The Negro's Fight For Jobs In Industry

See Page 4

THE MILITANT

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MEDIATION IS BLOW AGAINST WORKERS

Stalin's Fear Of Hitler Shown In Ankara Pledge Aid Cops In

Kremlin's Policy Is Determined By Its Fear Of Involvement In The War; Will Make New Deal With Hitler If Threatened

DARDANELLES THE KEY

Should Hitler's armies succeed

in gaining control of the Darda-

let of the Soviet Union to the

And this wall extends from the

What can Stalin do to stop Hit-

question for Stalin, for his regime

mining his policy. Only when it

becomes certain that Hitler will

Will Stalin send Turkey materi

Germany? If he thinks that do-

and Sweden.

With the publication, in Moscow and Ankara, of a declara- Germany? A safe prediction to tion pledging "full neutrality and understanding" on the part make is that if Turkey is defeatof Moscow towards Turkey in case of an attack by Hitler against Turkey, Stalin, for the second time in the period of one month, has openly indicated fear of and hostility-to Hitler's activities in the Balkans.

Stalin's previous move came in the form of a note to Bulgaria in which the Kremlin chided the Bulgarian government for permitting German occupation, and predicted it would lead of Bulgaria and now his possible move against Turkey could not to extension of the war and not, but arouse tremendous anxiety as claimed by the German and Bulgarian governments, lead to Kremlin bureaucrats. peace in the Balkans.

GERMANY NOT ADDRESSED

Neither in the case of the note to Bulgaria nor in the declaration made to Turkey was there any direct indication that Germany was being warned. But the circumstances under which the note and now the declaration were issued led the whole world to conclude that Stalin was talking to Hitler. These are devious methods of diplomacy but they are also Stalin's methods of diplomacy.

A difference between the note to Bulgaria and the declaration to Turkey is in the fact that the former was sent after Hitler's armies had occupied Bulgaria while the latter was made before Hitler's is too shaky. His fear of war is

That Stalin is fearful of a Hitler victory has been plain to every be defeated or if Hitler invades intelligent observer. Every move the Soviet Union might Stalin set that Stalin has made since his the Red Army into motion against pact with Hitler in August 1939 him. can be interpreted only as indicating Stalin's anxiety to avoid a POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES major conflict and his desire to obtain strategic defensive posi-

It was not, however, until Hit- ing this will not involve him in ler conquered France and began a war with a victorious Hitler he his march into the Balkans that will in all probability do so. the danger to the Soviet Union be- Will he abide by his promise came an immediate one. Hitler's not to move against Turkey if the occupation of Rumania and then latter is involved in a war against

ed by Hitler, Stalin will try to get as much booty as he can re gardless of any pact.

One thing is certain. In Stalin's plans the fate of the workers of the world plays no role whatever. In his diplomacy he does not take the workers into his confidence or into consideration. The necessity of a life-and-death struggle against paring to call a city-wide CIO Hitler, the greatest enemy of the strike here, after 1,400 Chicago working masses, and the methods police, this morning for the seto be used in such a struggle, are of no interest to him except insofar as Hitler threatens the position of the Soviet bureaucracy of the International Harvester which he represents.

nelles, the only all-year-round outoutside world would be in the hands of a powerful enemy. Nazi control of the Dardanelles would Hitler and his invasion of Poland 28. signify the completion of a wall and Finland, have only increased of steel along the Soviet western the danger to the Soviet Union-sentative, declared this morning frontier along thousands of miles not only because he has permitted at a mass meeting of strikers and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Hitler a free hand, but because sympathizers: "Preparations are by his devious and secret diplo- being made to organize an all-Baltic to the Arctic, through Hitmacy be has estranged the only city CIO strike in Chicago if neler's control of Norway, Finland reliable ally of the Soviet Union, cessary to support this strike," the workers of the whole world. ler? To go to war is out of the

UAW-CIO SHOWS POWER AT FORD IN 3 STOPPAGES

Ford Backing Down For the Moment, But Fight Isn't Over

DETROIT, Mich. — The

the NLRB to call for an election at the Ford plants.

Dewey, the government's plants in Rock Fall, Illinois, and "trouble shooter" to make good Rickmond, Indiana. on his windy promises.

Ford workers realized that they the CIO on February 28, the AFL, could depend on nobody but officials in connivance with Fowthemselves and their union ler McCormick, issued a charter strength.

toric weapon of the CIO, the SIT-DOWN STRIKE. 3,000 workers downed tools on the huge assembly lines in

hour, 15 fired union men were On March 18, 6,000 workers struck in the Axle Building. At the invitation of the manage- INJUNCTION HELPED SCABS ment, the Union Committee

and secured, reinstatement of boss courts last Saturday slapped twelve discharged union men. The next day, March 19, the

AFL Leaders Scabherding At Harvester

CIO Warns It Will Answer By All-City **Protest Strike**

CHICAGO, March 25-The CIO today declared it was precond day, escorted some 2,000 scabs into the McCormick plant Company. The scabs were mob-As time goes on it will become lilized by AFL officials acting clear to more and more of his fol- in collusion with the company lowers that all of Stalin's so-called to break the strike which had clever moves, like the pact with closed the plant on February

Robert Travis, CIO repre-

sympathizers massed in the streets leading to the plant this morning in an effort to halt the they were unable to penetrate the greatest strike breaking police nobilization in Chicago history.

The first move to open the plant started at 7 A. M. vesteray morning, when some 2,000 men and a nal through the massed strikers

OTHER PLANTS SHUT

some 2,000 scabs into the McCormick plant, which normally em-They got tired of waiting for ploys 6,100 workers, still shut down is the main Harvester plant here—the tractor works employing They got tired of waiting for 6,500 men—as well as the two

BETHLEHEM 'ELECTION' MOVE After the strike at the McCor-With unerring instinct, the mick plant had been called by to the company union set-up big Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem Steel here. But he's fresh On March 13, a day destined which McCormick had been using out of ballot boxes and election booths. Ford workers revived the his- NLRB had ordered disbanded.

> Backed by daily publicity in the local capitalist press, the AFL officials held meetings to organize scabs, put pressure on workers in their homes, and provided the plant superintendent, and asked basis for some weak elements to crawl back to work under a "unplated and who owned the booths ion" cover.

other "election."

mittee leaders went to see Baker.

what sort of election was contem-

Not wishing to admit that this

was a company-sponsored elec-

tion, Superintendent Baker ans-

wered: "The ballot boxes belong

"Q. K.," replied the committee,

'If they belong to the men, the

men don't want them and wish

Thereupon, the committee inform-

ed the workers that they owned

the "election" was in progress,

the workers in every department

proceeded to make kindling wood

of all booths and, boxes.

the boxes and booths. And while informed.

committee men for "destruction fired men

o do away with them."

Preceding the opening of the McCormick plant yesterday, the an injunction on the CIO "enjoining the CIO against the use of violence" and limiting the CIO pickets to no more than ten at

The situation is tense and crit ical. The CIO can give this McCormick-AFL-Chicago Police Old, senile Hank decided strikebreaking conspiracy only then that he had better give in one answer — a militant demonto some extent or else his whole stration of all-out CIO strength. top-heavy structure would col- so that scabs and cops will forlapse like a house of cards. On ever after fear to put forth their March 21 Ford's representative heads against striking workers in

Bethlehem Pickets In Action



"Plant's closed! Get going and keep going!" these militant strikers at the Bethlehem Steel plant in Bethlehem, Pa., are telling scared scabs who attempted to drive into the strike-bound plant last Monday evening. Few scabs were able to sneak past these scrapping union men, even with a flock of city cops, county deputies and company police on hand,

Main Bethlehem Plant Thousands of strikers and CIO Shut Down By Strike Strike Shut Down By Strike

BETHLEHEM, Pa., March 25—Operations of the parent plant here of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation were at a virtual few women, guarded by 1,400 arm- standstill this afternoon as thousands of militant strikers picketed cops, marched at a given sig- ed the gates and halted all attempts of scabs to enter the plant.

For the first time in years, the black pall of smoke over the on the sidewalks into the plant. Lehigh River Valley is gone. Strike leaders of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (ClO) declared that no more than 2,000 | ing demands of the strikers: Although the company and pol- men were in the plant, which employs 21,000 men and is the ice, aided by AFL officials, have largest steel plant in the Bethlehem system. Most of the scabs thus far succeeded in herding now in the plant had slept there this town, injured five strikers overnight after the strike was

this morning with explosive tear called yesterday evening.

City police, who are considered gas shells, when 200 pickets atthe same as company police in tempted to halt a scab car hurtl-

LACKAWANNA MILITANTS HALTED

Buffalo, N. Y.—Eugene Grace would like to hold an "Em-

After the successful two-day Steel Workers Organizing Com-

On the day scheduled for the election, the local SWOC com-

under the terms of the strike set-

Baker refused to confer with

two fired men. The committee

"See the committee as elected

by the workers or we'll strike

again." the company was flatly

ment began to sweat.

COMPANY RETREATS

ploves' Representation Plan"-company union-election at the

ing full speed through the pickets

UNIONS DEMANDS

The strike has effectively terminated the company union election which the management was sponsoring on its property, and which was the immediate cause of the strike. The demands of the strikers have broadened since the

Howard Curtiss, district SWOC leader, has announced the follow-

1. That all strikers be returned to work without loss of seniority.

2. That the company withdraw its permission to the company union to hold its elections on company property.

3. That the company disestablish the "Employes' Representation Plan" in accordance with the order of the NLRB. 4. That the company agree

to negotiations leading up to an NLRB election to determine the sole bargaining agency for the plant's 18,000 production workers.

The strikers are in high spirits as word arrives from Johnstown, mittee (CIO) walkout several weeks ago, the plant management Pa., that the 15,000 workers in wiped the dust off the booths and boxes used in a previous comthe Bethlehem Steel Mills there, pany union election and announced its intention of holding anwhere a previous 24-hour stoppage had been held recently, may join the strike if Eugene Grace of company property." Just after attempts to go through with a this, the SWOC committee, includthreatened company union elecing two of the fired men, went tion similar to the one he had to see Baker to begin negotiations planned for the plant here.

Despite a double load of company police, city police and county deputies, the county sheriff has already wired an urgent plea the committee under the pretext for state troops to Governor that he would not speak to the James, who provided state police two weeks ago in an attempt to turned on its heels and walked break the Vanadium strike in Bridgeville.

BETHLEHEM, Pa., March 23,-This town is tensed for the zero hour tomorrow when the 18,000 A government conciliator was workers of the huge Bethlebem Steel unit here are scheduled to go out on a protest strike, if cor Final result: Baker has met poration president Eugene Grace The company fired four leading with the committee and the two attempts to go through with his (Continued on page 3)

All Demands Of Workers Roosevelt's War Mediation

Board's Aim

Is To Stifle

Board will not only seek to settle strikes but will primarily seek to stifle the demands of the workers, thus preventing strikes by the method of bamboozling the workers to drop their demands upon the corpor-If this was not made clear by

Roosevelt's executive order of March 19, setting up the 11man board, it became clear enough Tuesday, after the first meeting of the board.

Chairman Clarence A. Dykstra called in reporters at the conclusion of the meeting-the meeting itself was behind closed doors—and underlined to them his interpretation of the last paragraph of Roosevelt's executive order. A "cooling off" period was established by that

paragraph, declared Dykstra. That paragraph had declared it a "duty" of the workers to give government bodies "notice in writing of any desired change in existing agreements, wages, or working conditions ... and such sufficient advance notice of any threatened interruptions to continuous production as will permit exploration of all avenues of possible settlement of such controversies so as to avoid strikes, stoppages or lockouts."

This, declared Dykstra, establishes a "must" waiting period during which the workers may not strike.

