## THE MILITANT The Negro And The U.S. Army formerly the **Socialist Appeal** See Page 4 Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1941 FIVE (5) CENTS VOL. V-No. 10 267 STRIKE BRINGS VICTORY AT BETHLEHEM Kremlin Worried Cops Couldn't Break This Picket Line Bethlehem Men TWO DAYS' Show The Way! STRUGGLE By Hitler's Move **DOES IT** But Its Timid Protest is Addressed to And Everywhere Workers Are Showing They Understand This Bulgaria and Not to the Nazi Invader **Bethlehem's Myth** Is the Right Time to Strike **Of Invincibility** Adolf Hitler moved his forces into Bulgaria last week and AN EDITORIAL established them at a dozen points along the Greek frontier. The Is Gone Forever Militant strike action has brought victory to the workers move brought him to within striking distance of the Dardanelles. at the huge Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem Steel. This vic-While the world waited to see whether Britain could muster sufficient forces to make a landing in Greece and thereby create tory is more than a local success. It is more than a new imits vitally needed Balkan front, a sudden stirring came out of petus for the complete organization of the steel industry. It is BUFFALO, N. Y., Feb. 28-All the city cops, county depu-Moscow. a beacon-light, showing the way for the workers of the entire During the many weeks of plot and counterplot in Bulgaria ties, company thugs, scabs and country. It shows that the workers, through militant action, while Germany's occupation of strike-breakers that Bethlehem can defend their rights against the whole caboodle of bosses. immediately interpret this as herthat country was being prepared, Steel was able to muster-and This victory, as well as the Allis-Chalmers strike, the Inalding a Nazi-Soviet break are the Kremlin sat tight in its now there were plenty of themdoomed again to disappointment. ternational Harvester strike, and the many other battles now familiar attitude of frightened silcould not pull the trick. For 38 At most, Stalin will try to hold going on in the war industries, show that the workers have ence. hours they cracked their heads Hitler away from the Dardanelles

Nazi troops in Bulgaria meant Nazi troops close to the Dardanelles - the Soviet Union's outlet to the Mediterranean. It also meant new Nazi bases along still another Soviet frontier - this time bases capable of sustaining By means of this whining little an attack on the oil fields of the note to the government of a Nazi-Caucasus.

by lending sub rosa support to the Turks. Until Hitler directly attacks the Soviet Union itself, Stalin will go to any lengths to

avoid military involvement.

occupied country. Stalin is also When Hitler's hordes finally did trying to support the Stalinist move into Bulgaria on March 2, contention that the USSR is octhe Kremlin sent a note - not to cupying an "independent" posifirst time since the Hitler-Stalin hitched himself to the Nazi attack. pact, the Kremlin permitted itself Every move he has made has ed Bulgaria's acquiescence in Ger- bring to the supreme test the man occupation, which it said bureaucratic regime he heads meant "extension of the war." And he knows it cannot stand

Cops and scabs are caught in a whirl-pool of militant steel strikers when they try to crash a gate of the struck Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company. 38 hours of trying to pass an impregnable wall of pickets, and cops, scabs and company bosses yelled "Quits!"

# Hitler — but to the Bulgarian to in the present conflict. He is trying to show that he has not Ford Men All Set For to take openly a hostile tone to-ward the Nazis. The note deplor-ed Bulgaria's acquiescence in Ger-

The note added that the Soviet that test, that it will be swept Physical Struggles Break Out Between Unionists and Ford's Thugs away. The Soviet Union will be

not been overly impressed by the patriotic ballyhoo of the bosses. These strikes show that millions of workers have already grasped the fundamental idea that the government's war preparations are no reason why the workers should forego their right to strike to improve their conditions.

In fact, these strikes show that the workers understand that just now, in the war boom, is the moment to increase their union strength. When the factories are going full blast, that's the time. If the workers were to wait until war production is over and the factories are closed for lack of orders, it would be too late then. When production slows down, that's the time the bosses get in their dirtiest blows at the workers. Just remember how they slashed wages to ribbons during 1929-1933! Now, when the wheels are turning, is the time to organize and make demands on the bosses, to build the unions so strong that they will be able to stand up when war production ends.

All this the workers understand, as their splendidlyfought strikes demonstrate. They understand it far better than their "leaders", the trade union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats will, on occasion, especially when the question is one of

against a wall of steel-men bodies and fists, steel-men courage and fighting solidarity. And in the end, Bethlehem Steel, for the first time in its fifty-odd years, had to give in to the workers.

Tonight the 13,000 workers of the Lackawanna plant here are speaking with a new tone of pride in their voices—a pride that is justified.

By their magnificent two-day battle along the three mile strike front of the huge rambling Lackawanna plant, they have succeeded for the first time in halting the half-century tide of Bethlehem Steel oppression, terrorism and domination, and have started pushing that tide backward.

In two days these workers have

Government "cannot render any support" to the Bulgarian pro-saved by a regenerated rule of real Soviets, not by the Stalinist bu Axis policy.

anything on its account.

This Kremlin move was appar- reaucracy. ently designed by Stalin as a ti- The Kremlin note to Bulgaria mid warning to Hitler. Stalin, may possibly be intended as the who mortally fears involvement starting point for a Kremlin oriin the war, did not dare to serve entation away from the Nazis -even this timid warning on Hit- but that will be for the future. ler. He sent it instead to Bulgaria | Right now it is far more likely

-which is in no position to do a fresh attempt to strengthen the Kremlin's bargaining position Those wishful thinkers in the and to ward off the much-feared Anglo-American camp who will Nazi blow at the Dardanelles,



to the New York Times. Or an power in the world, isolationist senator grasps at it for a moment in his search for telling arguments.

What are "war aims" anyway?

The Nazi war aims are made plain enough. German imperialism has embarked upon a drive to master the continent of Europe and, eventually, the colonies of Asia and Africa, and all the world's seaways and market plac-

Britain's war aims are likewise quite clear. There is a half-truth in Churchill's answer that Britain's aim is to save itself. For the British Empire, the world's most powerful military-economic-political unit up to the present generation. is passing from the scene. The British rulers of the world are trying desperately to hold on to their slipping power. They know they must cede and they prefer to cede to the United States rather than to Germany.

The war aims of American imperialism are necessarily the counterpart of Germany's-for American finance and industry intends for itself the crown of world dominion. The German challenge to that intention has to

The question of "war aims" is | be taken up and removed and the raised but little these days. U.S. has to embark more "plan-Somebody writes a letter about it | fully" upon its career as No. 1 This, in brief, is the "case" of

American imperialism. Henry Luce, editor of Life magazine, wrote last week that America must "exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see

fit." The "we", of course, means the rulers of American capitalism, who, in Luce's version, are to

make America "the principal guarantor of the freedom of the seas" and the "dynamic leader of world trade." This is the entrancing vision for which we are to go forward and die, with brave smiles through the gore, in the coming battles.

All the "war aims" of the capitalist powers add up to the same thing-they take us into war to secure new scope for THEIR exploitative activities or to defend the zone of exploitation which they already have.

OUR war aim, on the other hand, is to erase all exploitation. That pits us against all of them. That also is what gives us the certainty of victory for our war aim is identical with the deepest strivings of the vast majority of all men.

# Danger Spot in Strike is Failure to Concentrate on Negro Workers

DETROIT, Mich.-The UAW-CIO has finally thrown | bor who have put themselves up down the gauntlet to Henry Ford. It has filed notice with the for sale to Henry Ford to act as Michigan Labor Board of its intention to strike the plants of the | the strike breakers to destroy the Ford Motor Company!

It is high time that the union took this action! The tension is becoming unbearable inside the River Rouge plant. For the past two weeks, union men wearing their union buttons are being physically attacked and slugged by the service men and quite a few have been sent to the hospi-| tal. It is not, however, a one-sided chigan. These locals are today or battle. In the past week more and ganizing their flying squadrons more of the service men are get- and preparing, eager to throw ting a dose of their own medicine. their full weight behind the Ford Today service men do not dare workers to ensure the victory of enter certain departments that are the strike against the tyrant of

River Rouge. 100% organized!

The UAW-CIO has a huge mem-The Ford union men are clamoring for a strike and it is doubt. bership today of Ford workers; ful whether they can be held back more than enough to challenge contract until the union displays Detroit Negro community leaderits full strength and forces old ship, composed as it is of Negro lawyers, doctors, preachers and Hank to his knees.

the like, are against the union The union organization drive and for Henry Ford. has taken a tremendous spurt up-

ward since the last two favorable through. The union states that it ganda warns the Negro workers is now signing up Ford workers that they will all lose their jobs at the rate of 1,000 a day. The Ford challenge has aroused plants.

the other UAW-CIO locals around This dangerous situation is Michigan as no other challenge made even more dangerous by the The union must abandon this pashas aroused them for the past traitorous, strike-breaking role of sive policy and adopt a more acthree years. And the UAW-CIO | William Green and the Executive | tive policy to gain equal rights has over 200,000 members in Mi- Council of the A. F. of La-



CHICAGO-A mass meeting to | Workers Defense League and the protest the conviction of Odell NAACP, with the support of the Waller, Negro sharecropper sent- Brotherhoods of Sleeping Car enced to die on March 14 for the Porters and Red Caps, the shop steward system, a flat 10c. self-defense killing of his land- ILGWU, the Federation of Jew- hourly wage increase, seniority lerd, will be held in Chicago on ish Trade Unions and other or- rights, abolition of the service de-Tuesday, March 11, at Good ganizations.

Shepard Church, 5700 Prairie The WDL, in cooperation with Avenue, at 8 P.M. The meeting is sponsored by a new trial for Waller and to win the Chicago branches of the his freedom.

only union at the Ford Motor Company, the UAW-CIO.

> It is feared that Ford will at tempt to use the confused Negro workers for a "back-to-work-movement" in order to smash the strike and the UAW-CIO at the Ford plants, and that the leadership of this strike-breaking "back-to-workmovement" will be taken over by the traitor. William Green, in the name of the AFL.

# BLACK AND WHITE

UNITE AND FIGHT! It is imperative that the UAWvery much longer. They all know and to defeat Henry Ford. The CIO begin a large scale campaign that Ford wants a test of union has, however, not made to explain to the Negro workers strength. They know that he has equally good progress among the how Ford and the manufacturers been preparing for months for the more than 9,000 Negro workers are attempting to use them battle of his life. They all know at the River Rouge plant. The against the white workers and in that Ford will never sign a union fact is that a great section of the this way enslave further the whole working class, both Negro and white - The old policy of "divide and rule."

> The UAW-CIO must also launch the battle for a fighting program

Ford is trying to create a race to abolish all discrimination and NLRB decisions have come riot at River Rouge! His propa Jim Crow policies in industry and on "national defense" work. Merely repeating / that the union if the union comes into the Ford stands for a policy of "no discrimination, because of race, color or

> creed" is not enough in these days. for Negrocs in industry and on national defense work and include these guarantees in all of its future union contracts.

The UAW-CIO must now draw up an official union contract to be presented to the Ford Motor Company, which will include the basic demands of the men: col-

lective bargaining procedure, partment etc. The Ford workers want no weakening now. They the NAACP, is fighting to obtain want no capitulation to government "mediators" or Defense Commission representatives.

founding the union and getting the first contract (this was the case at Bethlehem), permit the workers to use the strike weapon; for the union officialdom desires to increase its revenue and prestige. But in general the connection of the top union officials with the government (and through it with the bosses), and their desire to appear super-patriotic, makes them infinitely more cautious and less militant than the rank and file.

\* \* \*

The strike activities of the workers do not mean that they are opposed to the war efforts of the Roosevelt administration. That, unfortunately, is not the case. Fortunately, however, the workers who favor Roosevelt's war policies are at the same time sensible enough not to be taken in by the anti-strike ballyhoo which accompanies those war policies. Despite their support of Roosevelt's war policies, these workers realize that they must take advantage of the present situation to strengthen themselves in every way.

And the workers have a powerful example always in front of them: the bosses whose patriotism doesn't in the least interfere with their determination to make huge profits.

Philip Murray last week pointed out these astounding figures: last year General Motors netted a profit of \$977 per employe; American Telegraph and Telephone, \$528 per employe; U. S. Steel, \$420 per employe; DuPont, \$2,220 per employe; General Electric, \$826 per employe; Standard Oil of New Jersey, \$2,000 per employe. When workers thus see their bosses garnering hundreds and thousands of millions of dollars in profits, they feel perfectly justified in demanding an increase in wages and in striking for it.

In this situation the patriotic buncombe handed out by the bosses just doesn't register. It's just absurd to have the boss tell the worker he should be satisfied with patriotism, when the boss reserves to himself the right to make huge profits out of the war orders.

Nor have the workers been scared by the mounting threats of anti-strike legislation. Through Knudsen and Hillman, the White House offered the workers just two alternatives: either "voluntarily" halt strikes, or face anti-strike legislation. Now Knudsen, immediately after the Bethlehem strike, has called for legislation to curb strikes. The fact that the workers refused to "voluntarily" halt strikes is assurance that they will not back down under Knudsen's new threat. They see it as their plain duty to guard their interests first and last, against the bosses and against the bosses' political agents.

There will be a great struggle necessary against antistrike legislation. But the militancy displayed every day on the picket line by the workers shows that in all probability they will rise to the necessary heights of struggle. As they are boldly fighting the bosses in the factories; so they will firmly beat off the legislative attacks of the bosses. American labor is on the road of struggle for its rights, and will stay on that road. That is the meaning of the victory at Bethlehem.

smashed the myth of the company's invincibility. They have proved that Bethlehem Steel can be brought to heel. They have learned what is most important of all, that in their own organized strength exists the power to defeat any force which the Bethlehem bosses can throw against them.

A NATIONAL INSPIRATION Reports from Bethlehem, Johnstown. Sparrows Point. Pottstown and every other town where the 89,000 Bethlehem Steel workers are being organized, testify that the strike has roused the Bethlehem workers everywhere to a fighting pitch, hope and confidence.

And in all the towns of Little Steel, this splendid strike has served to renew the faith of the workers in the power of unionism. In Youngstown, Weirton, Gary, the workers are preparing to take up from where they left off in 1937, and this time carry on to victory.

## WORKERS WON ALONE

Let there be no mistake about it. This victory was gained by the striking workers, and the workers alone. Up to the last minute before the strike began, the government officials, Hillman and Knudsen of the OPM, the boss press and the company management made desperate efforts to stop the strike.

