

Steel Strikes And Other SWOC News All Of Page 4

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ROOSEVELT TAKES CHARGE OF THE WAR

Vanadium Strike Can't Be Halted

**Strikers Blast Hillman For Doing Dirty
Strikebreaking Work of the Corporation**

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., March 17—Sidney Hillman played the role of a strikebreaker last Saturday when he came to the aid of E. T. Bransome, "labor consultant" on Hillman's staff and president of the Vanadium Corporation, against the 400 striking workers of the corporation's plant here.

"It is of utmost importance to the national defense program that certain vanadium products be shipped away from the Bridgeville plant," Hillman wired to Frank Pugne, president of CIO Local Industrial Union No. 953, the striking union. "I expect you to cooperate in these shipments," Hillman concluded.

Hillman's demand on the strikers provided the sanction for bringing in the state police, that very night, armed with 30 inch riot sticks, to escort 16 scabs through the picket line.

PLAIN SCABBERDING

The union immediately issued a statement proving that the "finished goods" was but a pretext for starting up operations. There were "only at the most four thousand pounds of finished goods on the floor," which could have been carted away "in two trucks," said the union. The company, instead, rolled eight empty box cars into the plant to give the impression that it had a large quantity of finished products to move.

Then, says the union, "only twenty minutes after the scabs had sneaked into the plant under the protection of the coal and iron cops, the scabs had started the crusher working."

In a word, Hillman's gag about "national defense" served merely as a cover for plain old-fashioned scabberding by a member of Hillman's staff.

INDICT HILLMAN

The union statement, printed in leaflet form for widespread distribution in the Pittsburgh area, said:

"A statement in the Pittsburgh Press that E. D. Bransome, president of the Vanadium Corporation, is a labor consultant on Mr. Hillman's staff, throws some light on how the Company can get CIO officials and State Governors to do their dirty work for them."

Not a single striking worker has been induced to break ranks

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Bus Walkout Holding Firm

Manhattan's bus drivers were still holding firmly to their strike struggle Wednesday evening, the tenth day of the strike, despite the latest and most brazen strikebreaking move of Mayor LaGuardia.

The mayor, who had been demanding that the strikers return to work without any of their demands being granted, but that everything he submitted to "impartial" arbitration after calling off the strike, repeated this with a new wrinkle Wednesday morning.

He declared that, unless the strikers immediately returned to work, he would appoint a "fact-finding" committee to determine whether or not the issues of the strike could have been submitted to arbitration.

It was a foregone conclusion that the committee would "find" that arbitration could have "solved" the problem, and a hue and cry would be raised against the strikers on the basis of this "impartial finding."

At this point Philip Murray, CIO head, appeared on the scene and negotiations were resumed directly between the union and the bus company, with Murray participating.

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Detroit Auto Strike Pickets



Members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) picketing the struck plant of the Federal Motor Truck Co. last week in Detroit. The strikers are demanding wage increases and the union shop. The company holds \$5,000,000 in war orders.

Fight Against Ford Heads Towards Strike

DETROIT, Mich.—The industrial metropolis of Detroit was tense and taut in all its nerves this week, as the enslaved Ford workers strained at their bonds, and as Henry Ford, the most hated tyrant among America's tycoons, tried to hold his seat on his besieged and uncertain throne.

Weeks of struggle in the River Rouge, Highland Park and Lincoln plants, weeks of battles with Harry Bennett's thugs, of dozens of minor engagements in every department, are culminating now in a gathering up of the now mighty UAW-CIO army for a telling blow against Ford's vicious open shop.

The isolated skirmishes in the plants tend now to develop into the mighty offensive of a Harry Bennett can do will stop it. The day when top union officials could intervene to call a halt has passed also. Now that the Ford workers are organized at last, now that they feel their strength, only a victory can cool their white-hot anger and determination to defeat the labor-baiting Ford regime.

Anthony Federoff, assistant regional director for the CIO, attempted to order the workers back on the job against their own democratic vote. The strikers challenged this piece of pro-company action, and refused to return until the company agreed to abide by the contract.

The strikers have received support and material aid from the Washington County Labor Council, Carnegie Lodge 171, SWOC, CIO, Goodwill Lodge 178, SWOC, the Lawrence Local 1198 of the United Mine Workers and other union locals.

Part of the company's attempt to smash the strike has been to secure the arrest of Frank Pugne, president of the Vanadium local, (Continued on page 2)

WORKERS SHOW POWER

As a warning, 3,000 Ford workers this week staged a sit-down strike in the River Rouge plant. Bennett's promise to put back to work eight men previously discharged for union activity, had not been kept. Whereupon the 3,000 UAW-CIO workers sat down, and would not budge until their brothers who had been given the axe were reinstated on their former jobs.

In one hour's time, the formerly cocky and self-confident Harry Bennett capitulated to the workers' demand, and hastily put the eight men back to work.

"It was all a mistake," he said.

He will soon learn it is a mistake to think that he and his army of gangster "service men" can fight and win against the UAW-CIO.

NLRB HEARINGS

In deadly fear of a Ford strike, the National Labor Relations Board was quick this week to announce hearings for March 24 to determine whether a vote will be held among the Ford workers.

The board's game is clear. Two strikes are already being waged in Detroit — against Midland Steel, manufacturers of steel frames for most of the city's auto plants, and against Federal Motor Truck — and if a Ford strike were added to these, it would touch off a gigantic strike wave. The board hopes that the two or three months necessary for an

Ford served with a union contract, a contract which calls for wage increases to bring Ford wages up to the level of the organized plants; a contract which would abolish for all time the "service department" and the reign of terror in the plants; establish the union right to set time standards and abolish the speed-up; insure the right of the union to bargain on any and all grievances; and wipe out Ford's threats against the Negroes by guaranteeing the rights and the jobs of all the colored workers in the Ford plants.

In all probability this will result in a strike. But it is the only road ahead. There is no way around a battle with Ford. Once launched, such a fight can only end in union victory.

FORD WANTS TIME

Ford's only alternative now is to play for time. As TIME magazine put it: "About the only limb left (for Ford) was delay. Toward that limb Ford was edging."

The Roosevelt administration was busily engaged this week in setting up the machinery to provide Ford with a limb to climb on to.

The Roosevelt-Knudsen-Hillman-Perkins announcement that steps were being taken to set up a War Labor Board with broad powers of mediation, was timed to sidestep a Ford strike.

In all strike struggles in this period, the union now is faced with government intervention on the side of the employer. Especially in the Ford situation, which has widespread national significance, the government means to do

(Continued on page 2)

VOTE MEANS NOTHING

But Harry Bennett made very clear the futility of an NLRB vote now.

Said Bennett: "If the NLRB orders an election, of course we will hold one. THE CIO WILL WIN IT OF COURSE, because it always wins these farcical elections, and we will bargain with it because the law says so. WE WILL BARGAIN TILL HELL FREEZES OVER BUT THEY WON'T GET ANYTHING."

Ford already concedes the NLRB election! Knowing that the CIO will win, he has brazenly announced through Bennett that the election won't mean a thing, because they will stall and sabotage the negotiations, and refuse to give an inch!

BATTLES, NOT BALLOTS

Clearly, the Ford situation is now out of the realm of NLRB votes.

What now remains to be done, and which has not yet been done by the leaders of the Ford drive, is to draw up a list of union demands, upon which to take a determined stand.

The Ford workers want to see Ford served with a union contract, a contract which calls for wage increases to bring Ford wages up to the level of the organized plants; a contract which would abolish for all time the "service department" and the reign of terror in the plants; establish the union right to set time standards and abolish the speed-up; insure the right of the union to bargain on any and all grievances; and wipe out Ford's threats against the Negroes by guaranteeing the rights and the jobs of all the colored workers in the Ford plants.

Equal Sacrifice Is A Crude Lie

AN EDITORIAL

Roosevelt, in his speech last Saturday night, spoke of the sacrifices which "all of you" will be called upon to make.

That "all of you" was supposed to make the worker think that everybody will sacrifice.

Roosevelt will call upon the capitalist to sacrifice half of his income (which probably has been doubled or more by the war). The capitalist—we're thinking of the smaller fry—will give up half his income of \$200,000, leaving only a bare \$100,000 to feed and clothe the capitalist and his family for the year. And the worker making \$35 a week will be called upon to sacrifice his eight-hour day and, at least five dollars a week from his pay.

But that's only the beginning. Added to higher taxes, direct and indirect, the worker will get a lower standard of living because of the inevitable rise in prices. Already prices of meat and other foodstuffs have risen considerably and the real rise is yet to come.

For, don't forget, most of the billions of dollars already spent and about to be spent for war purposes, goes into material used exclusively for destruction. The shells, the planes, the guns, the warships, not only slaughter people, but their manufacture means that just that much of the industrial capacity of the country is taken away from useful purposes.

It is taken away, that is, from the standard of living of the workers. You can be sure that no capitalist will eat less butter or steaks or caviar.

And after the war, if Britain and the United States win? What will the workers now working in the war industries do? Will they be shifted to producing the things they need? We can easily answer that question. Before the war effort began, millions of workers were unemployed, and after the war as many and even more millions will be unemployed. Even the capitalists admit that the industrial machine will be thrown into turmoil when the war ends.

This alone proves that the war is not being fought in the interests of the workers. It is fought because the American and British capitalists are fighting their German competitors. And after the war, no matter which side wins, the worker will continue to slave and make profits for the bosses or hunger with the unemployed.

For capitalism can use the industrial machine effectively only for war and death. The working masses must realize that, so long as they permit capitalism to continue, just that long will they be fully employed only during wartime.

To smash fascism, we would be ready for any sacrifice. The workers must do everything to destroy fascism. Arms in hand, the workers should be prepared to sacrifice, not only comforts, but their lives, in the struggle against fascist oppression.

But this is not the war against fascism. The workers cannot destroy fascism by fighting for British and American capitalist interests. For, even if the American and British capitalists win against Hitler, the workers meanwhile face the menace at home. The fundamental inequality between the sacrifices extorted from the workers, and the "sacrifices" of the plutocrats, is proof enough that this is in no sense a "war for democracy."

Only when the workers will take over the governmental power of this country—only then will the real war against fascism be waged.

CHURCHILL IS NOW FDR LIEUTENANT

**Tenor of Speech Is
That of General of
The "Democracies"**

Roosevelt's speech to the White House Correspondents Association last Saturday night clearly indicated the role which he has assumed as the leader of the Roosevelt-Churchill Axis in the struggle against the Hitler-Mussolini-Mikado Axis.

He graciously complimented Churchill, leader of British imperialism, but the tone and the manner were those of one who felt himself to be a superior complementing a subordinate associate. From now on Roosevelt, as the representative of American imperialist interests, takes charge of the struggle against Hitler Germany.

With the lend-lease law now behind him, there was no longer any note of diplomacy. Bluntly Roosevelt named Germany, Italy and Japan. It was the speech of the head of a nation at war.

BOSS PRESS CHEERS

And there was loud cheering from the men who mold public opinion for the owners of industry.

Especially was their cheering loud and vociferous and long-lasting when the President stated that the "determination of America must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers." It was then that the select audience went wild as they beheld a vision of legislation to curb strikes and keep the workers in subjection to toil for the victory of the capitalist masters of this country.

Roosevelt spoke with the confidence of a man who had just arranged to get seven billion dollars' worth of war material — making a total of 35 billions appropriated since last Summer — to throw into the scale of battle.

WORLD CONQUEST

He spoke with the confidence of one who has at his disposal the strongest industrial machine in the world, able to produce more instruments of death than the rest of the world combined. He spoke as the leader of a class determined to rule the world.

And without any sarcasm, he spoke of British and Greek and Chinese democracy. No one could ask him about the millions in India and Africa who are given a fearful taste of British democracy. No one could interrupt to ask about the thousands of workers rotting in the dungeons of the vile Greek dictatorship. No one could remind him about Chiang-Kai-shek's butchery of tens of thousands of militant workers.

The speech was not a formal declaration of war but it came close to being one. Not once was there any mention of the now-extinct formula of "aid short of war." Not once was there a repetition of the promise he had given so often that there will be no American troops fighting on foreign soil.

The speech in effect said: "I shall do everything necessary to defeat Germany. If it can be done by having the British fight for us, well and good. But if not, then we have a navy, and an army, and we shall use them to take over the mastery of the world."

BREITMAN OPENS SWP CAMPAIGN IN NEWARK

NEWARK, N.J., March 20—Attacking the giant private utilities, Public Service, George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Commission, this week called for "municipal ownership of Public Service under control and management of the workers."