Under "cooling off," all a boss has to do is to stand pat against the workers' demands, while the Mediation Board and other governmental bodies exert all their pressure to keep the workers from striking, i.e., from enforcng their demands. Mediation resolves itself down to the task of persuading, urging, and threatening the workers to drop some or all of their demands and thus maintain "peace."

If the workers finally insist on rying to win their demands, and do go out on strike, the board's primary function then becomes o "place the blame for the continuation of a dispute," as Dykstra put it. In 99 out of 100 cases, we can be sure, this will mean placing the blame on a striking union for the continuation of the strike, and not in any way blaming the boss for having made the

strike necessary. BOSS GAINS MUCH Meanwhile, in the "cooling off"

period, the boss will have all the advantages of a general who has learned of the plans of the enemy. At his leisure he will prepare his counter-strike measures, hire scabs and thugs, and entrench himself for a battle. Thus some of the most effective elements of some strikes-surprise, the element of boss uncertainty over the workers' plans, the boss' lack of counter-preparation-will be lost to the trade unions, if they submit to the arbitrary decree of Roosevelt and his "impartial" board chairman.

Fortunately, the present strike struggles show the growing militancy of the labor movement. To ram the "cooling off" period down the throats of the workers, and to keep it there, will tax the ingenuity of more than one Dyk-

(See other articles and editorial on the Mediation Board,

ON THE WAR FRONTS

The opening of the "Battle of | into the boiling oil only as far as the Atlantic" raises to the forefront the next step in U. S. war It doesn't really matter. We're participation. Passage of the going to get badly burned either Lend-Lease Law and the seven billion dollar appropriations to give it effect brought this country to the point where the next step could easily be active involvement of its armed forces in the conflict. That next step may lie just ahead.

The newspapers are already preparing the ground and so is the Gallup poll. There is obvious logic in the argument that if the country is going to spend seven billion dollars for war supplies it is not going to permit those supplies to be sent to the bottom by Hitler's sea raiders. This is simply the "logic" of the involvement of U. S. imperialism in the war.

What we are supposed to help "decide" now is whether U. S. warships should act as convoys a quarter, a third, or two-thirds of the way across the Atlantic. At the outer limit, British warships would take up the guard. The idea is already strongly advanced that U.S. convoys should extend as far as the Azores.

Actually this is like asking whether we should dip our hands

the wrist or as far as the elbow. way.

We don't hear anymore about "acts short of war" because there is no sense in that phrase and there never was. Every conscious act of the Roosevelt administration has been an act of war and U.S. war participation has been increasing gradually under the banner of "acts short of war." The only thing lacking has been actual military acts and the establishment of convoys for the aid-to-Britain ships is apparently to be the first of these.

We may be sure that Hitler has already discounted U.S. war entry. He is not going to abandon the Battle of the Atlantic to avoid a clash with the U.S.

If the rate of loss of British tonnage in the Battle of the Atlantic continues as at present-more than 100,000 tons a week-the question of U.S. warship convoys is certain to become more and more pressing. We're already in the war up to our armpits. When those convoys start, we'll be in up to

Ford workers themselves took charge of the Ford drive last

to go down in labor history, the to fight the CIO and which the

the rolling mill. In less than an

reinstated. met with Ford's representatives.

B Building struck. The management agreed on the spot to all the union demands. A company bus was dispatched at once to the union office and brought back the fired union men to their jobs.

(Continued on Page 2)

Union Protest Against Company Union Develops Into Full-Fledged Strike Battle

The St. Louis LABOR TRI-

chinists have just signed an agree-

of 7c. hourly to workers on the

The AFL Machinists won a La-

A story headlined "U. S. FARM.

ers behind the war program. The

article describes the talk Claude

Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture,

"Exports had marched gradual-

tory, If Britain triumphs, we

wheat, lard and other farm pro-

ducts overseas in something like.

their pre-war volume." Wickard

How does the Railroad Labor

Disputes Law work out for the

workers on the Rutland. Vt.

railroad just got handed by the

emergency board appointed by

Roosevelt. According to LABOR,

the 15 railroad unions have now

taken "a voluntary deduction of

five per cent for employes earn-

agrees to consult with employes

That is a stunning union de-

Philip LaFollette appears to be

seeking to revive his Progressive

Party. According to THE PRO-

GRESSIVE, an open house was

held last week in the Progressive

House in Madison where ex-Gov-

ernor LaFollette predicted that

"all those problems that we had

in September, 1939, are going to

ter how this war crisis may dev-

elop." LaFollette urged a political

LaFollette always plays along

with one of the two boss parties

when it pays him to. His latest

proposal means that he perceives.

growing mass dissatisfaction with

promised the farmers.

Thompson Chain Daren't Reopen

Food Workers Local 302 Closed Ten Stores And Will Keep Them Closed Till Settlement

The 250 Thompson strikers in New York have kept close vigil on the 10 closed Thompson restaurants for the past week and a half. Day and night the picket watch goes on and the Thompson bosses have not dared to reopen the stores with scabs this first week and a half.

(Continued from page 1)

would be returned to their jobs.

Ford's representative in most of

these negotiations turned out to

of the union. Martin called his

own paper convention in opposi-

to lead a split-off into the AFL.

class enemy.

That contemptible scheme hav-

Ford still has many tricks in

tion of recognizing and bargain-

the dotted line or he cannot oper-

ate his plants!

And there's a good reason why they dare not reopen. The spirit and unity of the Thompson pickets, aided by other militants of Local 302, AFL, the local involved in the strike, is enough to slow up even the union-hating Rower At Ford Thompson bosses. The proud faces of the men and women strikers of Thompson's reads "no scabs allowed."

THEIR FIRST STRIKE

The 302 membership is very proud of the way these strikers, called in the Union Committee most of them having never been and agreed that over 1.000 fired on a picket line before, have taken to picketing like veterans.

At the Branch A meeting of the local last week you could see the smiling faces of the old-timers as the shop chairman of Grand Central store reported. They felt like proud papas watching their union babes engage in this con-

302 is not limiting its solidarity to moral support. The membership intends to shell out and help their brothers and sisters of Thompson's financially. All indications point to a voluntary assessment of 25 cents, 50 cents and 75 cents per month (for the various categories) for the duration FORD'S GAME. of the strike.

BOSS TURNS UP!

An amusing little incident occurred on the picket line March ing with the UAW-CIO. Ford's 24, Monday. It was a rainy day strategy is to stall and delay and some of the strikers were things, until the white-hot miliparked in the front entrance of tancy of the Ford, workers cools the Grand Central store. A man and he can then, with the help walked over and demanded of the of cowardly, venal and corrupted strikers that they leave the pre- AFL officials, ram a company unmises. The strikers told him some- ion down the throats of the workthing to the effect of "go fly a ers. kite." The man called a cop and Already Frank H. Bowen, re-Identified himself as John R gional Director of the NLRB; has Detroit

You see, it was a rainy day and orders an election at the Ford Cleveland John Jr. did not want to soil his plants, about 60 days would elapse L. A. nice little yacht on Long Island before it could be held. Sound so he came around to watch his property. Well: John. the strikers are watching it for set for action right now. The Ford Toledo you, and furthermore, they're workers are prepared. The union New Haven watching that nobody moves in must now insist on an immediate Frisco to take away their jobs.

The strike headquarters, in particular, radiates confidence. It has become a second-home for the strikers. Hot coffee, sandwiches and hot dishes are served free of charge all during the day.

NO SCABS, PLEASE There are rumors afloat that Midland Strike

Thompson's intends to open some of the stores with scabs. Thomp. strikers are demonstrating to the son's may believe that the mili- auto barons that they are in no tant strikers have worn themsel. mood to be bamboozled or terrorves out with all the spirit and ized out of their just rights. The exhaberance they put into the ac- Midland Steel plant, makers of tivities of the strike during the auto bodies and other parts, confirst week and a half. Thompson's tinues shut, while the union comshould be immediately warned mittee is standing pat on its dethat when it comes to solidarity mands for a wage increase to meet and action on the part of 302, the the rising cost of living and a bosses haven't seen anything yet. union shop to assure job security.

MASS MEETING!

ers' state is in deadly danger!

210 East 5th Street

The GPU

Stalin's Rule Of Terror

Speaker:

Albert Goldman

Recently returned from Mexico where, as attorney for

Natalia Sedov Trotsky, he cross-examined the GPU as-

sassin who sank a pick axe in the brain of Leon Trotsky.

The facts which brand Stalin as murderer of Leon

A profound crisis is shaking the Soviet Union! The work-

BEETHOVEN HALL

FRIDAY: March 28

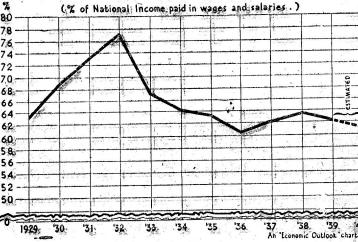
The meeting will begin promptly at 8:30 P.M.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

New York City

Stalin must be overthrown before it is too late!

Ever Less For The Workers



This chart shows that the more the workers produce the less they share in the products of their labor. As the national income rose since 1932; the workers received in wages a smaller and smaller percentage of this income. Profits and dividends increasingly eat up the lion's share of the nation's income.



workers at the Rouge plant HERE WE ARE

FOR BOTH WEEKS

class-war victim last week. Such be none other than Homer Mar a wave of strikes struck the the forms that the Militant Army dent of the UAW-CIO, It will be recalled that, after losing control column was lost in the crush. collent use of the paper we freely When the smoke cleared up we offer the maximum of cooperafound the Column, all ready for tion, and ask only that we be action, left on the side-lines, an kept in close touch with their tion to the Cleveland convention especially annoying situation work. of the UWA-CIO, and attempted since the Column in our opinion is an excellent barometer of the spirit and determination of the SWP Candidate Blast ing failed, now we find Martin working class as reflected in our turning up in the camp of the party. We therefore carry below the scoreboards for both last week and this week.

New York proves that it will make up for the time it lost in his bag. Ford still has no intenthe early weeks of the Sub Drive by beating out Chicago and coming in second this week. It still has far, far to go before it can rival the one next higher. But the New York spirit seems will-

Here is last week's scoreboard; Subs Pts Subs Pts 33 110 269 22 New York There is no excuse for this de- Newark lay and stalling. The union is all Youngstown 11 election, which it will win, with. Allentown out a doubt, by an overwhelming majority, and then proceed to immediate negotiations with the Pittsburgh Ford management on a signed Palo Alto contract. Either Ford signs on

Phila. Albany Meanwhile the Midland Steel Plentywood Kansas

> And here is the even better record for this week.

London, Eng

San Diego

Texas

Totals

	This	Week		
	Subs	Pts	Subs	Pt
Minnesota	39	100	308	74
New York	24	39	61	10
Chicago	1;	3	54	10
Detroit	8	13	35	7
Boston	9	14,	43	7.
Cleveland	4	12	21	4
LA	5	16	21	4
Flint	9	10	28	3
Youngstown		9:	23	3
Newark	1	1	15	2
Toledo	0.0	0	12	1
New Haven	0	0	12	1
Frisco	2	3,	10	1
Allentown	0.	0.	4.	
Rochester	1.	2	6	
Milwaukee	1	1.	3	
Plentywood		4	2	F
Paterson	0.	0,	3	
Pittsburgh	0	0.	4	
Philadelphia	. 1	2	2	9
Palo Alto	0.	0,	1	ğ
London, En	g 0	0	1	
Rockville	1,	4	1.	ia 9
St Louis	2,	3:	2	
Texas	0	0	2	
San Diego	0:	0	2	- 1
Albany	0	0,	1.	
Kansas	0,	0,	, 1 ,	
	193 194	-		1.77

117 236, 678 1,403 Totals.

