bad."—(N. Y. Daily News editorial, June 10).

"When the Government has seized the plant, its next move must be to get the strikers back to work. Its first decision must be the rates of pay and working conditions that it will offer. These will either be those previously maintained by the company, those demanded by the strikers, or something in between fixed by the Government, presumably on the recommendation of the National Defense Mediation Board. This will be, in effect, compulsory arbitration imposed on the strikers. But if compulsory arbitration is to be adopted, it could be adopted just as well without seizing the plants at all..."—(N. Y. Times editorial, June 9).

The TIMES is all for federal strikebreaking. It's all for the use of troops against strikers. But it wants things called by their right names. It wants compulsory arbitration and not terms like "plant seizure" which might be subject to misinterpretation.

The Times' leading clientele did not get too concerned over this

"plant seizure," however; the Times reported in its financial section the next day (June 10) as follows:

"The strong action of Mr. Roosevelt had the whole-hearted support of Wall Street, and there was less concern over the effect such a move would have on the stockholders than might have been expected under the circumstances."

"A guffaw swept the press conference as a reporter asked the Chief Executive: 'Mr. President, do you have any comment on specific legislation empowering you to do what you did yesterday in the North American case?'" (N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE June 11)

Ha! Ha! The dope wants to make it legal!

Richard Frankenstein, international official of the UAW-CIO, declared last Sunday that the demands of the North American workers were "entirely justified and consistent with the financial ability of the company to pay, based on its own earning report."

And so he promptly condemned the strike!

Roosevelt's "Property Seizure" Bill

It Boiled Down To A Strikebreaking Method Within Four Days

The bill sponsored in Congress last week by the War Department, empowering the President to take over private property when necessary to "national defense," has almost been forgotten already, as Roosevelt, not bothering to wait for such powers to be accorded him by Congress, has "taken over" the North American Aviation plant to break a strike.

Why did the Administration put forth its "property seizure" bill last week? Why was it not introduced two years ago or eight years ago?

During the years of pre-war economic breakdown, when factories were idle or operating at a low capacity, Roosevelt did not propose to commandeer plants and keep them operating "at all costs."

For eleven years, the masses of this country went through the hell of unemployment, insecurity and want because the owning class shut down the plants and factories. But Roosevelt did not threaten to send out the army to occupy factories closed by the bosses and keep them running in this "national emergency."

The War Department's bill to empower Roosevelt to take over private property when he deems it necessary in the interests of "national defense" was therefore obviously not motivated by consideration for the needs of the masses.

The conduct of the war, from the standpoint of the owning class, means not merely military measures against the enemy abroad. The bosses are imbued with an even greater fear of the enemy at home, the class enemy—the workers. To the ruling class, the class enemy is the most immediate enemy, against whom forceful measures of repression must be taken before the bosses can

safely undertake military measures against the foreign opponents.

Secretary of War Stimson pointed out on June 5, in an interview with the United Press:

"We have only Section 9 of the Selective Service Act to help us (in taking over property). This permits us to take over an entire plant only if the manufacturer refuses to produce."

The implication of Stimson's statement is clear. The "property seizure" bill was not designed to deal with uncooperative employers. It was designed only for instances when labor "refuses to produce"—that is, when workers are on strike.

Roosevelt himself indicated this as the real intent of the "draft property" plan, in his press interview of June 3.

Reporting the President's views on why he considers this bill necessary, the New York Times, June 4, writes:

"Section 3 of the Selective Service Act, the president explained, gave the government power to take over industrial plants if the owners refused to cooperate on defense contracts. Then came the

Aluminum Strikers



These strike pickets at one of the five strike-bound Cleveland plants of the Aluminum Company of America stopped marching long enough to pose for their picture at one of the plant entrances last Monday. Roosevelt's National Mediation Board answered their strike with an ultimatum to return to work immediately or suffer the intervention of federal troops.

case of the Allis-Chalmers strike, which tied up production of essential materials for the Navy for weeks . . .

"The Executive said that he wanted authority to take over in such cases where the materials essential to defense were not coming through. This appeared to many of his auditors to be a warning to labor and business that the government intended to see that strikes did not paralyze defense production."

The inclusion of "business" in this warning against strikes was pure deceit. To commandeer property for strikebreak-

ing purposes is entirely in the interests of the bosses. Roosevelt cited the example of the Allis-Chalmers strike. He cited none of the innumerable instances of war production being held up by manufacturers and raw materials producers dickering for higher prices and profits.

Roosevelt remained quiet about the bill for a day or so. It was good strategy, as we can now see. The ultra-reactionary press and spokesmen yelled against the bill—that served to make a section of the workers think that maybe the bill might have some virtues.

Lots of newspaper and radio time was consumed in talk about the "ultimate" implications of the bill. That served as a smokescreen to hide the naked strikebreaking that was to come at the North American Aviation plant.

But soon enough Roosevelt proceeded to reassure the bosses. He informed his press conference that, while he was in accord with the general principles of the bill, he had not read its precise words, and indicated his willingness to modify its terms to eliminate any features objectionable to the bosses.

That was on Tuesday. And by

Friday, June 6, came the payoff. The "socialistic" measure had been boiled down to its purely and nakedly strikebreaking proportions. A June 6 United Press dispatch told the story succinctly:

"President Roosevelt has authorized his Congressional leaders to limit the 'draft property' bill to a grant of additional power to commandeer strike-bound defense plants, it was learned today. Accordingly, leaders are drafting amendments which will greatly modify it."

And on the heels of that, Roosevelt didn't even bother to wait for the Congressional authority to use such power, but sent the Army against the aviation strikers Monday.

WHY MANY CAPITALISTS DISLIKED THE BILL

In the light of what has happened, last week's outcries by ultra-conservatives against the bill sound pretty funny today. But their objections to the bill are well worth examining, for they help us to understand the character of the capitalist class which rules America.

Three principal reasons were behind the objections to the bill as originally drafted:

1. Some employers are so concerned with their own individual interests that they are unwilling to accept any restraints whatsoever, even those imposed by their own class in the interests of their class as a whole.

The attitude of this undisciplined group was most crudely expressed by Representative Wolcott of Michigan, who, in arguing against the "draft property" bill declared:

"It would permit seizure of wealth in the form of money, securities or factories. How far

are we going with this defense?"

A more thoughtful and more influential sector of the employers objected to the bill on deeper grounds.

They feared that, if the government established the principles of taking over private property in time of war, the workers may learn to extend the principle to cover times of peace.

When the post-war depression sets in, and the workers are confronted with tremendous unemployment and insecurity, they may demand that the President keep the factories open by commandeering them as he did during the war.

This group of employers feared, too, that an example of any plant being operated in war time without the owners might impress the workers with the fact that the bosses are inessential to production at all times. The bosses are particularly frightened at affording the workers the opportunity to observe this fact.

THE MAIN OBJECTION WAS A TACTICAL ONE

3. The most important sector of the employers who objected to the bill consider the mechanism of "plant seizure" too cumbersome a strikebreaking device.

The attitude of this group of employers was expressed editorially by the New York Times, June 8.

"It cannot be pointed out too often," says the Times, "that such a course in itself is not a solution of the strike problem at all. For when the Government has seized the plant, it is left with precisely the problem that it had to begin with. With the men out on strike, the Government would have to order them back to work at terms it fixed. It would have to decide whether these should be the former private company's terms, the terms demanded by the men, or something in between. But if the Government is to take so drastic a step as to fix the terms of employment, it could do it just as well by compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, without seizing plants at all. The only difference is that in the case of seizure the Government would become the employer, with a probable loss of both time and efficiency."