Breitman made clear that this demand, one of the main points in his platform, was the only answer to the high rates charged and the large dividends declared for its stockholders at the expense of the city's workers, and the vicious employment policy of P.S. which discriminates against Negro workers and other minority groups.

"Public Service," said Breitman, "having a virtual monopoly in utilities, cleaned up over 23 million dollars last year, not counting all the dividends and bonuses. In return, it charged more for its services than the average utilities company does. The national average

for the first 25 kilowatt hours of light is \$1.35, while Public Service charges \$1.70 for the same amount."

Breitman pointed to the fact that "P. S. is glad of the opportunity to get the money of the colored consumers, but feels that it doesn't have to give them any opportunity to get any of the money back through employment."

CITY HALL'S ROLE

He also warned against expecting the present members of the City Commission to do anything about the giant corporation and its policies. "Ellenstein and Co., and Byrne and Co., do a lot of squabbling down at City Hall. But I clearly remember one thing they didn't squabble about. That was the expenditure of 12 million dollars to build our 'subway' a few years ago. This subway was of little convenience to most workers, but a lot of convenience to Public Service. And Public Service gets the use of this subway at

a rental price that doesn't even pay the interest on the expenditure, let alone the principal."

WORKERS' CONTROL

"But municipal ownership is not enough. It does not answer the question of who is going to run them."

"Most cities with public ownership turn control of operation over to some political machine that runs it for patronage. I am opposed to this. I favor placing control of operation into the hands of committees elected by the Public Service employees themselves, and I would insist that the colored workers get not only jobs, but also places on these managing committees. Workers' control would be the best answer to the question of management, and would at the same time be of great educational value to workers in other industries."

(For an article by George Breitman on Newark housing, turn to Page 3.)

Minn. Negroes Fight Color Bar

Governor Stassen's Ban Against Negroes In State Home Guard Is Fought Vigorously

MINNEAPOLIS—The twelve thousand Negroes in the Twin Cities of Minnesota are today confronting the same problems which Negroes face everywhere in the United States—color discrimination in the war industries and in the armed forces. Resentment against this oppressive discrimination has now come to a boiling point over Governor Stassen's Jim Crow policy in setting up the Minnesota Home Defense, the force that is replacing the National Guard which has been sent into the regular army.

Stassen has refused to open the ranks of the Home Guards to Negroes. This act is regarded as the last straw by the local Negro community. Colored leaders, among them many trade unionists, have formed a Minnesota Negro Defense Committee. For five months this Committee has sought unsuccessfully to gain an audience with the Governor. Stassen has issued lying statements to the press that he has not received any requests from the Committee for such a meeting.

STASSEN'S NEW TRICK

Finally, when Stassen saw that he could no longer awe the Negroes or conquer them by silence, the governor resorted to an old political trick of trying to split the ranks of the Negroes by appointing two Negroes as an "Investigating Committee." The two Negroes agreeing to serve the governor are Raymond Cannon, Minneapolis lawyer, and Lawrence Tarver of St. Paul, an American Legion member.

Far from stemming the Negroes' fight against discrimination, this act only accelerated the struggle. Today Cannon and Tarver are thoroughly repudiated by the Negro communities in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

PROTEST MEETINGS

Large mass meetings of protest have been held in both Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Saturday evening, March 8th about three hundred colored and white persons met at the Hallie Q. Brown settlement house in St. Paul to further the fight against discrimination. About one hundred people were turned away for lack of room.

Maceo Littlejohn, the first speaker, a trade unionist, received prolonged applause when he said, "We will not permit Governor Stassen to press down upon our heads this crown of military discrimination."

A Negro war veteran and American Legionnaire spoke against Jim Crow segregation in the army. He told of the fate of the

the ranks of the Home Guards Senegalese soldiers in France last year, and of how these all-Negro battalions are always given the suicide assignments. If there were no segregation it would be impossible to place the heaviest war sacrifices upon the Negroes, he said.

INDICT RENEGADES

The director of the Hallie Q. Brown house gave a militant speech in which she pleaded for solidarity of the Negroes in defense of their civil rights. The two Negroes appointed by the governor should have refused to serve, she said. Two Negro university students spoke along the same line. J. W. Pate, another Negro veteran, read the letters the Elks have sent Stassen protesting his Jim Crow policy. Pate, too, said that "we are being victimized by men of our own group."

The Rev. Clarence Nelson, publicity chairman of the Negro Defense Committee, read the many letters the Committee has written Stassen asking for an appointment. "Things are happening in Minnesota that are happening in Mississippi," he said, referring to the growth of Jim Crowism in the North.

WHAT IS HOME GUARD?

Some Negro leaders, especially the trade unionists, know very well that the Minnesota Home Guards will be chiefly used as a strike-breaking instrument. But they feel that it will prove easier to fight against discrimination in the Home Guard than in the U.S. army. Once this state fight can be won, the broader fight against discrimination in the war industries and in the army will be speeded.

Negroes in Minneapolis and St. Paul are more united in this struggle than they have been for many years on any issue. Their fight against discrimination in industry and in the armed forces deserves the support of the trade union movement. It will receive that support.

SWP FIGHTS BILL TO BAN C.P. FROM BALLOT IN WISCONSIN

MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin, March 10—Bill 183 S, a bill to ban the Communist Party and "other subversive groups" from the ballot in Wisconsin, was vigorously opposed before the Senate hearing committee at Madison on March 6, by the Socialist Workers Party, represented by James Boulton, Milwaukee organizer of the SWP.

183 S, and the Little Dies Committee bill to investigate "subversive elements" in the state labor movement, are brought out at a time of bitter struggle between the CIO and the Allis-Chalmers Company, where a strike has been in progress 50 days, the longest strike in a "national defense" industry to date. The bill is another part of the smear campaign being waged against the union. It is an effort to frighten the rank-and-file workers, who, however, have shown themselves more dependable than the leadership.

Speaking against the bill, the Trotskyist representative pointed out that the revolutionary workers have more to fear at the hands of the Stalinists than do the capitalists and the government. Boulton brought out the fact that the Stalinists were not thought of in the period of the Stalinist "People's Front" honeymoon with Roosevelt. If Stalin switches sides, the terms of the bill will not be applied to the Communist Party but against others.

CIO spokesmen opposed the bill on the grounds that the bill was Hitlerite. They stated that the bill could be used to interfere with the CIO's projected state Labor Party.

Fred Basset Blair, state chairman of the C. P., could not understand the action of the Senators, insisting that the C. P. does not advocate force in the building of a worker's society, and urging that his Party is carrying out the best traditions of America's democrats, Paine, Washington, etc.

New York Bus Strikers Firm



Showing the spirit that wins, members of the New York Transport Workers Union (CIO) cheer a speaker's call for fighting action at a rally of the 3500 striking bus drivers. The drivers have tied up 90 per cent of Manhattan's bus transport since March 10.

Newark Housing Crisis Deepened By The War

Even The Few Housing Projects Will Now Be Turned Over To "Defense" Needs; Both City Hall Machines Are In On It...

By GEORGE BREITMAN
(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for City Commissioner)

During the last war workers moved to the Newark industrial area in such great numbers that a housing shortage arose "so acute that the City was forced to erect tent colonies to shelter hundreds of evicted families; that thousands of families were doubled up in living quarters, and rooming houses were forced to rent the same bed to as many as three lodgers in one day." (From report of Newark's World War I Mayor.)

Conditions in the city today are rapidly approaching the same situation. There is a real shortage of homes, flats and apartments. As a result, rents are going up, families are moving in together, cellars and store fronts are being occupied, and when

one family moves out of a house in a workers' neighborhood, there are five to ten applicants for the place during the next two hours. And the trend, because of factory expansion, is toward greater migration into the area.

The picture of Newark's 44,451 housing structures was shown in the State Housing Authority's 1934 report:

Of every 100 structures, 80 were found to be in "good condition," 45 were in need of "minor repairs," 40 were in need of "major repairs," and 10 were found "unfit for use." That is, half of Newark's homes were either not fit to live in or badly in need of repairs, and only 4% were in "good" condition.

Out of every hundred, four were declared to be in "good condition," 45 were in need of "minor repairs," 40 were in need of "major repairs," and 10 were found "unfit for use." That is, half of Newark's homes were either not fit to live in or badly in need of repairs, and only 4% were in "good" condition.

SITUATION NOT CHANGED

The Newark Housing Authority reported a few months ago that, in the six years since 1934, the Building Department has granted less than 5,000 permits for alter-

ations, additions and repairs. This would mean repair work on less than 1/4 of the buildings needing major repairs or unfit for use. "It is to be noted that many of these permits were for commercial properties and structures in good conditions, thus further reducing the apparent number of sub-standard dwellings affected (by the repairs)."

In this same period, about 1900 housing units (not structures) were demolished, and 2600 constructed. Private capital built less than 400 of these, the others being built by FHA and NHA. Since almost as many were demolished as built, the situation remains almost the same.

"In Newark proper," said the NHA last September, "there has been no house building to speak of, in the past 12 years. Construction has been negligible. Demolition has far outdistanced private new construction in Newark in recent years. Today the most reliable information obtained shows that there is about a 3% housing vacancy in Newark. A great deal of the 3% vacancies is regarded substandard, much of it unlivable..."

WHAT NHA PROPOSES

What conclusions does the NHA, appointed by the Newark City Commission, draw from this terrible situation?

"It is agreed by most of the interested government agencies, the Newark Housing Authority and the Real Estate Board and property owners generally, that whatever additional housing is needed in Newark should be created by private capital."

Private capital hasn't built any homes in 12 years. The housing situation is getting more critical every day. Therefore, says the NHA with the approval of City Hall and both machines (the Ellenstein-Franklin-Brady group and the Byrne-Clee group), let's not construct any more federal housing projects. Let's leave it to private capital!

But this is only part of the picture.

Not only does the NHA oppose building more low-cost homes, but it is preparing behind the scenes to "divert" a large or major part of the 2,435 units of federal housing already built or being built, "sell" them to the federal government for the use of "defense workers" on the grounds that poor housing for those

workers will interfere with "national defense."

Very little has been said of this in public. Certainly few of the thousands of low paid workers and relief clients who have applied for admission to these projects know what is coming. But already a bill is being prepared in the State Legislature (this is happening in other states too) which will permit the Authority to solve its problem about the skilled workers flocking into this area at the expense of the thousands who have been waiting for over two years to get into the projects.

That the NHA is already actively at work on this piece of skulduggery was shown in a statement of a member of the Newark Citizens' Housing Council last week when he demanded reorganization of that body and complained, "I do not construe intelligent cooperation (with the NHA) as being yes-men to the diversion of low rent housing to the use of skilled defense workers..."

The NHA doesn't want to build any new homes, but it does want to take away some of those already built and change their character as "low rent housing" for "the duration of the present crisis."

That is why the Socialist Workers Party in the present election campaign states that the housing crisis will be with us as long as the friends of the landlords and the representatives of big business sit in City Hall. That is why we say: LET LABOR CONTROL THE CITY COMMISSION! Build a labor party to take over City Hall, to prevent the "diversion" of low cost housing already constructed and to extend the housing program by building the homes necessary for the great majority of Newark's workers!

A SENSATION!

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Not A Bit Scared By La Guardia's Plan For Strikebreakers

(Continued from page 1)
received banner headlines in the boss press which had been running juicy full page ads on the strike paid for by the bus companies. But the publicity on this angle soon died down.

Only the Social Democratic Federation's *New Leader* saw fit to revive the Dies charges—in a front page article that sounds and smells like the splash of a red herring dropped in a cesspool. The March 15 *New Leader* calls the strike "subversive," a "Communist" strike, and criticizes Roosevelt's advisers for not advising the White House to crack down.

The *New Leader* asserts that the strike interferes with "aid for Britain" and the "defense industries." In an editorial, the case-hardened hatchet men of the bosses who write in the *New Leader* qualify the strike as nothing but a demonstration by "Communist misleaders" of their "power to paralyze and terrorize the community." They give Mayor LaGuardia a bouquet of compliments, and end up with the following label for the strike: "The Stalinist wing of the Fifth Column is at work." These representatives of the Second International, who betrayed the working class in World War I, in the intervening years have grown a few more additional caulouses!

UNION CUTS DEMANDS

In a final effort to loosen up the hard-boiled attitude of the bosses, the union scaled down its total demands on the two companies from \$3,250,000 annually down to \$1,000,000. But even this failed to jar Ritchie and his LaGuardia backing.