MASS WORK IN

BUFFALO & PITTSBURGH Big strike situations in Buffalo and Pittsburgh saw our militant hard-working comrades on their toes and capable of taking advantage of events. Buffalo obtained and made excellent use of thousands of copies of THE ports of the Bethlehem Steel between 12 noon and 7 P.M., or by mail.

Strike. Pittsburgh likewise reports that the striking workers This column was some sort of at Vanadium and elsewhere show stories carried each week by THE in a position to make such ex-

Bill to Keep C. P. Off Jersey Ballot

NEWARK, N. J.-George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Commission, denounced the Assembly bill, proposed by Majority Leader Boswell, that would keep off election ballots in New Jersey, names of Communist or other candidates 'who advocate overthrow of the government."

Declaring that his party had harmful policies of the Stalinists," Breitman said: "Neverthe-63 less, it is the working class that strikebreakers into the plant. 23 it is aimed presumably at the on charges of disorderly conduct: 12 18 really be an attack on the rights

tion of measures such as this one at home."



Harry Bridges Defense Committee

SWOC Sec.-Treas, David McDonald (left) and CIO Vice-Pres. Sherman Dalrymple, who have been named by CIO head? Philip Murray as an official CIO committee to aid in combating the anti-labor action of the Department of Justice in its deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges,

Local 3 Men On Trial In Queens

tremendous interest in the news Electrical Workers Show Up Prosecution. tin, former international presi- country the day we locked up MILITANT: To those comrades As Bunglers in Anti-Labor Frameup

framed by the company and the day before he testified. District Attorney for defending In the District Attorney's office ttacked by cops and finks.

ers. If the men are convicted, they from the court. could be railroaded to prison from of the company witnesses.

always opposed the "false and 28, 1940, La Guardia's police, act- phoney charges stacked against ing in close collaboration with him by the District Attorney to the company, charged the picket send him to prison for 48 years lines in an attempt to escort He is the center of attack. "Passage of this bill, although a number of pickets were arrested Company when he said:

22 Communist Party chiefly, would The District Attorney's office decided shortly thereafter that it tries to earn a decent living. would be profitable to discover of the working class as a whole. that the men were guilty of 16. "I believe that nothing shows other charges including "inciting. better the hollowness of the slog- to riot." The strikers were haul Brother Mangano if he thought 5 ans about the coming war for ed out of their beds between one the workers would win, he stated democracy' abroad than introduc- and three in the morning and emphatically: placed under arrest.

drance than a help to the District any of our witnesses."

By the Queens Correspondent | Attorney. One witness, after vehe-QUEENS, N. Y. City, March 20. mently protesting against any im--Today marked the opening of putation that he had been coached the third week of the trial of 16 on what to say, revealed that he workers of the Triangle Conduit had visited the District Attorney and Cable Company, who were for a whole day on March 19, the

themselves on the picket line when at the same time, peculiarly enough, was the head strikebreak. The prosecution has paraded 29 er, a fink with whom this witness witnesses, into court, including swore he didn't have the slightest seven policemen, in an attempt to acquaintance. During his further, build a case against these mem- testimony, however, tre truth bers of Local 3 of the Internation-slipped out that the head strike al Brotherhood of Electrical Work breaker had driven him to any

THE MILITANT correspondent three to 48 years. The serious as had the opportunity to speak to pect of the trial, however, is re- Charles Mangano, shop steward of lieved by the ridiculous testimony the night shift who was in charge of the strike committee. Mangano On the morning of September about 24 years old, has enough

Mangano expressed the opinion must settle accounts with them. During the course of the attack. of the workers of the Triangl

"This is an example of what a person has to face when he The bosses call in cops, finks, strikebreakers."

When the correspondent asked

"The whole trial is a farce, A The company's witnesses, in- few more of their witnesses and which would destroy the demo- cluding the cops, have turned out, they'll have to throw the case out cratic rights of minority groups however, to be more of a hin- of court. And that before we call

The Chicago FEDERATIONIST | Thomas Kennedy, 141,652 votes, reports that Teamsters Joint for secretary-treasurer. All votes, Council No. 25 has formed an unopposed. No doubt about 20,000 American Legion Post consisting miners sought in this way to reof war veterans who are members buke Lewis for backing Willkie of the Counc'l. The action is mo- in the recent elections. A much tivated by "the apparent political greater number of union miners; ambition of some of the aggressive did not even bother to vote, there leaders" of the American Legion being no contest and no issues which has "resulted in the advo- involved." cacy of sentiments and the sug-

at variance with the primal prin- BUNE reports that the AFL Ma-

IN THE LABOR PRESS

ciples of the organization." There is grave danger, how ment with the local Curtissever, that a Legion Rost within Wright aircraft plant, involving the union movement may be the about 10,000 workers. The agreeinstrument by which the most ment provides for wage increases reactionary and pro-war program of 3c.-17c, hourly, with a bonus. s pushed in the unions.

gestion of action . . . definitely

The concept of organizing un first night shift. Howely minion war veterans is not in itself mums for unskilled workers are reactionary. Such a veterans or set at 59c., for skilled workers at ganization in the hands of union \$1.12. Seniority, vacation with, progressives and subordinated to pay, and time and one-half and union control, might become the double-time for overtime are spenucleus of a Union Defense cified. Guard, War veterans might undertake to teach fellow unionists bor Board election at Curtissthe military arts, so that the un- Wright on December 12th by a ion membership can defend itself 3.1 majority. and its organization and its picket lines in the coming period. God knows the unions are going to ER HAS BIG STAKE IN BRITneed the most militant and train- ISH VICTORY," in the March ed Workers Defense Guard from FARMERS UNION HERALD. now on if unionism is to be prest describes the line the administraerved against the strikebreaking tion is taking to line up the farm-

This isn't from a labor paper, made before the National Farm but it's going to interest labor! | Institute in Des Moines recently. The FORT SNELLING BULLE.

TIN, mimeographed paper for ly down hill for years, but a few draftees, in this military post in months of this war stopped for Minnesota, reports on the increast eign sales of farm products aling importance of the Military most completely. Police Battalions. These Military will ever regain them is a ques-Police Battalions will have the tion. Certainly their return is unfollowing tasks as foreseen by likely in the event of a Nazi victhe War Department:

1. Protect sensitive points on might begin to sell our cotton, railroads and waterways.

2. Protect wharves, docks, and bridges of special importance. 3. Guard government plants, storage depots, terminals and

4. QUELL OUTBREAKS, AND railroad workers? Not so good, if UPRISINGS OCCURRING WITH. you consider the settlement the IN THE CONFINES OF THE

other government interests and

PROPERTY GUARDED. 5. ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN CARRYING OUT

ALIEN ENEMY PROCLAMA-6. Guard prisoners of war. ing over \$15 a week." In return, 7. ASSIST ALLIED AND CIVIL the railroad crosses it heart that

POLICE IN THE ENFORCE- "back wages due employes will MENT OF MILITARY LAWS be repaid if and when the car-AND REGULATIONS WHEN SO rier's revenue increases to a cer-DIRECTED BY COMPETENT tain point. The management also AUTHORITY. "In order that they might car- before making any substantial de-

ry out their mission," the BUL- creases in working forces." LETIN states, "the War Department has amply supplied these feat in any worker's language. organizations with rifles, pistols, shot-guns, machine guns, sub-machine guns, mortars, and two fully equipped scout cars."

You can bet your bottom dollar that the Military Police Battalions will be used first of all gainst organized labor.

Tellers of the UMW have issued official returns on the union elec. be back on our doorstep, no mattion held last December, John L. Lewis received 123,046 votes for president; Philip Murray, 143,423, realignment around his party, votes for vice-president; and

GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

Comrade Grace Carlson arrives in San Francisco this week, on her national speaking tour. She is now on the last lap of the long tour which began January 2 in Milwaukee and ends April 9, in Minnesota's Twin Cities. The rest of her tour fol-

SAN FRANCISCO: Friday-Sunday, March 28-30. She speaks Friday, 8 p.m., at 421 Kearny St. Subject: "The War Today."

PORTLAND, Oregon: Monday, March 31.

SEATTLE, Washington: Tuesday, April 1.

PLENTYWOOD, Montana; Friday, April 4th, 8 p.m., at the Farmer Labor Temple. Subject: "The Right To Life." FARGO, N. D.: Monday, Tuesday, April 7, 8.

TWIN CITIES: Wednesday,

Bulletin of the Left Opposition is just off the press. The contents of this issue are

'So It Was."

the old parties.

Latest Issue of

Russian Bulletin

extremely important. It includes special article by Natalia Trotsky, widow of the founder of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky, who was murdered by the G.P.U. This article is entitled,

The latest issue of the Russian

In addition, the Bulletin features exclusive information on conditions in the Soviet Union and other articles dealing with the revolutionary labor movement throughout the world.

secured at 116 University Place, New York City. Sympathizers of the Russian Left Opposition are urged to bring this issue to the attention of their Russian reading

Copies of the Bulletin may be

Second Week **Begins Monday March 31st**

The MARXIST SCHOOL

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

Irving Plaza I: Permanent Revolution in American His-

tory-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. international roots and meaning; their rise and fall.

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 5. The Democratic Dictatorship of the Bour-

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-

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

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, MILITANT which featured re- 116 University Place, every day (except Sunday),

III. The World at War-By Jack Weber, This course applies Marxist analysis-and makes some predictions on that basis—to the various aspects of World II. 2. Japan and the United States: Struggle for

3. South America: The Good Neighbor Clenches the Fist.

4; Italian and German Fascism and the War. 5. The USSR and War. Which Side Stalin? 6. Imperialist War and the Class Struggle.

The Workers and the War. Wednesdays-7:10 to 8:40-6 sessions \$1.00

IV. Trade Unionism and Politics—By Farrell Dobbs,

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 strategy of militant leadership in the struggle against the bosses.

2. Marxist Strategy in Mediation; Arbitration. and Negotiation of Trade Union Contracts.

3. How to Lead a Militant Strike, 4. The Role of the Trade Unions in the Epoch of Wars and Revolutions.

5. The Necessity for the Trade Unions to Enter Politics. 6. Machine Control-The Boss Mechanism for

Sterilizing Organized Labor. Wednesdays—8:50 to 10:20—6 sessions \$1.00

ATTENDANCE

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.

Union Victor In N. Y. Bus Strike

Forces Bosses To Drop Wage Cut Proposal; Battle On Subway Will Come In June

NEW YORK CITY, March 22—The latest attempt of Mayor La Guardia and the New York City Board of Transportation to undermine the Transport Workers Union (CIO) has

After an 11-day effort to smash the strike of 3,500 bus workers of the carriers of 90 per cent of the city's bus traffic, La Guardia and the companies had to back down and agree to a settlement last Thursday favorable to the union.

What is more, everybody understood that thereby the union had won the preliminary round in the greater battle to maintain union conditions on the subways.

overcrowded than usual, and in

The intent of this phoney line

of newspaper propaganda was to

rage about "public interest" and

Offsetting the boss press pro-

their contacts with strikers show

ed their friendly sympathy.

PUBLICITY PROBLEM

ed but was not forthcoming.

workers on the subways.

Every avenue of approach to the

workers of this city must be util-

ized to bring home the need for

The TWOC must endeavor to

movement officially acquainted

The support of the trade union

union transport workers for bet-

ter conditions and higher wages

The ability of the bus workers to shut down the bus lines hold their ranks solid for 11 days, successfully beat off the blows of the companies and city officials and the strikebreaking barrage of the big business newspapers, is an inspiration to the subway workers, whose showdown comes | pave the way for a frenzied barat the end of June.