But it could not be halted. By eight o'clock of last Wednesday evening, - one hour before the strike deadline - thousands of workers had assembled at the SWOC hall to organize picket squads and flying squadrons. By nine o'clock, when the strike officially began, 6,000 workers were already at the seven plant gates and patrolling the miles of iron fence around the plant. They carried defiant banners and signs: 'Bonuses for the Bosses-Bones for the Workers," "Grace Gets \$125,000; How Much Do You Get?", "SWOC Organizes While Bethlehem Deputizes," and a score of other slogans. The toughest going of the first (Continued on page 3)



THE MILITANT

, MARCH 8, 1941

stand together and elect its can-

didates. Further, our principles

And that is just the trouble.

The platform is NOT a labor

participate actively in the cam-

The Superior experience is

nevertheless a symbol of the

growing participation of organ-

similar to Superior's will be con-

The FAREHS UNION HERALD

reports that five thousand North

ary 3rd, to protest against the

proposed amendment to the Anti-

amendment would lift the ban on

corporation-owned farming which

goes into effect in 1942. The mass

protest was effective in prevent-

ing repeal of the law. However,

the HERALD warns that the cor-

porations will now seek to delay

the bill in order to give time to

From reports in the HERALD,

farm leaders will support the

lease-lend bill in return for a pro-

vision in the bill requiring Great

wheat, much lard and other prod-

Thus Washington and the farm

leaders seek to bribe the farmers

\* \* \*



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

**A Worker's Letter** About Life In An Army Camp

Editor: The following excerpts from a letter from a worker-not a radical-to one of our comrades. about his life in Camp Shelbymay interest you.

They are pretty strict out here. You have to salute the officers | dry bill will be about \$1.50 to \$2 and obey them or else the guard | a month. That's a lot of money house or court martial. You must | out of \$21. answer the officer, "Yes, sir"; "No, sir". You are no longer a The business men in the towns citizen but a soldier with a number.

ers for suckers. We have to wake up at 5:15, I went to a Protestant church salute the flag at 5:30, and eat today, and I had to march and at 6:00. We drill from 7:00 to keep in step. Boy! they sure do 11:30, eat at noon, and work take your liberty away from you again from 1:00 to 4:30. When out here. I guess I got to take it we drill, we get ten minutes out | and shut up or else.

The prices here are too high.

around here try to take the sold-

# Anti-Union Move Strike for Pensions **For Lead-Poisoned** At Morris Park **Battery Workers Railway Shops**

## By The Queens Correspondent

lard Storage Battery Co., organ-JAMAICA, New York City, ized in local No. 88 UAW, are March 3.-The management of the Morris Park railway repair agrees to pension at a living. shops, a subsidiary of the Penn- wage the workers who are permsylvania Railroad Company, have anently incapacitated by lead launched a drive to crush bona poisoning. The company has fide unionism among their employes through the re-establish- wants to sign these crippled dythe company union, is circulating fighting mad.

a petition among the workers demanding a new election to determine what union shall represent the workers.

At present the workers are di- around 50%.

craft unions which superseded the company and succeeded in regain-ing the former wave lovel often. But the work was killing them. But the work was killing them. A dozen men at a time were in the hospital with lead poisoning. Well Connolly on the ballot. But at least equally important was the fear of these watch dogs of Well Connolly. Their who was chairman of the meeting

# Allis-Chalmers Men On The March



Here are five thousand reasons why the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee, Wis., didn't turn a wheel in eight weeks. Striking members of Local 248, United Auto Workers (CIO), are shown before the plant on Feb. 24 giving the bosses some idea of their united strength.

# **Connolly, ALP Candidate, Is Back On Ballot For Election**

Crude Frameup by Democratic-Republican Majority of Bd of Elec. Is Too Raw to Stick and Judge Reinstates Only Labor Candidate

tion of Connolly by the Executive

The removal from the ballot of Eugene P. Connolly, Ame-1 of the ALP that it would run Con-CLEVELAND-Holding ranks ican Labor Party candidate, was reversed Monday by Supreme 100% solid, workers at the Wil-Court Iustice Morris Eder.

The judge said that all necessary legal formalities had been complied with by the ALP in nominating Connolly, and that staying out until the company the Board of Elections had no basis for removing him.

In flagrant violation of labor's right to representation on the ballot, the Board of Elections last Wednesday ruled the Ameagreed to other demands but rican Labor Party candidate, Connolly, off the ballot in the special election in the 17th Congressional district of New York. The ment of a company union. James ing workers off with \$30 a ruling was announced on February 26, the day following the Mills, son of the boss, who heads month, and the workers are deadline set for filing of independent nominating petitions.

Two motives were clearly apparent in this violation of democratic rights. The Democratic-machine wished to eliminate the At one time, the workers received wages of fifty cents threat of a third candidate, feelan hour average; organization ing that Baldwin, the Republican got them a substantial boost of candidate, would have a better Committee of the New York Comchance to win over Dean Alfange,

irregularities at the meeting The company doctor diagnosed Wall Street that Connolly, an in-

criticized in the sharpest terms. Connolly only shouts against the nolly, was widely discussed in the war without making the slightest New York labor movement. The attempt to offer a real alternative

SWP program of trade union control of military training, which the SWP is urging the American Labor Party to adopt as the real alternative to the plans of the war mongers, found favor among militant workers as against Connolly's purely pacifist opposition the trade unions. to the Lease -Lend Bill.

PRESS DISTORTS FACTS The World Telegram published misleading and wholly incorrect ional district. and this work is tatements such as: "Trotskyites continuing, with house to house Forget All About Assassination to canvassing of the registered vot Join Stalinists Backing Connolly for House." This story also falsely ers who signed the nominating petition for Arthur Burch. quoted Arthur Burch as having declared that "Connolly and the

STALINIST REACTIONS American Labor Party are Stalinists." This headline in the press

Comrades who cover the Stalinst meetings with literature re

port interesting discussions with

puzzled Stalinists. "How can you



The LOS ANGELES CITIZEN, | ees; city purchases of union-made AFL, reports that labor's boy- goods; no reduction of teachers' cott of Montgomery-Ward in salaries.

California has forced that cor-The campaign committee poration to close its stores in states: "A great preponderance Oakland and San Pedro; union of the people of Superior are working people. A large majorteamsters are refusing to deliver consignments to the struck ity, in fact, are members of orstores, and M-W outlets in many ganized labor or dependent on other California towns will be wage-earners who belong to orforced to shut down shortly un- ganized labor. Hence, if we are less the management agrees to | to have majority rule and a govdeal with the Retail Clerks and ernment of, by and for the people, the Brotherhood of Teamsters. it is fitting and proper that labor

paign.

BAGS & BAGGAGE reports and aims are concisely expressed that the 9-day trial of the in the above platform, which we think is broad enough for all \$1,600,000 recovery suit institutclasses to accept.' ed by 1,100 red cap members of

the United Transport Service Employees ended January 29th, with Federal Judge Sullivan platform but a capitalist reform granting 60 days for filing of platform. There is nothing in the briefs by both sides after which | platform to inspire workers to a decision will be rendered. Red caps claim they have the money coming to them for unpaid wages. This suit is one of a series the union will institute, which will

eventually cover 75% of the na- | ized labor AS LABOR in politics. tion's red caps, and involve about | Many municipal labor campaigns \$5.000.000. For five days, a stream of ducted this year.

union witnesses testified they were coerced, intimidated and threatened by the railroads into reporting tips equal to the minimum wage requirement, whether Dakota farmers marched on the or not they actually received the state capitol in Bismarck Febru-

The SHIPYARD WORKER for Corporation Farming Law.'. The February 21st reports how the CIO Shipyard Workers Union sucessfully blocked a move by the administration to freeze wages in he commercial shipyards just at time when the union was negotiating new pacts with Bethlehem, with Maryland Drydock and sev-

eral other corporations. Threat counter the effect of the mass of immediate strike action forced march. Secretary of Navy Knox and Adwhich labor could follow in commiral Land to back down.

hatting the war aims of the Six ty Families. Our alternative is The Duluth LABOR WORLD Britain to take her normal the establishment of military tells of the labor political cam- amount of farm commodities training and officers training paign to be waged in Superior, along with such armaments as camps for workers at government Wisconsin, this spring. A "La- are given her. This would mean expense but under the control c bor's Committee for Good Gov- that over a million bales of coternment" has been set up by the | ton, several million bushels of During the campaign, tens of Farmer-Labor Progressive Fedthousands of leaflets have been eration and representatives of uce would be paid for out of the d'stributed by the Socialist Wor the Superior Federation of Labor Treasury. kers Party in the 17th Congress and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Labor candidates for the city council include the chairman and legislative representative of the to support war and dictatorship. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen: a member of the General

The CLEVELAND CALL POST, Drivers Union; a member of the | Railway Telegraphers; the sec- colored paper, writes editorially retary of th: Typos; the presi- that "Mr. Hillman has been as dent of the city central labor silent as death about the almost

the building of a nation wide in dependent labor party. ALP PROGRAM FALSE As for Connolly's platform, i is purely pacifist and must be

**OPM** Executive

Found to Be on **British Payroll** 

Another angle on "working

both sides of the fence" is re-

vealed by the report that cor-

poration "dollar-a-year-men,"

assisting the Office of Produc-

tion Management, are on the

payroll of the British Purchas-

ing Mission at monthly salar-

A reporter for the DE-

TROIT FREE PRESS broke

the story during a press con-

ference with Roosevelt on Feb-

One of the "dollar-a-year"

assistants on the OPM, A. J.

Brandt, has been named as

one of those under contract

with the British Purchasing

Mission at a reported \$2,000

a month. High officials of the

OPM revealed the fact when

they stated that OPM Direct-

or Knudsen has already asked

Brandt to make an "explana-

tion" for his dual employment.

The indiscretions of the small

"fat cats" are making it em-

barrassing for the big "fat

cats," like Knudsen.

ruary 24.

ies of \$2,000 or more each.

ing the former wage level afte a ten per cent cut had been put these cases as rheumatism, stominto effect by the management. ach ulcers, and anything but lead The craft unions then gained an poisoning. Now the company additional five per cent increase. | agrees to get a new doctor. But

Under the old company union, even then, the union is going to seniority rights were flagrantly violated by the company, there were no union meetings, no mediation of grievances, and no written contract.

### **DIVIDE AND RULE**

In its drive to revive the company union corpse, the management is attempting to pit one many thousands of dollars worth craft against another. Passenger of compensation. But this time, car repair men are either laid these workers mean business off or shifted to repair of freight cars which pays 78 cents an hour instead of 86 cents an hour although the work is the same. The men must buy a new set of tools ceptance of the workers demands.

at their own expense when they are put on freight cars. The company is now trying to place the freight car repair men on sheet metal work which should pay 86 cents an hour. The company how, ever would pay only the freight car rate of 78 cents. The seniority rights of the coach cleaners are likewise violated.

The bureaucrats of the AFL have not made the slighest attempt to organize a counter- campaign to meet the threat of the bosses. Although the workers are in dire need of at least a 15 per Sun. cent wage increase to meet the rising.cost of living, the AFL bu- Tues. reaucrats simply collect dues and | Wed. maintain a discreet silence about the needs of the membership. Un: Fri. ion meetings are extremely irregular. The present contracts do not include vacations with pay. Some men have worked twenty years in the shops without a vacation. The AFL bureaucrats totally Fri. disregard the needs of the coach cleaners, who are the lowest category in the shop.

Many of the workers are becoming aroused over the danger of the boss drive. They see clearly Fri. the necessity for defending what Sat. gains they have already secured Sund. and they are ready for a mili<sup>2</sup> Mon. tant program of struggle against | Tues. the management. Wed.

dependent labor candidate running on an anti-war platform,

make a double check with its own The right wing of the American doctor from now on.

killed scores of workers by its

ures, and then has cheated these workers and their families out of

about lead poisoning, and the company is expected to settle soon on the basis of complete ac-Subscribe to the "Fourth International"



Williston

Twin Cities

Fargo

April 5

April 6

April 7

April 8

April 9

would crystallize the anti-war sentiment of the workers. The Board of Elections made its ruling on a flimsy technicality.

many in contesting the nomina- was done upon the announcement nolly means encouragement for

failure to institute safety meas-

The MARXIST SCHOO **Classes Begin** Monday, March 24 I. Permanent Revolution in American History-By William F. Warde.

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

1. American and World History. 2. The Colonial Revolt and the Constitution.

3. The Degeneration of the First American Revolution. The Autocracy of the Slave Power; the New Revolutionary Forces.

4. The Second American Revolution: The Role of the Industrial Workers during the Civil War. 5. The Democratic Dictatorship of the Bour-

geoisie. 6. The Coming American Revolution.

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

II. American Labor Movements-By Lydia Beidel. A study of the principles, composition, function, and history of the various labor organiza-

tions. 1. Early Stages of Trade Unionism in the U.S.

2. Knights of Labor and the Molly Maguires. 3. Western Federation of Miners and the I.W.W.

4. The American Federation of Labor.

5. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. Split and the C.I.O. 6. General Trade Union Principles.

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

## REGISTRATION

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

nating meeting of the executive was merely a deliberate attempt committee, was not legally authorto smear Connolly as a Stalinist ized to certify his own nominaand to drag in issues which have tion. Yet the law requires the absolutely nothing to do with the chairman of a nominating meetcampaign. ing to certify the nomination!

Connolly stands in the election Meanwhile the withdrawal, in an an independent labor candi-Labor Party which supports Al favor of the ALP candidate, of date opposed to the war-monger This company has crippled and fange, the war-mongering Democ-Arthur Burch, candidate of the ing candidates who represent the ratic candidate joined with Tam- Socialist Workers Porty, which Sixty Families. A big vote for Con-

**Irving Plaza** 

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

III. The World at War-By Jack Weber.

makes some predictions on that basis-to the

1. Can the British Empire Survive? Imperial-

2. Japan and the United States: Struggle for

An analysis of the crisis now facing the trade

unions in the face of World War II. A study of

the daily problems of the workers and the strat-

egy of militant leadership in the struggle against

3. How to Lead a Militant Strike.

of Wars and Revolutions.

Sterilizing Organized Labor.

ATTENDANCE

various aspects of World II.

Asia.

rell Dobbs.

the bosses.

Bureaucracies.

ter Politics.

es the Fist.

ism and Colonial Revolt.