But not all the threats of these union-hating capitalists, — their executive agents in the government, and the small-time peddlers of their wares like the *New Leader*, can dampen the confidence of the bus strikers. They intend to win.

Marxist School Starts Mar. 24

A heavy enrollment is expected at the Spring session of the Marxist School, of New York City according to Lawrence P. Turner, who is in charge of arrangements. Already numerous applications have been received at the Marxist School Office at 116 University Place.

The school will open on Monday, March 24, 7:10 p.m. at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, with William F. Ward scheduled as the first lecturer. He will begin his course on "Permanent Revolution in American History" with a lecture on "American and World History." At the last session of the school, Comrade Ward's class on dialectical materialism was extremely popular. It is expected, that many worker students who attended that class will wish to enroll for this class as a follow up.

The second class of the evening will be led by Lydia Beidell, whose lecture on "Early Stages of Trade Unionism in the U. S." will open her course on "American Labor Movements."

On Wednesday Jack Weber will open his course on "The World at War" with a lecture beginning at 7:10 p. m. on the topic "Can the British Empire Survive? Imperialism and Colonial Revolt."

Comrade Weber's class will be followed by Farrell Dobbs' course on "Trade Unionism and Politics." Comrade Dobbs' first lecture will be on "The Inside Story of the AFL and CIO Bureaucracies."

Many trade unionists have already expressed an especially keen interest in this course because of Dobbs' long experience in the trade union movement.

The subscription for single sessions of each course is 25 cents, for an entire course of six sessions, \$1.

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Thompson Chain Out On Strike

By LOU COOPER

March 17 was not only a great day for the Irish in New York. It was a great day for the underpaid, overworked 230 workmen and women of the Thompson Cafeteria Chain. For at 11:30 A.M. all the workers of the chain—members of Local 302, Cafeteria Employees, AFL—walked out and left the stores desolate with only the company managers picking up the remaining dishes.

Mass picket lines were immediately formed and all ten stores had to shut down. The workers had demanded a two dollar weekly wage increase during prolonged negotiations. Now they demonstrated to the Thompson bosses that they are tired of the company's stalling-around policy and that the union cafeteria workers mean business.

The general wage scales in the Thompson chain had long been way below that of other cafeterias under the jurisdiction of Local 302. The wage increases which the workers directly need were not gained in the last contract, which obtained only twenty-five cents per week increases.

WHAT COMPANY OFFERED

When negotiations began a month and a half ago the company had the gall to propose the ending of the closed shop, the abolition of seniority rights, abandonment of existing vacation regulations, the right to replace men with women at lower wages (in the event of conscription, for example).

The company refused to hear the justified demand for wage increases. It did not want to hear about the low scale wages, nor about the rising cost of living. The company spokesmen particularly did not want to be confronted with their own statement of a great increase in income and profits, which they issued to the Thompson stockholders on the very day that the strike was called.

COMPANY'S "EARNINGS"

This timely statement tells a very interesting story. The gross profit from operations for 1940 was 100% more than that of 1939! Whereas 1939 saw a gross profit of \$142,935 the 1940 gross profit was \$281,146.

But this gross profit, as large as it was, included losses from

other enterprises of the Thompson outfit, enterprises having nothing to do with the cafeteria chain. The gross profit from restaurant operations alone was over \$761,000. An enormous increase! In its conclusion the company told its stockholders:

"Further improvement in sales and profits is expected" — for the year 1941. Yes, there's plenty of dough coming in. But of course, they wouldn't think of meeting the wage increase demands of the workers.

UNION WILL WIN

Smash the union, that's all the Thompson bosses understand, but they've got another guess coming. This union knows how to fight and how to fight hard.

The tough grind at the counter, in the kitchen and on the floor has tempered the Thompson workers for this struggle. The young women that slave away eight long hours a day, carrying heavy loads of dishes on trays for \$14 a week have a good reason for seeing that this strike brings \$2 wage increases for themselves and for all other categories.

The spirit of these young women, for example on the Grand Central picket-line, is a lesson in union militancy and union solidarity. Come what may, scabs or a drawn out strike, they intend to stick it out.

Down on Thirteenth street and Broadway a young counter girl picket raised the cry, "Lincoln freed the slaves, but Thompson's wants to bring back slavery." Correct, sister. Thompson's must meet the union demands. All power to you and to your fellow workers in this strike. Let your coming victory be the lead for all the coming contract settlements in Local 302.

Vanadium Strike Holds Firm

(Continued from page 1)

and committeemen John Fagan and Joe Sharkey.

These three workers are being charged with inciting to riot, with Sharkey facing the additional charge of assault and battery, for an alleged attack on a strike-breaker.

This is a plain frame-up. These three union men went to see Berton, one of the strikebreakers, to secure information about a meeting that was supposed to be called by Federoff. When Sharkey got out of the car before Berton's house, Berton came out brandishing a knife and threatening to "get my shot gun." Sharkey simply returned to the car, which Fugue and Fagan had not even left, and all three left peacefully.

The union has raised the excessively high bail of \$4,000 for the three men, imposed by Squire Church before whom they had their first hearing. All three are now released for hearing March 31.

The union has appealed for material aid to all workers and unions. While the workers are waging this battle, the troubles of life go on uninterrupted. The child of one striker died and every striker, although himself in need, is digging down to help their grieving brother. Another's wife is about to have a child.

Material aid and resolutions of support should be sent to United Vanadium Workers, L. I. U. 953, American Legion Hall, c/o Pat McCracken, Bridgeville, Pa.

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Ford Fight Near Strike

(Continued from page 1)
anything and everything necessary to avert a strike.

RUN-AROUND AGAIN

The workers must not be fooled. This War Labor Board should be trusted no more than Roosevelt's creation in NRA days of the Auto Labor Board of Leo Wolman, that anti-union board of infamous repete which was a constant thorn in the side of the labor movement. The New War Labor Board of Roosevelt-Hillman will be manned by just as scabby agents of the bosses as Leo Wolman — who incidentally was an old side-kick and advisor of Sidney Hillman.

FORD IS THE KEY

The Ford situation is the key to the whole next period of American Labor's history. The Ford workers can play a great role in our history. This is especially true since the Ford struggle comes in the midst of the crucial negotiations in Coal and Steel and General Motors.

If the Ford workers brush aside all these Federal mediators and phoney governmental "advisors" who try to poke their noses into the workers' business; if the Ford workers abolish the foul service department at Ford, they will start a new great sweep of militancy and victory for American labor. But if they allow themselves to be cheated and tricked out of what they deserve to win, then the miners and steel men and all labor will suffer serious setbacks.

These are the two roads ahead! The Ford workers must and will choose the road to victory!

MASS MEETING !!

The GPU and Stalin's Rule Of Terror

Speaker:

Albert Goldman

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

HEAR:

The facts which brand Stalin as murderer of Leon Trotsky.

A profound crisis is shaking the Soviet Union! The workers' state is in deadly danger!

Stalin must be overthrown before it is too late!

BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 5th Street New York City

FRIDAY: March 28

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

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Miners Name Their Demands

\$1 A Day Raise Is The Main Point

Unless the soft coal operators of the eight-state Appalachian region reconsider their rejection of the demand of the United Mine Workers (CIO) for a \$1 a day pay rise and other proposals affecting 450,000 bituminous miners, they face the traditional "holiday" of the miners at the termination of the present closed-shop contract on March 31.

Negotiations between the UMW leaders, headed by John L. Lewis, and the committee of the operators have been in progress since March 11 in New York, with no agreement as yet in sight.

In turning down the miners' proposals, the operators also rejected the proposal of the union that operations in the mines continue after April 1 on the basis of the old contract until the new contract is signed, when additional pay grants will be retroactive until April 1.

Charles O'Neill, spokesman for the operators, termed the Lewis offer a "contingent liability of many millions of dollars." Thus the coal operators, who called for longer hours and no wage increases in the interests of "national defense," are not so anxious to avert a stoppage of coal production if that means even the likelihood of dipping into their own pocket-books.

Lewis issued an immediate reply to the operator's counter-proposal for a two-year renewal of the present contract, stating that it was entirely unsatisfactory as a basis for contract settlement.

In his initial presentation of the miners' demands, Lewis lashed out at the coal bosses' argument that wage increases would mean price inflation.

OUR INFLATION!

"There is going to be some inflation," Lewis declared. "And the United Mine Workers are prepared to see that part of the United States' inflation should take place in the shrunken bellies of our miners. And we are prepared to show that their bellies are shrunken. This is just as important as the creation of another set of multi-millionaires."

In demanding gains for the miners now, Lewis pointed out that the aftermath of the war, "whenever truce, stalemate or final victory comes," will be "quite a different economic aftermath to that which followed in the wake of the World War."

"Instead of the United States replenishing the world with mass production equipment and other goods and services, which served as a cushion 22 years ago, we will likely find ourselves confronted with the most serious and distorted economy in our history," the miners' leader explained.

HITS PROFITEERS

Hitting out at the war profiteers, Lewis stated:

"Our economy will not again stand profit loots, such as occurred during the last war. Profits cannot be piled into banks and invested in foreign loans. There must filter through into the pay envelopes of the men who man the mines, factories and other services, a larger share of the profit producing leverages that result from steady operations, regardless of what has heretofore been determined by engineers' charts and graphs as labor's share of increased volume."

Lewis backed up his argument for increased pay out of increased profits by a detailed recital of the monumental profits now being piled up by every industry out of the present war.

MINERS' LOW WAGES

Lewis cited the figures of the Social Security Board to show that the coal miners are among the lowest paid workers in hazardous industries: "tens of thousands earn less than \$300 a year and perhaps 60 per cent make no more than \$200 to \$250 a year."

Lewis assailed as "fantastic and absurd" the operators' figures on the cost to the coal industry of the \$1 a day wage increase demanded. The miners' demands are "modest," said Lewis, pointing out that the miners' wages had increased only \$1 a day in 24 years.



Delegates to the United Mine Workers Union (CIO) policy committee conference, in New York to negotiate wage increases for 450,000 bituminous miners, being greeted by UMW President John L. Lewis, and CIO head Phillip Murray (at extreme left).

Phila. Strikers Punish Scabs Who Shot At Them

Union Wins Strike Against Progress Manufacturing Co.

PHILADELPHIA, March 12.—400 militant strikers of the Progress Manufacturing Company here put to rout 150 strike-breakers, some of them armed in a battle yesterday evening.

Today, Local 90 of the Metal Polishers union of the AFL announced the winning of the strike. The company, which fabricates lighting fixtures and appliances, has agreed to recognize the union as the sole collective bargaining agency in the plant contingent on the union's demonstration of a majority of the 500 workers.

In addition, the company has had to agree to no discrimination against any striker and to open up negotiation with the union for wage increases, shorter hours and better conditions.

BATTLE WITH SCABS

When 150 scabs emerged from the plant yesterday, conveyed by over 30 police, several hundred strikers massed around the scabs and cops, jeering and hooting. The police charged the strikers with flailing clubs, and the strikers temporarily were held back.

Police and strike-breakers marched in a body on Master Street, with the mass of strikers trailing them at a distance of several yards.

At 6th and Master Streets, where the jurisdiction of the 10th Police District ends, the cops "deserted" the scabs.

SCABS USE PISTOLS

All 150 took to their heels immediately, with the strikers in hot pursuit. During the course of the chase, some scabs turned around and opened fire on the strikers with revolvers. Fortunately, their aim was as rotten as their yellow guts, and they succeeded only in puncturing several windows in the neighborhood.

Under the Reading Railroad Bridge, at 9th and Thompson Street, the strikers caught up with the flinks. A free-for-all ensued as the strikers waded into the scabs and gave them a 15 minute lesson in what union men and women think of strike-breakers, especially strike-breakers who shoot at workers.

Finally, several riot squads of police entered the fray. Nine strike-breakers, who were so speechless they couldn't explain who they were, were arrested. Rosen, the plant boss, is reported to be on the verge of a nervous breakdown. These are the chief casualties.

A preliminary skirmish of a similar character occurred Monday when 2 strike-breakers leaving the plant opened fire on the union pickets. Police managed to whisk them away still in one piece.

The strike was called last Thursday after the company had refused to negotiate with the union committee.