SETTLEMENT TERMS

The busses rolled this morning for the first time since 5 A. M. Monday, March 10, with the bus drivers and helpers triumphant in the knowledge that they had de- paganda was a central problem feated the companies' demands of the strike, and here, unfortufor wage cuts, longer hours, eli- nately, the union leadership demination of sick leaves, reduction monstrated a serious weakness, of paid vacations and the firing one which must be overcome in of one out of every two men on the next weeks before the subway the Fifth Avenue two-man busses. fight comes to a head. A daily

The bosses have instead, agreed strike newspaper, to be distributto renew the old contract and, in ed throughout the city, was needaddition, to arbitrate the union's demand for wage increases totalling up to \$1,000,000. Up to the last moment the companies had insisted that arbitration include the companies' demands.

Mayor La Guardia, abandoning any pretense of pro-labor sym- keep the entire New York labor pathy, launched a vitriolic radio attack on the union on the Sun- with each step of the developments day preceding the strike. In a in the coming decisive battle with lying broadside, La Guardia dec- the city and to involve every unlared: "They just want to strike. ion local behind its fight. They refuse to arbitrate even though the companies are willing movement may be the key to victo extend the present contract."

What the companies had actually offered was disclosed in their measure of such support was lack- in Vanadium more than five years. own full-page ads carried every ing in this present strike because day for a week in all the major of previous antagonism between newspapers in the city. "We of the TWOC leadership and other fered to extend the existing con- local trade union officials over istracts for 30, 60 or ninety days, sues of a political character to IRON OUT ANY DIFFER-

That is, the companies had merely agreed to a purely temporary Such extraneous issues must not extension of the old contract, but remained adamant in their insist- the necessary fraternal aid for a year. Two-thirds have been at ence that negotiations be based on the militant transport workers. company demands for wage reductions and destruction of other vital union conditions.

STRIKEBREAKING MOVES

La Guardia continued throughout the strike to collaborate in the companies' attacks and the propaganda campaign of the millionaire press by his public insistence that the union should immediately call off the strike and arbitrate on the company's basis.

Police Commissioner Valentine, undoubtedly on orders from La Guardia, sought to intimidate the strikers by announcing he was prepared to give full police protection to scabs in the event that

But the strength of the union and the plainly expressed determination of the strikers not to permit strikebreaking forced the city and the companies to retreat from their provocative plans.

La Guardia then tried to maneuver the union into an unfavorable light by his appointment of a "fact-finding" three-man board to "study" the strike and to determine whether the companies' arbitration proposals were "reasonable."

When the board was named by La Guardia last Wednesday it was abundantly clear what its strikebreaking purpose was. The members were Noel Dowling, conservative law professor of the corporation-financed Columbia University: William S. Menden, former president of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation; and Thomas E. Murray, former receiver for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company.

WHO IS THE PUBLIC

During the strike the boss press kept hammering away at the "inconvenience to the public." The "public," that is the huge working population of New York, comvery differently than did the news- union movement. ways, which were slightly more tion to all the reactionaries with eat the paper it was written on. As soon as they were hired, these

California Aircraft Pickets



Member of the National Die Casters Association of America and the United Automobile Workers, both CIO affiliates, picketing the Harvil Aircraft Die Casting plant at Ingelwood, California,

where 350 workers just settled their 10-day strike for union recognition and wage increases. "hardship" in the eventuality of a subway walkout three months Life And Death Issues

Every Striker Has Miner's Asthma From This Death-Dealing Work: Without A Union's Protection These Men Will Die So Much Sooner

For the union means life itself to the fighting Vanadium was the beginning of a company

considered almost a sentence of death. Today, because of the union, the workers have compelled the company to maintain some of the minimum health and

Vanadium workers worked for as low as 25 cents an hour. The un- dependent corporation. The Vanaion has won them a minimum

tory or defeat for the TWOC in Even today the saying goes in the days to come. An important this town that few men can last adium ore at its source in Peru.

DEATH-DEALING JOBS

The Vanadium plant is a killer. Almost every worker has a cough, the sign of the miner's asthma or whatever time was necessary which are not directly connected caused by the action of the vanadium dust eating away at the respiratory organs, the throat and all its records and transactions, with the immediate fight of the

> have been on the job less than institutions of J. P. Morgan and be permitted on either side to bar the work less than two years. Given a well-thought out and Only 66 men of the plant's production personnel have managed to persistent general publicity camsurvive at the job more than five paign in the next three months.

plus the full support of the entire labor movement, the transport workers have demonstrated reasons. The handling and mixthrough this successful prelimin- ing of the neavy vanadium dust ary strike that they have the is gruelling, back-breaking labor fighting qualities to carry through Two men in stifling masks, shovel to victory against the plot of La and mix the weighty substance Guardia and the bankers to des- for 15 minutes. That is as long as troy the union on the subway a man can last at the task Thon two more workers relieve them.

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., March 23-When Sidney Hillman in- | guards were used inside the plant tervened eight days ago against the 400 striking workers of the to push, goad and harass the

It is against this death-dealing

exploitation that the 400 Vana-

dium workers are fighting. They

dium Corporation of America

holds a complete monopoly on the

world supply of the valuable van-

This metal is an essential steel-

hardening alloy, which in minute

Who controls this essential steel

processing element? The transfer

agent of the corporation, holding

is the Guaranty Trust Company

of New York, one of the financial

company, holding all its bonds, is

the Chase National Bank, control-

led by the Rockefeller interests.

Thus, behind this seemingly

small corporation, which employs

about 1500 workers in its Bridge-

ville and Buffalo, N. Y., plants, is

the combined wealth and power

of the two mightiest financial oli-

In the past six weeks, these

400 Vanadium workers have stood

off the stupendous pressure of

the company officials; they have

withstood the envenomed lies of

tion; they have jeered their de-

might of the federal government

the interests of E. T. Bransome.

"labor consultant" on Hillman's

staff and president of the Vana-

them back to work last week with

Only today, for the first time

Federoff, regional CIO director

who supported the company and

deserted the strikers by ordering

them back to work against their

own democratic vote, was forced

accept Hillman's proposal to re-

turn to work and submit uncon-

ditionally to third-party arbitra-

The strike was called February

of a provision in the union con-

must go to union men.

"national defense" threats.

garchies in the world.

A BAND OF HEROES

proportions vastly increases the

ductility and tensility of steel.

Vanadium Corporation here and attacked their union, he was workers. dealing a blow at the very lives of these workers.

full support of the transport workers, and that's why Hillman got nowhere. Before they had a union, a production job in the plant was step. And so the Vanadium work-

> safety requirements. Back in the early thirties, the are fighting against no little inwage of 72 cents an hour.

And the job is a killer for other

James B. Carey Comes the companies tried to operate the Out For Red-Baiting

in his union to bar "communists, and strike, nazis and fascists" from office in

er of the pro-war elements in the the war machine.

the General Executive Board."

allies, Carey was able to maintain union militants as well. his reputation as a militant work- Carey's answer to THE MILI- tract, that if the company insisted ing class leader. His statement TANT doesn't read so well now! today makes it clear that he takes He will learn what his more exposed in the main of unionized his place with those labor bureau perienced and cynical fellow workers, their friends, relatives crats who are acting as the agents bureaucrats in the war machine strangers from out of town, have and sympathizers, took the strike of the war drive inside the trade have learned a long time ago:

James B. Carey, president of in the UE to start a campaign to the CIO United Electrical, Radio drive out of the union all those and Machine Workers Union last who stand for a struggle against week gave public sanction in the the war and against the curtailmarch 22 UE News for all locals | ment of labor's right to organize Carey will find, however, that

the militants within the union are Carey's latest move completes too deeply intrenched to be eased his break from collaboration with out. Every class conscious workthe Stalinists in the leadership of er in the UE will resist Carey's the union and begins his offensive attempt to emasculate his union against the Stalinists as a lead- and turn it into an appendage of

It is interesting to note that as If there was any doubt as to recently as three weeks ago, Carey the meaning of Carey's move, his indignantly denied the charge opponent, Julius Emspak, editor that had been made in THE of the UE News, adds a hostile MILITANT that he was changing note to Carey's column. Emspak his line. Carey's answer to the says that Carey, after first agree- MILITANT was that he was aling not to print this article, now ways critical of the Stalinists. In "for reasons best known to him: reality, however, he had been a WHY THEY STRIKE self has notified me from Wash- bedfellow of theirs in the People's ington that he insists on printing Front period. But now he has 10th after the company hired six his views prior to the meeting of shown that it is not a matter of professional company police to "criticism" of the Stalinists, but a act as spies over the workers, With the help of his Stalinist drive to outlaw them and the The union protested on the basis

namely, never to say anything on torious union-smashing agencies papers. They simply rode the sub- His statement is an open invita- a principled issue lest he have to like Pinkerton's or Railway Audit.

The workers realized that this plan to break their union step by

BULLETIN

Murray Enters Vanadium Strike

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., March 24 - Philip Murray, CIO head. intervened today in the Vana dium strike.

Murray called a committee of the strikers to his office and took relations with the strikers out of the hands of CIO sub regional director Federoff.

Murray then proposed to the company a settlement including: dismissal of five non-union plant guards, selection of five new plant guards by an impartial party, return of all strikers to work without discrimination, and payment of arbitration board determines that the strike was not in violation of the union contract.

which means life itself to them. STRIKERS NEED AID

To date, the Vanadium workers have carried on an almost mira- men, these finks loaf around the culous battle practically alone. They are prepared to continue that fight with all the strength and spirit they possess.

the boss press of the entire na-But they must have assistance. Their funds are exhausted. Their flance of the strike breaking efkitchen shelves are empty. Day forts of Governor James and his after day they hold on by sheer scab-herding state police; they force of will, buoyed up in the have refused to bow before the conviction that they are fighting for principles which are the dearitself, when Hillman, acting in est possession of all free workers.

The Vanadium strike is the fight of every union man and woman in dium Corporation, tried to club America. Don't let these 400 heroic workers down! All they need to continue their battle is some measure of fraternal support and material aid from the workers in since the strike began, Anthony the world outside.

Material aid and resolution of support should be sent to United Vanadium Workers, L.I.U. 953, American Legion Hall, co Pat into direct conference with the McCracken, Bridgeville, Pa.

Give these brave union men and strikers. They rejected, by a 114 to 70 vote, Federoff's proposal to their loyal wives and families the aid they so fully deserve, and they will defeat the greatest powers of anti-labor monopoly capital in

> In NEWARK, N. J. Buy the MILITANT

> > Newsstand, Broad & Wm. Sts. Cohen's Confectionary, 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE near Court House.

Bethlehem's Main Plant Is Struck

(Continued from Page 1) election" of "representatives" to company union council.

The latest move of the Morgandominated Bethlehem Steel Corporation to stem the tide of union ism in its vast domain is to bolster its "Employes' Representation Plan" through a company-sponsored, company-financed and controlled "election" which begins tomorrow. Last week flag-draped ballotboxes were suddenly placed in all the departments of the many mills of the company dominating the length of the Bethlehem valley.

STRIKE NOTICE SERVED

Notice of the strike was served on the company officials and Sidney Hillman, associate director of the Office for Production Management, by Howard T. Curtiss, local director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO).

Curtiss declared that the Beth-In The Vanadium Strike lehem workers intend to shut the plant down tight if the company. does not agree before tomorrow to call off its "primary" election to departments spying on the work officers usually runs as follows: the E.R.P.

by a two-day stoppage involving 5,000 workers when the company refused to meet with union departmental committees to settle a rising flood of grievances.