The Workers and the War.

support Connolly if you are coun ter-revolutionaries" asked one per plexed Stalinist. Another wondered how the Trotskyists "could become progressives" as indicated by their urging labor to support Connolly. These are glimmers of ideas which can lead to deep re percussions among the Stalinist ranks. That the district leaders understand this is proved by their intensification of action against Trotskyists covering meetings. An interesting phenomenon: the rank and filers taking the literature. engaging the Trotskyists in conversations while they fold The Militant up carefully and thrust it in an inside pocket; the lead

ers trying to drive the Trotsky

This course applies Marxist analysis-and ists away. Mon money The anti-war rally which was week: scheduled at the Transport Hall points for Thursday March 6, was canber of celled by the managers of the hall, the be despite the fact that they had is ing th sued a signed contract. Since no The c reason was given for this abrupt week cancellation and since thousands of leaffets had been issued an nouncing this meeting, the SWP Minne returned the cancellation to the New Transport Workers Union, owners Detro of the hall, asking for reasons for Chicag the decision and for reconsidera-

ANO

OF B

L. A. ship of the union refused to re-Clevel consider or to give any reasons Bosto for their action. Young Flint RALLY GOES ON Newa Another hall not far from the

Transport Hall was rented and 1. The Inside Story of the AFL and CIO a new set of leaflets printed for distribution, notifying the work-2. Marxist Strategy in Mediation, Arbitration ers in the 17th Congressional disand Negotiation of Trade Union Contracts. trict of the change in address for the anti-war rally. 4. The Role of the Trade Unions in the Epoch

The new address was Galicia Hall, 147 Columbus Ave. (between 5. The Necessity for the Trade Unions to En-66th and 67th Streets). The time was the same - Thursday, March 6, 8 P. M. The list of speakers included Arthur Burch, Felix Morrow, Lawrence P. Turner, Lydia Beidel, and Joseph Hansen.

> (See editorial, "We Choose Connolly," p. 6.)

body, etc. All the candidates for universal discrimination against all posts are union members, in- | Negroes (in defense jobs)."

cluding one woman active in the The POST cites many instances ladies auxiliary of the Firemen's in which state employment serv-Brotherhood. The platform is a ices advertise for workers, always bit "goo-goo"—good-government amending it to say 'white Workers reform—calling for "genuine economy and efficiency," etc. In only.' This is agreeable to Hilladdition it calls for the payment | man, apparently, as he has not of union wages to city employ- raised his piping voice in protest.

<b>MATE</b>	
THER WEEK	Toledo 8 9 10 11
IG RESULTS!	New Haven 1 2 7 9
re than \$125 in sub drive	
y came in during the past	
: 106 subs, totalling 257	
s. This is the greatest num-	
f points for one week since	
eginning of the drive, bring-	
ne point total to date to 655.	
complete tabulation for the	
is as follows:	
This Week Total	Totals 106 157 333 655
Subs Pts Subs Pts	CHICAGO
esota 65 175 162 348	SUD COCTAT
York 6 9 27 48	We nonneduce helew the leaflet
it 4 12 20 47	isqued to contacts by the Chicago
go 3 16 19 43	loopl on a meaning of muching the
3 4 13 27	and date and the top Objects
land 4 10 12 25	and and a back the construction
n 3 3 17 23	Detucit Boston and Massal
gstown 2 5 13 20	
rk 0 0 10 14	it's done.



6. Machine Control-The Boss Mechanism for Wednesdays-8:50 to 10:20-6 sessions \$1.00

Those who do not wish to register for a full course may attend single lectures. The charge

for single lectures will be twenty-five cents.

3. South America: The Good Neighbor Clench-4. Italian and German Fascism and the War. 5. The USSR and War. Which Side Stalin? 6. Imperialist War and the Class Struggle. Wednesdays-7:10 to 8:40-6 sessions \$1.00

IV. Trade Unionism and Politics-By Fartion. However, the Quill leader-

# MARCH 8, 1941

THE MILITANT

# Harvester Strike Spreads Bethlehem Strike Victorious **To The Fourth Plant**

2nd Chicago **Plant Shut Down Tight** 

CHICAGO, March 3-Mass picket lines around the huge McCormick plant of the International Harvester Company today ensured that the plant would stay shut down until the 6100 strikers vote to open it up again. The strike began Friday.

This strike brings the total of IHC workers now out to over 14,000 in four plants, the two largest being in Chicago.

Six members of the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), which called the strike, were injured when a small group of nonunion men who had remained in the plant Saturday attacked them while they were trying to persuade non-strikers to leave the plant. The company stooges threw pieces of steel at the organizers. but were finally expelled from the plant.

The company at first made a threat to attempt to continue operations, but was forced by the grip of the bosses. effectiveness of the walkout to announce that the plant would be closed until further notice "out of consideration for those who might suffer from CIO violence."

### COPS BACK DOWN

Prior to the formal closing of workers continue to fight their friend of "the taxpayer." the plant by the company, the enemies on the economic field at Chicago police department gave the same time that they leave sioner Duffy, Murphy refused to and announced the intention of itical field? Or will they logically inees to fill the vacancy unless giving police escort to scabs and continue their struggle against assured in advance that he would payer entitled to as much pro- the electoral and political front, his own unpopular finance departtection as they require."

FEWOC representatives talked there too? cold terms to the police and com- This question will be decided of hundreds of ballots, no fifth pany, informing them that the for the rich industrial area of commissioner has been selected. feeling, among the strikers was: north Jersey in the course of the The deadlock permitted Byrne to "No IHC employe shall pass current Newark City Commission come to the front, because four through the picket line, and if campaign, the only important elec- votes are needed for appropriathe police try to break through, tion scheduled here between now tions. His course can be underthe CIO stands ready to call a and the official declaration of stood by an account of a few of 'Chicago CIO Holiday' and have war. enough people in front of the \* \* \*

gates to see that we get a square deal."

# Labor's Stake In Newark Election War Boom Brings Trade Union Struggles;

Labor Must Also Fight Boss Parties

# By GEORGE BREITMAN

(George Breitman is the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for City Commission in the Newark, N. J. election.)

The war boom in northern New Jersey, which began just before the presidential election last November and has been growing stronger each month since then, has put tens of thousands of workers back to work and has just about exhausted the ists of skilled and semi-skilled labor in the area.

This boom has not only provided tremendous profits to the osses, but it has also, despite the bosses' desires, been a shot in he arm for the trade union movement, and has resulted in an ntensified organization of the heavy industries in the area, which have received the bulk of the more than a billion dollars in government contracts so far awarded to the employers of what can no longer properly be called "the Garden State."

Workers are signing up in one factory after another, several militant strikes led by the CIO have already taken place, and im- pany head, was the only man on portant struggles are just around his slate of five candidates, called the bend in several important un- the "Citizens' Ticket," who man- and he was informed there were ion situations.

All this has shown that the had been hand-picked by the Coun- to run an empty plant. workers are ready to fight for bet- ty Democratic Committee and had ter conditions, in spite of the the backing of Mayor Frank Hawaves of propaganda for war and gue of Jersey City.

for a "national unity" that will BYRNE'S RECORD

leave the workers helpless in the Although the Ellenstein group had a definite majority, Byrne ing to escort scabs into the plant But the question is this: Will began to build his bridges for the and he didn't want any "interferfield in this next period before 1933 had become \$4.61 by 1938) thought about his threats. the declaration of war? Will the and building himself up as the

Upon the death of Commispublic backing to the company their power untouched on the pol- vote for any of Ellenstein's nom. and was halted. He became a lit any scabs. That promise was kept. survey of the plant showed that blocked the path with their bofull aid to the company as a "tax the bosses' anti-labor drive onto get Duffy's department instead of car wouldn't budge. The rear were on hand through the night. challenging the bosses' power | ment (really principled "labor" politics!). To this day, in spite

been on the job at the time the forth.

appropriations to continue the

street repair projects which gave

As soon as he was elected, he The main functions of the City fired a large number of scrub-Commission are concerned with women who had been employed This afternoon the strikers er- money - with raising it by taxes to clean City Hall, and increased ected picket shacks before all the and expending it for things like the burden on those whom he plant gates, preparatory to main-police and fire control, relief, kept. Money had to be saved for taining a 24 hour guard on the WPA, schools, hospitals, health the taxpayer, he said. For a long plant. The morale of the strikers care, housing, etc. The method of time he refused to vote for aptaxation, the emphasis on where propriations to finish the four the money is spent, and the pol- swimming pools in the slum icies pursued in the various de- neighborhoods. He did not believe partments combine to determine so much money should be the character of the regime at Ci-"wasted."

his acts.

(Continued from page 1)

night occurred at the strip mill about six hundred strikers, started off peacefully persuading anybody who drove up in cars not to enter the plant. At 8:30 P. M. one scab, refusing to halt his car, drove full speed through the pickets, knocking down and injuring one worker.

A couple of more scabs pulled the same trick in the next hour. By this time the pickets became a bit peeved. The next five scab cars were turned back slightly the worse for wear.

Thereafter, no cars got through the determined pickets at the strip mill. Even a police squad car had to heed the injunction, "keep going.'

At No. 1 gate, the only entrance within the Buffalo city limitsall others are in Lackawanna-a big detail of city police was on hand as expected, and there the scabs tried to pull a fast one Every car which drove up contained "superintendents" or "as sistant superintendents," and were permitted to pass the picket line. When the ninth "assistant superintendent" tried to get through, the strikers got tougher aged to be elected. This ticket enough "superintendents" inside

COPS TALK BIG

When the Police Commissioner appeared and informed the pickets at the Buffalo gate that the cops would be on hand in the mornry gate.

this revived spirit of workers' 1941 elections by picking as his ence" from the strikers, he was militancy and confidence be con- central theme the ever-increasing told in blunt and none too delifined to the purely trade union tax rate (the \$3.28 tax rate of cate words what the strikers hall of furnace coal suddenly fell under way the first evening, a lane through the picket line to

tle insistent. So did the strikers.

wheels kept spinning around but They were lined three deep bethey were a foot off the ground. hind the plant gates, but at no At 11 P. M., the shift that had time did they dare to venture

strike was called, came out. Ma- The picket lines were bolstered ny of this shift had already walk- by, workers from other plants, A a different story. There the Buf-



# gate. The pickets here, numbering Carnegie Steel Workers Are On The Go Too its history. Grace had agreed to reinstate the 1000 workers who



Members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) are seen here as, last week, they halted all cars attempting to enter the gates of the Carnegie Illinois Steel Corp. plant in Gary, Ind., and demanded the showing of a paid-up union card from every worker.

ed out of the plant when the strike number of Republic Steel work- | falo police were out in full force ers joined the lines in token of on Thursday morning. dead-line arrived. By midnight, quiet fell over evsupport and solidarity. Members

of 65 other CIO locals were also on hand to back up the Lacka-The company also made an attempt to ship strike-breakers into wanna workers, as well as many the plant on box-cars over a rail- AFL members.

road adjoining the strip mill. A over the box-car and that brief when the company issued the



THE BIG TEST

Company police, reinforced to of the plant's 30 open hearth fur- dies. The police piled around the P. M. Wednesday. When he stepped on the gas, his the number of several hundred, naces only one was in operation. scab cars, wielding their clubs, By Thursday the company aban-

scabs through the gates on the Lackawanna side of the plant.



**— 3**,

By unanimous rising vote, the strikers accepted the terms offered. They listened to the speeches of the various union leaders and then lined up in thousands to march through the streets in a jubilant, cheering, singing victory parade.

### STRIKE BACKGROUND

This strike had been brewing for many months. With the work piling up on the \$1,500,000,000 war orders which Bethlehem Steel holds, the tension and speedup in the plant had been driving the workers into a frenzy.

For several weeks prior to the strike, there had been a number of short stoppages in various departments, the chief stoppages being pulled by the workers in the coke oven department.

Last . week, the company fired 150 coke-oven workers. When the union demanded their re-instatement, the management arrogantly laid off 500 more. Last Friday night the union began to take a strike vote, and after 60 hours of balloting the workers had vot-Everything went along peace- ed by 6 to 1 majority for strike.

fully until about 11 A. M. Several The company issued provocative hundred pickets were on hand to statements, charging the fired meet the situation. About a hunworkers with sabotage and destruction of company property. 500 more workers were laid off.

> On Tuesday, a mass meeting of the Lackawanna workers issued an ultimatum for the reinstateand set a strike dead-line for 9

# HILLMAN BUTTS IN

The government, appealing to the strikers on the issue of "naground. More and more pickets tional defense," tried frantically rushed on the scene. Six mounted to prevent the strike.

In addition to the two demands which the strikers won, they had While a few cars did manage to originally demanded the holding get through, it was only after a of an NLRB election and a 25

per cent pay increase. Police reinforcements were sent The proposals made by the to the scene but these could not OPM, which were the basis of the overbalance the growing force of strike settlement, ignored the pickets. By late afternoon, the question of wages altogether, and cops were plenty worn out, and merely gave lip service to the getting scabs through the fighting question of the NLRB election. pickets was slow work. You gain



At No. 3 gate, matters were trick was abandoned. Strikers usual statement about the strike One fink tried to drive through road men would refuse to haul brought forth resounding jeers. A attempted to get through and ment of the discharged workers

is very high.

## SETTLEMENT TERMS

(AL)

1

A union statement to the press declared that the only settlement which the union would accept would be on the basis of the original demands for union recognition, wage increases, seniority, etc.

Word is being awaited here from the committee of local union questions. This has been reflected representatives and members of in the formation of two main facthe Organizing Committee who tions at City Hall and in the old left yesterday afternoon for Washington for negotiations with the management and Department of Labor officials.

The company is now attempting the strategy of trying to get the strikers to go back to work pending an NLRB election. The strikers are refusing to do this, recognizing that the company intends, once the men have returned to work, to use its power to discriminate against the most militant unionists, terrorize the more timid workers and influence the vote, and to confuse the present clear-cut issue.

Meanwhile, the strike of 6,500 workers at the tractor plant of IHC here is still holding solid in its sixth week. The same is true of the 1,200 strikers who walked out two weeks ago at the Richmond, Indiana, plant, and of the 250 workers at the Rock Falls. Ill., works who went out with the tractor plant strikers.