Thus these employers counterpose to the President's strikebreaking method what they consider to be the easiest and most efficient strikebreaking scheme—compulsory arbitration. Their method would be simply to declare strikes illegal, and to throw strikers into jail.

WHY ROOSEVELT CHOSE HIS STRIKEBREAKING

As against these objections what has finally determined Roosevelt's acceptance of the "draft property" method of strikebreaking is his clearer perception of the relationship of class forces and his understanding of the limits to which he can go in open, exercising universal compulsion against the workers.

Roosevelt is keenly aware that his foreign policy can be successful only with the support of the working class. He can not risk jeopardizing that support by moves which would appear as hostile acts against labor as a whole, such as compulsory arbitration.

Furthermore, Roosevelt's aims can best be realized with the aid and support of the trade union bureaucrats. Whatever he does against labor must preserve at least the appearance of class "impartiality." The Army is ostensibly being used against some "irresponsible" strikers. The Army marches with the support of Hillman and Murray.

By breaking one or two "isolated" strikes with armed force Roosevelt hopes to discourage other strikes. And by this method the majority of workers elsewhere are less apt to feel the immediate weight of government compulsion. A compulsory arbitration law, on the other hand, would bear with equal weight on all the workers at once. It would demonstrate that Roosevelt's hostility is not directed just at a few "irresponsible" elements, but at the entire organized labor movement.

Every move that Roosevelt makes with respect to labor has this two-fold purpose: to strip labor of its power of organized resistance and to maintain, at the same time, the support of labor for his war efforts.

We predict that those employers who disagree with him on this tactical question will end by conceding the superior efficacy of Roosevelt's strikebreaking tactic.

Left Jabs

By CORT

HE'S TRYING, ANYWAY

"Representative Robert W. Kean, Republican of New Jersey, charged today that Captain James Roosevelt is wearing medals to which he has no legal right." — (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, June 3.)

We have no idea just what medals dangle from the Captain's skimpy chest. He hasn't led any charge up a hill under the murderous fire of the "enemy." On the other hand he might well answer the Congressman in the words of Milton: "They also serve who only stand and wait."

Al Smith, speaking on the radio:

"This (democracy) is the thing that made me possible, both politically and personally." What an indictment!

THEY MUSTN'T THINK

Secretary Stimson has banned polls of opinion among the men in the Army. "Our Army must be a cohesive unit," he told his press conference, "with a definite purpose shared by all. Anonymous opinion or criticism, good or bad, is destructive in its effect on a military organization."

Their's not to reason why, their's but to do and die.

WARTIME BLESSINGS

The drafting of workers into the army has blessed America in many ways. Not the least of these is the fact that Bert H. Rush, a railroad cop, has been able to take things easy for the first time in 23 years. Rush told an Associated Press reporter that since the emergency "hobo travel on the Erie Railroad has sharply decreased." Nowadays "hobos" don't ride the rods, they shoot them.

Only trouble for Mr. Rush and his class is—if they ever have to ride them again they'll have an itch in their trigger finger.

"The war increases the number of unwisdom marriages," according to Dr. James H. S. Brossard of the University of Pennsylvania. "Marriages in New York during the summer of 1940 doubled those of the same months in 1939."

Perhaps the solution could be found in longer waiting periods before these ill-considered marriages. Say—no more weddings until after we take Dakar. By then the young men should know their own minds—if they still have their skulls.

"Easy-going employees are terrified into activity by the tongue-lashing with which Britain's new Minister of State, Lord Beaverbrook publicly dismisses a lazy worker. They don't know that 'The Beaver' keeps a group of stooges who are fired periodically, just for effect." — (N. Y. Post, June 1).

Lord Beaverbrook is not as efficient as we thought. He ought to let his stooges (Morrison & Co.) take care of his stooges.

The Japanese anti-smoking league has asked Foreign Minister Matsuoka to refrain from appearing publicly with his pipe. They claim such appearances have "an unhealthy influence on Japanese youth."

If the Japanese are disturbed by Matsuoka puffing a few smoke rings from Kentucky-burley, they ought to live here and see the fire and brimstone issuing from Roosevelt's mouth. There really is an unhealthy influence on youth.

Army officers at Camp Hunter Liggett in California are, according to the Associated Press, upset about the "slipshod" way in which their troops expose themselves during mock wars. To remedy this they are advocating the use of a "little live ammunition" next time a practice battle is fought. They plan to sprinkle real bullets among the blanks issued to the troops. Thus the men would never know at what moment death instead of noise would issue from the guns.

It's obvious that these officers won't actively participate in such battles. One thing of a bullet and they're in GHQ figuring out strategy.

AFL Leaders Are Scared By Roosevelt's Plan

The American Federation of Labor has expressed its disapproval of Roosevelt's plan to commandeer strike-bound plants—the "draft property" idea for strikebreaking.

In the AFL Weekly News Service, June 3, Philip Pearl writes in his column, "Facing the Facts":

"The Roosevelt Administration will not approve any legislation outlawing strikes or otherwise impairing labor's constitutional rights. But there is nothing to cheer about in this news. For the Government has discovered a simpler and much more effective way of assuring uninterrupted defense production which may prove even more disastrous to trade unions than mere legislation.

"The scheme is simply this—the moment management and labor fall out in any important defense industry and production stops due to a strike or lockout, the Government will step in and take over the plant under emergency powers granted to the President. The workers will then be placed in the position of Federal employees who cannot strike because that would mean striking against the Government."

The AFL leaders thus express deep concern over the measures the government and the employers are putting forth to prevent strikes.

These leaders are opposed to legislation restricting the rights of labor. They are even more opposed to the government's alternative to such legislation, the operation of struck plants by the army.

They correctly see Roosevelt's "plant seizures" mean union-busting on the grand scale.

They obviously don't trust the government to operate industries in the interests of the workers. In their own words, such a government policy would be "more disastrous to the trade unions" than even anti-strike laws.

The AFL's "Alternative"

But what does the AFL leadership propose as its positive alternative, as against the government's strikebreaking plans for keeping industry in continuous operation?

"The leadership of the American Federation of Labor," writes Pearl, "has been constantly on the alert to this danger (commandeering of plants to break strikes.) That is why its no-strike policy was first adopted."

The employers could want nothing better than that. By accepting the AFL "alternative" of no-strike, labor would voluntarily surrender its only effective means of enforcing its rights. In effect, the AFL is asking the workers to accept the

employers' scheme for arbitration, provided the word "compulsory" isn't actually attached to the term arbitration, in black and white. Labor would retain the right to strike in "principle" and lose it in fact.

What would arbitration mean under the conditions which the AFL leaders would impose on organized labor?

The government would decide the issues in every labor dispute and fix the conditions and wages which the workers must accept.

But isn't this the same government whose control over industry these AFL heads fear? If the government cannot be trusted to take over industry because it would do so in the interests of the employers against the workers, how can the workers be asked to trust that same government to act in the interests of labor in matters of arbitration?

In a word, the AFL has no "alternative" to the government's strikebreaking methods. Its ostensible alternative is really a cowardly abasement before the will of the employers.

There Is A Positive Alternative!