The Negro And The U. S. Army

What Happened In 1917-18 Shows How The Bosses Are Thinking Now

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

By EUGENE VARLIN

In France, a systematic campaign to remove the Negro officers was conducted under the auspices of the ruling cliques of the army. "Before the colored officers had had a chance to prove themselves, 'Efficiency Boards' immediately began wholesale removals and as such boards could act on the mere opinion of field officers, the colored company officers began to be removed wholesale," says Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. In replacing them, it was claimed that there were not enough Negro reserve officers to fill the vacancies. Then, in the words of Emmett J. Scott, Negro Assistant to Secretary of War Baker, "Inasmuch as . . . white officers would not serve in the same regiment with Negro officers, it was necessary to turn over the command entirely to white officers."

The Negro officers were removed because of their race, not because they lacked ability. An examination of some typical cases proves this. The first colored soldier removed by the "Efficiency Boards" was Captain M. W. Boutte. Before the war, Boutte served in the Tennessee National Guard, the only colored organization of its kind in the South; he became a captain at the Des Moines school for Negro officers. Boutte organized Company 350 of the Machine Gunners and was praised for his work with it. It was soon learned, Mrs. Hunton and Miss Johnson wrote, that the Major who brought Boutte up on charges "had written a letter to the commanding officer, asking that all colored officers be removed."

Dr. Du Bois tells of "a Lieutenant of a Machine Gun Battalion" who "was dismissed and reinstated three times because the white officers who succeeded him could not do the work." The Harlem 369th was the first American Negro regiment to engage in battle. Several of its officers were given awards for bravery; nevertheless, soon afterward, its white colonel, Hayward transferred all the Negro officers except the bandmaster and chaplains.

Why Negro Officers Were Removed

On August 24, 1918, Herschel Tapes, Colonel of the 372nd Infantry, forwarded a request to General Pershing typical of those demanding the removal of colored officers:

"Subject: Replacement of Colored Officers by White Officers . . . for the following reasons:

"First: The racial distinctions which are recognized in civilian life naturally continue to be recognized in the military life . . .

" . . . There is a characteristic tendency among the colored officers to neglect the welfare of their men and to perform their duties in a perfunctory manner . . .

" . . . It is recommended,

A. That no colored officers be forwarded to this regiment as replacement or otherwise.

B. That officers removed upon recommendations of efficiency boards be quickly replaced by white officers. . . .

C. That opportunities be offered to transfer the remaining colored personnel to labor organizations or to replacement units of other colored combat organizations according to their ability." (My emphasis).

Colonel Tapes got an O.K. from Pershing to carry out his request. In late August and early September, the colored officers of the 372nd Regiment were tried by a court composed of white staff officers. Seventy-seven colored officers were removed, only the two dental officers and the two chaplains remaining.

By these means, "the percentage of white officers of colored regiments increased from 18 per cent at the beginning to 42 per cent on November 30, 1918."

The war over, the American bourgeoisie abandoned its flimsy pretences of an even break for the Negro people. Steps were taken to eliminate altogether the Negro officers in the reorganized army.

The Negro Labor Battalions

The hardest work of the war was reserved for the Negro stevedore and labor battalions. They handled mail and freight, horses, mules, and supplies, unloaded cargoes at all the French and some of the English ports, built railroads, quarried stone, and did construction work. They salvaged shells at great risk. Many were stationed at interior depots and bases and at automobile, airplane, and railroad assembling plants. They worked twelve and fourteen hours a day.

Negro regular army men with long experience were detailed to the Service of Supplies. Had they been whites, they would have occupied high positions in the officers' staffs of the combat regiments. Scott said that at Camp Lee, Virginia, he found hundreds of educated Negroes, many of them college graduates, "limited to the use of spade, pickaxe, and shovel and to the digging of ditches, trenches and the like." Mrs. Hunton and Miss Johnson, who were Y. W. C. A. workers, wrote that educated Negroes were often to be found in the labor battalions in France. "For every . . . profession or trade there was a representative. One had but to require the service of a stenographer, dentist, doctor, lawyer, electrician, draughtsman, pianist, illustrator, or what not, to find him at hand."

The amount of laborious work performed by the Negro troops was out of all proportion to their percentage in the army. There were 106 Negro as compared with 207 white labor battalions in France. This means that the Negroes, forming slightly less than one-eighth of the total enlisted forces of the American Army, did more than one-third of the manual labor.

After the war, the grim task of reburial of the dead soldiers was imposed upon the Negroes enrolled in the 813th, 815th, and 816th Pioneer Regiments and upon them only. The cemeteries at Romagne, Beaumont, Thiencourt, Belleau Woods, Pere-en-Tardenois, and Soissons were fruits of their labors. They worked all hours of the day and night, week in and week out, through rain and heat.

The non-combatant units, comprising three-fourths of all the colored troops, were given virtually no military training. "Our drilling," said one soldier, "consisted in marching to and from work with hoes, shovels, and picks on our shoulders." Even the colored Engineers, working close to the front lines and within firing range, were neither given arms nor taught to use them.

Even their brief and infrequent holidays were ruined by discrimination. Mrs. Hunton and Miss Johnson tell of a group of Negro laborers who had been granted a week-end for an outing. "Just like children they made us listen to all their enthusiastic plans and dreams of this outing. They went, but came back dumb in the despair of outraged truth and justice. A runner had preceded them, and the French restaurants and places of amusement had been warned not to receive

CIO Barely Scrapes Through In North American Aircraft Poll

Bosses and Patriotic Ballyhoo Favored AFL Machinists; And the CIO Directors Didn't Do the Necessary Job of Organization

LOS ANGELES, March 14.—The UAW-CIO won the runoff election here yesterday at North American Aircraft (3000 workers), squeezing in only 70 votes ahead of the AFL machinists in the first major test of AFL-CIO strength in the aircraft industry.

To many militant workers it seems almost unbelievable that the AFL, with its ossified, bureaucratic set-up, and stick-in-the-mud organizational methods could be even good competition to one or two other unions for a union like the UAW in any mass production field. The militants in North American were dazed a few weeks ago when, in the first election, the AFL turned up only about 40 votes behind the CIO.

The truth of the matter is that the UAW was very lucky to win this election at all. The MILITANT of March 1 went into some detail to describe the unfavorable conditions under which the CIO enters the field again in aircraft out here. There was the tremendous pressure of the Company against the CIO and for "safe"

unionism, and the effect of jingo patriotism upon backward workers who are made to feel as though they are in the spotlight of "national defense." These factors made it obvious that the CIO was fighting an up-hill battle against the stream. Besides this the AFL boasts contracts (poorly enforced however) in several plants.

CIO'S MISTAKE

In order to win workers under these unfavorable conditions a union must show the workers something real in the way of organization in the plant — something that will tear down these barriers and prejudices. The one thing which would help to do this would be a consistent campaign of departmental organization, organization of shop stewards and fighting grievances against the management, and a real program of demands upon the company.

Although giving lip service to militant methods, this is precisely what the CIO leaders failed to produce. And this is why the CIO failed to roll up the overwhelming and decisive majority that it

deserves in a mass production industry. As a matter of fact the consensus of opinion today among many of the best union men in the plant is that it was only stupid blunders of the AFL, which won the election for the CIO.

The responsibility for this near-disaster must be placed squarely upon the shoulders of the Directors of the CIO organization drive: Mortimer, Mitchener, etc. These men should know how to organize a union even under unfavorable conditions. However, from the beginning of the drive they played an ultra-legalistic game.

They acted just as though they were on the gravy train, that the election was in the bag, and all they needed to do was to make a good sales talk at the plant gates, issue tons of leaflets and put on a good three-ringed circus. But job organization? Hardly a word. What will the CIO fight for at North American? Pretty phrases.

THE JOB AHEAD

Now that the election has been won, the workers have still ahead of them the job of building a union. It seems as though there'll

be little initiative and not much assistance from the officials and Directors in really organizing the shop stewards and solidifying the organization on a fighting basis. In other words, if the workers want a union they'll have to organize it from the ranks — and it looks as though they may do just that.

Yes, the CIO was lucky to win the election. Now, if the militant workers will take the bull by the horns inside the plant and build solid organization in the departments — it will be the workers who are lucky that the CIO won the election. A strong and mighty union can be built at North American which can be the spearhead of unionism for the workers in this new giant industry, which has, so far, been the happy hunting ground for finky bosses.

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Steel Labor Is On The March Everywhere

Bethlehem's L.A. Plant Is Struck

West Coast Fabricating Plant Shut Down When Company Won't Reinstate 4 Members

LOS ANGELES, March 15—A strike of steel workers employed at the Fabricating Plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company in Los Angeles has resulted in a complete shut-down of the plant. Approximately 110 production workers went out on strike Sunday morning (March 9) after a unanimous strike vote had been taken on the previous Thursday.

Strike committee members of SWOC Local 2273 gave a reporter for THE MILITANT the following statement: "The sole purpose of this strike is to force the management to sit down with us and discuss working conditions amicably. We take issue on these three points:

1. "When four men are unfairly laid off and the management refuses to reinstate them we feel honor bound to our fellow workers to appeal their case. If they go unheeded other workers may be next. These men were active in the union and some of them are largely responsible for the success of organization in the plant.

2. "Where there is no set policy on seniority there always arises favoritism. This fosters ill-feeling between fellow workers who should and would ordinarily get along together. But the company wants no semblance of organization and cooperation whatsoever! It is all right for them to form associations and spend millions of dollars for strikebreaking and union-smashing, but if you spend a dollar a month to protect your job and increase your wages to better living conditions you are a 'sucker'.

"But, of course, there is always the company union. Yes, if there is anything you want—a new reamer or a not-so-very-old paint brush, the company union will go to the management, get full recognition, and let you get your new reamer and your little brush—but how about seniority rights, and how about wages?

WAGES AND PROFITS

3. "The question of wages. Bethlehem has been granted over one billion or one thousand million dollars in government contracts. There was no low competitive bid necessary for the acquisition of these orders.

"The entire burden of meeting this terrific demand lies solely in the hands of America's productive manpower. Fair compensation through profit sharing is our reward. The Bethlehem Review for March, 1941 quotes a net profit of \$48,677,524 for the year 1940 and dividends to non-producing stockholders of nearly twenty-two million dollars.

"The same Review states that the average earnings per hour of all employees is 94.1c. per hour. Take away a few fat salaries and where is your average? Top wages in the plant are not over 80c. an hour. Now where is your average? Will Mr. Grace settle for a 94c. real average or give a flat 25% increase? It is his option."

AFL Teamsters are respecting the picket lines. Support to the strikers is being given by other CIO unions, on the picket line

and also in the way of material support.

Bethlehem has another plant in Los Angeles, the Open Hearth plant and Rolling Mills. It employs some 800 men who are organized in SWOC local 1845. Committees have been set up by local 1845 in preparation for strike in support of the strikers at the Fabricating plant.



Steel workers picket the Bethlehem Steel Co. plant in Los Angeles in a strike called by the SWOC-CIO after four union men were fired. This is one evidence of the encouragement the Bethlehem workers everywhere gained from the recent strike victory at the Lackawanna plant.

Picketing A Bethlehem Plant

Little Steel Strike Taught Workers Whom Not To Trust

Never Put Any Faith in the Government and Its National Guard; Trust Only in Labor's Power—That's the Lesson of 1937

By ART PREIS

At this time, every steel worker should remember the lesson of the 1937 strikes.

Borne forward on the relentless upsurge of industrial unionism which started to sweep the country in 1933-35, the steel workers began to assail the fortresses of Big and Little Steel.

Several abortive attempts to organize were made through the machinery of the decrepit, craft-ridden, dues hungry AFL Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Then, in 1936, the Committee for Industrial Organization, based on industrial union principles, was formed. In July of the same year, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) began its campaign.

Whereupon the companies dusted off their "employee representation" plans. Overnight hundreds of company "unions" began to flourish "contracts." The Iron and Steel Institute spent millions on publicity and full-page ads to attack the SWOC and denounce the CIO as a "red menace." But to no avail.

THE UNION'S GROWTH

By January 1937, the SWOC numbered 150,000 members. In a score of leading steel plants, the SWOC took over the company unions bodily. The company union system of Carnegie-Illinois, largest U. S. Steel subsidiary, with 130,000 workers, fell to pieces.

Insurgent industrial labor throughout the country was smashing at the bulwarks of the open-shop. The embattled auto workers of the giant General Motors Corporation forced signed contracts from the Morgan-DuPont financial coalition by their militant sit-down strikes.

Seeing the hand-writing on the wall, the heads of the U. S. Steel Corporation, the greatest aggregate of industrial capital in the world, began to get jittery.

The nations of Europe were on

ed irresistible. And then came the battle with Little Steel.

"Little Steel" includes the Bethlehem Steel Company, second largest steel corporation in America, Republic Steel, Inland Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Corporation and the National Steel Corporation. The combined production and profits of these five corporations usually equal or exceed that of U. S. Steel.