## **COMPANY'S PROFITS**

inant machine, were Vincent J. The strikers are more determined than ever to stick to their demands and score a victory since phy (who received the highest the announcement of the IHC number of votes and dislikes the "earnings" for 1940, which tripled Ellenstein group because by prethose of 1939. The net profit of cedent he should have become Mayor) is the secretary-treasurer the IHC bosses in 1940 was \$28,-161,110 as compared with a 1939 of the State Federation of Labor. profit of \$7,952,810 - nearly tri- and was elected with the backple! IHC was seventh on the list ing of trade unions, LNPL, and of the 25 firms having the great- the Communist Party. His camest profits in 1940, and showed paign literature put him forward the largest percentage of profit in- as "trade unionist, veteran,

crease of all these corporations, banker."

191.3%.

ty Hall. TWO BOSS FACTIONS There has never been complete unity among the big business in-

workers. He agreed with the re terests of the city over these actionary Broad Street Association, of which he is a member, and the Chamber of Commerce, that it cost too much, and relief party machines. would be cheaper. He indulged in

The elections in 1937, at a time the worst kind of red-baiting in when the labor movement was on refusing to listen to the protests the advance, gave a clear majorof the unemployed, organizations ity to the group headed by Mayor

against the mounting relief cuts. Ellenstein, who called himself To show his contempt for the head of Newark's New Deal. labor movement, and his efficiency This group was composed of the as a tax rate cutter, he overrode re-elected members of the Comthe decisions of his fellow Commission: Ellenstein himself, a missioners on two important city shrewd independent Democrat contracts a few week ago. Bids supported by many unions, Lahad been made for some city aubor's Non-Partisan League and tomobiles and for supplying milk (unofficially) by the Stalinists, for city institutions. The lowest mainly because of his '37 slogan, bidders for each had been the "Keep Hague Out Of Newark Ci-Ford Motor Co. and the Newark ty Hall"; Pearce 'Franklin, Reg-Milk and Cream Co. The CIO pro-

ular Republican and self-advertistested the award of the contract ed "Champion of the Underprivto Ford because of Ford's notorious ileged" who made much of the anti-labor activities, and the AFL fact that the relief and health objected to the milk company beadministrations are included in cause it had interfered with or-

his department; and Michael Duffy, a habitual drunken nonentity re-elected by his police and fire department supporters.

The other two elected, who often combined to form a strange united front against the predom-

ity. the elections in May has already

tionary and anti-labor slate.

party candidates). Byrne, wealthy insurance com-

# Fisher Local 518 Members Feel That Only the Union Should Have the Power to Discipline Its Members

FLINT, Mich., Feb. 28-Eighty-two trim shop workers at | Members of Local 581 did not Fisher No. 1 auto body plant here, who were summarily disdisagree with Thomas on this ers were so tangled up throughcharged by the management February 12 for participating in an point. They agreed that the action out the afternoon that the cops

In 1938 he refused to vote for unauthorized walkout," were still without jobs today as negotiations between the management and union representatives failed to get results. employment to about 10,000 WPA

The "unauthorized" action was the result of a long campaign of provocation by the company, culminating in the suspension of a man for allegedly shooting rubber bands around the department, and in a protest walkout by approximately one hundred men.

The General Motors Corporation has been fighting an unrelenting war in all body plants against standards in the trim shops. The speed of an entire body plant depends in large meas- UAW President, immediately folure upon the speed of the trim lowing the outright discharge of shop. In Flint the trim shop stand- the 82 men, was typical of the ards, gained after long years of whole board's policy of vicious struggle, are the best in GM. Nat- repression of militancy. Thomas urally the company centers its at- gave a statement to the press, tack here, where it must break which he subsequently broadcast down organization in order to publicly on the radio in Flint, speed up the body plants nation- condemning the walkout in the Fisher trim shop, pointing out that in such cases it is the "union

That this war on the trim shop policy to replace the workers instandards is not local, is evidencvolved by new workers" and warned by the fact that in Lansing ing that if the Fisher Local No. a speedup campaign resulted last 581 leadership did not agree to week in the discharge of nine this, it would be necessary to "retrim shop workers who refused to be intimidated into speeding up local union. the line.

A COMPANY WEAPON

ally.

crganization of its employees. The other three Commissioners, to destroy standards, the General the 82 men. The company magears to the ground and aware of Motors corporation is using the nanimously announced that the

to award the contracts to them. Whereupon Byrne, claiming a law Executive Board of the UWA-CIO, rehired "without seniority." Some firm had told him he had the which flatly states the union will of these men have twelve or more Murphy and Joseph Byrne. Mur- authority because the Department give no protection to men involv- years of seniority rights.

of Central Purchase was in his ed in "unauthorized walkouts." department, ignored the decision | It is very simple, then, armed |licly, before consulting with the of the Commission and awarded with this weapon, for the com- local officers of Local 581. How- plants where the union has estabthe contracts on his own author-

groups now being formed to win uals here and there, and finally pro-company stand. Here he pro-

selected Byrne as one of the two until they are provoked into some rights of the 82 men, although

The action of R. J. Thomas, fore ought to be disciplined.

a lot more endurance handling. steel 10 hours a day than you do

rough-housing the pickets.

bitter struggle

walking a beat. The police attempted to use tear-gas at one point in the skirmishing — a fact which the press concealed - but cops and strik

of the men in the trim shop in had to give this up.

engaging in an unauthorized walk- MAYOR CONCEDES DEFEAT out was undisciplined. But they Chief victims of the battling at insisted that any discipline should the Buffalo gate were two cops be the job of the union, not of the One of the victims got tangled up knowing that the most important employer.

The local union is determined got tangled up with a group of Steel had been forced to back to save these men their seniority strikers. The latter lost his pants down to the workers and admit rights. It is not known to this and blouse.

eporter, naturally, just how In the early evening, Mayor strenuously Thomas fought for Holling called quits to any furththese men in negotiations. It is er efforts to try to pierce the wall certain that he will find it difficult of strikers at the Buffalo gate. their organization and prepare for to get the local union to make a set- He issued an "emergency proclatlement on these cases which de- mation" closing off all approaches prives 82 men of all seniority and to the No. 1 gate.

thereby practically condemns them to death in the industry. That Thomas himself realizes Wednesday night, a great crowd workers are saying, when we go this is evidenced by the fact that of pickets were on hand through he did state, after the Fisher the day. One car managed to break strong. mass meetings, that he thought through during the day, at the cost

the company disclipinary measure of all its windows. At several of the gates, and at was much too severe.

the new bar mill located in the It is still to be seen what the final results will be. One thing is Town of Hamburg at the westernplace the executive board" of the sure: the infamous letter to GM most part of the plant, when scab is a dangerous weapon in company cars drove up they found a solid

hands to chop off the heads of wall of strikers' cars lined up In plain English, Thomas told across the entrances, bumper to the company that he had no desire union men whom the company bumper. As a major weapon in this fight to fight for the reinstatement of provokes into "wildcat" actions.

Secondly, the International When night arrived, Entwisle, Board cannot stop unauthorized the company manager, sent a telethe nearness of elections, refused infamous letter recently sent to 82 men could apply for re-employ- actions by police methods in con- gram to Governor Lehman askthe company by the International ment in two weeks and would be junction with the company. To ing for state troops to be sent: stop unauthorized action, it is This was an open admission that first necessary to take a militant the strike was successful, and that

stand on a national basis against his statement of the previous the corporation's campaign to night that only "69" men had This is what Thomas did pubspeed up the body shops and all quit the night shift was a lie. Throughout the course of the pany to send in its agents and ever, in mass meetings of the blished good conditions. An organ- night, the pickets maintained provocateurs, harry the men, in- Fisher workers in Flint he did ized struggle to defend standards their vigil in shifts. There were A bloc of the big business sist on speedups, suspend individ- not dare to take such an outright is the best way to put an end few further attempts to get scabs Thursday morning and found the to wildcat action . . . for it would through. The pickets stood around exhaust the patience of the men mised to fight for the seniority get at the root cause. camp fires and big metal drums Like all bureaucrats, Thomas full of burning coal and wood to banner-bearers of an openly reac- kind of action. This is exactly he believed the men were guilty and Reuther do not understand keep warm.

what happened at Fisher Body of a violation of the union consti- this. They resort to police meth-This morning, thousands of (Next week: The other old No. 1 in Flint on February 12. | tution and the contract and there- ods, the axe, and end up in the cheering strikers greeted the news to win union recognition and a camp of the company. that Eugene Grace had been com- union contract in Bethlehem Steel,

PICKET-LINE MAJORITY This strike proved that the SWOC represents the majority of

the Lackawanna workers and is entitled to sole bargaining rights under the law. In the final agreement of the company, this question was completely ignored, and it was obvious to the strikers that the company intends to avoid such an election by every means lit can.

Nevertheless, the strikers accepted the limited terms offered. in the legs of a horse, and one point had been won. Bethlehem their power.

> From this point on, the workers know that the job is to go back into the plant, reinforce any future developments. In addition, this strike has given heart and courage to the workers

At the strip mill gate, where throughout the entire Bethlehem the biggest battle had occurred Steel Company. Next time, the out, we are going out 80,000

NEGROES IN FRONT

Among the strikers, no group played a more commendable role than the Negro workers. The lowest paid, and most oppressed of the Bethlehem workers, the Negro workers gave an unexampled demonstration of union courage and fighting qualities. Negro workers were in the forefront of every battle on the picket lines

Almost every nationality was represented on the picket lines. Polish, Italian, Irish, Hungarian, German, Scandinavian, stood shoulder to shoulder.

A group of 700 construction workers from Local 210 of the AFL Bricklayers, employed in the new coke battery of the plant, when they arrived for work strike on, joined the picket line without waiting even for formal authorization from the union.

This strike marks just the successful beginning of the struggle THE MILITANT

Toledano Moves Hitler's "New Order" Doesn't Work To Free Siqueiros Hitler Sought To Avoid Errors Of 1914-8 Invasions, But Same Fatal Flaws Appear Again

ist machine is mobilizing its forces in aid of the GPU Colonel, Sigueiros, who led the first attempt to kill Leon Trotsky on May 24th of last year-an attempt in which he murdered Sheldon Harte.

As was explained in the MILITANT two weeks ago, the first step of the Stalinists was to gather petitions expressing sympathy and asking for "justice" for the GPU murderer. Thus there appeared in EL POPULAR a statement signed by "artists and intellectuals.'

C.P. itself when it characterized

those who participated in the as-

sault as "... uncontrollable ele-

ments and agents provocateurs;

that an act such as that carried

out against Trotsky's house, con-

trary to the genuine forms of

proletarian combat, has nothing

to do with us." (POPULAR, May

25, 1940). Siqueiros himself is

described in their press as

... Alfaro Sigueiros, uncontrol-

lable element who is considered

half crazy." (LA VOZ DE MEX-

The second step followed closely on the first. Today there appeared, again in EL POPU- | promise to take steps to obtain LAR, a resolution passed by the this liberty! Toledano and the, Congress of the CTM, now in ses-Stalinist scoundrels who form sion, asking for the liberty of his machine in the CTM, have be-Siqueiros. "The Congress is also come so cynical toward the workin favor of liberty for the revoers of Mexico and of the worklutionary painter, David Alfaro ers' movement in general, that Siqueiros, and will take the corthey do not hesitate to place their responding steps in the case." stamp of approval, openly and Siqueiros is not only a "great brazenly, on the work of Stalin's artist" but also a "revolutionary hired murderers. painter." Let us recall the words of the

As usual the Stalinists forget quickly and hope that others will do the same. On May 25, 1940, the day following the crime of Siqueiros, when the Stalinists were on the defensive, EL POP-1 ULAR, (official organ of the CTM, controlled by Toledano), addressed the President of Mexico as follows: "We ask that when the guilty persons are discovered and their motives clarified, that the most energetic punishment be dealt out, regardless of their background, their political affiliation, the political group to which they belong, the foreign power that they serve or the band of

ICO, June 19, 1940). But those days are past. The unsuccessful attempt of Siqueiros was followed by a successful one. spies of which they form part." All that remains to be done with And now the burocrats of the the "Trotsky Case," the Stalin-

same organization ask the liberty ists feel, is to liberate his murdof the guilty GPU agent, and erers and proceed to the next job.

The latest news from Holland and Norway leaves no room for doubt: Hitler's grand plan for ruling Europe has already broken down. The direct collisions which have now taken place in those countries between the working class and the Nazi forces are what Hitler sought to avoid by plans worked out in great detail long before the occupation of those countries.

It should be noted that all news dispatches from Holland and Norway pass through the German censors, and are likely. therefore, to greatly minimize rather than exaggerate the collis ons which are taking place. Even more significant, perhaps, than any details, is the attempt of a German spokesman, last Thursday, to blame "British agents landed by parachutes or speedboats" for the wave of strikes in Holland. Matters must be extremely serious when the Nazis (like all capitalists in clashes with the workers), resort to explaining them away by blaming "outside agitators"!

# Hitler's Original Plan for Europe

To understand the dynamics of the European situation at all, it is necessary to understand that it was not by force of arms alone that Hitler had hoped to rule the continent. Hitler knew better than that. He knew what disaster had met the attempts of the German imperial armies in the last war, when they attempted to secure production from the workers in occupied countries at the point of the bayonet. Hitler knew how that method of production had failed in occupied Belgium and French terri tory; above all, he knew how it had destroyed the morale of the German troops in the Ukraine in 1918. Troops surrounded by a universally hostile population inevitably succumb to revolutionary propaganda.

Hence Hitler sought to avoid the errors of 1914-1918. This time there would be no arrogant officers who would antagonize the population of the occupied territories. Nor would the German armies set up military rule. The necessary concessions would be made in order to find a wide stratum in the occupied lands that would come to amicable terms with Germany and govern as "independent" nations.

Above all in Norway and Holland this plan was attempted. The occupying troops carried expl:cit-printed-instructions strictly governing their contacts with the subjugated peoples. There were demonstrative punishments-including some executions- carried out on troops who were charged with not maintaining a correct attitude toward the Norwegian, Dutch and French people. The Nazis sought to prove that the standard of -this as a proof that the occupied countries were not being ruthlessly stripped by the conqueror. The occupying forces, it was insisted, would not interfere with the native government, both national and municipal, or with the courts, the press, etc. By and large, the Nazi leadership made no great blunders; everything they could do to carry out their plan, they did.

# Hitler's Plan Proves Impossible

It turned out, however, that what Hitler considered to be the "errors" of 1914-18 were not errors at all, but basic aspects of the relation between conqueror and the subjugated peoples. It proved impossible to find the strata of collaborators that Hitler was seeking. .