We are also opposed to Roosevelt's "draft property" and "plant seizure" program. But we have an alternative program to offer. We can answer the question of how to keep industry in continuous operation so as to benefit the great masses of people.

Roosevelt says that his greatest concern is to get the maximum of production? Roosevelt

claims that his one great purpose is to defeat fascism, and that all other interests are secondary to that aim?

Our program gives the simplest method and most certain guaranty of ensuring these two ends.

Let the government expropriate the war industries and let the workers themselves operate these industries under their own control and management!

If the national "emergency" is as serious as Roosevelt claims, then war production should not be subject to the whims of a profit-seeking handful of owners, who under any circumstances are inessential to the operations of industry.

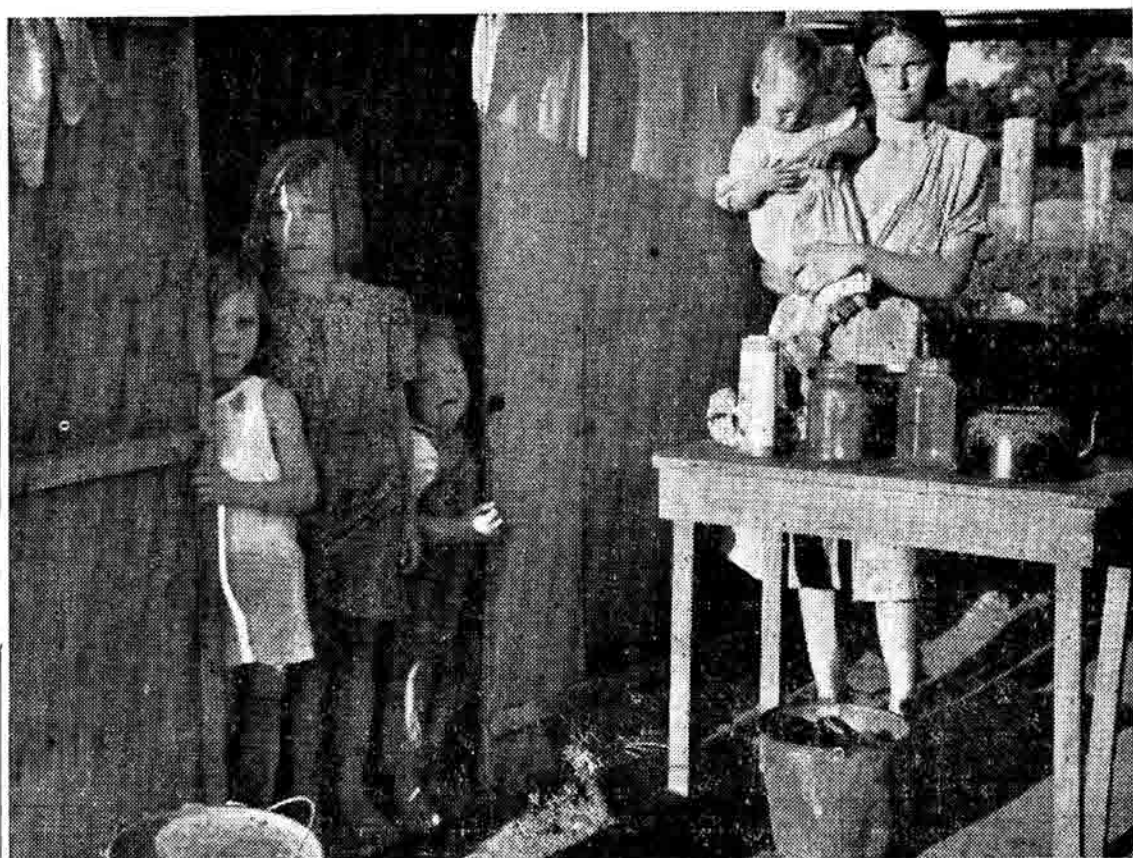
Under Workers' Control, industry could be co-ordinated in a planned fashion, because it would be freed of the restraints imposed by the greed of competing individual employers and private corporations.

Under Workers' Control, our productive facilities could be completely employed, the millions of jobless could be put to work. Once that is done, there would be not only a sufficiency of "defense" production, there would be an abundance of civilian goods as well.

Under Workers' Control, the billions which the war profiteers siphon from the purchasing power of the workers would be distributed instead to the workers as additional wages.

This is the only real alternative to the Roosevelt strikebreaking method of keeping industry at peak production. Bosses' control or workers' control—there is no third method.

Shrunken Bellies



This is a scene in the home of a typical family of the Southwest. This mother and her children are among those included by John L. Lewis in his statement that there are "52,000,000 shrunken bellies" in the United States.

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The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

His Friends Write To Roosevelt

Not long ago an open letter to President Roosevelt was published in the *California Eagle*, signed by several members of the Randolph Committee sponsoring the July 1 March On Washington, including Randolph himself, Frank Cross-waith, Walter White, and others such as William Pickens and Elmer Carter.

"As persons who are sympathetic to your social and labor policies and friendly to your foreign policy of giving effective aid to Britain and her Allies," they tell Roosevelt, they ask him to use his influence to help Negroes get jobs and equal rights. The letter as a whole is very friendly. Even in its last sentence, where a note of reproach might have entered, there is only a certain mournfulness as they state:

"Those who practice or complacently tolerate race discrimination are not 'all out' believers in democracy; and we solemnly warn you and our fellow citizens that they will prove untrustworthy in the hour of democracy's greatest trials."

If it weren't for the seriousness of the problems involved, you would certainly be forced to describe as comical this "friendly," "solemn," respectable letter. You would never think that this letter was addressed by Negroes to the man who after eight years in office has yet to utter a syllable one way or the other about the anti-lynch and poll tax bills!

I mention it, rather, to demonstrate an approach to the problem of destroying Jim Crowism, which must be studiously avoided by all class conscious and militant Negroes.

Here we do not refer to that servile tone employed by the misleaders, nor to their disgusting habit of lauding Roosevelt as "a great humanitarian and idealist"—but rather to the question of the general strategic approach.

What The Uncle Toms Are Saying

Observant Negroes must have noticed that every time the Uncle Toms discuss the question of the fight against Jim Crowism, they try to separate it off from all the other fights of the masses, they try to present the question of race discrimination as though it is the only, or the only important, problem to be solved.

"This country," they say, "is the finest in the world; this government is the finest in the world. There is only one thing wrong: Negroes are not given a fair and square deal."

Following this line, they go on: "Because it is the best government, we must defend it, and we must support it in any war it enters. Not only is this necessary to us as patriotic Americans, but it has an added advantage in that we can move effectively appeal to the government for a fair deal, and in this way we will get concessions and in the end, equal rights."

In other words, the only thing wrong with American capitalism is Jim Crowism. Remove that, and although you leave everything else untouched, you will find paradise on earth. This is the theoretical basis for the general approach of the Negro misleaders.

But this is false through and through. The problems of the Negro workers would not be solved even under a capitalist system that was in some way magically cleansed of racial discrimination and segregation. The Negro masses would still have to contend with the questions of war, unemployment, fascism and all the other critical problems that the white workers face.

The Real Fight Against Jim Crow

No one should accuse us, on reading the above, of underestimating the paramount importance of the struggle against Jim Crowism. We are the first to declare that the workers must wipe it out in every nook and cranny of every institution, and we are proud to take our place in the militant struggle for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. As a matter of fact, we are the best fighters in this struggle precisely because of the fact that we understand clearly the connection between the roots and cause of Jim Crowism and the capitalist system which uses it to maintain itself and to oppress the divided masses.