BIG STEEL'S GAME

But contrary to the general impression, Little Steel and Big Steel are very closely aligned. Bethlehem Steel is controlled by the House of Morgan through interlocking directorships, just as is U. S. Steel. In the same fashion, interlocking directors tie the other Little Steel companies to the giant steel trust.

If expediency forced U. S. Steel to sign up with the SWOC, that didn't mean it yielded an inch on its former open-shop designs. It was planned to smash the union in Little Steel, thus preserving a large open-shop field as a future springboard for a direct attack on the union in Big Steel.

When the SWOC demanded union recognition from the Little Steel corporations, it was met with a flat turn-down. Instead the companies began firing union men, putting up barbed wire fences about their plants, importing hundreds of gunmen and thugs.

It was an open challenge to the union. As the La Follette Senate investigating committee later disclosed, these companies purchased no less than \$50,000 worth of guns, munitions and tear gas in May.

THE STRIKE BEGINS

Late in May and early in June, 1937, 70,000 steel workers were called out on strike from the mills of Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland Steel and the Johnstown plant of Bethlehem Steel.

The focal point of the strike was in the Ohio Valley, ranging from Youngstown, Warren, Niles, Massillon, Canton to Cleveland. Youngstown was the key point of this area, with Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Republic Steel dominating the city. At the start of the strike, the plants were shut down tight.

MURDER FOR PROFIT

The local authorities in Youngstown supported the companies. On Monday night, June 21, the companies announced they were going to open the Youngstown plants the next day.

Prom scores of miles away, all through the night of the 21st, thousands of workers began to pour into Youngstown to aid the Youngstown steel workers. By morning, they represented a huge army, determined to fight and prepared to fight. Rubber workers from Akron, men from Canton,

miners from Pennsylvania, steel workers from Sharon, Newcastle, Pittsburgh, Aliquippa.

The companies did not attempt to move as planned that morning. All day the strikers and sympathizers hoped for word from the mediation board or the government demanding that the companies obey the labor laws. None came.

Armed deputies roamed the streets, terrorizing isolated workers, murdering several, wounding scores, including women. But they could not break the picket lines.

A "back to work" movement was started, under an "independent" union label. The one paper in town, the *Youngstown Vindicator*, opened up a vicious propaganda barrage on the strikers. But the strikers would not break.

In the midst of negotiations with a government-appointed mediation board, on June 19, a group of armed deputies opened fire on a group of pickets, including women with babes in arms. A number of workers were killed, 50 wounded.

GOVERNMENT — STRIKEBREAKER

At midnight, the word came that Governor Davey, "New Deal" representative elected with the support of Labor's Non-Partisan League, was sending in the National Guard to "prevent disorder" and "keep the plants shut."

In the councils of the strikers were a number of Stalinists who had supported Davey to office — those were the "Popular Front" days. These, together with several other leaders, urged the workers to disband and return home, assuring them that the National Guard was being sent in to protect the interests of — the workers!

Trust in Davey and Roosevelt was being insisted upon throughout the strike by Philip Murray, John L. Lewis and the other CIO leaders.

Reluctantly, the workers dispersed. The sympathizers returned to their home towns.

SMASHING THE STRIKE

When the National Guard moved into Youngstown, it did what it has always done: it opened up the plants. Then began an unparalleled reign of terror up and down the Ohio Valley. The strike leaders were arrested in their homes and held incommunicado. Individual union militants were picked up off the streets. Dispersed and disorganized, the workers could not fight to protect their leaders and active members.

From Youngstown, to Warren, to Canton, Massillon, Cleveland, moved the troops, systematically beheading the strike, shooting, beating, bayoneting the isolated workers. In a short while, the workers became demoralized. Their local leaders in jail, no new strategy coming from the top CIO leaders, the backbone of the strike was broken.

THE JOHNSTOWN FORMULA
The isolated strike of the Bethlehem workers in Johnstown, Pa., was smashed by a combined propaganda and back-to-work movement financed by the company and organized by the officials of the town who were in the pay of the company, and supplemented by vigilante gangs.

Mayor Daniel J. Shields, once convicted and jailed for attempted

SWOC Growing In Chicago Area

Dues-Inspection Picket Lines Get Amazing Results In Indiana Harbor and Gary Plants

CHICAGO, March 17—The organizational drive of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) in the vital Chicago area has brought remarkable results within the past month.

At the important Little Steel center near here, Indiana Harbor, almost 90 per cent of the workers of the Inland Steel plant are now up-to-date dues-paying union members. A few weeks ago, before the present organizing drive got under way, only 25 per cent of the Inland workers were in good standing in the union.

The drive has had equal success in the Carnegie Steel plant, employing about 20,000 men, in Gary, Indiana, and in the Youngstown Sheet and Tube plant in Indiana Harbor, with 8,000 workers.

A big help in bringing new members into the SWOC fold and renewing the memberships of many others who had grown lax in maintaining their union affiliation has been an aggressive policy of "dues inspection."

DUES PICKETS

A strong union picket-line is established before the plant gates, and all workers are required to show a paid-up union card before they are permitted to go to work. If a worker is unable to show a union card, he is promptly informed that he cannot enter the plant until he gets his card showing union membership in good standing.

At the Inland plant there have been three "dues inspections" within recent weeks, with as many as 1,000 union men on the picket line to insist that every worker entering the plant be a good-standing union member.

AWAKENS THE MEN

Prior to this militant and aggressive method of organization, the morale of many of the steel

workers in this area had been at a low ebb. The workers have been finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet because of mounting prices, and there had been a noticeable growth of discontent. But many of them, instead of joining the union, just grumbled amongst themselves and lived on dreams of the companies suddenly getting big-hearted and voluntarily coming through with wage increases out of their big war profits.

"Dues inspection" has served to pose unionism before them sharply as the way out of their immediate bad conditions. The bold methods of the union have given the workers confidence in its power.

As soon as the organization drive is concluded at Inland Steel, when the union is confident it will have signed up 100 per cent of the workers, it will present a contract for negotiation.

The success of the Chicago area drive is of extreme importance to the SWOC nationally, and has aided materially in ranking the February dues-paying membership of the SWOC second only to the United Mine Workers union in the CIO.

U. S. STEEL PARLEY IS CRUCIAL

Roosevelt Speech Is Threat Against Steel Workers

Roosevelt is preparing to intervene on the side of the steel bosses if there is a showdown between the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) and Big Steel.

Roosevelt's explosive emphasis on "steel workers," during the section of his speech Saturday night calling for labor "sacrifices" in the war, was obviously directed at the SWOC.

It is an open secret that the haste of the administration in setting up its new war labor mediation board is directed at beheading any possible militant action on the part of the steel workers. The plan is to break the steel workers' morale through long-drawn out and demoralizing mediation.

A SECOND THREAT

The declaration of Roosevelt was coupled with the action on the same day of Sidney Hillman, in demonstratively intervening in the strike in Bridgeville, Pa., of 400 workers of the Vanadium Corporation. (Vanadium is used as a hardening substance in making steel.) Hillman's arguments that six carloads of materials held up by the strike were hampering "national defense" was a blind behind which the administration issued a threat to all steel workers.

Philip Murray, by agreeing to nominate two CIO men to the mediation board has taken a step which may lead the steel workers down another blind alley paved with "after the war" promises and no results now.

UNION DEMANDS

Last week the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) submitted nine formal demands to the United States Steel Corporation, employing 261,000 workers. The chief demands are for a 10 cents an hour pay raise and sole bargaining rights for the SWOC. The present contract expires at the end of this month.

Benjamin Fairless, head of U. S. Steel, which is realizing the highest profits in its history, has offered the steel workers a miserable increase of 2 1/2 cents. After months of futile "informal" negotiations, Big Steel has chosen the road of open warfare on steel labor, apparently in the belief that the union leadership can be bulldozed into a poor settlement.

A Council of War has been set up of the heads of the leading steel corporations, in the guise of an Iron and Steel Industry Defense Committee, with a steering committee including Fairless; Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem; Tom Girdler, Chairman of Republic Steel; Ernest Weir, chairman of National Steel; and E. L. Ryerson Jr., Chairman of Inland Steel.

WORKERS WANT ACTION

Meanwhile, the urge to action of the steel workers is bursting forth in preliminary strike skirmishes at a dozen points.

A strike of 900 Crucible Steel workers in the Pittsburgh area was just settled with adjustments in wage rates. The pot continues to boil in the Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem Steel, where another strike is imminent unless the company complies fully with the agreement reached after the walk-out three weeks ago.

1200 SWOC members have been out on strike at the arms plant of the J. G. Brill Company in Philadelphia. Many "quickie" strikes have occurred in the Youngstown area in recent weeks at Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Republic Steel.

The steel workers are pouring into the SWOC by the thousands in every steel town in the country.

Steel labor stands at a fateful crossroad. One path leads to compromise, vacillation and retreat. Down the other road, that of militant struggle, lies the only hope of victory.

Brill Plant Is Shut By Strike

SWOC Shows Workers' Power When Boss Keeps Stalling On Renewal Of Contract

PHILADELPHIA, March 17—A strike of the 1500 workers at the local plant of the J. G. Brill Company, world's largest manufacturer of trolley cars, has halted all operations since March 11. The strike was called by the Car and Bus Builders Local, No. 1263, of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), after six weeks of futile negotiations with the management for a renewal, plus new concessions, of the old contract, which expired February 28.

The workers hung on grimly in Republic Steel. But late in June, the strikes at Bethlehem and Youngstown Sheet and Tube were called off. The strike at the Republic plants slowly dwindled. By October, although the strike was not officially called off, all but a few thousand workers were back to work.

But the SWOC was not smashed. It continued to live and, after a while, to grow again. Once more, throughout Little Steel, the workers are sweeping into the union.

THE SIMPLE LESSON

And this time, the steel workers are bound to win, if they have mastered the lesson of the Little Steel defeat of 1937, the same lesson learned by their fathers in the 1919 strike and their grandfathers back in 1892 in Homestead.

The steel workers can trust only in their own organized strength and power. The government is a bosses' government. It is on the side of the steel corporations. To win, the steel workers must be prepared for militant resistance and bitter struggle.

The workers of Lackawanna have just shown it can be done. The auto workers, the Minneapolis teamsters, the West Coast maritime workers, all have met the armed thugs of the bosses and government and come out victorious.

United in fighting action, the workers can tear down the open-shop banner from the ramparts of Little Steel. They can make 1941 the year when the union banner began to fly over Little Steel!

Steel Profits

Steel and iron are the basic materials of modern industry in war as in peace.

War is, however, even better for the steel trust. Take a look at these profit figures for the seven leading steel corporations for 1940 as compared with 1939:

	1939	1940
U. S. Steel	\$41,119,934	\$102,181,321
Bethlehem	24,638,384	48,677,524
Republic	10,671,343	21,113,507
Jones & Laughlin	3,188,944	10,277,029
National Steel	12,581,636	17,112,315
Youngstown		
Sheet & Tube	5,004,484	10,815,468
Inland Steel Co.	10,931,016	14,450,385

Profits in the steel industry thus rose one hundred per cent in 1940 over 1939. This year steel profits will be the highest in the history of the industry, rising another one hundred per cent over 1940. And Roosevelt talks about "equal sacrifices!"

Iron and steel exports in 1940 were already higher than in the previous best year, 1917: 8,720,000 net tons, as compared with 7,049,000 at the height of the last war.

U. S. Steel—Big Steel—raked in over \$800,000,000 in the last war in net profits. From 1915 to 1919, it paid out to the Wall Street coupon-clippers \$355,000,560 in dividends. If it hadn't made a cent of profit for the next ten years, it could still have paid out the same dividends from its swollen assets and reserves, which rose from \$1,765,257,492 in 1914 to \$2,571,617,175 in 1918.

In 1940, the steel trust made 8 1/2 per cent profit on its total investment. In 1939, it had made 4 1/2 per cent. This year it is expected to clear over 12 per cent—and that on watered capital of hundreds of millions.

But the steel workers have had no raise in pay. When the war ends, and the post-war depression sets in, they will have no reserves off which to live for years to come. Price rises, rent increases, higher taxes are already eating into their meager pay envelopes.

The facts prove conclusively that the steel bosses could pay the U. S. Steel workers 10 per cent more, and still make 9 per cent profit on their capital. They could pay 20 per cent more and still make a juicy 6 per cent.

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Tenth Anniversary of Scottsboro Case

This week marks the tenth anniversary of the opening of the now almost forgotten Scottsboro case.