A PROTEST STRIKE

The strike is intended primarily as a protest, to focus national attention on the fact that Bethlehem Steel is still operating a company union nine months after the N.L. R.B. ordered its dissolution and that the second largest steel corporation in America is the only major steel company still maintaining a company union set-up in violation of the Wagner Labor

Despite the decisions of the NLRB, the government has not made a move to enforce the dissolution of this anti-labor set-up. The balloting for the company union is to be conducted on company property under the direct supervision of the plant's foremen, supervisors and company police. The management has not permitted the SWOC to be listed on the ballot, well aware that the union commands an overwhelming majority in the plants.

The company tries to give its

"independence" by not paying the company union officials directly for their services as finks. They are given soft jobs around the plants while being listed as rollers struck to save the union ers or similar types of workers and drawing down pay as high as \$15 a day.

COMPANY UNION'S METHOD

Under the pretense of "investigating" the grievances of the He's Not Smiling Now!



Harry Bennett, Ford Motor Company personnel manager and head of the Ford "Service Department" army of thugs and stool pigeons, isn't smiling like this now. This picture was taken before the United Automobile Workers (CIO) succeeded in organizing tens of thousands of Ford Workers and scaring hell out of old Hank Ford.

The fighting temper of the neighborhood beer spots and pool ing with a long patriotic speech into work clothes.

cials are "permitted" to deal with cleaner toilets, increased parking the department foremen and sup-space or how to increase "efficipany time, the CIO representatives ers more. And that's all. are compelled to deal only with their own time.

There are no membership meet the smashing of the 1919 steel ings of the company union. The strike.

A typical meeting of the man- Eugene Grace's signature on a agement and the company union union contract.

ers, or often hang around the the plant manager opens the meetworkers here was shown recently halls during work hours. Frequ- and then leaves, and an assistant ently they don't even bother to or the personnel manager then change from their street clothes conducts the "negotiations," involving such important griev-While the company union offi- ances as a new drinking fountain,

> ervisors inside the plants on com- ency," that is, speed up the work-The company union system has the personnel director, and on been in existence in Bethlehem Steel for over 20 years, ever since

workers are merely compelled to But the hours of Eugene Grace's vote in a Hitler "ja" election for "Employes' Representation Plan" "representatives" to a central are numbered. "O little town of council which elects its own of Bethlehem, how still we see thee ficers as designated by the com- lie," will not be sung in this little steel town until the SWOC gets

BUFFALO COMMITTEE DEMAND AIRCRAFT JOBS FOR NEGROES

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Committee to Defend Negro Rights, composed of white and Negro workers and progressives, has launched a campaign against the Curtiss-Wright Aircraft Company and other corporations here, to force the companies to abandon their refusal to hire Negro workers.

The committee—headed by Lyman Covert, international resentative of the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO) and organizer for the Curtiss-Wright local; Paul Kujac, representative of the Workers Defense League; and Reverend J. Hahn, pastor of the Evangelical Reform Church—recently called at the Curtiss-Wright plant and forced a hearing on their demands for jobs for Negroes by the personnel director of the plant.

The committee went to the plant after the management ignored a registered letter from the committee asking for a con-

The committee is continuing to hammer away at the corporation.

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This is the last issue of the Militant which will make this special offer, take advantage of it.

Mail this coupon and 50c not later than April 5, 1941

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The Negro's Fight For Jobs, Equal Rights

Future Outlook League Growing In Cleveland

Negro Organization Uses Militant Methods To Win Jobs; Encourages Its Members To Join The CIO And AFL Trade Unions

business man on a basis of hon-

esty and justice was about as pro-

fitable as talking to an iron dog.

recognizes only one thing-force"

so the F. O. L.'s year book states.

adopted a militant policy of boy-

"Laws and legal technicali-

ties and decisions of judges

that will allow other groups

(whites) to picket in the heart

of downtown, or picket in any

other part of the city, and at

the same time prevent Negroes

from using the same method

in demanding their economic

rights will never be obeyed or

recognized by the Future Out-

look League. There is no power

on earth that is going to stop

this organization from fighting

against the injustices that are

Naturally, the F.O.L. has drawn

ire from enemies as a result of

its militant methods. It has been

charged with racketeering but, as

for as we can find out, with as little

justification as Pegler and other

movement. More serious are the

charges that the organization

ism which would prevent Negro

accorded the Negro."

F.O.L. SAYS IT STANDS

FOR TRADE UNIONISM

"The first Negro motion picture operator in Cleveland, is unfounded. going to work tonight, across the street in the Globe Theater. Today he is going down to join the union. We do not object to methods of his organization are that. Our concern is that the shows living on Negro patronage limited. He admitted, for exam hire Negro operators, and that when they are in the union, they ple, that Negroes could not put get the same deal as the rest of the members.'

This was cited as an example by John O. Holly President of by boycotting airplane parts. And the Future Outlook League, when I asked him how his organization stood on the matter of trade unions.

The F.O.L. is an independent Negro organization whose slogan among its people is, "Don't spend your money where you can't work!".

In answer to my query as to whether the F. O. L. attempted American business is ruthless, to speak for the Negro on the broader social political issues affecting his race, Mr. Holly re-

"Of course we have our own personal opinions but as an organization we stick pretty close to the economic issue of jobs, and let the other organizations take care of such issues. We also have a housing, committee which is working to remedy the deplorable housing conditions of the Negroes in the city."

HOW THE F.O.L. GETS JOBS FOR NEGROES

Six years ago, when the F.O.L. was founded, very few merchants in the Negro area hired any but white employes, and the few Negroes were underpaid porters. Today, these merchants employ 1100 members of the (F.O.L.) Employe's Association who are working under negotiated agreements affecting wages and working con-

Altogether the F.O.L. has 16,000 members and several affiliates such as the Employe's Association, the Beauticians Association, and the Independent Ice and Coal Men's Association. The Employe's boss agents have in making the same charges against the union Association keeps five business agents busy enforcing contracts. A steady stream of people going through the organization's headquarters attests to the influence which the organization has in its together in the trade unions, and

In the beginning, the F. O. L. Negro can solve all his problems started by making a simple apby building up a separate econopeal to merchants but soon became mic life through the establishtheir fight for their oppressed to making a simple apthe Amalgamated Clothing Workdesire no disturbing factor in than they have. "convinced that appealing to a ment of Negro business. However, race.

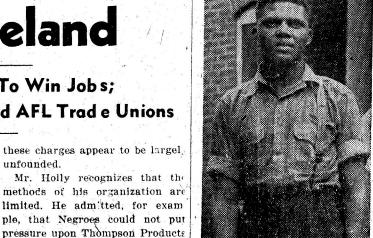
Mr. Holly recognizes that the pressure upon Thompson Products while his organization advocates the establishment of Negro-owned business, it does recognize that the struggle for Negro rights is mainly a labor struggle.

The organization generally favors the trade union movement. In some cases it has had clashes with without ethics, without honesty. It AFL unions whose reactionary leadership refused to recognize the right of Negroes to work in Therefore the organization those fields where the unions had jurisdiction. Where the establishcott and picket lines. Once after ed trade union movement does being faced with an injunction. not take in Negroes or offer them it issued the following statement: any job security, the F. O. L.'s Employe's Association acts as a union for these workers.

Robert S. Warren, president of this association, states:

"The employes believe in unionism, because it is the trend of the working class of today...The day has passed when Negroes can be used to break strikes. Today, both Negto and white strike together, and for the same purposes, economic freedom and more wages. That's why the Employe's Association is strongly in support of mass organiza-

Job competition is part of the capitalist system. Negroes competing with whites, non Jews against Jews, men against women, mar ried against unmarried, young against old — that goes on as long as there are not enough jobs for everybody. Not until all these workers unite under the program of our party to establish a workers' government, where all can have jobs at decent pay, can preers be eliminated.



UNIONS SUPPORT DEFENSE OF ODELL WALLER

Moral and material support o ganizations throughout the coun try have been given Odell Walter voung Negro share-cropper tem porarily saved from death in the electric chair by a stay of execu tion, after his conviction by ar all-white planters' jury in Virgi nia in the self-defense killing of his white landlord.

Scores of local unions have sent | Colored People. resolutions of support and funds

and Wayne County voted a unan- 1919, in which he said: imous resolution in defense of "If the two races are to live class divided, so that the workers financial contribution. The Council as well be understood that the their oppressors.

judices and hatreds among work- have joined in the Waller de- his experiences in the War, he 'Negro inferiority'. By their meth-In the meanwhile, we stand for Board of the Dressmakers Union. full social, political, and economic International Ladies Garment equality for the Negro people, and Workers (AFL), the New York will support such organizations and Pittsburgh Joint Boards of white people of this country who cause the Negroes have even less ers (CIO), etc.

MAY PROBE JIM CROW IN WAR INDUSTRIES

Senator Byrnes of South Caroina, Roosevelt's floor leader and chairman of the powerful Senate Audit and Control Committee: stumbling block to the passage of Senate Resolution 75, which prorides for an investigation of dis the working class, including the alley. crimination against the Negro Negro workers, on the other side. workers in the war production

Before the measure can be and Control committee.

evelt's choice for the present va. light: as sources of profit, as cancy on the United States Su. shoulders on which to place the

"Never during his public life for Waller to the Workers De has he (Byrnes) deviated from dustry have found it useful to fense League, which is handling the position he took more than exclude Negroes from almost all the organization of Waller's de twenty years ago," the memorandum says, and quotes Byrnes' The CIO Council of Detroit speech in Congress, August 25,

Waller and made a substantial together in this country, it may will be less able to unite against ficial appeal to every CIO local attitude of the white man toward in the area to take similar action. the social and political equality workers with practices and theo of the Negro. If, as a result of ries of "white supremacy" and fense are the New York Joint does not care to live in this land ods of propaganda, the schools without political and social equal- movies, newspapers, magazines ity, then he can depart for any radio, etc., the bosses have sought BILLS AGAINST UNIONS country he wishes, and his de to convince the white workers WILL HARM NEGROES

Many Bills Introduced **Against Discrimination** But Not All Of Them Are Really For The Benefit Of The Negro; One Group Of Them Is Really Bosses' Weapon Against Unions

By ALBERT PARKER A considerable number of bills dealing with discrimination against Negroes in employment have been introduced in several

state legislatures and in Congress. Negroes and trade unionists

are quite naturally interested in learning what these bills are all

about, which ones are worth supporting, which ones are harmful. Most of the bills can be divided roughly into two categories: (1) Those which penalize employers who discriminate against Negroes in hiring; and (2) those which penalize trade unions which bar Negroes from membership.

toward these bills, it is necessary for them to think about them, not only as Negroes, but also as Negro

of the fundamental conflict between the bosses on one side, and All this is right up the bosses' The main interest of the bosses

n running factories is to make money. They can't make it unless prought to the Senate floor for a they have people working for them. vote, it must first be passed by These workers produce the material which the bosses can sell at a gro worker as a white worker. The rumor that Byrnes is Roos- It looks upon both in the same profit and privilege.

> But the bosses who control injobs but domestic service and agriculture. The bosses have done this because of their desire to find methods of keeping the working

The bosses have poisoned the

In order for Negro workers to arrive at a correct approach methods, many white workers have been taught to look down or the Negro people; as another re sult, Negro workers have beer To do that, they must be aware filled with suspicion of all white people, including white workers

> THE FIGHT TO GET JOBS FOR NEGROES

In this situation, where th bosses are the exploiters and the rect to use every possible mean: Under Senate rules, all measures, profit. Basically, the bosses don't to force the bosses to open th providing for expenditures from care who works for them. The doors of industry to the Negro the Senate contingent fund must ruling class as a whole would just It is correct to demand that the first be approved by the Audit as soon exploit and sweat a Ne employers, who are getting bil lions through war contracts, b refused such contracts if they re use to hire Negroes.