The misleaders base themselves on the idea that it is possible to wipe out Jim Crowism gradually within the confines of capitalist rule. We base ourselves on the understanding that the struggle against Jim Crowism is an outstanding part of the wider struggle to replace capitalism with a socialist society. The misleaders pretend or believe that it is possible by peaceful means, petitions, respectable demonstrations and even flattery to win equality. We contend that Jim Crowism even in the North will not be wiped out until it is wiped out in the South, and that only a far-from-peaceful fight will destroy Jim Crowism in the South where most of the social, political and economic relations are based directly on the oppression of the Negro. In fact, we can safely say that only another Civil War will end the rule of the Southern Bourbons.

Actions flow from our basic concepts and theories. The actions of the misleaders are based on their concepts too. Real life is everyday proving how false they are, and we would not waste much time on them if it weren't for this important fact: By isolating the struggle against Jim Crowism from all the other legitimate and necessary struggles of the masses, they are weakening the struggle against Jim Crowism itself.

We, on the other hand, because we recognize the fight against discrimination as part of the fight against capitalism, show on every occasion the inter-connection between these struggles, so that we can mobilize the white workers side by side with the Negro workers for the solution of their joint problems. It is only in this way, unity of black and white, that capitalism and Jim Crowism can be overthrown.

British Workers Are Unarmed

Arming And Training Under The Trade Unions Is The Solution

LONDON—"Stay put" says the Government. "When Hitler invades the country—stay put!" "If you have to do anything other than 'stay put' the military authorities will tell you."

In the one command—"Stay put!" is revealed the greatest fear of the National Government and of the whole ruling class. They pretend that it is a safeguard against the same blocking up of the roads as took place on the Continent. In reality it is a safeguard against any possible independent action on the part of the masses when invasion comes.

But let us assume for a moment that it is directed toward keeping the roads clear. It must mean, then, that with parachute troops landing in thousands, soldiers marching on villages and towns, tanks racing along the roads, the working men and women of this country are to shut themselves up in their houses or factories and do nothing.

What a farce! Could there be any more certain way of filling the roads with refugees than by asking unarmed people to "stay put" while the greatest military machine in history is hurling its entire weight at them! The press has admitted that after the heavy raids on Coventry and Swansea the countryside around these towns was filled with refugees.

The ruling class is continually stressing the barbarism of Hitler's military advances, and saying that he stops at nothing—not even the machine-gunning of unarmed and helpless women and children in order to create military chaos and confusion. They emphasize that the attack on Britain will be even more ferocious than that on France. Poison gas will be used against civilians. And yet, in spite

of this, they propose to leave the masses helpless—completely unarmed and unorganized.

WHY THE RULING CLASS FEARS ARMING WORKERS

If the masses of the workers of Britain remain unarmed, unorganized and unorganized in face of the coming invasion then the roads will be blocked with refugees just as they were in Belgium and France.

Why, then, if the ruling class is so anxious to avoid having the roads blocked, does it not arm and organize the workers? It is because they are more afraid of an armed working class than they are of Hitler.

The ruling class is only fighting Hitler's threat to its empire—not his fascism. The capitalists are certainly anxious for victory in their imperialistic struggle, but to achieve such a victory of British over German imperialism they are not prepared to place the workers in a position where they might threaten to overthrow the capitalists and wage a genuine revolutionary war

against Hitler. Faced with the threat of possible revolution the French ruling class preferred to surrender to Hitler. In Britain the ruling class shudders at the very thought of independent action by the masses—in spite of the fact that, with the assistance of the Labour leaders, they are more firmly in the saddle. Far rather, like their French confreres, risk a victory of Hitler, with whom they have infinitely more in common than they have with the workers. If threatened by the workers, they will betray them into the hands of Hitler or create some British Petain.

If Churchill & Co. were really fighting Hitlerism they would arm and organize for resistance the most relentless enemies of Hitlerism everywhere—the workers. As it is, they would rather risk the roads being blocked and the consequent risk of defeat than take the greater risk of arming the workers.

DEMAND THAT LABOR MINISTERS ARM THE WORKERS

The Labour leaders say that they are anxious for a real struggle against Hitler's fascism. They have justified all the sacrifices made by the workers by the demands of this struggle. Why have they not put forward the elementary demand for the arming and organizing of the entire working class under the control of committees formed by the workers in the factories and Trade Unions?

This would not only render any invasion fantastic and innocuous but would make impossible the taking of control by a British Petain or Hitler. It would guarantee that the roads would not be crowded with fleeing, defenseless refugees a hundred times more effectively than any bureaucratic order to "stay put."

The workers must demand that the Labour leaders struggle for the arming, mobilizing and organizing of the entire working class under workers' control for resistance to Hitler and any British candidates for the role of Petain. The failure of Bevin, Morrison, Atlee & Co. to do this will reveal them in their true colours to the workers. It will reveal them as fighting an imperialist war to gether with Churchill and the capitalist class. It will show that they are in the Government as agents of British capitalism and not of the working class whom they claim to represent. It will be made clear then that only the way of class struggle, the way of the revolutionary socialists can offer the masses a way of fighting fascism whether at home or abroad.

The Home Guard is an emasculated concession to the impulse of the masses to be armed. Moreover the officers are carefully imposed by the reactionary ruling class from above.

FOR MILITARY TRAINING UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL

But the arming, organizing

and training of the whole of the working class under their own control would render Britain impregnable. Not a small selected section of the workers as in the Home Guard but the *levée en masse* is the organization the masses need.

The officers could be provided by the election of the most trusted and reliable leaders from the workers themselves. Training schools for immediate courses in military tactics and strategy must be arranged.

These training schools must operate under the control and supervision of the Trade Unions and be financed by the State.

These officers, elected by the workers and trained under control of the Trade Unions could never be used against the working class. A British Petain could never persuade them to help repress the workers and impose a reactionary dictatorship on them. They would fight against any danger of fascism from whatever quarter it might come.

Arm the workers under control of committees appointed by the workers in the factories, streets and unions.

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers for the workers militia.

Bundles Of Old Clothes For Britain

By JACK WEBER

The historic significance of the scene in the second-hand clothing district of London, when the English learned that clothing was to be rationed, probably escaped most people. It was the textile industry that started the British on the road to becoming the work-shop of the world. The application of machinery to spinning and weaving enabled the English to drive the hundreds of millions of hand-workers of India and the East out of business.

And now the English cannot supply even their own needs, let alone the needs of the entire world. Even the last war did not see so profound an erosion of English economy and forces of production as to necessitate the cuts in consumption now demanded of the masses. The devastating economic effects of totalitarian war are, in a sense, summed up in the sudden boom in the second-hand clothing market of all the towns of England.

The undermining of the forces of production by modern war is accomplished not alone by the bombing of whole towns and the resulting destruction of machinery and factories. In addition there is literally destruction as a result of the demands on production made by the carrying on of war. The immense flow of materials and wealth into the war machine is possible only at the expense of everyday production, the production of consumers' goods for civilian needs.