We take note of it now, ten years after it began, to send our greetings to the five boys still held in the Alabama jails, to point out the remorseless class hatred of the Southern Bourbons who keep them there even though the whole world knows they are innocent.

Nine Negro boys, most of them still children, riding on a freight train from Chattanooga to Alabama, got into a fight with some white boys of around their own age and made them leave the train. When the train pulled into Paint Rock, Alabama, the train was stopped and the Negro boys picked up. On another car two white girls, dressed in men's clothing, were also discovered, and taken into custody. They were taken to Scottsboro, the county seat, and word began to spread that the boys had raped them.

In short order, the boys were indicted for rape, quickly brought to "trial" and (with the exception of one child on whose case the jury disagreed) sentenced to death.

There was nothing unusual in this case. There have been scores of such cases in the South about which nothing has been written, which were passed off as a matter of course, where Negroes have been murdered to "teach them their place."

But this case was not passed off. The Communist Party's International Labor Defense entered it, provided lawyers and opened up a campaign which as it spread and secured support reached into every single important community in the country and every country in the world.

Basing itself generally on a class struggle defense, the I.L.D. organized not only the legal defense, but mass demonstrations and meetings on a national and international scale.

Finally, one of the two girls confessed that they had been intimidated into telling the rape story. Because the case had reached such widespread proportions, however, the Alabama Bourbons determined to brazen it out, to show that Negroes have no rights in the South and had better not get any "uppity" ideas in their heads.

What Saved the Boys

It was the mass demonstrations and meetings in hundreds of cities which saved the boys' lives. Again and again, they were found guilty, again and again Alabama prepared to take their lives, but each time the courts, feeling the angry pressure of millions of white and Negro workers, retreated and ordered new trials.

Then, far away in Moscow, Stalin and his bureaucracy decided on the policy of "the people's front, collective security and a Franco-Soviet Pact." This was an order to the Communist Parties of the democratic imperialist nations such as France, England and the U.S.A., to try to line up the boss governments for an alliance with Stalin. To do this, they were told to support people like Roosevelt for elections, and in general to try to "soften" down the class struggle.

This meant, so far as the Scottsboro Case was concerned, an end to the class struggle policies which had saved the boys up to that point. Early in 1936 the demonstrations had disappeared, and a new Scottsboro Defense Committee, hailed by the Stalinists, was set up. It turned down the class struggle program advocated by the Trotskyists and went to work on the case in a way that would suit the innumerable right reverend gentlemen on the committee.

The Result of the Stalinist Line

Ozie Powell, one of the boys, goaded by a sheriff driving from court, scratched back with a pen knife in self defense. The sheriff stopped the car, got out and put a bullet through Powell's brain, paralyzing him for a long time and almost killing him. Despite the fact that everyone knew Powell had struck back in self-defense, the Scottsboro Defense Committee got him to plead guilty of assault with intent to kill! The result was that the state dropped the rape charges against him and sentenced him to 20 years imprisonment with no chance, because of the plea of guilty, of fighting the thing through the courts.

This was only one chapter in the story of a number of disgusting "deals" which were made at the time between the Committee and the Jim Crow judge handling the case. The whole story has not yet been told, but enough leaked out to show that both the Stalinists and the Norman Thomas Socialists had sanctioned a deal which would free some of the boys and keep others in jail. The deal did not go through exactly as planned, but four were released, and four besides Powell were kept in jail under sentences ranging up to 75 years on the same testimony which the state disregarded in freeing the other boys. When the whole truth comes out some time, it will be seen that these boys were sold down the river.

And meanwhile, nothing is being done by the Committee that can have any effect on freeing the remaining five. Attempts to organize committees in different cities by Trotskyists and other workers have been resisted by the Stalinists who point to the "official" committee that does nothing. No demonstrations are held, little is even written about the case. Requests for information from the committee bring answers like the following: "The only thing that can be done in the Patterson case is a request for a pardon from the Governor." How? No answer. Who's to force the pardon? No answer.

And meanwhile, with the defense movement bottled up by a class collaborationist committee, the remaining five boys continue to rot in jail and on the chain gang—while the Stalinists, who have put on a coat of "militancy" since the Stalin-Hitler Pact, dare not open their mouths about what really happened in the case nor reopen the case in a fighting campaign, because to do so would be a confession of their treacherous policies these last five years.

A Glimpse At U. S. Diplomats

Ambassador Dodd Painted A Devastating Portrait Of These Parasites

By ART PREIS

The diplomatic world that William E. Dodd entered when he was appointed United States Ambassador to Germany in June, 1933, is pictured in his daily personal journal, published recently by his son and daughter under the title "Ambassador Dodd's Diary 1933-1938."

Dodd's description of a dinner at the French embassy in Berlin is a good introduction to that world:

There was a great room for the accommodation of men's and women's wraps, with two servants, in livery, to receive them—expecting tips. Up the magnificent stairway there were pages dressed in the gay liveries of Louis XIV's time. At the entrance to the reception hall, there were two other servants to hand out cards indicating dinner companions. In the reception room there was a marvelous rug with a huge letter N in the middle to remind one, especially Germans, of the conquests of Napoleon. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht and Count von Bassewitz were compelled to walk over or around the famous initial . . .

"The walls were covered with beautiful Gobelin tapestries. The chairs were of Louis XIV style. . . . I noticed . . . also portraits of French generals of the Louis XIV period . . . and a lavish table with decorations in the best of form and taste. There were eight or ten servants, in liveries, as pages, all standing at attention. It surpassed the Belgian's dining hall outfit.

"We ate for an hour. Nothing worth while was said . . . After we were through, all marched correctly to the reception room where everyone stood gossiping in little groups until 11:45 when the musicians came to open a concert . . . There was nothing else to do, so we went out as the great party moved into the music hall. Such was the show of democratic France to autocratic Germany" (our emphasis).

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF BOURGEOIS HYPOCRISY

In one passage, Dodd sums up the hypocritical character of capitalist statesmen and diplomacy: "I went to the Catholic Cathedral near the old Kaiser's palace to attend the service in honor of Pilsudski, who was being buried in Cracow, Poland, at the same time . . . Hitler took the seat of

honor on the right of the altar. . . . To me it was all half-absurd. I do not know much about Pilsudski, except that he was a dictator who put people to death when they opposed him. Why so much religious ceremony when no one could have imagined him to be a Christian? But there was probably not one follower of Jesus in the whole congregation. I wondered how German Lutherans and Catholics would honor Hitler, a professed Catholic, if he should die. He has murdered or caused to be murdered hundreds of innocent people. Yet all of us diplomats would be called into the churches to pay tribute to him as a Christian in case of his death."

The American State Department took no second place in pretentious display. Its emissaries and officials were, and are, the spokesmen of huge wealth and private gain, ignorant, mercenary and ruling-class conscious to the core. Dodd so describes them: " . . . The further I go in my study of State Department policies, the more evidence there is that a clique of kinspeople connected with certain rich families are bent upon exploiting the Foreign Service for their set, many of them Harvard graduates who

are not even well informed. Snobbery and personal gratification are the main objects with them."

DODD'S DESCRIPTIONS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS

Here are some individual portraits:

"The American Minister in Vienna, George Earle, called at 11 o'clock. He is one of the rich men appointed to foreign posts who know little history of their own or any other country . . . He is intelligent, but he has a rich man's estimate of social values. For instance, servants, valets, butlers were to him a mark of distinction. He thought it terrible that less than 300 families in Vienna have as many as three servants each . . ."

"Earle thinks Dollfuss was right in his ruthless handling of the Socialist rebellion in Austria during the second half of February." Earle is now U. S. Minister to Bulgaria.

"When I accepted this post, I stipulated that there was to be no complaint if I lived within my official income . . . However, I had not been in Berlin long before I received notice that the then Counselor, George Gordon, was to be recalled and J. C. White

was to succeed him . . . I did not realize the purpose of this appointment until some months later when I learned that White was one of the richest men in the service.

"At the same time, I learned that Orme Wilson was to come with the Whites, and he was reported also to be a very wealthy man. This was clearly to supplement my want of millions of dollars. Furthermore, I saw that Jay Pierpont Moffat, brother-in-law of White, and Phillips, uncle of Wilson, both in high position in the State Department, intended to have White and Wilson manage the Embassy."

DODD'S PICTURE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

In March, 1934, Dodd returned for a visit to the United States. One journal entry during this period is particularly devastating in its depiction of the character of the State Department personnel.

"In the afternoon I attended a conference of personnel officers in the State Department. Moore, (now Counselor of the State Department) Carr, Sumner Welles (of doubtful Cuban fame), Hugh Wilson and others were present. I reported that American diplomacy had a new role to play. The Louis XIV and Victoria style and times had passed. The nations of the world were bankrupt, including our own. It was time to cease grand style performances. I described Belgian, Italian and French dinners of state in Berlin. There was some amusement.

"I then talked of American staff officials who shipped furniture enough for twenty-room houses with only two persons in the family! An assistant to me in Berlin had a chauffeur, a porter, a butler, a valet, two cooks and two maids. All for two persons! . . . I urged that men should not be allowed to spend more than their salaries: \$4,000 to \$17,000 a year. Besides, I urged the necessity of having ambassadors and assistants who knew the history and traditions of the countries to which they were sent, men who think of their own country's interests, not so much about a different suit of clothes each day or sitting up at night with silly dinners and shows every night . . . Sumner Welles winced a little: the owner of a mansion in Washington which outshines the White House in some respects and is about as large.

"There was much talk and some embarrassment, but general agreement that the time had come for a new kind of service. I was not fooled, however, after two hours of pretended agreement." (our emphasis).

On June 30, 1937, Dodd records: "I heard from a friend today distressing news about the new Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles. According to the story as I heard it, six Senators secured his appointment by threatening quietly to vote against Roosevelt's Supreme Court reform if he did not name Welles to the post. He was Ambassador to Cuba early in the Roosevelt regime. His conduct there was most embarrassing, I have heard.

"He has one of the greatest houses in Washington, with fifteen servants, and another house for summer use in Maryland. He prides himself on spending twice as much as Secretary Hull and gives parties hardly matched by any of the Ambassadors in Washington. I was a little surprised to read a day or two ago in the press that Roosevelt had spent a Sunday with Welles at his Maryland mansion. Politics is a strange game, even with a real man like Roosevelt."

Strange only to a petty-bourgeois history professor like Dodd, whom chance placed as a useful tool in the hands of American imperialist diplomacy. As an honest and befuddled Jeffersonian democrat, Dodd gave a liberal front to the machinations of the State Department in Nazi Germany. And when he had played his part, he was summarily withdrawn by Roosevelt in December, 1937. He died shortly thereafter.

But Welles, as Under-Secretary of State, now has the special task of convincing the semi-totalitarian and totalitarian governments of Latin America that their job is to defend "democracy" under the direction of American imperialism.

Why Connolly Didn't Get More Votes For A. L. P.

By JOSEPH HANSEN

A number of the workers whom we persuaded to vote for Eugene Connolly, American Labor Party candidate in the 17th Congressional district special election, have asked us why Connolly didn't get more votes.

He received 3,985 votes as compared with the 5,945 votes received by the ALP candidate in the same district in the last Congressional election. Connolly's vote, in terms of percentage, was higher than the ALP vote in the last election—in other words, the total votes cast were much fewer than last time—but that cannot really be taken as consolation for the bald fact that the ALP got nearly two thousand fewer votes this time.

This decline cannot be explained away as due to a split in the labor vote. Connolly was the only labor candidate in the field. When his candidacy was announced, the Trotskyists withdrew their candidate, Arthur Burch, and urged labor to unite behind Connolly.

The decline cannot be explained away as due to lack of backing on the part of official labor organizations. Powerful trade unions are affiliated with the ALP. The Communist Party supported Connolly. The voters in the district were canvassed by the ALP and by the Trotskyists. A number of mass rallies were held in the district.

Nor can the decline in the vote be explained away as due to the character of the district, the "silk stocking" area, the relatively smaller percentage of workers in comparison with other districts in New York. There is a Negro section in the district, the Transport Workers have their headquarters here, and some of the working class sections which finger into the richer areas are the home of numbers of New York's most militant workers.

The decline can be explained only as measuring the bankruptcy of pacifism. Connolly campaigned merely on the basis of negative opposition to the lend lease bill. He did not offer a real alternative to the war plans of the Sixty Families.

When election day came, Connolly remained with nothing but a vacuum as a platform, for the lend lease bill had already been passed by Congress and Roosevelt was that day affixing the signature that would make it law.