In Norway, the Nazis were quickly compelled to resort to the ridiculous expedient of the puppet government of Quisling's fascists, representing nobody except the German troops. In Holland, the first attempts to use the "freedom" permitted the courts and the municipal governments led to their liquidation; and now the German commander-in-chief in Holland has declared martial law over North Holland, including Amsterdam, and over Rotterdam. The semblance of any autonomous government is thus ended in Holland, too.

In Norway, for a short time, thanks to the invaluable aid of the Stalinists, the Nazis were able to say that they had not touched the labor movement. The Stalinists denounced the official trade union leadership for "fleeing," took over the offices of the trade unions, continued to publish their daily paper, and sought a modus vivendi with the Nazi invaders. This, however, lasted but a few months, at the end of which the Nazis outlawed the Communist Party, seized and executed or imprisoned its leaders (who had been ordered to stay in public by the Comintern). The ridiculous attempt of the Quislingites to take over the offices of the unions and run them has now been answered by riots, murders of Quisling officials, and a complete defiance of the puppet government by the official trade union leadership of Norway.

In Holland, likewise, the semblance of collaboration between the trade union leaders and the Nazis quickly collapsed. The Nazis moved their native agents into the trade union offices, but to no effect. The great wave of strikes last week demonstrated the impotence of the native Nazi agents. Not they but bayonets finally drove the workers back to work under threat of fifteen years' imprisonment or the death penalty for those who continued to strike.

In a word, the Nazi rule in Holland and Norway has been

to avoid this outcome have failed.

In "free" France the same fundamental process is unfolding. There, too, Hitler sought a wide stratum of collaborators in order to decrease the problems of the invasion. He secured the collaboration of the major section of the French bourgeoisie. But the Petain regime rests on nothing below except its military police. Far from being the fascist regime which panic-stricken democrats label it, the government has no mass base underneath it, fascist or otherwise. The French fascists, like the Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian fascists, quickly discredited themselves by their friendliness to the invader; thereafter they were branded in the eyes of the French masses as agents of the victorious enemy. The Petain government is a police dictatorship.

But even this government will not remain. The clash with the Nazis over Laval's dismissal shows that, in the end, the Nazis will be forced to dispense with Petain and take over nakedly the direct rulership. Nazi invasions destroy the mass base of native fascism!

# Why Hitler Blames "Outside Agitators"

It is especially important to understand why the Nazis resort to such a thread-bare alibi as blaming "British agents" for the latest clashes in Holland. The same formula appears in the trial before a German court at the Hague of a number of Dutch, who are called "terrorists." They are accused of committing "acts of sabotage and terror" against the German army-and then there is added that they "reported information to the enemy." It is safe to predict that in every critical development the Nazis will similarly attempt to label those Norwegian, Dutch, Belgians, French, etc., who are involved, as "British agents." Why?

This formula aims primarily at bolstering morale in the German army and in German civilian society. The idea that German military victories have produced irreconcilably hostile populations everywhere-this idea is deadly to the morale of both troops and civilians. For it opens up an endless perspective of armed struggle and repressions. Nothing can so demoralize even those sections of the German population which are closest to the Nazi hierarchy, as the prospect that military victories lead only to a new epoch of bloody conflicts with the subjugated peoples. Nothing can so inspire the thirteen million men and women who voted Socialist and Communist in the last election in Germany (1932) as the news that the masses of Europe are not submitting to Hitler's rule.

These profoundly important consequences would not follow, however, if Hitler could successfully depict the collisions in the occupied countries as merely instigated by Britain. If the soldiers and civilian masses of Germany could be sold on the idea that these collisions are but part of Britain's war against Germany, Hitler could easily weather them. No appreciable section of the German pople-and this includes the thirteen million Communists and Socialists-want a British victory over Germany. For everyone remembers or knows what the last British victory meanthunger and blockade long after cessation of hostilities, the vengeful Versailles Treaty, etc.

Hitler's attempt to impute the latest collisions in Holland to "British agents" should serve as an index to the worthlessness of the "revolutionary" propaganda being waged by the pro-British refugee Social Democrats, the De Gaullists, etc. The activities of these agents of Britain merely help Hitler to depict all revolt and struggle in Germany and the occupied countries as the product of British instigation.

The only really effective struggles against the Nazis, both in Germany and in the invaded countries, are those which have genuine roots where they take place and have no connection with Germany's imperialist enemies. It is clear that the latest events in Holland belong to this category. Hence the desperate measures taken by Hitler's lieutenants to suppress them.

He Went To War For "Democracy" In 1917---And Was Treated Like A Slave

### By EUGENE VARLIN

The 92nd Division included the majority of the Negro combat troops in 1917. Ballou was its commanding general. From the very beginning he antagonized the Negro soldiers. When a colored sergeant entered a theater near the training camp, he was told to sit in a section reserved for Negroes. The sergeant protested. This was the occasion for General Ballou's notorious Order No. 35 issued on March 28, 1918. The Order read as follows:

his insults to the Negro soldiers of his own country. In April, 1919, a colored French soldier and a white French woman entered a St. Nazaire restaurant frequented by American officers. The woman's brother overheard an insulting remark made by one of these officers. The restaurant was demolished in a free-for-all fight, with a number killed.

Usually, when a white officer praised his Negro men, it was only to discredit their Negro

The American officer was not content to limit have great numbers of armed Negro soldiers on groes. Thirteen of the mutineers were summarily Southern soil

> The 369th Harlem Regiment (formerly the 15th National Guard) was assigned to Spartansburg, South Carolina in August, 1917. The New York Times of August 30, 1917, reported the vehement opposition of Spartansburg's "leading citizens":

> "'I was sorry to learn that the 15th Regiment was ordered here,' said Mayor Floyd tonight, 'for, with their northern ideas about race equality, they will probably expect to be treated like white men. I can say right here that they will not be treated as anything except negroes. We shall treat them exactly as we treat our resident negroes . . . ' An official of the Chamber (of Commerce) said this afternoon, . . . 'We wouldn't mind if the government sent us a squad of southern negroes; we understand them and they understand us . . . I can tell you for certain that if any of these colored soldiers go in any of our soda stores . . . and ask to be served they'll be knocked down . . . We don't allow negroes to use the same glass a white man may later have to drink out of.'"

executed.

The Spartansburg Chamber of Commerce crowd was looking for trouble. Colonel Hayward of the 369th told his men to expect even physical abuse. "He urged them to stand such abuse with fortitude and without retaliation .... "Here are typical incidents: Marshall, a colored captain, was ordered off a trolley car; he left the car. On another occasion, a Negro private, Noble Sissle,



"... The Division Commander has repeatedly urged that all colored members of his command, and especially the officers and non-commissioned officers, should refrain from going where their presence will be resented. In spite of this injunction, one of the sergeants of the Medical Department has recently precipitated the precise trouble that should be avoided ... This sergeant entered a theater, as he undoubtedly had a legal right to do, and precipitated trouble by making it possible to allege race discrimination in the seat he was given. He is strictly within his legal rights ... and the theater manager is legally wrong. Nevertheless, the sergeant is guilty of the GREATER wrong in doing ANYTHING NO MATTER HOW LEGALLY CORRECT, that will provoke race riots ... WHITE MEN MADE THE DIVISION AND THEY CAN BREAK IT UP JUST AS EASILY IF IT BECOMES A TROUBLE-MAKER." (My emphasis.)

Nation-wide indignation against General Ballou swept the Negro people. But they were shackled by the false policies of their leaders. Typical of these leaders was an editorial in a Negro newspaper of Cleveland, which said: "Let us help 'lick the Kaiser' FIRST and then thrash out our local difficulties."

officers. "The Negroes are good boys," the song went, "when they're in the right hands." Then there were white officers who painted a fairystory picture of their relations with the Negro troops to conceal what was actually going on. "Our men sang while they marched," wrote Col. Arthur W. Little of the 369th Infantry, "they sang while they worked; they sang while they washed their clothes and while they dug their ditches; and, as for sentiment, their lives were just one long, continuous, and never-ending picture of love for home and country." Col. Little complained, however, of a "non-com of Bolshevik tendencies" who "had been reduced to the ranks" and who "spoke deprecatingly of my (Little's) tendency to tyranny and with disparagement of my pedigree." This non-com undertook "to gain a disreputable following." All this must have happened between songs.

The Negro Year Book sized up Little's book: "While writing with a touch of affectionate regard for the men whom he commanded, he introduces a certain subtle ridicule by, first, mentioning only one Negro line officer of the Regiment; and second, by always having the non-commissioned officers and privates speak in dialect ..... The Bourbons of the South did not want to

A week earlier, this white Bourbon attitude had driven over 125 Negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry, stationed at Houston, Texas, to armed retaliation against the provocative treatment accorded them by the blood-brothers of the Spartansburg Mayor and Chamber of Commerce. The soldiers stole some ammunition, shouldered their rifles, and marched toward Houston. They shot down a company officer on the way. Seventeen were killed and more than twenty wounded. A force of Illinois guardsmen and armed Houston citizens was brought into action to stop the Newent into a white hotel to buy a New York news paper. The proprietor asked him with an oath to remove his hat. Sissle was somewhat slow in complying; he was struck down and kicked as he left. To avenge him a group of colored and white soldiers rushed the hotel. Lieutenant Europe, a Negro, ordered them to disperse.

The next night a group of the soldiers began a march on Spartansburg, prepared to duplicate the Houston episode. Col. Hayward himself stopped them in the nick of time. The situation grew more intense so he went to Washington to consult the Secretary of War. Baker played his trump card. He sent his Special (Negro) Assistant, Scott, to Spartansburg. Scott begged the men to submit. After his speech, he reports, "many of the men, with tears streaming down their faces, approached him and voiced how bitterly they felt in the face of the insults which had been heaped upon them from time to time as they passed through the town, but at the same time they told him of their willingness to listen to the counsel which had been addressed to them for the sake of the Negro race, and for all that was at stake for it and the country during the war." The 369th was sent to France soon after.

\* \* \* This is the third article in this series.

In order to effect a turn

tween the agrarian revolution

and the struggle against Jap-



Only the Aroused Agrarian Revolution Can Defeat Chiang's Reactionary Onslaught

By LI FU-JEN

led New Fourth Army in central China, Chiang Kai-shek has the Chiang Kai-shek regime. The on the New Fourth Army. now set out to liquidate the Stalinist-controlled Eighth Route Trotskyists are ready to unite Honeyed words will not serve mean hamstringing the activities Army in the Northwest, according to Japanese reports relayed with the Stalinists in building to stay Chiang's hand. Bolstered of the Eighth Route Army (and

led peasant soldiers, all of them heroic fighters against Japanese Eighth Route armies. Only in this disengage himself from the Stal- mintang forces. imperialism. The Chinese Trotskyist, as always, stand with the Chi- - the demands for annulment of of the sinister hangman of the the independent peasant armies. shek will have been helped to nese masses. We will unite with the government orders disbanding Chinese revolution be halted. them to smash the murderous the New Fourth Army, for the In putting forward their de collaborationist policies of their those recently dealt the New moves of the hangman Chiang release of its Commander, Gen. mands, however, the Chinese Stal- leaders, represent a threat to Fourth Army. There will be a Kai-shek in order to develop the Yeh Ting, for the release of other inist leaders stated that they Chiang's dictatorship and to the complete decimation of the revomovement for China's national prisoners and the return of mu-were designed to remove friction interests of the landlord-bour-lutionary forces — unless a mass pact in connection with the rum-

Without reservation we endorse for complete the New Fourth Army, tween the Statinists and Chiang. that these peasant soldiers will cannot be created by the Stalinist Vosuke Matsuoka. Moscow's dipmitted to Chiang Kai-shek follow- against the Stalinist-controlled bave indicated that they are ready of revolutionary action --- if not leaders if they insist on dickering lomacy thus aids Chiang Kai-shek ing the attack on the New Fourth areas, etc.

A . . . . . .

Army (see last week's Militant) But these demands will remain class collaboration which, more against them.

on paper unless they are backed than anything else, aided Chiang In this situation it would be Having attacked and decimated a large part of the Stalinist- up with mass pressure against in the preparation of his attack criminal to seek new agreements toward the people, a program with Chiang, for this can only for the people is necessary. The banner of the agrarian revoluby the China correspondent of the New York Times on Feb. 26. this mass pressure, in building a by American loans and military the remnants of the New Fourth tion must be raised again. The In this spreading civil war there can be no doubt where the mighty protective movement supplies, and promises of more Army) and the worsening of their cry "Land to the Peasants!" Trotskyists stand. We stand unconditionally with the Stalinist- around the New Fourth and to come, Chiang has decided to position in relation to the Kuomust resound throughout the land. The people must be shown - way can the reactionary moves inist embrace and to stamp out And in the end Chiang Kajthe indissoluble connection be-

For these forces, despite the class-strike more telling blows than

anese imperialism. The reported attacks on the Eighth Route Army coincide with nitions seized by Chiang's troops, in the "united front" to make geois class. Chiang realizes, per- protective movement is built up ored forthcoming visit to Moscow Mithout reservation we endorse for compensation to wounded possible "further cooperation" be-baps better than the Stalinists, around them. Such a movement by the Japanese Foreign Minister, to continue their fatal policy of with their present leaders, then with Chiang Kai-shek instead of in his reactionary moves. This turning to the people. should not be forgotten.

Trotsky Predicted Hitler's Fatal Weakness

Although the strikes and fatal clashes in the Netherlands are a clear indication of the fatal weakness within Hitler's "new order," the "democratic" press has not rushed to point this out. Why?

The fact is, these latest developments in Norway and Holland run counter to the line of argumentation pursued by the "democratic" war mongers, who argue that nothing could be hoped for in the occupied countries or in Germany so long as Hitler was not defeated by the "democracies." There will be no revolutionary movement developing in continental Europe, they say, until the military defeat of Germany. Therefore, nothing remains except to aid England and the United States in war against Germany. We could quote many a Social Democrat who has argued along this line. The great developments in Norway and Holland do not fit into their picture!

These developments, however, follow the prognosis which our movement made immediately after the Battle of France.

Leon Trotsky then wrote:

"In order to create a revolutionary situation, say the sophists of social patriotism, it is necessary to support the imperialist democracies . . . They interpret Hitler's victory not as a relative but as an absolute obstacle in the way of a revolution in Germany. They lie in both instances.