What A Long War Does

The boom in industry that occurs when war starts, the boom in American production that produced a shortage of certain types of labor and that sent several millions of the unemployed back into the factories, tends at first to mask the paradox of war economy. The greater the production for war use, the greater the destruction of the forces of production! That is particularly the case in a long war which this war threatens to become. First of all the government's demands use up raw materials and decrease the amount of such materials available for ordinary production. Foods, clothing, furniture, paper, leather begin to get scarce. The country starts with great stocks of materials of all kinds. Gradually these stocks in households, in retail stores, in warehouses and in factories, are used up.

They are used up because the raw materials to reproduce them, as would be the case normally, cannot be provided to the factories. Also because production of consumers' goods is curtailed in order to produce munitions and the sinews of war. The money used by the government to pay for all its needs comes from the savings and capital accumulation made annually by the entire population. Even this is not enough, and the government has to eat into the capital structure itself. With the savings used up, there is no money for the normal replacement of the wear and tear of machinery, buildings, etc. Thus the longer a war lasts, the more the machinery of production runs down, or erodes.

The English have just been forced to the slaughter of 300,000 cattle because of lack of fodder. Bombed homes cannot be replaced. Not only industrial plants, but the railways and all means of transportation deteriorate. All the capital and wealth previously accumulated in times of peace are devoured in the voracious hopper of war.

Inflation Is Part Of The Process

The lack of sufficient consumers' goods when there is the purchasing power to buy such goods, tends to bring on inflation. In England the cost of living has gone up more than fifty per cent. In Germany too there has been a price inflation whose extent it is difficult to discover, since there are no reliable statistics since 1939. The partial control of prices, or rather the control of the rate of their rise, give some persons the idea that Hitler has managed to get around the laws of capitalist economy. They fail to realize that restriction of prices is not a cure for inflation, but merely lays over or postpones the problem.

What restriction of prices does, when there is a shortage of goods to go round, is to create a hidden form of inflation ready to break out violently at a turn in events, particularly at the end of the war when the government's purchases stop and when the emergency nature of war economy ceases. Those people who have purchasing power which they cannot use for the kind of goods they need (clothing, shoes, food) because there is not enough of such goods to go round, will sooner or later use this purchasing power for something else. The pressure of this unused purchasing power to raise prices, if not legally then illegally, becomes enormous. At the end of the emergency, when it can no longer be damned up, it will be released in a flood. But it will be released (Keynes or no Keynes) at a time when production has run down to its lowest point and when the least amount of consumers' goods exist.

Thus behind the scene in the second-hand clothing mart lurks the terrible menace of inflation. Those who think that the restrictions and controls of war-time can be extended after the war to "manage" inflation, forget one thing. The government can now intervene in many ways because it has mobilized enormous sums of money and with this purchasing power it can exert a considerable degree of control. But once this money is used up, once all the savings of people and the capital accumulations go up in smoke on the battlefield—where will the government turn for new sources of wealth? A bankrupt has little say and little control over the market! We repeat what we have said so many times: a profound economic crisis after the war (if not in the very course of the war) is absolutely inevitable.

LaGuardia's Friend, Generoso Pope

Some More Facts About The Little Flower's Fascist Backer

The right wing of the American Labor Party is again whooping it up for Fiorello LaGuardia for re-election as mayor of New York City.

Needless to say, LaGuardia's "labor" backers have not a word to say about his all-out union-busting drive against the subway workers of the Transport Workers Union (CIO).

Nor do these "labor" friends of LaGuardia have anything to say about the fact that he is the friend and benefactor of Generoso Pope, publisher of the two largest and most influential Italian-language daily newspapers in the United States.

Il Progresso Italo-Americano and *Il Corriere d'America*.

Who is Generoso Pope?

Two weeks ago THE MILITANT published the testimony of Carlo Tresca, editor of the anti-fascist Italian-American publication, *Il Martello*, to the effect that Pope is "one of the most influential agents of Mussolini in the United States," and that his newspapers are "the main source of (Italian) fascist propaganda in the United States."

Tresca gave the details of LaGuardia's relations with Pope. Outstanding are the following: LaGuardia in 1936 addressed a rally in Madison Square Garden for the purpose of collecting funds to aid Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia. Among those fascist agents who greeted him on the platform was Generoso Pope.

When Pope's fascist activities were detailed in a confidential police memorandum, turned over by Police Commissioner Valentine, to LaGuardia before distribution to the various police agencies in June 1940, LaGuardia did his pal Pope a good turn by doctoring the memorandum to exclude all references to Pope and his newspapers. Tresca, who knew the source of the document and had read it in the original, testifies to this fact.

LaGuardia's latest effort to cover up Pope as a "patriotic American" and a "defender of democracy"—just when the State Department was beginning to investigate Pope's affair—was to invite Pope to serve on the committee of "I Am An American Day." Pope did not let this opportunity escape to pose as a "democrat" and to use LaGuardia's invitation as evidence that he is an exponent of "Americanism."

LaGuardia as an anti- and unscrupulous capitalist politician does "nothin' fer nothin'." He whitewashes Pope's activities as a fascist. Pope supports LaGuardia for mayor in his newspapers.

THE MAZZINI SOCIETY'S FACTS ABOUT LA GUARDIA'S FRIEND

Pope's newspaper are the tip-off on his fascist allegiance. Max Ascoli, president of the Mazzini Society, a leading Italian American anti-fascist organization, recently made public the full facts

Corrado Altavilla, City Editor, *Il Progresso*, was formerly correspondent of the Milan daily *Corriere della Sera*. Altavilla is unquestionably a member of the Fascist Party, because by Fascist decree all editors and correspondents of Italian papers must be members of the Fascist Party.

Carmelo Amoroso, "Social and Labor Editor," *Il Progresso*, is the Director of the Circolo Italiani all'Estero, a notorious Fascist-controlled organization.

Frank Cantelmo, Managing Editor, *Il Corriere*, is a member of the Italian Journalist Association of Rome, which accepts for membership only official Fascists.

Vinzo Comito, editorial staff, *IL PROGRESSO*, was formerly a director of the Fascist League of North America (now disbanded by U.S. government order), and is a member of the Fascist Journalists Syndicate of Rome.

Mario Soavi De Cellis, editorial staff, *Il Corriere*, has been a member of the Fascist Party in Italy since 1921, and was awarded a medal for his participation in the Fascist march on Rome. He was formerly head of the press bureau of the Fascist League of North America.

Leo di Stefano, editorial staff, *Il Corriere*, is a member of the Fascist Party, a participant in the Fascist march on Rome, and was a delegate to the Fascist Congress in Rome, 1924. He organized the Sicilian Nationalist movement which merged with the Fascist Party in 1932.

Italo Carlo Falbo, Editor-in-Chief, *IL PROGRESSO*, is the New York representative of the Stefani News Syndicate, official Fascist news agency. He is a Past President of the Dante Alighieri Society, a leading Fascist propaganda organization.

The license of the Federation of Italian World War Veterans was revoked by the Department of State on May 10, 1941, because, according to the department's statement, the distributing agents for the fund were "so closely identified with the Italian Government that they must be regarded as organizations acting for or on behalf of that government."

The character of Pope and his newspapers is shown most conclusively by the men whom Pope has selected—or had selected for him by the Italian government—as his leading executives, editors and staff members.

THESE ARE THE FASCISTS WHO BACK LA GUARDIA

Among those Ascoli lists, including their biographies, are the following:

Giovanni Favoino di Giura, editorial writer, *Il Corriere*, is a member of the Fascist Party, a former secretary of the New York chapter of the Italian Fascists Abroad, and a self-confessed "loyal servant and faithful soldier of Italy and Fascism in America."