This does not mean that w preme Court has evoked a sharp burden of depressions created by should place very much relianc protest from the National Asso- the capitalist system, as cannor on these bills as a means of win ciation for the Advancement of fodder to be used in the wars for ning jobs for Negroes. To do so and to forget about the method of mass action and mass demon stration to win concessions fror the bosses, would be a great mis take. One good picket line is worth a dozen bills.

> We must never forget that the government which is designated these bills is a bosses' govern t sets the example of "white su periority" in its army and nav and in civil service; and that a ready there are plenty of anti discrimination laws on the statute

The bills penalizing employer may do some good. But the bills penalizing unions can do no good at all and are certain to do harm both to Negro and white workers Both the white worker and the Negro worker are victims of the capitalist system. Each suffer from wage cuts, depressions, fasc ism and war. Each suffers from the bosses' divide-and-rule policy even though many white worker

(like many Negro workers) don'

see this very plainly yet. Both the white worker and the Negro worker want the same things; decent jobs and homes the right to live freely and har pily. They are both denied thes things by the capitalist system o private property and profit. Wha they must do is unite their force against their common enemy and take the things they have buil and created and use them for the

common good of all. Unfortunately, the workers o both races don't see things at clearly as that yet. They don' fully understand that they have a common goal and that they mus act together and for each other Fortunately, large numbers o white workers in the CIO union have begun to learn this throug!

We can readily understand and sympathize with the resentmen brotherhoods. We of the Socialis Workers Party have always fough inside the trade union movemen for full and unqualified equality for the Negro people. Our record shows that we have consistently fought William Green and Co. or this question.

Nevertheless we are forced to oppose passage of any bill penal izing unions. We oppose such bills because they will hurt the workers alike.

The bosses could and would try to use such bills, in the name of

cannot delegate to the bosses or to the bosses' government the job of destroying Jim Crowism in the unions, for the bosses are the friends of neither the Negroes nor the unions. They would try to destroy the unions, not to help one section of the working class, the Negroes, but to cut wages and lengthen hours of all workers including the Negroes.

WE CAN'T LET ENEMIES. "CLEAN" OUR HOUSE

We cannot depend on the boss government which Jim Crows the Negro in the army and navy to wipe out Jim Crowism in the labor movement. That job can be done only by the advanced workers of all races.

Passage of such bills against mions would not serve to educate the backward white workers in the unions. On the contrary, it would tend to grouse their antagonism to colored workers. The lily-white leaders in such unions would point to the bill and say hat the Negroes are cooperating with the enemies of labor in desstroying the unions, and would ise that to incite the backward white workers still further against he Negroes.

THE CIO SHOWS WHAT CAN BE DONE

The only way to educate the ackward rank-and-file unionists to the need of admitting Negroes on an equal basis to all unions is by showing them that unity is necessary to protect the union's gains, and that Negroes are good unionists who want to protect the

This is often a hard job, we admit, but there is no other way to unite black and white. That it example of the powerful CIO, where Negroes are admitted as members with full equality and play a leading role in the unions. The example of the CIO can be effectively used in the fight to expose the reactionary policy of the lilywhite leader like Green and Harrison.

Summed up, this means that bills penalizing unions will never accomplish the purposes hoped for by many sincere Negroes, and that instead of serving to integrate Negroes into the labor movement. such bills would tend to make that task more difficult.

"But," some Negroes will say. "these bills are not aimed at all the unions, they are aimed only it some unions guilty of Jim Crowism. We believe in unionism, we want to be good union men, t is the enemies of the Negroes who are keeping us from becom-'ng good and devoted unionists."

There is truth in this argument.

out still it is not enough to change the fundamental task. Opening 'only some" unions to the attacks of the bosses and their government is a springboard for opening he union movement as a whole to such attacks. For once some unons can be smashed, the appetite of the bosses will be whetted, and hey will not be satisfied to let it go at that. We cannot ask our enemies to clean our own house, for they will not do it in our interests. And the labor movement is the house of the Negro people. As against the bosses, we must defend the unions, even when some of their leaders or members have done wrong against the working class. If in any way we help the bosses to weaken our own class organizing, we lay ourselves open, and the Negroes lay themselves open, to attacks that if successful will send us all back ten or 15 years. Meanwhile, the advanced work-

ers, the class conscious workers. the more far-seeing workers of all races, will work with us in educating all trade unionists. Widespread discussion of these bills can do much to awaken backward white workers to the necessity of admitting Negroes into all unions on an equal and comradely basis for the struggle to improve the conditions of workers of all races.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

The Negro And The U.S. Army

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

By EUGENE VARLIN

The ruling class approved the utilization of the colored people for the non-combatant work, that is, for the drudgery so essential to the functioning of a modern army; two-thirds of the Negroes drafted were used this way. There was by no means the same unanimity on the use of colored combat units. The South, particularly, was afraid to arm the Negroes.

"What chiefly disturbs the South," wrote the New Republic on October 20, 1917, "is the probable effect upon the Negro population of the return of the men who have served their campaigns. Will the Negro be the same kind of man when he is mustered out as he was when he was mustered in? Will he accept the facts of white supremacy with the same spirit as formerly? Or will he have acquired a new sense of independence that will make of him a fomenter of unrest

among his people?" After drilling in preparation for duty at the front, thousands of Negroes were placed in Labor Battalions. Of 3,380 men recruited by November. 1917, into the colored 372nd Regiment 1.680 were shifted to labor work and only 500 were sent to a combat organization at Camp Upton. The Harlem 369th after landing in France in January, 1918, was temporarily assigned to the engineers. The same fate befell the 370th, 371st, and 372nd

It is interesting to note that the arrival of the Negro combat troops and their whereabouts in France were kept hidden from the newspaper correspondents by the American General Staff. The Literary Digest of June 15, 1918, reported: "For more than a month, they (the Negro combat troops) have played a part in the vast theater of war, yet save for certain personages at headquarters, nobody in General Pershing's command has been any wiser." This secrecy was supplemented by a careful censorship of their mail. The treatment they got was thus effectively concealed from their friends at home.

Inadequately Trained for Fighting

We have discussed how colored officers were prevented from getting artillery instruction; similar difficulties were faced by the colored combat troops. The dispatch quoted above stated that the men of the 369th Regiment, though "recruited voluntarily a year before we declared war went into the trenches with less training on

French soil than any other troops have had." The Y.M.C.A, workers, Mrs. Hunton and Miss Johnson, wrote that Negro troops "had to be taught to load a gun after they reached the front line trenches; their ignorance of how to protect themselves in battle caused the list of killed and wounded to be much larger than it would other-

wise have been." Du Bois believed that "the cruel losses of the 369th Regiment" could be attributed in part to the fact that the French used them "at first" like Senegalese who "were rushed at the enemy almost with naked hands." The 368th Regiment, which went over the top in the Argonne drive on September 24th, had no artillery support until the sixth day of battle; it had no trench-fires. signal-flares, or shears with which to cut the German barbed-wire entaglements. Mrs. Hunton and Miss Johnson wrote that these colored troops were not even "equipped with rifle grenades ... absolutely necessary for use in the destruction of German machine-gun nests" and that, furthermore, "none of the enlisted men had even seen such a grenade...The absence of this weapon in warfare where guns alone were practically useless, caused a retreat which resulted in several colored officers being arrested and sent to prison for cowardice." After the war, they were exonerated when a Negro attorney, Captain Le-

rov Godman, established the truth of these facts. Despite these obstacles, the colored soldiers made a brilliant record on the field of battle. Two Negro fighters of the 369th Regiment were the first American soldiers to receive the Croix de

The entire 367th Infantry was cited for bravery and awarded the Croix de Guerre. General

Pershing addressed the Negro troops assembled at Le Mans before their departure for the United States as follows: "... You have measured up to every expectation of the Commander-in-Chief ... I commend the 92nd Division for its achievements not only in the field, but on the record its men have made in their individual conduct."

In general, however, the American officers tended to deprive the Negroes of the military honors to which they were entitled. After a particularly notable exploit of the 372nd Regiment, says Du Bois, "Congratulations came in from everywhere except American Headquarters."

Attitude of the White Soldiers

The white and Negro rank and file drew closer during the war, learning from common exper-

ience that they were allies, not enemies. O. E. McKaine wrote from France that "the white and colored Americans in the ranks mix nearly everywhere, indiscriminately. There were times when they are out of the same mess outfits, drank out of the same canteen and bunked in the same hay pile at night. They—the white and colored soldiers-have been seen strolling and eating with French women without the least embarrassment. Many times the white soldiers have invited the Buffaloes over to their billets for a good time and they have fairly lived among

The white officers did everything in their power to destroy the growing solidarity of the white and Negro soldiers. Anti-Negro actions, said McKane, "were due to" the policies of the officials rather than to the inclinations of the men themselves."

The white officers were afraid of the effect that contact with the French would have on the colored American soldiers and tried, in every way possible, to prevent such contact.

Negro soldiers were forbidden to move about freely in the French towns. Here are typical examples: On October 18, 1918, General Goybet, commanding the 157th Division, prohibited "the entrance of inns and the sale of spirits to the American colored troops of the division."

In November 1918, General Horn ordered the officers (colored) of the 167th Brigade Detachment to stop attending the dances tendered by the French ladies of Vannes. On December 26, 1918, when the war for "democracy" had already been brought to a successful conclusion, Brigadier-General Erwin of the 92nd Division of colored troops issued the following order:

are charged are . . . "(B) To prevent enlisted men from addressing or holding conversation with the women inhabit-

"(F) To prevent enlisted men from entering any building other than their respective billets, with the exceptions of stores, places of

On August 7, 1918, at the behest of American General Headquarters, the French Military Mission stationed with the American army issued a document entitled "Secret Information Concerning Black Troops" to the mayors and prefects

"... The French public has become accustomed to treating the Negro with familiarity and

ters of grievous concern for the Americans. They consider them an affront to their national policy. They are afraid that contact with the French will their own experiences of fighting inspire in black Americans aspirations which to side by side with Negro workers them appear intolerable. It is of the utmost im- in strikes and on picket lines. portance that every effort be made to avoid pro-

black man is regarded by the white American Crow leadership of some of the as an inferior being with whom only relations AFL unious and the railroad of business or service are possible . . .

degree of intimacy between French officers and black officers . . . We must not eat with them,

American troops, particularly in the presence of Americans . . .

ment population from 'spoiling' the Negroes. Americans become greatly incensed at any public interests of the Negro and white expression of intimacy between white women and black men."

"The special duties with which military police

ants of the town . . . amusements, and cafes."

of France:

"This familiarity and this indulgence are matfoundly estranging American opinion.

"Although a citizen of the United States, the of the Negroes against the Jir "We must prevent the rise of any pronounced

must not shake hands or seek to talk or meet with them outside of the requirements of military service . . . "We must not commend too highly the black

"Make a point of keeping the native canton-

This is the sixth article in this series. The "destroying discrimination," to final article will appear next week. Don't miss it! destroy the labor movement. We

Negro Struggle

The Fight Against Ford

In his latest broadside against the CIO, D. J. Marshall, Negro personnel head of the Ford Motor Company (who will be fired by Ford, not by the union, if Ford is organized), hurls the following challenge at the United Auto Workers Union:

"The proposition seems to resolve itself to this: The union tells colored people that, if they will join the union, they will get industrial freedom; the Negroes at the Ford Motor Company tell the union that if they will give the colored workers this independence in the shops where the union is already established, then they might consider unionism."

To answer this challenge successfully would be to win the great majority of Negroes over to the union and to practically assure that the workers' ranks would be united and indivisible against Ford, Bennett and Marshall. As THE MILITANT has pointed out before, what is needed now is an aggressive policy, a program that takes the offensive against the bosses, on the question of Negro rights in industry. It is not enough to prove that the CIO has not been guilty of discrimination. It must be demonstrated that the CIO fights for Negro rights throughout the industry, which of course Ford will never do. And the CIO can demonstrate this.