The workers could not help feeling that Connolly's program had ended in zero. What was the use of voting against a bill already made into law?

An independent labor party with a militant military program—that is the only answer to the drive of the ruling class toward war. If Connolly had campaigned for military training for the workers at government expense but under the control of the trade unions, the story in the 17th Congressional district would undoubtedly have been far different from what it actually was. The election returns in the 17th Congressional district show that it is time to bury pacifism once and for all.

The participation of the Trotskyists in this campaign was criticized by everyone except the workers in the 17th Congressional district. Their reaction as sampled by canvassers of our party was very favorable. Among the Stalinists, the reaction was varied. One of the sub-leaders characterized our support of Connolly as a "more subtle form of sabotage." Connolly himself claimed he didn't know the Trotskyists. The rank and filers of the CP were uniformly favorably impressed. Some wondered how we could "become progressive." Others wondered if the Trotskyists had not been "painted worse" than they actually are. The increased receptivity of rank and file Stalinists to distribution of *The Militant* since the campaign began is highly significant.

Norman Thomas and his circle of pious souls held up their hands in holy horror at our "morals." The Social Democrats sneered cynically as they pounded the drum for war-monger Alfange, the Democratic candidate. Shachtman, who heads one of the groups in the disintegrating Workers Party, threw a cabbage from his garden of theory in our direction. Shachtman felt that support of the ALP constituted a "united front" of "opportunists" character. He did not make clear whether he supported Alfange or Baldwin or simply stood aside during the election like Norman Thomas, preserving what political virginity still remains in his party.

The bourgeois press was likewise scandalized at our urging labor to support Connolly and cooked up sensationalist articles on our "forgetting" the assassination of Trotsky.

Our campaign for Connolly, however, succeeded in spreading farther the understanding that his pacifist program is utterly bankrupt. Our campaign gave a concrete demonstration as to how the workers must unite behind labor candidates in opposition to the bosses. Our campaign was a step toward the building of an independent labor party with a militant program offering a real alternative to the war drive of the Sixty Families.

'Stakhanovism' in the Soviet Union has been so thoroughly exposed as a vicious speed up system imposed on the workers by Stalin that even the most devout Stalinists are beginning to wonder about it.

At a recent meeting of the Young Communist League where GH Green was the main speaker, a rank and filer passed up a written question to the rostrum: "What is the difference between the speed up and Stakhanovism?"

Green answered as follows: "The speed up is increased exploitation of the workers under the capitalist system. Stakhanovism in the Soviet Union is a method of teaching the workers how to use machines."

The Immortal Paris Commune

March 18th Was the 70th Anniversary of That Great Uprising

By JACK WEBER

The specter of the Commune drove the French General Staff in the present war to yield Paris to Hitler without a struggle.

In the War of 1870 Bismarck defeated the French army and laid siege to Paris. The armed workers of Paris forced the capitalist government to hold out. Finally the Laval and Petain of that period, Thiers and Trochu, treacherously gave Paris up in fear of the revolutionary proletariat.

On March 18th, 1871 the Parisian workers rose up against the capitalist betrayers and took the power into their own hands. They established the Commune, the first workers' government in history. Bismarck, not daring fiery furnace of Paris, helped the French capitalists to put down the Commune. Against the working class, the French and German ruling class easily formed a united front.

The Commune lasted only seventy days, but the memory of those days makes the heart of every militant worker beat faster the world over. The devotion and sacrifice of the Communards butchered against the famous Wall of the Federals by the vile General Gallifet, were not in vain. They had broken the path followed by the Russian proletariat in 1905. Profiting by the lessons of the two defeats, Lenin and Trotsky led the workers to victory in October 1917, less than half a century after the imperishable example of the Commune.

That splendid victory marks the greatest turning point in all history. The Soviet form of the workers' government was based directly on the Commune. Thus today the heritage of the Commune is firmly bound up with the even greater heritage of the Russian Revolution. The celebration of the one is at the same time the celebration of the other.

The more or less peaceful development of the capitalist system after the downfall of the Commune and up to the first World War, brought a change into the working class movement. The lessons of the Commune were deliberately ignored and covered up by Social Democracy. Reformism replaced revolutionary Marxism. It took the new experience of the Russian Revolution itself to revive the lessons of the Commune. The Social Democratic revisions of Marxism were swept away by the strong current of the revolution.

DEGENERATE STALINISM PERVERTS HISTORY

But when the revolutionary wave subsided in Russia, the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy usurped the power and constituted itself a specially privileged caste. To justify its existence, this parasite attempts to falsify Marxism: it violates history in search of some "foundation" and traditions.

It is for this purpose that the gravedigger Stalin orders his paid henchman Dimitroff, head of the Communist International, to "celebrate" the Commune.

Why did the Commune fail? It failed because the proletariat did not have a real program of its own, embodied in a working class party

parties, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionists, if they would take the power and end the bourgeois government.

Only as the struggle developed between the Soviets and the provisional government did the Bolsheviks win a majority. The October Revolution took place with the help of another party, the Left Social Revolutionists, who broke away at a later period.

It was only an accident of history that the Bolsheviks became the only party in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why does Stalin try to raise this accident into a principle? For one reason only: to justify his totalitarian grip on the present regime; to justify with revolutionary phrases the fact that no other parties are permitted and no democracy exists in Russia.

MARX AND LENIN ON THE COMMUNE

Dimitroff, under orders, forgets Marx and Lenin. Let us remind him of their remarks on the democracy of the Commune. Marx says: "On the other hand, nothing could be more foreign to the spirit of the Commune than to supersede universal suffrage by hierarchic investiture." But that is precisely what Stalin has done. He rules as a dictator. Universal suffrage is the same fraud in Russia as in Germany.

HOW THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION REALLY HAPPENED

The facts of history (how unfortunate for Stalin!) give the lie to this bureaucratic and totalitarian view. The Bolsheviks were in a minority in the Soviets when Lenin and Trotsky demanded that the Soviets take the power. They were willing to back up the other

enter into the head of a Bismarck (as now into the head of a Stalin!) . . . to ascribe to the Paris Commune aspirations after the capture of the old French municipal organizations of 1791, the Prussian municipal constitution which degrades the town governments to mere secondary wheels in the police machinery of the Prussian state."

A brief quotation from Lenin will show how he was poles apart from the mechanical, bureaucratic idea of the present ruler of the Kremlin: "Although the Socialist proletariat was divided into many sects, the Commune was a brilliant example of the capacity of the proletariat to unite for the realization of democratic tasks to which the bourgeoisie could only pay lip service."

The Stalinist gravediggers of the October Revolution celebrate the Commune—and do not even dare to speak about its proletarian democracy! With good cause.

A NEW ALIBI FOR STALIN'S BLOOD PURGES

Dimitroff tries to perform another service for Stalin. He says: "Secondly the workers of Paris displayed excessive magnanimity toward their class enemies of Versailles and their agents. Instead of adopting extraordinary measures to settle accounts with its enemies, the Commune permitted reaction to organize its forces in the very heart of Paris."

Are we wrong to see implied in this the "justifying" of the bloody purges of Cain-Stalin? There is only one difficulty with this brazen attempt at finding "traditions": it is precisely Stalin who has permitted the enemies of the Russian working class to organize at the very top of society, in the very heart of the corrupt bureaucracy. All the extraordinary GPU measures have been aimed at the best revolutionists, the same Bolsheviks who created the unity of October. Stalin's "extraordinary measures" consist in the creation of a GPU murder-machine reaching out all over the world to kill the enemies not of the workers but of Cain-Stalin.

No, it is clear to all but the doomed and blinded bureaucrats—they cannot find nor build any working class traditions. The Commune is not for their ilk! No parasite has ever been able to sink real roots deep in the hearts of the workers, to flower into noble traditions for all time. Lenin and Trotsky have done that. If Stalin must have a tradition on which to base his regime, let him seek it in the proper place, among the gravediggers of revolution. His name will be linked forever, not with the October Revolution, nor with its great predecessor the Commune, but with the Gallifets and the Hitlers, the hangers-on of the revolution!

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

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

AT HOME:

For:

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

The Mediation Board And Phillip Murray

Louis Stark, labor news correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported on March 17 that Phillip Murray has agreed to recognize Roosevelt's new war labor mediation board by naming two CIO representatives to it.

This is shocking news to the CIO workers and, in particular, to the workers of the U.S. Steel Corporation, members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which Murray heads, and against whom, as Stark plainly states, the intervention of this board will be most immediately directed.

Stark's disclosure is undoubtedly correct. Murray has not denied it.

That Murray has struck a damaging blow at the interests of organized labor and has bowed to the will of the big industrialists in this instance is proved most conclusively by his own indictment of this board but one week prior to his capitulation to the government and employer pressure.

In the *CIO News* of March 10, Murray had listed five principal objections to the board, which is to be composed of four corporation men, four union men and three representatives of the "public" named by Roosevelt.

Murray had 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.

The pressure of this board, Murray had asserted further, would be directed against the operation of the Wagner Act, the Hours and Hours Act and the Walsh-Healey Act and through the operations of its policy-making powers it would operate by decree to abrogate protective labor laws.

Through these same powers, this board, Murray had continued, would strip the National Labor Relations Board of its power to require employers to bargain collectively under the Wagner Act and would leave the NLRB an agency "confined entirely to avoiding labor disputes."

And finally, Murray had made clear that this board is, and can be, only a bosses' board by its very composition. Who would be the three representatives of the "public" holding the balance of power on such a board? Murray correctly wrote:

"It has been the experience of labor that representatives from the public are usually taken from the ranks of retired business men."

In the light of his own indisputable words,

how can Murray justify his actions in giving support to this bosses' set-up?

Has the nature, composition and intent of this board changed within seven days? Not a bit of it! And Murray knows this as well as anyone.

Will the presence of two CIO men serve to lessen the anti-labor direction of this board? On the contrary, their presence will serve to elevate in the eyes of workers the prestige of the board. They will help to lend the board a cloak of "impartiality." They will be tools and captives of the board, acting in the name of organized labor and assisting the employers in smothering the rights and activities of union men.

Yet, Murray, knowing all this, has lent his name, and the name of the great body of union labor he represents, to this infamous anti-labor, governmental strike-breaking agency.

"Mr. Murray," writes Louis Stark, "was said to have found the President determined to name a labor mediation defense body. He bowed to the inevitable and promised to have the CJO names at the White House shortly."

"He bowed to the inevitable"! Is it inevitable that American labor must bow to the dictates of the open-shop corporations? Is it inevitable that the workers must submit to wage-cuts, higher prices, longer hours, speedup, while the bosses rake in titanic war profits?

If he thinks it inevitable, what is Murray doing in the trade union movement? And as its top leader!

The workers don't think they must "bow to the inevitable" and thrust forth their wrists to be manacled by the employing class. At this very moment, on a score of picket lines throughout the country, the workers are putting up a stern and militant resistance to the "inevitable."

What is inevitable, is that union leaders of Murray's persuasion are bound to collapse under the pressure of the bosses and their government. Murray has practiced and preached collaboration between the owning class and the workers throughout his union career. He believes he can "reconcile" capital and labor, and has always sought to come to amicable terms with the employers.

The war has brought the conflict between capital and labor to a sharper cleavage. It has left less and less room for "reconciliation" and "give-and-take."

Murray refuses to acknowledge that there is no middle road down which labor and capital can travel arm in arm. Incapable of persuading the capitalists to a more yielding attitude toward labor, unwilling to take a step which might explode his dreams of "reconciliation," Murray must give in to the will of labor's enemies.

Now the workers must exert a greater and opposite pressure on Murray than that of the employers. They must demand that he turn back from the path down which he seeks to lead them, turn back while there is still time. For Murray's present road leads inevitably to one end, the total annihilation of the labor movement.

Concentration Camps

Attorney General Jackson, in a letter to the House Judiciary Committee last Saturday, proposed the establishment of the counterpart of the German concentration camps for this country.

It is true that Jackson advocated confinement "only" for aliens now subject to deportation. Over 6,000 such non-citizens cannot be deported, either because their native countries refuse to accept them or because there are no open shipping lanes.

"For criminal classes of deportees confinement... is the only alternative I can suggest," declared Jackson.

In other words, any non-citizen whom the boss government sees fit to tag with the label of "criminal" may be "confined" indefinitely.

Who are "criminal" aliens? Jackson indicated that, so far as he is concerned, they include those who disagree with the present form of government in this country, that is, they are opponents of capitalism.