Vincenzo Gioffre, editorial staff, *Il Progresso*, was assigned to his present job after serving as political secretary for the Fascio of Santa Eufemia d'Aspromonte, in Italy.

Plippo Giordano, an executive of *Il Progresso*, is a member of the Fascist Journalists Syndicate of Rome.

Angelo Flavio Guidi, the Rome correspondent of *Il Progresso* and *Il Corriere*, is an official of the Italian Propaganda Ministry in Rome.

Jack Ingegneros, editorial writer for *Il Progresso*, in his autobiography by the weekly *Nuovo Vessillo*, wrote of himself:

"As a well disciplined Fascist, I performed my sacred duty and took part in the March on Rome under the order of Il Duce... Returning from Italy I brought with me the conviction that a people, a nation, a party, must express its strength and therefore needs discipline and union as are symbolized by the Roman Lictor of Fascism, sign of power and command."

SOME MORE OF LA GUARDIA'S BACKERS

Here are a few more birds of the same fascist feather who write and edit Pope's papers:

V. Martinez, of the editorial staff of *Il Progresso*, was formerly director of the Fascist "front" organization, the Association of Italian War Veterans of New York. He was formerly an employee of the Italian Consulate in New York and is president of the committee which is charged

with the maintaining of "rigid discipline" among the Fascists in this country. In this capacity, Martinez is very likely working closely with the *Orsa*, the dread Italian secret police.

Other known members of the Fascist Party or members of the Fascist Journalist Syndicate in Rome who help guide the policies of Pope's papers are: Armando Romano, Editor, magazine section, *Il Progresso*; Augusto Mauro, editorial staff, *Il Corriere*; Adolfo Romito, Sports Editor, *Il Corriere*; Carmelo Tomas, editorial staff, *Il Progresso*.

Is further proof needed that Pope, as publisher of *Il Corriere* and *Il Progresso*, written and edited entirely by known Fascists, is himself the chief Fascist agent of all?

Is further proof needed that LaGuardia, who holds three national posts heading leading "national defense" organizations, by collaborating with, befriending and protecting Pope, is knowingly covering up a powerful and dangerous fascist?

NO LABOR SUPPORT FOR THIS BOURGEOIS POLITICIAN!

This does not prove, that LaGuardia is himself an agent of Mussolini. It merely proves that LaGuardia is a capitalist politician, corrupt to the marrow of his bones, who is willing to play ball with the vilest fascist scum for the votes they can bring him.

It merely proves that LaGuardia feels at home with the fascist ideology and fascists, that his differences with Hitler and Mussolini are not on the score of democracy versus totalitarianism. LaGuardia is genuinely for the war for "democracy" against the Axis power. But only in the sense that he is for the victory of American capitalism, from which he gets his support, over German and Italian capitalism.

The character of the war which the American people are being asked to wage against the Axis nations is indicated by the character of the leading exponents of that war, like LaGuardia.

Such is the "champion of democracy" which the right wing of the American Labor Party has the gall to ask the workers of New York to support for re-election.

We want to see the A.L.P. elect a candidate for mayor. But not a capitalist candidate! No more LaGuardias, to hide behind a labor cover. We want an independent labor candidate; free of all ties with capitalist parties—and free of ties with fascist scum.

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A New Pamphlet

by

ALBERT PARKER

A militant program for Negro workers

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Workers! Defend The Right To Strike

(Continued from page 1)

tion of labor enables him all the better to deliver a crushing blow to labor on fundamental questions. That is the role of Roosevelt, and every militant must understand it clearly, if the working class is to resist Roosevelt's onslaught successfully.

Roosevelt would never have dared send the Army against the strikers if the strikers had been supported by the top leadership of the trade union movement. In referring to those who were with the President when he signed the order, the President's secretary, Stephen Early, referred to them as "Mr. Hillman and the others." The "others" were eminent-enough men, but they were Wall Street agents of the usual sort, so their names weren't worth mentioning. But Mr. Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, lately vice president of the CIO—that was a name to conjure with when strikebreaking was afoot! Likewise Philip Murray had prepared the way by denouncing the strikers and backing the removal of the striking local's leadership by the UAW-CIO international officers.

If the workers are to win back their right to strike, they must learn to understand the role of these labor leaders.

There is an abyss between the great mass of workers and these top leaders. An abyss which cannot be bridged. That abyss is not a matter merely of differences in policy. A labor leader asking unwilling workers to call off a strike—that is a difference in policy. So, too, a labor leader who is opposed to calling a strike at a certain time. His reasons may be bad, but that is still only a difference in policy. But a labor leader who approves the use of the army to break a strike—he is a traitor to his class. And that is what these leaders have done.

Why did they do it? They appear hopelessly shortsighted, for to break strikes by the use of the army sets a precedent which is ultimately bound to be used against the whole labor movement. For the sake of their own future as leaders of a big labor movement they should have done their utmost to prevent the government from using troops. They should have gone to the point of threatening to call the workers of the country out on general strike to stop Roosevelt from issuing that order.

Instead they approved the use of the army. Faced with the naked alternatives—cast your lot with the working class, come what may, no matter how far the struggle goes, or serve the capitalist class and its state—they chose the latter. And no wonder. The Hillmans and Greens have more faith in capitalism than the capitalists have. Over many decades they have lived in capitalist political parties, using their unions as so many assets in their politics. On their munificent salaries they live lives

like the capitalists, housed and fed like them, fraternizing with them. The very fabric and texture of their lives is alien to the lives of the workers. By a thousand threads they are tied to the capitalist class. And in a crisis like this, those ties are starkly revealed.

Those ties determined the entry of the labor leaders as Roosevelt's appointees to the National Mediation Board. That Board is and can be nothing else than a strikebreaking weapon.

Philip Murray showed that he understood very well the essentially strikebreaking character of such a board. In the CIO NEWS of March 10, 1941, Murray declared that such a board "will necessarily find its attention directed against labor in order to maintain the status quo as much as possible," and will seek to prevent "wage increases or improvement of working conditions of labor." It would also "bring terrific pressure to bear on labor to agree to arbitration in practically all situations" and would inevitably pave the way for compulsory arbitration.

All this Murray said and events have proved how true were his words. But a week after he wrote them, Murray agreed to be nominated to the board; the capitalist state had cracked the whip in a crisis, and he knuckled under.

When the same whip cracked in the latest strikes, the labor leaders found a pretext for knuckling under:

Communist Pretext

What, precisely, is the case of these labor leaders against "Communists"? So far as one can tell from their utterances, these labor leaders' objections to the "Communists" are identical with the objections of the bosses and the government against "radicals" of every hue. Not as workers within the labor movement who object to "Communist" objectives for the labor movement, but as allies of the bosses do these labor leaders denounce Communists as a menace. Their arguments against "Communists" are indistinguishable from the bosses' arguments.

We do not know whether the leaders of these strikes are members of the Communist Party. Every one who reads our press knows our hostility to Stalinist policies.

But our fight with the Stalinists is a fight within the labor movement, just as much as is our fundamental struggle against the leadership of the trade union bureaucrats. All that is within the labor movement. Against the common enemy, the bosses and their political agents, the labor movement must stand together. He who does not defend the labor movement as a whole against the bosses has no fundamental loyalty to the labor movement.