Negroes should say to Marshall: "The proposition is also this: You and Ford tell the Negro that he is better off in Ford's open shop than elsewhere; the Negroes tell you that if you will the call off your anti-union squads of thugs, and if you'll raise wages 10c. an hour so they'll equal wages in other auto plants, and if you'll reduce the speedup, and if you'll stop threatening to fire us all if we join the union, then we might believe you. But you won't do these things, because those are the only ways you have been able to keep Ford workers from joining the union in previous years."

Who Taught Hitler

Greatly played up nowadays is the story of how badly Hitlerism treats and intends to treat the Negroes. The purpose of most of this hullabaloo is to work the American Negro up to support the "democracies" in the imperialist war.

The Crisis and the Pittsburgh Courier this month have both shown that, cold-blooded as is the policy on the Negro announced by the Nazis, it is really only a duplication of the policy on the Negro carried out in most parts of the United States since 1877.

And if there is anyone who doubts that the Nazi policy on this question is stolen right out of the handbook of British colonial policy, he ought to read the following Associated Negro Press dispatch from Cape Town, South Africa, dated March 6:

"Restrictions and segregation even more vicious than that of the Southland of the United States, are in vogue here and growing constantly worse. Recently when a new railway station was planned for Huguenot, two separate entrances were provided, one for whites and one for nonwhites. Waiting room accommodations for whites were arranged for in the main building but nonwhites were given a waiting room in a separate

... "It appeared that an important step forward had been made when two months ago the Witwatersrand University agreed to allow non-Europeans (the local designation for any other than whites) to attend medical school at the university and to work for both medical and dental degrees. The number of non-European students was restricted to ten. The chief problem which the school authorities had to overcome was the matter of providing bodies for dissection during the student's fourth year. It was finally solved by deciding that non-European students should be permitted to dissect only black bodies." * * *

A Washington dispatch from the same agency had this to report a week later:

"No thought will be given to assigning colored *doctors, dentists or nurses to centers where they smight at any time be called upon to serve white soldiers, according to an official U.S. Army announcement.

"This determination to confine colored professional personnel to troops of their own race was emphatically declared by Surgeon General McGhee, Friday, during a conference with members of a committee from the National Medical Association . . .

"The general professing to represent Northern sentiment, said that under no circumstances could he see colored and white doctors working together in the same hospital or as examiners of recruits.

"Advised that colored physicians had served white soldiers in recruiting stations during the World War, he said it was inconceivable to him that colored doctors could work on an examining team with white doctors, and that no attempt would be made to integrate them into white medical teams."

Strange bedfellows have turned up around a bill to deport all American Negroes to Africa. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who stands for "white supremacy" and hates the Negroes, is the author of the bill. J. R. Stewart, successor to the late Marcus Garvey as president general of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, in a speech in Chicago early this month, endorsed the bill of the enemy of the Negro people in the following words: "As a long range measure, though not through any heartfelt benevolence, Bilbo of Mississippi has a bill which would deport us to Africa (Liberia) ... I am not for Bilbo but I am for this bill and will fight to support it ... "

In other words, the Garvey movement which once attracted the hopes of so many millions of Negroes is now acting as the tail to the kite of America's outstanding exponent of "Negro in-

The Labor with a white skin labor with a white skin labor Board Of 1918

The Story Of The Model Which Roosevelt Has Used For His Present Board

By MICHAEL CORT

When Roosevelt created his mediation board, he was not upon all involved aunching one of his "social experiments." He was following the well-beaten path blazed by Woodrow Wilson and to a great extent, by Roosevelt himself in 1918, when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

The present board, and all the circumstances attending its creation, parallel the establishment of the National War Labor. Board during the last crusade to "make the world safe for

fits, launched an offensive against the living standards of the workers and, with the aid of the top union leadership, attempted to shackle the trade unions to the apparatus of mediation.

The boss strategy in 1918 is obviously the blueprint being followed today and to understand what the bosses plan now against labor, all one has to do is to examine history.

In December, 1917 (as in Jan- of their class. uary 1941) the bosses' National Economic Council published a compilation of the man-hours of work lost in war industries due es demanded legislation outlawing strikes.

GOMPERS' ROLE

Samuel Gompers, AFL President (like Green now), pledged no strikes in war industries, and sponsored a national board to Wilson immediately saw the advantages of Gompers' proposal the National War Labor Board.

The Board was composed of 12 nembers: five "labor representatives," five bosses, and two "representatives of the public."

Frank J. Hayes, President, United Mine Workers; William Hutcheson, President, Brother-Savage, International Association

Then, as now, American industry geared itself for war pro-Garment Workers, were the "labor representatives."

> The "public" representatives were the co-chairmen of the Board, ex-President, William Howard Taft, and the prominent attorney, Frank P. Walsh.

The names of the five industrialists on the Board mean little to us at this time but, like those on today's board, they were tough and able representatives

HOW BOARD OPERATED

The Board assumed jurisdiction over practically every workto strikes. The "patriotic" boss, er in the country. During the entire history of the NWLB only 50 cases were dismissed because of lack of jurisdiction. And these few cases involved luxury consumer goods and affected a very small number of workers.

Early in its, existence the Board developed a sleight-of-hand mediate all strikes that he might trick which enabled it to deal off tions to a corps of field examinbe unable to prevent. President the bottom or the top of the deck, or the workers were the plain- the Department of Labor reveals and in February, 1918 created tiffs. The Board ruled that its that these examiners heard and decisions were enforceable only decided over 10,000 cases in a when both sides of a controversy brief 12 month period. The slimappealed to the Board. If only chance the workers had of getone side appealed, the Board could hand down only a mere "recommendation."

So that, if the Board was about to decide in favon of the 1,251 cases. hood of Carpenters; Thomas J. boss, on an appeal filed by work-

sal wealth into the insurance com-

it was promptly buried. The in-

A GANG OF THIEVES

ON THE GRAND SCALE

The directors and officers of

for their own gain and profit,

in a position to make personal

ing corporations, have directed

billions of insurance dollars,

into companies from which they

it could.

about the uses of it.

And what happened to the workers if they (imitating the bosses) took it into their heads not to participate in the appeal and thus, under the Board's own ruling, to regard the Board's decision as only a recommendation? Then Wilson evolved a new weapon . . . starvation! The workers in the Remington Arms plant in Bridgeport, Conn., disregarded a Board decision in 1918 and went out on strike. Within two days they, and the press of the country, received a letter from President Wilson which read; in part:

"I desire that you return towork and abide by the award. If you refuse, each of you will be barred from employment in any war industry in the community in which the strike occurs for a period of one year. During that time the United States Employment Service will decline to obtain employment for you in any war industry elsewhere in the United: States as well as under the War and Navy Departments, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration and all other Government agencies."

THE RUN-AROUND

Once the NWLB had established the necessary strikebreaking precedents, it delegated its funcers and only sat itself as an apdepending on whether the boss peal body: The 1921 report of ting beyond these examiners to the Board itself is revealed by the fact that the Board heard, during its entire existence, only

In other words, the workers ers, it was a simple matter to had only one chance in ten in of Machinists; Victor A. Olander, tip that boss off, let him partici- getting the examiner's arbitrary Seamen's Union of America; and pate in the appeal by an amend- decision even reviewed by the T. A. Rickert, President, United ment to the complaint, and thus Board. And if they did beat the

make the Board's award binding 10 to 1 odds, there was still less such rules in going on record as than a 50% chance that the endorsing "the principle" of col-Board would reach a decision on lective bargaining! their case; for the records show. that the Board made decisions in

Another concession to Gompers

findings on the matter of min-

Its findings read, in part: "...for

the present the Board or its sec-

tions should consider and decide

each case involving the principle

(living wage) on its particular

facts and reserve any definite

rule or decision until its judg-

ments have been sufficiently

Needless to add, the Board's

judgments never did become "suf-

ficiently clear to make generaliza-

GOMPERS GETS "REWARD"

During 1918 the National War

Labor Board served the bosses

well, for while it didn't eliminate

strikes entirely, it did break the

Nor did the Board's usefulness

to the bosses cease when the war

ended. The bosses used the Board

and its war time decisions to

shackle the workers to their ma

The Board continued to func-

tion, while the five industrialists

on the Board launched, in 1919, a

campaign for the enactment of a

legislative program which em-

braced the following points: pro-

hibition of all picketing; organi-

zation of open-shop associations

in every community; the suspen-

sion of credit in any community

where a strike occurred and the

placing of the entire population

on a cash basis (i. e., no credit

to strikers); the pledging of all

business houses to boycott any

publication which editorially sup-

ported "the forces of disorder."

For the bourgeoisie, having

with Gompers' help enslaved la-

bor during the war, was in no

mood to free it in peace. Moor-

field Story, president of the

American Bar Association, said:

ply now as during the war. This

association will soon try to frame

a law to make strikes a criminal

us with calamities hardly second

to those which happened through

"Reason (no strikes) must ap-

WANTED TO CONTINUE

chines in neace time.

back of trade union militancy.

imum wages.

tions safe."

was the declared intention of the only 39% of the cases it heard. Board to establish nation-wide Meanwhile, of course, the minimum wage scales in war inworkers were expected to stay at dustries. Atfter stalling on fulfillment of this pledge for almost work under the conditions they year, the Board published its were protesting.

STRIKEBREAKING RULES

One of the first steps taken by the Board to prevent strikes was the enactment of a rule that provided that once workers in any plant struck, their case was "outlaw" and their grievances could not be presented to the Board.

Once a strike had been branded "outlaw" all the agencies of clear to make generalizations the government mobilized bourgeois public opinion against the workers; if this failed, troops vere sent in.

If the workers struck after the Board had made a decision, the strike was also branded as "outlaw" and the same oppressions were applied.

As a concession to Gompers, the Board declared, upon its creation, that labor had the right, to collective bargaining. This concession was an empty one, however. The Board handed down 200 decisions concerned with the right of collective bargaining but these decisions usually consisted of instructions to the workers to resubmit their grievances to the coss, and if they then failed to reach agreement, to submit their case to arbitration. In other words, the red tape attending such decisions always nullified

More than that, the Board prohibited the closed shop and thus hamstrung effective collective bargaining by a ruling that:

their effectiveness.

"Where union and non-union men and women work side by side the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance."

The Board was indeed safe with

Stalin's Analogy Between Himself And Bloody Ivan

By JACK WEBER

The American press has taken a great interest in an article on Ivan the Terrible that has appeared in the official Soviet organ, Izvestia. That article portrays the first Czar as a heroic, if cruel figure, whose great achievements for Russia have not been understood. Naturally the world press is little interested in a figure of the Sixteenth Century. It accepts, without saying so, the obvious analogy between Stalin and Ivan the Terrible. But it is puzzled by the semi-admission of this analogy in Stalin's press.

The Stalinist bureaucracy certainly rules in the style of Ivan the Terrible. It speaks of itself almost, at one and the same time, as the continuator of Leninism and of Peter the Great and now of his predecessor Ivan the Terrible,

How can one explain this admission?

The explanation lies in the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy has no solid social foundation under it. It rests neither on the working class. nor on the bourgeoisie. The existence of the ruling clique of the Kremlin is therefore highly unstable and its future is dangerously uncertain. It seeks frantically for some historic tradition on which to rest firmly, but which way shall it look? Its right petty bourgeois wing, growing stronger and stronger, drags Russia back towards the restoration of capitalism. Its left wing, growing ever weaker, pulls back in fright towards the working class and the proletarian revolution. From the point of view of the reactionary wing, the position of Ivan the Terrible in history is highly significant.