"In the defeated countries the position of the masses will immediately become worsened in the extreme. Added to social oppression is national oppression, the main burden of which is likewise borne by the workers. Of all the forms of dictatorship, the totalitarian dictatorship of a foreign conqueror is the most intolerable. At the same time, to the extent that the Nazis will try to utilize the natural resources and the industrial machinery of the nations defeated by them, the Nazis will themselves become inevitably dependent upon the native peasants and workers. Only after the victory, do economic difficulties always begin. It is impossible to attach a soldier with a rifle to each Polish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Belgian, French worker and peasant. National-socialism is without any prescription for transforming defeated peoples from foes into friends.

"The experience of the Germans in the Ukraine (in 1918) has demonstrated how difficult it is to utilize through military methods the natural wealth and labor power of a defeated people; and how swiftly an army of occupation is demoralized in an atmosphere of universal hostility. These very same processes will develop on a far vaster scale in the European continent under Nazi occupation. One can expect with assurance the rapid transformation of all the conquered countries into powder magazines. The danger is rather this, that the explosions may occur too soon without sufficient preparation and lead to isolated defeats. It is in general impossible, however, to speak of the European and the world revolution without taking into account partial defeats. . .

"Consequently the task of the revolutionary proletariat does not consist of helping the imperialist armies create a 'revolutionary situation' but of preparing, fusing and tempering its international ranks for revolutionary situations of which there will be no lack." (Socialist Appeal, July 6, 1940.)

Not as tools of the imperialist democracies but as independent revolutionary movements will the peoples of Europe free themselves from Hitler and fascism. That is the meaning of the latest developments in Norway and Holland.

# MARCH 8, 1941



# Jim Crow Means Death

Last Fall, Roosevelt laid down the law that Negro soldiers, are to be segregated into separate regiments in his statement:

"The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proved satisfactory over a long period of years, and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense."

In an effort to stem the nation-wide protest that arose over this, Edgar G. Brown, an Uncle Tom "leader," endorsed this policy and called for its extension.

In our criticism of Brown, printed last November, we pointed out that not only does this policy in the armed forces place a stamp of approval on Jim Crowism and segregation in civilian life, but also that it directly involved the question of the life and safety of the Negro soldier in the segregated regiments. We said then:

"As long as the Negroes are separated from the white soldiers, it is very easy for the laborhating officer caste in charge of the Army to pick them out for special assignment and work: as labor battalions, digging trenches and latrines, and as suicide squads, for the most dangerous work, where men's lives are thrown away cheaply."

Now, our charge that segregated regiments means more deaths has been proved to the hilt, in the European battles of the Second World War.

In the Battle of France, the Negro soldiers in the Senegalese and other African regiments were used purely and simply as a body and flesh barrier against the advance of the Nazi war machine. Hundreds of thousands of their lives were thrown away by the French-British army commands in an attempt to save what was left of their white regiments.

All this is demonstrated in the reports of R. Walter Merguson in his current series in the Pittsburgh Courier, and in the first article of a series by William Veasey in the New Jersey Herald News. Both have just returned from Europe where they were able to witness many of the events they write of and to talk to the Negro soldiers who managed to survive.

. Veasey shows how the retreat from Dunquerque was made possible only by the sacrifice of scores of thousands of Negroes who were rushed up and thrown into the breach to hold up the Nazis long enough for the British soldiers to get away. If there were Negroes in the United States who didn't understand what Roosevelt's Jim Crow ruling meant before, they should certainly understand it now.

# British "Democracy" at Work

An American Negro Press dispatch from Johannesburg, South Africa, reveals that not only are the Negro soldiers on service in Africa treated worse and used for more menial tasks than the white soldiers, but that they get paid less too.

Speaking in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament recently, a white major who had induced a number of Negroes to "go to serve the Empire in East Africa" stated that he had felt "uneasy in mind ever since, in view of the bad conditions and the low rates of pay which I induced them to accent, also the inadequate allowance we are making for their dependents and the generally unsatisfactory manner in which they have been treated.

By JOHN G. WRIGHT Stalin is resorting for a second time in fifteen years to the 197-billion rubles" (Daily Worker, policy of inflation which took such a terrible toll among the February 23). Taxes on this turn-Soviet masses during the First Five Year Plan. Incontrovertible proof that Soviet currency is again being given three days later, amount

ecklessly inflated is to be found in the budget adopted by the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Generally speaking, statistics are not very inspiring. Stalnist-falsified statistics are most wearisome of all. But the data relating to Stalin's 1941 budget is of such great importance, and bears so directly on Soviet developments, that every thinking worker, every real defender of the Soviet Union, is duty bound to acquaint himself with and to 90 per cent of all revenue in reverify for himself the facts precent years. ented in this article.

But these two sources cannot The 1941 budget originally callsupply amounts even closely aped for a natural income of 216,proximating the astronomic sums 000,000,000 rubles and a total outrequired by the 1941 budget. To

ay of 215,400,000,000 rubles. "The prove this, we shall use only ofanticipated revenue" explained ficial Stalinist figures. Moscow, "will exceed expenditures by 788 million rubles" (Daily PRINTING-PRESS "PROFITS"

Worker, February 26). According to Voznessensky, The national income for 1940 Chairman of the State Planning was "estimated" at 179-billion

rubles. The 1941 budget, therefore, proposed to spend 36.4-billion ru- than 14 billion rubles. "In 1940," oles more than the income of the he said, addressing the Eighteenth But the budget calls for expendiyear before! Where would this Party Conference, "the profits al- tures or 216.05-billion. This leaves enormous increase come from? | ready amounted to nearly 14,000,- | the enormous sum of 60.45-bil-From increased production? Not

even Stalin's boasters dared claim February 23). that production for 1941 would be The highest increase in profits expanded at such a tempo over envisaged by Moscow for 1941 was 40 per cent, which would make the production of the previous year. Then the additional spend- a total 1941 profits of not more ing could come, logically, only than 20-billion rubles. But according to the budget,

from the hides of the Soviet workers and peasants.

But the budget finally adopted less than 31 billion rubles in proby the Supreme Council - one fits. "The profits tax," lied Mosof Stalin's aliases - surpasses cow, "will bring in 31,000,000,000 even these staggering figures. The rubles, that is it will be 40 per 'estimate", now officially fixed | cent more than last year." (Daily for income is no more and no less Worker, February 27). The brazen than 222,375,000,000 rubles, while fraud is self-evident. 31-billion is the expenditures are fixed at 216,- an increase of almost 125 per cent 052,000,000 rubles (New York over the 1940 profit of 14 billion, and not 40 per cent as is falsely Times. March 2). Thus without a word of explanation the expendiasserted.

tures were boosted by almost a The new figure for "profits" billion, while the revenues were can be realized, therefore, in only made to exceed the expenditures one way: Stalin will have to print billions of paper rubles. -on paper-by more than six billion. There is no possible source for When the budget was first anthe billions which constitute the

27).

nounced, the Daily Worker asked "extra" 85 per cent profit other pertinently enough: "Where are than Moscow's printing presses. The second major source of the revenues of the state budget drawn from?" The answer reads: state revenue is the turnover tax, The bulk of the revenues is which is essentially an indirect drawn from the Socialist industax on consumers' goods. try." ( Daily Worker, February

'turnover taxes . . . are planned This answer is quite true in to yield 124.5-billion rubles." (Dai- budget.

over, according to the figures

1941 . . . will amount to nearly

THE MILITANT

to more than 65 per cent of the tetal turnover for 1941. Stalin is not a fool But only a fool could seriously expect to div-

ert into the state treasury 124.5billion out of a total trade turnover of 197-billion. Stalin has, in reality, a different plan: the printing presses will work overtime to produce paper rubles by means of which the needed sums can be extorted from the population.

The extent of the currency inflation to which Stalin is resorting can best be gauged by comparing the total income from these two primary sources with

the entire budget. Even by Stal-Commission, Soviet industry in's figures, "profits" of 31-billion showed last year a profit of less and "taxes" of 124.5-billion add up to only 155.5-billion rubles 000,000 rubles" (Daily Worker, lion still to be accounted for.

## WHERE WILL STALIN FIND THIS MONEY Could 60.45-billion conceivably

be obtained through direct taxavery high indeed to make such a Soviet industry must provide not

> this amount can be obtained through direct taxation. Direct taxes-income tax paid by the workers and office em-

squeeze out not more than 12.5ployes, by collective farm housebillion rubles from direct taxes. hold, by collective farmers, and by individual peasant households, (Daily Worker, February 27). and also the agricultural tax -There remains for Stalin the never played a major role in state notorious method of state loans.

budgets; in all previous budgets disubscription to which is in effect rect taxes amounted to 7% of the obligatory. The loans for 1941 total. Not that Stalin has neglect have been fixed at an unprecedented this means for further degrad- ed figure of 13-billion rubles. ing the masses. Far from it. By But, even so, direct taxes and taxing the wages of workers who forced loans will bring less than make as little as 150 rubles a half of the 60.55-billion rubles month, by levying an even stiffer still to be found for expenditures. ing from them through the intax on peasants earning as little Again, the only possible way in flationary process? as 100 rubles a month, and which this shortage of scores of through all other channels of di- billions can be covered is - the rect taxation, 9.7 billion rubles printing press.

were squeezed out for the treas-"In 1941," asserts the Kremlin, ury in 1940. But that amounted what inflation means to the gravely disrupted if there is no to less than 6% of the total masses. The prices of commodities stable currency? are already sky-high. The short-

this sense, that state budgets in ly Worker, February 27.) Yet, ac- For 1941, direct taxes have been age of goods is already acute. In- in history which has deliberately recent years have been actually cording to Voznessensky, who doubled, which means a new de- flation, in the Soviet Union as resorted to inflation has thereby ased on two primary sources of presented the official estimate of duction from the pay envelopes. in the capitalist world, will mean demonstrated the desperate crisis revenue: turnover taxes and pro- the State Planning Commission The Daily Worker was the only still higher prices, even less goods. of that regime? fits from industry. These two three days before, "turnover of newspaper which did not carry Mr. Walter Duranty, whose dis- How can such a regime really sources did provide from 85 to state and comparative trade in the dispatches from Moscow re- patches are invariably hailed by defend the Soviet Union?

# Stalin's Arithmetic in One Country

Voznessensky, Chairman of the State Planning Commission. announced to the Eighteenth Party Conference recently held in Moscow, that Stalin's 1941 plan called for raising "the gross output of USSR industry to 162,000,000 rubles." The same Voznessensky then went on to boast that the total wage bill of the USSR for 1941 "will amount to over 175,000,000,000 rubles." (Daily Worker, February 23).

On February 27, the Daily Worker was proud to announce that the profit tax on the revenues of Soviet industry would also provide unprecedented billions. "The profits tax," it was stated in a Moscow dispatch, "will bring in 31,000,000,000 rubles" (Daily Worker, February 27).

Now, 31-billion rubles profit on a gross output of 162-billion is by itself breathtaking. But just how can Soviet industry make that much profit and at the same time foot a bill in wages some 13-billion rubles higher than the total amount of its gross output?

Minor-Browder and Co., who advertised Voznessensky's speech as a "Special Treat," owe their readers according to Stalin's figures, an accounting for 44-billion rubles, or one-fifth of the total "estimated" Soviet national income for the year 1941. Needless to say, these liars will simply refrain from explaining just how a gross output of 162 billion can be made to cover 175billion rubles in wages, and yet show a 'profit' of 31-billion rubles. After all, what are a few score billion rubles among friends?

porting this increased taxation. | the Daily Worker, gives the lie The big metropolitan dailies re- direct to the brazen claims of ported the Stalinist-censored ver- Minor-Browder and Co. that the tion? The standard of living of sion which made the income tax Soviet masses are constantly rethe masses would have to be very, apply only to peasants. The truth ceiving more and more consumis that it also applies to the work- ers' goods. "Mr. Voznessensky," course feasible. The Kremlin, how- ers. The only ones exempt from reports Duranty, "frankly admitever, does not even pretend that direct taxes are the privileged ted that the production of conbureaucrats, those who have been sumers' goods must still take a secondary place" (N. Y. Times, decorated, etc.

February 25). Yet the Kremlin is forced to Let every Communist Party admit that it will be able to member, who tries to solace himself with the illusion that Stalin is draining the masses for the sake of strengthening the Soviet Union, ask himself these ques-

tions: Why does Stalin resort to deliberate inflation at the "threshold of communism"? Why, if the masses love his regime, does he not openly call upon them to make voluntarily the sacrifices which he, instead, is deceitfully extort

Why is the bureaucracy exempted from taxes and any and all sacrifices? Isn't it an established

It is hardly necessary to explain fact that planned economy is

Isn't it a fact that any regime

# Phillip Murray's Statement On The "Lease-Lend" Bill

By HARRY FRANKEL

During the testimony on the lease-lend bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Philip Murray, President of the CIO, filed a statement-he did not appear himself-with the committee giving his view of the bill. In this statement Murray attempts to give the impression that he is an opponent of the war and is concerned first of all with the preservation of the rights and union standards of labor. These pretensions are false, as we shall soon demonstrate, and must be exposed before all workers who are looking for an honest anti-war leadership. This is especially important because the Stalinists are now polishing up the dusty armor of a "democratic warrior" that Roosevelt used to wear and dressing Murray in it.

What does Murray actually say in his statement? Every thinking worker should read it (in CIO News, Feb. 10). He makes a few criticisms in a vague and undefined way, speaks in general terms about the lack of "limitations" in the bill, and altogether bargains a bit for a few "modifications." But he gives the whole show away when right at the beginning of his statement, he comes out in favor of "the policy of giving full aid to Great Britain!" Once this much has been conceded, all the rest of Roosevelt's war program has got to follow.

The paltriness of Murray's statement, and the real meaning of his action become clear when we consider what the "lease-lend" bill actually is. This is no common piece of legislation; it is the actual war declaration of American imperialism. The real reason doughboys are not yet included along with the ships and planes to be "leased" to the partner of the American bosses is not that Roosevelt wants to "stay out of war," but that the British imperialists have no earthly use for them at the present time. We are entering today, after a year and a half of war, the same stage that was achieved during the last world war only after more than two and a half years of fighting: the period of American entry. The difference is that the nature of this step is being altered and conditioned by the different development of this war.

# Murray Advises the War-Mongers

In this light, Murray's statement shows up for what it really is. As the boss class goes to war, this "labor leader" has nothing better to suggest than a few corrections in the plans of the government as to how to enter the war!