The workers are on strike, their demands are just, they are fighting against the bosses, the government has used troops to break the strike—where should every worker stand in such a situation? With the strikers, of course. It is class treachery when, instead of solidarizing with the strikers, you line up with the government and its use of troops—and that is what Hillman and Murray and the rest of their crowd have done.

This leads us to:

What Must Be Done

In every local of every union, in every plant and factory, the workers must discuss and ponder the significance of Roosevelt's actions.

On the basis of such discussions, resolutions should be introduced in every workers' organization, condemning the government and the labor leaders implicated in these acts.

Government strikebreaking must be denounced of its union fig leaves: the labor leaders in the Mediation Board, the OPM, etc. A mighty roar of protest must come up from the ranks of labor, demanding the resignation of every trade union official from appointive posts in the government.

These latest events demonstrate that, if labor will not become the leader of the nation, labor will become increasingly the slave of the capitalist class and its state. Labor must now have its own party, independent of any ties with the capitalist parties. For an Independent Labor Party—life itself is demanding this slogan.

If labor is to survive, it must offer a positive alternative to the capitalist control of production. The official trade union leadership offer no such alternative—their "alternative" turns out to be "a no strike policy"—i.e., just what the bosses want. Along that road labor is doomed.

The workers must boldly give a positive answer to the demand for uninterrupted production in the "national defense" industries. Uninterrupted production is impossible so long as men like Kindelberger of North American Aviation, Ford, Eugene Grace, are masters in the factories. They, and all the employers, will not and cannot keep on peaceful terms with the workers. The bosses carry on the class struggle in the factories with redoubled intensity when the labor leaders declare a no-strike policy. They seize upon that to grind the workers down. The workers must inevitably resist, whether the labor leaders agree or not. Under these conditions uninterrupted production is impossible.

There is a way that the workers can assure uninterrupted production. But only if the workers are in control of the factories. If it is uninterrupted production that is wanted, let the government expropriate the factories but let the workers control production. Democratically-elected workers' committees will get the utmost out of the factories. The profits that formerly went to the bosses, now divided among the workers, will give them a living wage. Under these conditions uninterrupted production can be guaranteed by the workers.

This must be Labor's answer to the demand for uninterrupted production. It is the only answer that is consistent with loyalty to the working class. It is the answer which destroys Roosevelt's pretexts for attacking the workers.

Britain's Battle For Latin-American Markets

While American Workers Are Exhorted And Threatened To Work 'For Britain,' England's Bosses Exported Vital War Materials

While American aircraft workers are being driven at bayonet-point to produce planes for Britain, British capitalists have been utilizing essential war production facilities and materials to supply the profitable export trade in South America. Washington and London may be allies, but their bitter conflict over South American markets goes right on.

Among the goods being regularly shipped out of England to the Latin-American markets are steel products, machinery, chemical products, cloth and rubber tires.

The facts have been revealed as a result of protests from American exporters that the British have been "dumping" competitive products on the Latin-American market in an effort to undercut American prices.

An article in the financial section of the New York Times, June 8, discloses the extent of the conflict between British and American capitalists in the South American market. The British have now "promised" Washington to

curtail this drive for trade, says the Times.

While American workers are being exhorted to unlimited sacrifices to supply Britain with all manner of products, including ships, to carry war supplies to England, here is what has been happening:

"On its tour of South America early this year the Brit-

ish Willingdon Mission advised Latin Americans that England had 1,000,000 tons of shipping serving the South American ports..."

BRITISH BOSSES' IDEA OF "EQUAL SACRIFICE"

While American steel plants were stepping up production to supply England, British steel was being delivered by British ships to South America.

"Exporters who returned recently from Argentina reported seeing pre-fabricated steel pipe stacked up at a plant in Rosario. The Argentine buyers boasted that the order had been placed at a price more than 10 per cent below the lowest quoted by United States shippers. They added that the delivered consignment represented the second attempt by England to fill the order. The ship carrying the first shipment was sunk and the order was duplicated and sent on a later boat."

"At a paper-making plant on the outskirts of the same city, it was added, the owners said they were awarding a contract for paper-making equipment to British producers because the latter had been able to underbid American makers by a wide margin. Prices quoted by the English concern, they said, were below pre-war levels."

"In Colombia and Brazil active bidding for steel products was general on the part of English representatives who were reported to be offering prices which American producers could not match."

THE "DEMOCRACIES" CLASH WITH EACH OTHER

Among the reasons given by Roosevelt for demanding that the American workers support his war efforts against Hitler is that Hitler is a menace to American economic interests in South America. But British and American imperialism are scarcely love-birds in South America. Says the Times:

"England has always been this country's greatest rival in the Latin-American markets and in the past a great deal of bitterness has been created among United States shippers by what they considered unfair competitive practices by Britain."

"The exporters have particularly resented the exchange discrimination which they claim was forced upon Argentina by England. Under these restrictions, which have disappeared for the most part in recent months, importers of American products had to pay up to 20 per cent more for their foreign exchange than the buyer who accepted British goods."

But the British capitalists have been fighting a losing battle in South America. Taking advantage of the war situation, and the extreme dependency of British imperialism on American aid against the most aggressive rival of both, the American imperialists are forcing the British to relinquish their hold on the Latin-American markets.

LIGHT ON THE REAL SITUATION IN ENGLAND

These facts about British export trade in South America cast a revealing light on the internal situation in England.

The British workers are regimented. But the British bosses are still conducting business as usual in whatever sphere they can realize the most profits. The "most desperate hour of British need" has not imposed any restrictions upon the big British manufacturers. They still decide what goods they are going to produce, and where they will be sold. While Nazi bombs are blasting the production facilities in England and British workers are compelled to work a 70 to 80 hour week to supply the war machine, British manufacturers have been selling machinery, steel, etc. for export.

The crowning irony of this whole sordid game is going on right now in this country. The latest development in the "aid to Britain" drive is the widespread campaign urging American consumers to "BUY BRITISH!" The British masses are put on clothes rations, while well-to-do American aid the British clothing and textile manufacturers by paying top prices for imported tweeds and woolsens.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Why Stalinists Now "Attack" Hitler

In the press of the Swedish Communist Party, there have recently appeared manifestoes of both the German Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party. In both of them the Stalinists go beyond calling the war an imperialist one on both sides. They come very close to calling for a struggle against Hitler, characterizing the war of the Yugoslavs and Greeks against the Germans as just war and designating the Germans as "robbers in the Balkans."

What significance do these attacks of the Stalinists have as an indication of Stalin's foreign policy at the present time? Every intelligent person interested in politics and who is not a devout follower of the Kremlin dictator knows by this time that the Communist International and its affiliated Communist parties are instruments of Stalin's foreign policy. To understand the major policies of the various Communist parties, one must understand the fundamental line of Stalin's foreign policy. It follows also that through a study of the policies of the Communist parties one can obtain a clue to Stalin's line on foreign affairs.

On the surface, there is an apparent contradiction between the policy of appeasement Stalin has been following with reference to Hitler since the conquest of the Balkans, and the attacks levelled against Hitler in the Stalinist press. It would almost appear as if Stalin has suddenly decided to permit the Comintern to follow an independent policy. But this cannot be, and it requires only a little thought to convince one that the attacks of the Stalinists against Hitler are intended to serve Stalin's foreign policy.