Hitler too maintains his concentration camps avowedly only for "enemies of the Reich," "criminal aliens," "agents of Bolshevism,"—i.e., political opponents of the German capitalist regime.

Jackson's proposals are endorsed in the *New York Times*, March 17, in an editorial which says:

"The Attorney General especially asks that Congress redefine the ambiguous terms of the law applying to membership in the German-American Bund, the Communist party and similar organizations. He believes such affiliation on the part of an alien should be cause in itself for deportation or confinement and should be so stated in the law. Public opinion, aroused by some attempts to block production in our factories, seems to be moving steadily in that direction." (Our emphasis)

What does this pointed reference to "attempts to block production in our factories" mean? Nothing less than that foreign-born workers who participate in strikes or other forms of labor struggle are to be classed and confined as "criminal aliens," in exactly the same sense as Hitler employs the terms.

But that is not the whole meaning of the statements of the Attorney General and the *Times*. Their definition of "criminal," which they apply to foreign-born workers today, paves the way for applying the same definition to all militant workers and unionists tomorrow.

Thus, in the defense of "democracy" against Nazism, American capitalism is preparing to introduce the infamous concentration camps of Hitler into the United States, and doing it, like Hitler, against militant workers who are labelled "enemies of the state," "criminal aliens," and "agents of Bolshevism."

Natalia Trotsky Calls For Trial Of Assassin

Protests Against Latest Moves To Avoid Trial of Siqueiros, Murderer of Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's Secretary

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, March 15—A request was presented today in the name of Natalia Trotsky asking a revision of the "amparo," or protection, granted David Alfaro Siqueiros by Judge Gonzalez Bustamante a week ago. It will be recalled that Siqueiros stands accused of a list of crimes in connection with the attack which he organized against the Trotsky house on May 24, 1940.

The judge granted Siqueiros protection against trial on the charges of using firearms, usurpation of functions (of police), criminal association, and attempted homicide, stating that Judge Carranca Trujillo erred in accepting these charges as a basis for

decreasing formal prison for the GPU agent. If this decision were allowed to stand, only the charge of homicide for the murder (of Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's secretary-guard) would stand between Siqueiros and freedom on bail. No doubt a petition for "amparo" against trial for this crime would follow a successful attempt to eliminate the other charges.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL" BULLETS

The absurdity of the decision by Judge Gonzalez Bustamante is illustrated when the judge, accepting Siqueiros' contention that he did not wish to kill anybody, argues that the gang merely "fired their arms with psychological intent"! As is pointed out in Comrade Natalia's petition for revision, not only the walls of the bedroom were riddled with machine gun bullets but also the beds in which the attackers thought Trotsky and his wife to be sleeping. Trotsky's grandson was wounded in the foot—for "psychological" purpose also? And Sheldon Harte; was he murdered for like reasons?

Legally the Federal District Attorney is duty-bound by law to seek a revision of the decision of

"amparo." However, he refuses to intervene, giving as an excuse that he is obeying "orders from superiors." However, as a writer in *El Universal* says, no superior can order his subordinate to disobey the law by neglecting to do what is clearly stated to be his duty.

It is because of his refusal to prosecute the case that Comrade Natalia herself, has been forced to intervene and ask the Supreme Court to revise the utterly unjustified, absurd—and suspicious—decision.

SEEK JACSON'S RELEASE

Meanwhile Stalin's GPU is also developing its campaign to free Trotsky's murderer, Jackson. "From usually well-informed sources" the report is published that the brother of Siqueiros, Jesus A. Siqueiros, offered 20,000 pesos to Franco Carreno to defend Jackson. (Siqueiros, of course, insists that he knows nothing about Jackson and that there is no connection between their crimes). Since Mr. Carreno was appointed a member of the Supreme Court, he could not accept the case and passed it on to Medellin Ostos, who is now Jackson's lawyer.

Last Wednesday Jackson had

an hour and a half conference with his lawyer. The following day the opening gun was fired in his fight for freedom. An article in *Ultimas Noticias* announces that it seems as though Jackson is going crazy. He makes strange movements and gestures; he talks to himself—usually in English; worse still, he sometimes talks to objects in his cell. In other words, Jackson is putting on a good act in an effort to be transferred to an insane asylum where escape should be much easier. The professional assassin who patiently prepared for two or three years to kill Leon Trotsky, is preparing his own escape with similar patience.

ABUNDANT GPU MONEY

The necessary money to ease the way is not lacking. Jesus Siqueiros offered twenty thousand pesos for a lawyer! Siqueiros cannot say that this sum also was raised through sale of his paintings—the means by which he pretends to have paid the expenses of the May machine-gun attack by a score of gangsters. G P U agents have better sources of funds, for although Stalin may have to resort to inflation at home, his agents abroad have cold cash and plenty of it to carry out their terrorist assignments and to bribe their way out of punishment. Ten or twenty times 20,000 pesos is available and is being used here in Mexico in these moves to free Siqueiros and Jackson. Stalin does not want his agents in jail—at least in jails other than his own.

Some Amazing Figures Expose Stalin's Rule

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

At the Eighteenth Party Conference, held in Moscow a few weeks ago, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was in effect divested of its former leading role in the life of the country. Who attended this Conference? Who voted unanimously for Stalin's latest "triumphs"?

Most of the delegates were cent of those present," boasted Moscow, "are under 35 years of age, 42.8 per cent are under 40 and only 8 delegates are over 50" (*Daily Worker*, February 21).

"Only 8 delegates are over 50! Only 8 delegates out of 500 present at Stalin's conference were actually old enough to have participated in any leading or secondary capacity in the October revolution which occurred 24 years ago, in October 1917. Almost one-half of the delegates at the conference, or 47.8 per cent, were under sixteen in 1917. More than one third, or 35 per cent, were children under eleven in the year 1917 and therefore could have played no part whatever either in the October insurrection or in the period of the Civil War.

"Five per cent of all the delegates present joined the Communist Party prior to 1917 and 15 per cent joined prior to 1923." (*Daily Worker*, February 21).

Only 15 per cent of the delegates joined the party prior to 1923! That is to say, 85 per cent—the overwhelming majority—became members only after the revolution only after the Civil War, only after Lenin's death. Such are Stalin's own vital statistics relating to the Eighteenth Party Conference.

WHAT THESE FIGURES MEAN IS CLEAR

The terrible meaning of these statistics is clear enough: Of Lenin's comrades-in-arms, not a single one has remained to figure even as a delegate. Stalin has completely destroyed the entire generation of revolutionists who together with Lenin built the Bolshevik party; who together with Lenin made the revolution. If only eight of the delegates were "over fifty," it means that in addition to destroying the oldest generation of revolutionists, Stalin has also sent to their graves the next generation, that is, those who were old enough to have participated in the Civil War; those who helped raise Stalin to power after Lenin died; those who carried on their shoulders the first

But what do these boasts of Stalin really prove? Stalin's own figures show that since June, 1940, that is, in the last eight months, he has purged not less than one-third of a million party members and candidates. Here is the proof:

According to an official statement, 605,627 members and 1,127,802 candidates, or a total of 1,733,429 new members and candidates were admitted into the Party from April 1, 1939, to June 1, 1940. (*Pravda*, July 29, 1940). But, as Stalin now reveals, on April 1, 1939 there were 2,477,666 members and candidates on the party rolls. Therefore in June, 1940 the total party membership was 4,211,095 (2,477,666 plus 1,733,429). Yet in February 1941, there were only 3,876,885 members and candidates on the rolls. If we now subtract the number on the rolls in February, 1941 (3,876,885) from the number on the rolls in June, 1940 (4,211,095), we shall obtain the number admittedly purged in the last eight months, namely—334,210. The real number of those purged is unquestionably far larger.

Stalin has been reducing the specific weight of the party by flooding its ranks. At the same time, this influx of raw elements is utilized to cover up the monstrous proportions of the latest blood-purge. Stalin's bureaucratic apparatus of domination has crumbled beyond repair.

Army Rejections Show Physical Toll of Depression

The physical toll of poverty and unemployment is far greater than the people of this nation ever supposed. All this is being revealed now in the draft. Nearly one out of every two young men, or 44%, is the proportion of those rejected as physically or mentally unfit for general military service. Col. Rowntree, chief of the medical division of the Selective Service System, announced last week. That system that can't even keep its slaves in good enough physical condition to be drafted to defend it in war is rotten to the core and ready for the scrap heap.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

James Maxton, leader of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, is satisfied with himself. He and his party have made the proper move and now, he says, it is up to the German workers to make their move.

It is incredible that he should say it, but the facts are before us. In a speech which Maxton made at a meeting in Glasgow, Scotland, he said (the quotation is from the Feb. 15 *Glasgow Forward*, a paper close to Maxton):

"I think that the move lies now with the German people rather than the people of Great Britain. I think that it is up to the German people now to make some indication that the world can see or hear that they are not all the mere tools of the fascist regime... we have made our sign in this country... And I am asking the German people now to give some response."

"If they can give us an indication that they are ready to make their protest against German imperialism, we can go on to give further signs of our antagonism to British imperialism."

Maxton evidently considers the whole anti-war effort some kind of a game. We first give some sign of opposition; then we must wait until the German workers respond. And if they don't respond what shall we do then, keep quiet and blame it on the German workers?

"The main enemy is at home"—not in the sense that we want our capitalist class beaten by the capitalist class of another country, but that we must concentrate all our efforts all of the time to organize the working masses to take power away from the capitalist class of their own country. If the English workers succeed in establishing their own government the German workers will really be incited to revolt against Hitler.

Shachtman's Latest Critique

The value of a stupid criticism lies in the fact that, at times, it offers one an opportunity to clarify an idea. Thus Shachtman's article on the "Canonites and the United Front" presents me with a chance to explain the difference between the united front tactic and the tactic of supporting a candidate of another political party. Shachtman's article has absolutely no other value.

The difference between a revolutionary Marxist and a reformist party is tremendous, but since both parties have a working class base it is possible, and from the point of view of the interests of the working class it is highly desirable, for the two parties to get together in the day-to-day struggle on particular issues against the capitalist class. The united front as a tactic has real value if the parties making a united front have large mass following. Nevertheless the tactic is possible of application on a smaller scale, particularly for defense purposes and in the struggle against reactionaries in trade unions.

Before the united front tactic is actually applied there must be negotiations between the parties or groups involved in the united front and there must be agreement as to the program of the united front and the methods of fighting for the program.

Generally speaking, to achieve a united front between a revolutionary and a reformist organization for election purposes is the most difficult and therefore not very many united fronts of such a nature can be expected. For the simple reason that a revolutionary party in an election campaign is under an obligation to educate the workers in the program of the party and it is therefore necessary for such a party to conduct its own campaign.

But the necessity for a revolutionary party to present its basic program in an election campaign does not at all interfere with the tactic of giving critical support to another working-class party. Whereas in the united front there is the necessity of arriving at an agreement for immediate objectives, there is no such necessity in case of the tactic of offering critical support.

For instance, if we should want to organize a united demonstration with the Stalinists to demand the release of Browder, it would be necessary to negotiate and come to some agreement on time, place, speakers, leaflets, etc. But if an offer on our part to the Stalinists for such a united front would be refused, as it certainly would, then we might decide to support critically any demonstration organized by the Stalinists. In the latter case there would be no united front and our action would not at all depend upon the willingness or unwillingness of the Stalinists to permit us to support their demonstration.

One feels a trifle embarrassed to speak about such a simple subject, but when Shachtman mixes up with the united front tactic our tactic of giving critical support to the ALP, it is necessary to descend to the ABC's. One can argue against the use of the united front tactic in a particular case; one can argue against the policy of offering critical support to any other working-class party at a particular time. But one must understand the difference between these two tactics.

Shachtman did not attempt in his article to enter into a discussion on the merits of the policy of giving critical support to the ALP at this particular time and under the particular circumstances. Anxious to offer some adverse criticism he simply mentions two points that are entirely insignificant and have no real bearing on the question.

The argument that he devotes most space to is the contention that we concealed the Stalinist character of the ALP. That, he tries to show, is an indication that we are opportunists and defenders of the Stalinists. Unfortunately for Shachtman my article explaining the reasons for our adopting the policy of giving critical support to the ALP appeared in the issue of *THE MILITANT* before his criticism appeared. There could be no question that my article was written before reading Shachtman's criticism. And my article clearly mentioned the fact that the ALP was Stalinist in character and explained how that factor was taken into consideration in determining our attitude.

We can inform Shachtman that judging by one fact alone—obtaining valuable contacts through our campaign—the correctness of our policy has been amply confirmed.