This is all this leader can do for the workers who are troubled with the problem of world slaughter. The bourgeoisie needs no instruction from such labor advisors to help it carry on the imperialist war. The question for Murray or any other who wants the confidence of thinking workers today still remains: Will you support the war of the enemy class to guarantee its profits, or will you fight against the war by a practical, energetic and far-sighted struggle? Murray has given us his answer. We would be fools to have any further illusions about him. Already Murray has placed his footsteps on an old, old road alongside those of a great many like himself who have taken that road before. This is the road along which labor leaders travel to posts in the capitalist government. The recent "defense plan" along these lines proposed by Murray has this meaning: that he senses the insecurity of his position as the pro-war leader of a great trade union federation with a militant, unbeaten rank file, and seeks to strengthen his authority by getting closer to the governmental apparatus. It is enough of a commentary on these suggestions of Murray's to remember that big business has given them the stamp of approval in a recent issue of the Kiplinger letter.

"The pay of these men is only three shillings, six pence per day (about 43 cents). White soldiers get more than twice that much."

They must be fighting for democracy at half price. \* \* \*

# Lawson Defends Judas Goats

Edward Lawson, ardent supporter of the war and managing editor of Opportunity, magazine of the Urban League, sale of which-ironically enough!- has just been banned in governmentoperated post exchanges at army stations, has broken 'into print again. Recently he branded as assistants of Hitler those who call for the establishment of real democracy for Negroes in this country before they go to fight for it elsewhere.

This time he is engaged in defending the Negro "assistants" to various departments in Washington, who have been attacked because they only serve to prevent Negroes from demanding equal rights in the armed forces and industry.

Lawson's defense, after rambling around and showing what a tough time these assistants have and how humiliating and tiresome their work is, concludes on the note that it is the masses of the Negro people who are responsible for "the apparent impotence of many of those who represent us in Washington." Why? Because they haven't insisted on giving these assistants "positions of greater importance," and because they don't give them "the full backing of our acknowledged political strength."

This phoney alibi will be successful only with those people who accept Lawson's premise that these people in Washington "represent" the Negro people.

It is precisely this which we challenge. We deny that they represent the Negro people. We maintain that they represent Roosevelt and the governmental and military bureaucracies which are trying to sell the war to the Negroes. That's what they were put in there for, and that, by and large, to the extent that they can, is what they are doing.

As long as the Negroes depend on anyone in the Jim Crow government to solve their problems for them, whether its white administrators or colored administrative assistants, their problems will not be solved. .

'It will be only through their own strength, independently exerted and allied with the trade union movement, that the Negro people will be able to wipe out Jim Crowism in the armed forces and industry. And then stooges in Washington and men like Lawson won't be able to stop them.

The End Of The Popular Front In Chile

# By QUEBRACHO

BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 15 (By Mail)—Chile is the South as occurred in France in 1936. American country where hunger and chronic misery, supplement- The Chilean working class believ- curred the Nazi-Stalin pact, which style. The indices of infantile mortality are the highest in the ical measures which never had "the struggle against fascism" world (over 300 per 1000) and the general average of the life been in the minds of the Popular for the struggle against the "despan the lowest: 23 years (before the war it was 55 years in England). No one who visits Chile ever forgets the scene of horror presented to the eye: a nation of strong men who, nevertheless, are worn out, undernourished and sick. The man of the people in Chile, the "roto" (literally: "broken one," shows to what levels a human being can be re-The Chilean Popular Front, duced by the exploitation to which he is subjected by the dwindled composed of a combination of paroligarchy of Chilean landlords ties favorable to Yankee imperialand their senior partner, imperilism.

The already intolerable situa-

ion was worsened by the catas- dri. rophic decline of the nitrate in-The Popular Front counted on dustry during the great 1929-33 the support of the Popular Libercrisis as a consequence of the ation Alliance, a temporary comruinous competition of the synthbination consisting of the Nacista etic nitrate industry developed in party (which had broken with its Germany. Nitrates were the prin- original Nazi masters and put itcipal industry of Chile, and the self at the service of Wall Street); source of 60 to 70 per cent of the it included also a Stalinist-inspircountry's resources. Its collapse er split-off from the Socialist Parbrought Chile greater misery and continuous political disturbances, coming from the Radical and Rawhich in 1931 culminated in the dical Socialist parties. At first, fall of Pres. 'ent Ibanez, who had the candidate of this Alliance was teristics of a popular uprising Stalinist line changed again.' been a docile instrument of Yan- ex-dictator Ibanez. This ferocious and provoked uneasiness in Yankee imperialish: and a mortal en-

POP. LAR FRONT LAUNCHED didate of the Communist Party! Chile, Contreras Labarca, made a Yankee imperialism, taking over

Various governments, including that the masses didn't want to to give a series of lectures in Schnacke, secretary-general of the the ephemeral "socialist republic" have anything to do with Ibanez, of Grove and Davila, succeeded the Communist Party was comeach other as a result of succes- pelled to abandon him, and sup- pal industries in Chile: nitrates the Havana Conference. Then, as sive coups d'etat. Finally, Arturo ported the Radical Party leader, (now worked under a more eco- the Stalinist Contreras Labarca Alessandri, an old demagogue, Aguirre Cerda. The latter and not nomical system which permits did before him, he went to the linked to European finance capi- Ibanez was therefore chosen as competition with the synthetic United States, extended his hand though elevated to power by a Front.

leftist coalition, he thereafter gov-I rightists.

Chile as their own triumph, just properties would not be touched wise the Socialist Party would But, during that time there oc- leave.

But since the Chilean bourgeoied by alcoholism, tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus, etc., etc., have ed that it had really conquered fundamentally altered the line of sie still found it necessary to produced the picture of a human society painted in Apocalyptic power and began to demand rad-Stalinism. The latter abandoned utilize Stalinism to continue subjecting the miserable and exploit. ed masses of Chile, the bourgeois Front leaders and which, more- mocratic imperialisms," England parties in the Popular Front conover, were aimed against sacred and the United States. sidered it yet premature to liquidate an opponent who still could Nevertheless, in one of their ha-

Therefore, in order to calm bitual and absurd contradictions be of service to them. down the alarmed Chilean bour- (in accord with the Kremlin's In view of that fact, and under the spur of Yankee imperialism, the Socialist Party decided to retire from the Popular Front. decreeing its death. The "socialist" retirement determined the action lean Stalinists continued to sup-Thus the "socialist" and Stalin- port the agents of English and of the trade union center, which acted likewise. The Radical Party

> thereupon did the same, announcing that it regained its autonomy again. although President Cerda was ready to maintain the Popular Front without the Stalinists. in accordance with the conditions But Yankee imperialism, in laid down by the Socialist Party. Once again, as hannened in France, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia,

etc.-unless the proletariat prevents it at the last moment, although frankly it appears to be very difficult-the Stalinists have thus led the workers to a new The Socialist Party became in disastrous defeat similar to the enemy of the working class was kee imperialist circles, the secre- Chile (as in Argentina) the shock- ones with which Stalin has bloodstained five continents.

The "socialist" leaders, Grove and But when it became obvious special trip to the United States the post left vacant by Stalinism. Schnacke, have just declared that not only do they wish to cede air which he reassured Wall Street. Chilean Socialist Party, was the and naval bases to the U.S. on The Yankees control the princi- head of a Chilean delegation at the coast of Chile, but they also offer to put on a war footing an army of two to three hundred thousand Chileans to enter into the war in defense of Wall Street's tal, was elected president but, al- the candidate of the Popular brand), copper, iron, electric energy, etc. Labarca's lectures as- listened to their word. left to the miserable "roto" of

The victory of the Popular sured the Yankee masters that And he returned to Chile with Chile: lose his life, which they Front candidate in November, they should not be disturbed, the command from Wall Street: now want him to risk, all the erned with the support of the 1938, was celebrated by the de- since he and his party would "Throw Stalinism, ally of Nazism, better to maintain the chains ceived and suffering people of guarantee that the imperialist out of the Popular Front!" Other- which shackle him.

# **Difference Between Murray** And Green

It is important to notice the difference between the public remarks of Murray and William Green on the "lease-lend" bill. Green's support was prompt and quite bald, while Murray still requires the fig leaf to keep him from complete nakedness. This is not due to any personal shame on Murray's part but is a reflection of the different nature of the organization which he represents. It is plain to see that the militant mass-production workers in America's basic industries are keeping a good hot fire under the CIO leadership.

Murray's role in betraying American workers to the war dragnet can be far more malignant than that of Green. The encouragement of confidence in him by the Stalinist opportunists already shows this. Murray isn't going to fool Roosevelt with his half-hearted temporising. He said he supports the war policy of the government -"full aid to Britain"-and that means that, despite all his reservations and cheap bargaining, Murray has been taken into camp. But with the help of the Stalinist left cover he may be able to throw many good workers off the right track. We must carefully follow Murray's development for this reason, and understand where he is going.

# **Rulers Fear Workers**

The February 23rd NATION has an article on the fate of England's Local Defense Volunteers. This organization is now to have military status; its officers will assume the King's Commission and bear the usual titles of military rank. Lord Gort has been made responsible for its training. In short, it appears that the War Office, alarmed at the popularity of the Home Defense Guard and the spread through it of military knowledge among civilians, is taking over and subordinating the Guard to the regular army.

geoisie, the new Popular Front slogan that the Popular Front president, declared on numerous must still be supported in the occasions that his government semi-colonial countries, such as ism — the Radical, Democratic, does not propose to take measures those of Latin America), the Chi-Socialist. Radical Socialist and against private property.

bourgeois private property.

Stalinist parties - was then organized against President Alessanist traitors castrated and paralyz- American imperialism (Ortiz in

ed the revolutionary impulsé of Argentina; Batista in Cuba; Certhe Chilean masses who, under a da in Chile, etc.). Because of that government which they believed circumstance, the Chilean Poputo be their own. still remained lar Front continued to exist until shackled to their chains of hor- the end of 1940.

rible misery, hunger, prostitution, syphilis, alcoholism, typhus, phys- spite of the continued support ical degeneration, etc. etc. given it in the colonies by the And even more: since the tri- Moscow agents, not only did not

umph of the Chilean Popular trust Stalinism but determined to ty, and included other forces, Front had in the beginning, in destroy it as an enemy throughspite of the leaders, the charac- out Latin America, before the

also for a while the official can, tary-general of Stalinism in brigade for "democratic" Angloemy of the work vg class.

AS PRO-U.S. BODY

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# THE MILITANT

MARCH 8, 1941

# THE MILITANT

VOL. V-No. 10 Saturday, March 8, 1941

> Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board: FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN Business Manager: RUTH JEFFREY

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

# 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.
- ? 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.
- 8. \$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.

# Knudsen's Demand

Two weeks ago Knudsen told the House Judiciary Committee that he was opposed to any new federal legislation curbing labor's right to strike.

Knudsen explained that such laws are "unnecessary at the present time." The few strikes which had been called recently were due, he said, to "inexperienced and immature" union leaders. But "as we get more conservative leaders ... little by little we will do better."

Just seven days later Knudsen made a sharp about-face. In a letter to Sumner, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Knudsen proposed the enactment of a law to compel the unions first to submit any strike proposal to a vote by secret ballot of all the workers in a plant. This vote is to be supervised by the Labor Department. If 60 per cent of the workers vote for strike, then the union must post notice of intent to strike with the Office for Production Management. The OPM will then have ten days in which to investigate the nature of the controversy and make a report of "findings." The union must then wait an additional 30 days before it can legally call a strike.

What happened in the seven days between the first and second proposals of Knudsen, to cause so drastic a change in his expressed views?

13,000 workers of the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company, largest holder of government war contracts, went out on strike.

That was enough to cause Knudsen to tear off his mask of benevolence and confront labor with his real open-shop face.

Why did Knudsen ever assume this mask in the first place? For one reason only. Sidney Hillman and other labor leaders of that stripe had convinced Knudsen that the "conservative" union leaders would do the job for the bosses. Harsh laws would arouse the resentment of the workers. It would be better to let the union officials police the unions for the bosses, smothering any militancy and opposing all strikes.

The victorious Bethlehem Steel strike was enough to rid Knudsen of the notion that the union leaders, no matter how conservative, could prevent the workers from taking strike action. Knudsen now is for reliance only on real cops, in uniform, with night sticks in hand and guns on their hips.

In the first place, he wants to take away the right of the unions to initiate strike action at all, by forcing all strike proposals to be voted on "by all the employes in the plant"-not only by the union men, but the non-union men. All the company finks and stooges, including foremen and others ineligible for union membership, could be thrown in to weigh the balance against the union. In addition, supervision of such a vote by the Labor Department would be direct intervention into internal affairs of the union, an opening wedge for increasing government control.

The Knudsens run corporations as they please with a 51% majority of voting stock-in actual practice they run them without majorities at allbut Knudsen wants a majority of workers in a plant to consist of 60 per cent. That would permit a minority to block a strike forever.

After the union gets the 60 per cent strike vote in a plant, the OPM-that is, Knudsen- would step in and "study" the situation for ten days. Knudsen, Stetinius, and the other "ex-" corporation heads of the OPM would then come out against any strike. They would throw the whole weight of the government behind the employer. They would use the prestige and influence of the government to throw the responsibility for strike action on the workers.

# **British Workers Cold To Stalinist Pacifism**

That's Why the Churchill Government Was Able to Suppress the "Daily Worker" With Impunity; Trotskyists Ask United Front

LONDON, England, Feb. 8 (By Mail)-On the three days The Stalinists cannot fight the following the suppression of the Daily Worker, a mimeographed suppression of the Daily Worker because they have no program to 4-page issue of it appeared. Since then there has been nothing, for the Communist Party has decided to fight the issue within offer the workers. "We must at the law in an effort to get a court trial. all costs destroy Hitler" is the mood of the masses, and the bomb

There have been a number of indications that the Daily Worker would not be the only paper suppressed. Before that happened, eight detectives of the "Special Branch" on January 2nd ed, this. The Communist Party raided the offices of Workers Inist meeting. Twelve dozen copies ternational News and Youth for of James P. Cannon's speech, "The Socialism, Trotskyist papers, Military Policy of the Proletariat," while the editorial board was were sold. (The speech referred meeting. All members present to was made by the National Sewere cross-examined and the arcretary of the Socialist Workers grand time ridiculing the demand, ticles they were discussing were Party, U. S., at the Sept. 27-29, confiscated. The principal article 1940, plenary session of our Na- in the midst of an invasion scare, called for the arming of the worktional Committee. It appeared in that every soldier should have a ers to meet invasion and for worthe Oct. 12 issue of the Socialist kers' control of the armed struggle against Hitler and any Brit- Appeal.) ish Hitlers or Petains.