Stalin's appeasement policy follows from his fear of Hitler and his desperate desire to avoid war with Germany so long as the German army continues with its victories. The attacks on Hitler on the part of the Communist press follow from Stalin's desire to exert pressure on Hitler in order to convince the latter not to attack but to come to some agreement with him. At the same time these attacks are intended to retain some influence with the workers in the democratic capitalist countries.

It is because of Stalin's more serious situation that the connection between his foreign policy and the tactics followed by the Communist parties has become less clear than it has been up to now.

Previous Stalinist Lines On Hitler

The relationship between Stalin's foreign policy and the policies of the various Communist parties during the collective security period was so absolutely clear as to require no explanation. Stalin feared an attack on the part of Hitler and he was trying his best to get the capitalist democracies into a military alliance with the Soviet Union. The Communist parties were shouting for collective security, defending capitalist democracy and calling for a war against fascism.

It is undoubtedly true that during all of that period (certainly after Munich), Stalin was sounding out possibilities for an agreement with Hitler, but since Hitler at that time did not find it necessary to enter into an agreement with Stalin, the fight "for democracy against fascism" was kept up both to prepare the ground for a possible defense against Hitler and to exert pressure on him to change his course.

The switch in Stalinist foreign policy symbolized by the Hitler-Stalin pact of August 1939 was naturally followed by a shift in the policies of the Communist parties. At that period also the connection between the policies of those parties and Stalin's foreign policy was quite clear. All the blame for the war was placed on Great Britain and France. The war was imperialist only so far as these two countries were concerned. Nothing was said about German imperialism. Stalin was out to help Hitler consolidate his first victories and to get peace. For the time being Stalin, in the words of the *Manifesto of the Fourth International on War and the Proletarian Revolution*, "sold Hitler the Comintern along with oil and manganese."

But Hitler's phenomenal victories, unexpected by the Kremlin, brought fear into the heart of Stalin. Instead of peace or a war where neither side was completely victorious, Hitler by his victories became so powerful as to become an infinitely greater menace to the Soviet Union than he was before the war. Stalin saw this as well as anybody else. What was he to do? To go back to the democracies was out of the question so long as Hitler remained victorious. It was necessary for Stalin to begin a very cautious policy of preparing for the possibility of an attack by Hitler and at the same time of inducing Hitler to avoid attacking him and come to some new agreement with him.

Stalin Again Offers Hitler His Wares

It is probably true that Hitler has no fear of Stalin's Communist parties. But even if Stalin knows that, he is still under the necessity of using every form of pressure available to him for the purpose of staying Hitler's hand. Just as he sends troops to the Polish frontier in order to try and impress Hitler with his military preparedness, so does he set into motion his foreign instruments in the hope of impressing Hitler with his following outside of the Soviet Union.

The policy of attacking Hitler in the Stalinist press outside of the Soviet Union also serves to retain the hold Stalin still has over a section of the working class. Stalin's friendship with Hitler destroyed the greater part of whatever influence he wielded on sections of the working masses of countries outside of the Soviet Union. He would like to keep the influence he still has in order to increase his bargaining strength both with Hitler and with the capitalist democracies if and when a shift towards the latter is deemed necessary.

For Stalin the difference between the Comintern and oil and manganese (all of which he sells to the highest bidder) is that whereas he can take back the Comintern, he cannot take back the oil and manganese. For the time being he has taken the Comintern back from Hitler.

On The War Fronts

Britain Promises Syrian Freedom

British and "Free French" forces last week invaded French-mandated Syria in an attempt to counter-act German dupe of the Arabs and to forestall new German moves toward Suez.

As the invading forces marched in, General George Catroux, of the Free French forces, proclaimed "independence" for Syria and Lebanon as his aim. The British foreign office promptly associated itself with this "promise of independence."

Thus another imperialist "promise" is inscribed on the books for settlement "after the war." The Arabs are offered the alternative of being duped by the British imperialists or by the German.

WHO MAKES THE PROMISE?

Just how much is this new "promise" worth? Ever since the Ottoman Empire was parceled out between Britain and France after World War I, the Arab struggle for independence has been met with blood and iron. Allenby's army crushed by force an Egyptian nationalist rising in 1919 and the French were engaged in unremitting war against rebellious Arab nationalists throughout the two decades that followed the first world war.

Now it is Catroux, former French imperialist proconsul, hangman of Indochinese revolutionaries, who offers them their "independence" if they will only throw in their lot with the British in the battle for the Middle East now opening.

And the British, who still hold in subjection the millions of India and Africa and who conduct their Middle Eastern war from "independent" Egypt, associate themselves with this promise. After all the British have nothing to lose. They're making a cheap promise of "independence" to the colony of a fallen ally who is about to be transformed into an active enemy.

LESSON FOR INDIA

What the people of India might learn from this episode is that their country would have to be under direct threat of Nazi invasion to bring forth any British pledge of "independence" in return for their support in resisting Britain's imperialist rival.

It is really in this factor that the "gravity" of the British Middle Eastern position has to be understood. Hitler, in his headlong drive against the British Empire, does not have to depend solely upon the superiority of his Luftwaffe and his ultra-mechanized army of the air and land. He can also wield a weapon worth ten thousand Stuka dive bombers—the weapon of Britain's off-broken "promises" of "independence" to the Arab world. That Hitler himself is deceiving the Arabs, that he offers Nazi enslavement in place of British, the Arabs do not fully understand.

And even if some of them suspected it, they might well conclude that the Nazi stick is as good as any to beat down

the British with—they might well conclude that there may be room for bargaining with Hitler when the right time comes. British imperialist rule in the Arab world is paying out its dividends.

ARABS WILL LEARN

As for the Arabs, they are heading into another bitter experience. They will learn again at great cost that they cannot secure independence, national and cultural freedom, while still lashed to the chariot of any imperialist plunderers. The Catroux and the Hitler won't liberate them. Only they can liberate themselves in struggle against all the imperialists.

THE NAZI OBJECTIVE

Establishment of Nazi power in Syria would place it within easy striking distance of Egypt and the Suez Canal. It would in all probability wipe out the British gains in Iraq and place Mosul oil in German hands. The entire strategic position of the British in the Eastern Mediterranean, already severely shaken by the fall of Crete, would become extremely dangerous. Resumption of the German drive from Libya would bring Suez, the British imperialist lifeline, under attack from two directions and from bases within easy air range. To prevent this, the British are going to put up a desperate fight.

One of its principal and early consequences may be the direct alignment of Vichy France with the Axis. Vichy-controlled forces in Syria have been ordered to resist the invasion. This has raised the whole question again of France's war status and for the British this sharpens the nightmare of the possible re-entry into action as a hostile force of the still considerable French navy. Such a development could conceivably lose the British their control of the Mediterranean.

FDR'S WAR STRATEGY

This also brings into ever-sharper focus the war strategy of the Roosevelt administration in Washington. Alignment of France with the Axis in a more active form creates, as Washington spokesmen have made quite plain, the "problems" of Dakar, in East Africa, jumping-off place for Brazil, and all the French island possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

Against this possibility, Hitler dangles the menace of his Japanese ally. Japanese pressure on the Dutch East Indies is heightened in time with the Near Eastern development—a constant reminder to the U.S. that involvement in a "shoot-out war" in the Atlantic may involve them at once in hostilities in the Pacific.

These conflicting pressures are felt heavily in Washington and they explain, in no small measure, the caution with which Roosevelt proceeds in testing, step after step, how far he can go before American guns have to start shooting.