STALINIST POLICY DUCKS The workers in general are very uneasy about the suppression | FIGHT AGAINST HITLER

Last Sunday a protest meeting of the Daily Worker, but the Stal-It is obvious that the Communagainst the Daily Worker's sup- inists are unable to arouse them ist Party here is being kept firmpression was held by the Com- to any protests or demonstrations ly glued to a purely facifist polmunist Party in Conway Hall of sympathy, due to the suspi- icy by the Kremlin. No sane party here. Only 700 were present, an cions felt by the workers toward leadership could of its own voliexceptionally small number for the recent and past policies of tion stick to such a false policy, such a meeting. Trotskyists dis- the Stalinists. Union branches in the face of the real situation tributed a leaflet calling for a under Stalinist control have pass- and the mood of the masses. united front of all working-class ed resolutions of protest. Several The Independent Labor Party is organizations on this issue of de- union branches have passed un- very half-hearted in its protest mocratic rights. The reception of animously our own resolution against the suppression. Only the the leaflet by the Stalinist rank which, pointing out the lesson of Trotskyists have called for a unitand file was excellent: a very France and attacking Stalinist ed front of all workers' organizafriendly feeling. policy, calls for a united front tions on this issue and is distri-Sales of Trotskyist literature of workers' organizations for de- buting leaflets with that proposal

were unprecedented for a Stalin- fense of their democratic rights. nationally.

James B. Carey, U. E. Head, And The Militant

James B. Carey, International basis of the collaboration between ists will switch again and get to-President of the United Elect- them and Carey. gether again with Carey.

rical, Radio & Machine Workers answer, in the March 1 issue of with the Stalinists, and we are the U. E. News, criticisms of opposed to his policy now. It is Carey made in an article in the a simple statement of fact that office staff? Why doesn't he pre-Feb. 1 issue of THE MILITANT. | reactionaries throughout the | pare his membership for the com-

Carey. "I received three letters he Feb. 1 issue of THE MILI- ists. The suddenness of it was not TANT." He then quotes at length from change of line.

our article, which had said: "The danger from the reac-

The issue is Carey's false word against Hillman's vile role? Why has he joined the Hillman scheme?

the consistency in the world. We the moment the Stalinists appear relations with the Stalinist-led

# Why Roosevelt And Churchill Can't **State War Aims**

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

It is not at all surprising that Roosevelt, when asked whether his newly-appointed ambassador to Great Britain, John G. Winant, would take over proposals regarding lasting peace after the war, replied that the first thing was to win the war. "Peace proposals and an outline for the basis of peace must come after the victory," is what the New York Times reports as Roosevelt's sentiments.

How can the big capitalist politicians possibly reveal clearly and without any glittering generalities their war aims? Has British imperialism not committed itself by secret treaties to benefit the nations that are helping her at the expense of the nations that have willingly surrendered to the Axis powers?' Is there any one foolish enough to imagine that the Polish ruling class has not demanded that Great Britain turn over to it every bit of territory that it had by virtue of the Versailles treaty, and more to boot, perhaps? And did not the representatives of British imperialism promise the same thing to the Czechs?

And how will these promises be kept without creating the same difficulties that followed the Versailles treaty?

It must be taken for granted that Roosevelt knows all about these secret arrangements and that he will not rock Churchill's boat or his own by springing some proposals that are directly contrary to the secret treaties.

# Their Plans for Germany

What do Churchill and Roosevelt propose to do with Germany if and when Hitler is defeated? The liberals of this country and of England and all the refugees of Hitler's terror are pleading for a statement of war aims which will show the German people that the British imperialists are interested only in freeing the Germans of Hitler and his crowd and that Germany will be permitted to exist as an independent nation. But alas for the liberals and refugees, British imperialists want it distinctly understood that the German people are the ones to blame for permitting Hitler to take power and that the German people are all more or less of Hitler's pattern and that therefore they will have to suffer the consequences of defeat.

The commitments in secret treaties are, however, not the most important factor in preventing Churchill and Roosevelt from indicating what their war aims really are. The truth is that they would be more than glad to be able to present a plan which would do two things: one, to assure their supremacy and two to obtain permanent peace. But no one has and no one can present such a plan. The liberals and the refugees have done nothing but lament the fact that Churchill has not taken them into his confidence, but outside of the "Union Now" plan, which is nothing but a plan for American and British imperialism to joinforces and control the world, no one has presented anything that can even be discussed.

The truth is that capitalist statesmen find themselves utterly helpless. On the basis of the capitalist system they can find no plan which will guarantee peace. Hitler, in that respect, is in a far better position than the representatives of the democratic capitalist countries. For he is not compelled to conceal his motives behind democratic camouflage. His "New

We were opposed to Carey's of America, CIO, has sought to policy when he was in a bloc policy. Why doesn't he say a

"In the last two weeks," says | union are rallying behind Carey. | ing great struggle against anti-In his consistency, Carey has containing the same article from | "suddenly" turned on the Stalin- | labor-stifling War Labor Board

his doing, but the Stalinist The fact is, however, that for grant him that the change in his

strike legislation and against the We grant President Carey all

ing has strengthened, not weaken

has not responded to this demand

of the workers in the slightest

degree. Their policy has been sec-

tarian, pacifist and sterile. For

example, the Labour leaders and

the bourgeoisie are having a

which the Daily Worker had made

week's holiday at Christmas!

# The Bethlehem Strike

The great victory of the workers at the huge Lackawanna plant must be assessed at its full value. In the first place, of course, it is the first big successful strike against Bethlehem Steel in the company's fifty-odd years. In the second place, it is the first real breach in the prison walls of "Little Steel" and goes far toward wiping out the 1937 strike defeat in "Little Steel."

Perhaps most important of all is that this is the first successful strike of its scope in the steel industry since the formation of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The main base of the union came with the United States Steel contract in 1936; but this came primarily on the basis of negotiations at the top. The campaign in the U.S. Steel plants at the time was not really pushed toward strike pitch. Quiet negotiations were already going on between John L. Lewis and the company. The U. S. Steel contract was primarily the result of the great sit-down strikes in other industries (auto, rubber, etcetera).

Thus the SWOC got its main base without a strike and without preparing the men for a great strike. The union has shown the marks of this fact. The U.S. Steel workers have not had that firm assurance that comes from winning their rights through strike. Then came the "Little Steel" defeat of 1937, so that the main capital in morale' of the union has been that U.S. Steel contract.

In the light of this fact one can assess the full value of the Bethlehem strike victory. In a sense it is the most important achievement of the steel workers up to this time. Henceforth the workers know: it can be done, the great steel emperors can be beaten down.

Profoundly important to the worker's in all industries is the fact that this victory was achieved. despite all the multitudinous weapons levied against it in the name of "national defense": Hillman and Knudsen of the OPM, and all the other government "conciliators", mediators, and what not. The patriotic ballyhoo did not stop or crush this strike. As compared with what the Bethlehem, strikers faced, the 1937 strike in "Little Steel" should have been won easily. It was lost because the workers then had a naive faith in Roosevelt. It is a measure of the ever-growing power and maturity of the workers that, under such conditions, the Bethlehem strikers stood their ground, and won.

If, in spite of this intimidation, the workers still wanted to strike, they would have to wait another month. Instead of the bosses having only two days, as in the Bethlehem strike, to smear the workers, slander the union leaders, spread false rumors, organize the finks and deputies, confuse the issues, etc., etc., they would have 30 days. The propaganda mills of the bosses, the newspapers and radios, would grind away night and day for 30 days to create demoralization in the union ranks and arouse hostility against the workers among the susceptible sections of the public.

The delay would also prevent the workers from utilizing the most strategic time for strike, and give the bosses time to prepare their counterstrategy.

Above all, such a law, establishing the principle of limitations on the right to strike and setting a stigma upon strikes, would directly pave the way, when the unions have been weakened and demoralized, for the bosses to crack down with a complete no-strike law.

The Knudsen scheme is intended to weave the unions about with such legal restraints that any action they would undertake would be called "illegal." And then Knudsen and the rest of the bosses could call out their cops and deputies, the armed forces of the federal government, to "preserve the law".

Let no worker think that Knudsen is just talking words. He is the spokesman for the most powerful industrialists in America. Knudsen and his group wield a tremendous influence in the administration of which they are members. What Knudsen has said has been said with cool deliberation. And his proposals can be taken for no less than a declaration of open and merciless warfare upon organized labor.

Labor can beat back the Knudsens. But only. if every trade unionist grasps the full meaning of the Knudsen scheme and prepares for a life and death struggle against it.

Sec. 1

tionaries, both in Local 475 and the UE as a whole, is far from over. Carey has indicated in his column in the U.S. News that now he too is prepared to fight the 'Communists.'..."

"So after years of collaboration with this same group, Carey suddenly turns. Rank and filers can very well question his motivation and perhaps inquire whether his sudden 'discovery' has anything to do with his support of the war machine. Reactionaries throughout the union will rally behind Carey. The rank and file, on the other hand, must rally behind their program of militant struggle to save and build their union."

President Carey devotes his column to an answer to us which consists of quotations from his previous columns during the last year in which he had made some remarks, of which the following is typical: "There is no control by Communist leaders in our National union, and there won't be." Or this; "So I think it is time to make a simple request of the extreme Right and the extreme Left, and that is: stop worrying about the Soviet Union and start worrying about the United States."

CAREY IS CONSISTENT BUT ABOUT WHAT?

These Carey triumphantly produces to disprove "any charge of neonsistency on my part." Let us begin by conceding President Carey's point. Yes, he was always critical of the Communists, and he has been quite consistent. His line hasn't changed. He has always been an anti-Communist, in favor of classcollaborationist policies and, in general, pursuing a course which is thoroughly consistent with his recent acceptance of a post in the Office of Production Management under Hillman.

What changed was the Stalinist policy. During the Peoples' Front period, they followed Carey's line, and that was the

in the union as opponents of the groups in the union is their doing government's war policy, as op- and not his. Leaving these unesponents of Hillman's strike- sentials aside, we want to hear breaking, and hence collide with from Carey a defense of his pol-Carey's consistent pro-Roosevelt, | icy which, in our opinion, is a pro-Hillman policy. In fighting policy which can only lead to tythe Stalinists, Carey is in reality | ing the union into the war machfighting against the best miliine as a helpless cog and theretants in the union, who are op- by destroying the union condiposed to everything that Hillman | tions which the UE has so painstands for. Tomorrow the Stalin- | fully built up.

Yes, We Choose Connolly AN EDITORIAL

As part of its attempt to defeat Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor Party candidate for Congressman in a special election in New York City, the capitalist press has waxed piously indignant over the fact that the Trotskyists are supporting Connolly.

We would pass by this fake indignation, if it were limited to the capitalist press. In addition, however, The Call, Norman Thomas' organ, and the New Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, have repeated the boss press arguments.

With its usual snide dishonesty, so characteristic of the Norman Thomas' school of moralists, The Call doesn't face the real issue, but invents another. "Remember the names they (the Trotskyists) used to call us for backing a non-Stalinist ALP?" says the Call. A lie made of whole cloth. Our fight with the Thomasites-it was one of the issues over which the left wing split from the Socialist Party in 1937-was against the Thomasite endorsement as ALP candidate of LA GUARDIA-i.e., a capitalist candidate of the Republican-Fusion party. If Thomas, (who smells in our nostrils no better than the Stalinists, whose butchery of the Barcelona workers in May, 1937, he whitewashed) were the ALP candidate, we would support him. We would support any independent labor candidate nominated by the ALP.

. The New Leader, supporting the Democratic candidate Alfange, and uniting with the Tammany law committee in a crooked attempt to get the ALP candidate off the ballot, also waxes pious over Trotskyist support of a "Stalinist" candidate of the ALP. Let us remind these Social Democrats: as against the capitalist class, we were for joint action with the Social Democratic Party of Noske and Scheidemann, who had workers' blood on their hands just as the Stalinists.

The basic principle involved is clear enough to any honest worker. We support Connolly because he is an independent labor candidate, and for no other reason. We are for the working class as against the capitalist class any place at any time under any conditions. But that is a principle which the New Leader and The Call simply can't grasp.

Order" is plainly a plan where German capitalism organizes Europe and the world for its own benefit.

# The "Democrats" Must be Hypocrites

Neither Great Britain nor the United States is in a position to state openly that this is exactly what their capitalists would like to do. Part of Hitler's strength is due to the fact that the situation permits him to be less of a hypocrite than the representatives of democratic capitalism. How easy it is to poke fun at the chains of the British democrats who refuse to grant India freedom! How easy it is to point out that Both Britain and the United States gained their empires by force and violence!

Together with his victories Hitler's hypocrisies must increase. He will find it more and more difficult to poke fun at the democratic capitalists in view of his own acts. Nor is he in a position to do what the democratic capitalists are unable to accomplish, that is, bring peace to Europe and the world by subjecting all the nations to German capitalism. Neither Hitler by destroying the independent life of European nations nor Great Britain by granting certain nations concessions and playing off one against the other are able to bring peace to Europe.

In beseeching Churchill and Roosevelt for a clear statement of war aims, the liberals reflect the uneasiness of the masses who are slaving and sweating, fighting and dying. What are they sacrificing for? To defeat Hitler? Fine, but what is to follow? Another Versailles, another impotent League of Nations, another uncertain period of peace followed by a still more horrible war?

And it is exactly at this point that we of the SWP must appear on the scene with our explanations and with our plan. We have no objection to anyone demanding a statement of war aims from Churchill or Roosevelt. Such a demand at least places them on the spot. If they refuse to formulate a concrete plan we can utilize that fact as evidence of their hypocrisy in their claims of fighting for democracy. If under pressure they are compelled to formulate some plan, either the inadequacy of the plan or their failure subsequently to abide by it can be made a point of attack.

But it would be folly for any intelligent worker to be satisfied with demanding that Churchill and Roosevelt formulate war aims. For us it is as clear as daylight that their war aims are nothing but to defend and strengthen their own imperialist interests. We must educate the workers not to give the slightest credence to any plan formulated by the imperialists for permanent peace.

We know and we shall continue to repeat that under capitalism no permanent peace is possible. No plans for such a peace can be effective.

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Our fundamental task remains to convince the workers who are fearful of fascism that to destroy fascism they must take power into their own hands and destroy the capitalist system, breeder of fascism and wars.