Ivan's Role In History

Ivan the Terrible fits into that period in history when national states arose. Ivan, the first Czar, like Louis 11th of France and James I of England used the new force in society, the burghers or commoners, to help subdue his rivals among the nobility, the boyars or lords. Having succeeded, he set himself up as absolute ruler of the feudal nation. In this struggle the Czar, like the Kings, played the progressive role of unifying the nation and establishing the wide boundaries inside which the capitalist forces could expand and de-

However, once the King or Czar had achieved power, he turned upon the commoners who had helped him into the saddle. He then rested his power on the submissive feudal aristocracy. In order to overthrow feudalism, the capitalists had to dethrone the absolute Kings.

Stalin would like us to read history in reverse. Those who move in a certain political direction, want to persuade themselves and others that their motion is forward. But how can one make reaction appear progressive? By comparing it to that period of history when the same phenomenon. apparently, was progressive. Stalin wants to give the impression that he is using his terribly cruel methods out of necessity, the same necessity that drove Ivan the Terrible to build a strong, lasting nation. Stalin is building Russia!

But in what sense does Stalin rebuild the nation? His whole work all these years has been one of damming up and stifling the proletarian revolution inside the Russian boundaries. The proletarian revolution cannot be confined inside one country. It tends to spread and sweep away the national boundaries. The capitalist revolution united the nation. The socialist revolution unites the working class and all the oppressed of the entire world. In this day and age, when the national boundaries have become the greatest of obstacles to the progress of humanity, the attempt to bolster them up is reactionary to the highest degree.

The more the Stalinists turn to the traditions. of the Russian nation and of capitalist patriotism, the more this indicates that their face it set towards capitalist restoration. But to accomplish this, the bureaucracy will have to settle accounts first of all within its own ranks even more that it has done. It would have to burst into fragments.

We Grant Stalin His Analogy

We readily grant Stalin his right to the analogy with Ivan the Terrible so far as cruelty and sadism are concerned. Ivan killed his own son. Izvestia now has it appear, because he was a traitor. Stalin too-do we read the analogy correctly?—killed those he once loved, the great Bolsheviks, because they had become traitors, Ivan the Terrible confessed publicly all his sins. Perhaps Stalin will do the same! Let us aid him. To what were the Bolsheviks traitors? To the revolution? No, only to Stalin's lust for power, a lust that made of him the willing tool of reaction. In the interests of this reaction, directed against the workers' revolution that had boosted Stalin to power, Stalin, like Cain, killed all his brothers and many, many more besides.

Even Ivan stands higher in history than Stalin, for at least his cruelty went with a progressive historic cause. Ivan the Terrible strengthened the nation. Stalin undermined the workers' revolution and weakened the nation. Ivan added territory to Russia. Stalin, by agreement with Hitler, added Finland and the Baltic states. But in doing so he lost the sympathies of the world working class, far more than he gained. If Ivan the Terrible is the symbol of the victorious nation, Stalin is the symbol of working class defeat.

Let Stalin find his tradition in Ivan. The Russian workers and the world proletariat must regain the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, of working class victory. They must hurl down the sinister Stalin who belongs in the Sixteenth and not the Twentieth Century!

The Giant Insurance Monopoly

By DON DORE

366. life insurance companies, writing 95 per cent of the to advise their policy holders of weekly and monthly installments, policies, control total assets exceeding \$28,000,000,000 (twenty- their rights to initiate nomina- and are known as "burial" insur-

Five companies, listed in order of size—Metropolitan, Pru- policy, holders ballots or proxies, enough upon death to pay for the labor organizations threaten ential, New York Life, Equitable and Mutual—at the end of Metropolitan and Prudential did the funeral. 938 had control of 54.2 per cent of all insurance company assets. | not publicize their elections "un-

bined assets of almost \$9,000,000-

they think will bring them the 27 by the Temporary National

surance corporations.

TENTACLES OF THE

47.7% of all corporate bonds and gain through their dual capacity" ance companies.

The five leading companies are the largest owners of land and through loans and bond purchases, real estate in the United States. profited. They have the greatest investments in government bonds.

ple into the hands of these com; the election notice given." "12 of life insurance available."

nominations was past." ers; who have noured this colos-

TRY TO FIND OUT

The costs on which these rates are fixed cannot be determined. ponsibility for the report. Economic Committee, which ini-"No adequate cost accounting has been developed, so the cost of leased the report, stated that he This report was in the hands of new business and the cost of serv- was against any legislation, ob Senator O'Mahoney, committee cing old business are unknown..." serving that "by and large, the in chairman, over seven months ago.

at all.

ate attempts to prevent its public-The report further discloses perfect . . . " ation altogether. When it was puthat "life insurance operation is The only proposals for putting blished, the press said as little as characterized by an utter lack of some curbs on this most gargan these companies operated them be distorted and frequently give SEC. an unrealistic position of financial

tempt to get legislation passed to the respective states to set up bet put controls on the companies, ter insurance commissions and there is a powerful lobby acting pay the insurance commissioners through the Association of Life "substantially increased" salaries Insurance Presidents, which has to keep them from the temptation been able to prevent the passage of the greener pastures offered of any bill in any state legisla- by the insurance companies. The ture and in Congress, which the federal government, it is suggest companies have deemed detrimen- ed, might set up an agency for cannot control the labor movetal to their interests.

The officers of these companies ance, "sold to low-income fami- the business." \$10,000,000 of capital flows from are "completely self-perpetuating." lies," which the report character

Only five per cent of these pol-

HOW THEY HANDLED THIS HOT POTATO

Now that the facts have finally been made known, what will be done about this "concentration of economic power which is not equaled elsewhere in the Ameri can economy"?

Before making the report public both the TNEC and SEC explain ed that neither body assumed res

Senator O'Mahoney, when he re surance companies have come The books are, in most in through this study in pretty good stances, inadequately audited, if shape. Of course, they are not per fect, as no human institution is

modern accounting methods." As tuan of all the business racket a result, the policy holders can have been the personal recommen have no idea of the stability of dations of the writers of the rethe company or what is being done port, Gerhard A. Gessell and Erwith their money. "The financial nest J. Howe, and Sumner T statements of the companies may Pike, Republican member of the

These recommendations, pu forth simply for "study," involve And if the policy holders at nothing more drastic than asking "giving advice, disseminating in-The vilest practice of the in- formation and exercising some trolled the AFL of 1918. surance companies has been the slight supervision over certain promotion of "industrial" insur- primarily interstate aspects of are the workers' organizations in

the acts of Germany." Charles Evans Hughes, now Chief Justice of the Supreme

Court, said: "We need a permanent solu-

tion to these problems (strikes). War legislation is not permanent and war remedies merely attest a need which may survive them. The time is at hand when we must establish suitable machinery for industrial justice . . . to be followed by the refusal to allow the workers to hold a club over the head of the commun-

That was Gompers' reward for wartime collaboration.

THE FRUITS RIPEN The ferror loosed upon the

workers, immediately after the war culminated in the infamous "Palmer raids" which hounded and persecuted liberals and radicals of every kind. This terror was the natural child of the War Labor Board. The workers' inability to resist the terror was directly traceable to the gradual emasculation of their unions during the war by the Board. It was a full decade before the American labor movement was able to recover from the blows.

NOT THIS TIME!

Symbolic of the new situation the key war industries - steel.

up the workers this time!

per cent of the total, with com-

000 (nine billion). The mammoth wealth of these companies is controlled by a handful of self-perpetuating officers and directors. They can manipulate this wealth as they see fit, in- gation by a special committee of vest it in whatever enterprise they the Securities and Exchange Come from the policy holders. like, vote themselves any conceiving mission. The monumental 450 able salaries or bonuses, fix in page report of this committee's surance rates at whatever point findings was published February

most returns. They are subject to no laws or tiated the investigation. regulations, save the weakest type of state legislation, and even this has been unenforceable. In those states, like New York, where state life insurance commissions have been established, these commis-surance companies made desperions have become adjuncts of the big insurance companies. Five out of the last eight state examiners in New York graduated into big-time executive posts with in-

OCTOPUS ARE EVERYWHERE Through interlocking directorships, the five largest companies are linked with 780 corporations without regard for the interests and banks. Each director on the of the policy holders. On Decemboards of these five insurance com. ber 31, 1938, 31 companies were panies holds, on the average, di- found to have loans outstanding rectorships in six other corpora- to their own officers and directors tions. Many are directors in the totalling \$693,526. But this was banks in which their companies just chicken feed. Those who "are have large deposits.

notes sold in this country in 1938 of directorship on insurance comwere purchased by the life insur- panies and industrial and bank-

and Mutual companies failed even, these policies are sold on small tions, and did not even send the ance, because they provide only offense. These men who control Two companies alone, Metropolitan and Prudential, had 32 til after the time for independent icies have ever paid for even fun

With the control of these companies in their pockets, these dipanies haven't a word to say rectors have everything their way. Each year, by rate-fixing through This description of the industry mutual agreement, these compacomes from the two year investi- nies have been able to gouge tens of millions in extortionate rates

WHAT'S GOING ON!

It was so full of dynamite that

panies every day of the year; principal mutual companies dur- Fifty million workers and low trusts and monopolies. There tried, Hillman, Murray and Green from this capital, these companies ing recent years" were able to wage earners hold such policies aren't any capitalist politicians have not been able to prevent or gain an annual income only slight prevent the policy holders from now, valued at 22,000,000,000. 95 who would want to buck up control these strikes. ly less than that of the federal any genuine participation in the per cent of these policies will against the power of \$28,000,000. election of the officers and boards, lapse, according to the report, be- 000 of concentrated wealth. That tition of the 1918 tricks to cross But the 64,000,000, policy-hold. The Equitable, New York Life fore they are paid out. Most of is a job for the workers.

Now the bosses remember the useful role played by the NWLB and have assigned that same role to the National Defense Mediation Board. And again the trade union top leadership plays the bosses' game.

Fortunately, they do not and ment of today as Gompers con-

It is safe to predict that this auto, coal, A strike epidemic now he pockets of the American peo. Through the "ineffectiveness of izes, as the "most expensive form report will go the way of all sim faces the bosses and their newly ilar investigations of the big created Board, Hard as they have

It will take more than a repe-

THE MILITANT

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RUTH JEFFREY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

- I. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
- 2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits-all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- t. 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.

For:

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

The Mediation Board

There is a very simple proof that Roosevelt's Mediation Board, by its very existence and functioning, will be directed against the workers and in no way directed against the bosses.

If, to prevent strikes, Roosevelt would be ready to act against the bosses whose vicious exploitation makes it necessary for the workers to strike, then Roosevelt would not have created this board. No board is needed to bring bosses into line. All that would be necessary for that would be the enactment of a law compelling the employers to deal with the unions under penalty, if any boss refuses, of having his property taken away without compensation. As far as wages are concerned, it is only necessary to pass a law making mandatory the payment of a minimum of one dollar an hour with the provision that the minimum be increased as the cost of living increases.

These two steps, rigidly enforced, would make unnecessary practically all of the strikes now going on in the war industries. Needless to say, however these steps cannot be expected from a government which is primarily occupied with preparing for a war on behalf of the imperialist interests of the same bosses who would have to be curbed by such

Hence all the curbs against strikes are directed against the workers and their unions. The Mediation Board's ostensible aim is simply to straighten out labor difficulties in industries connected with the war efforts of the government. Under the category of "labor difficulties," however, the Board and other governmental agencies will aim only to hamstring organized labor. The role of mediation was strikingly illustrated by the statement of a federal conciliator, quoted in the March 25 New York Times. The conciliator had been intervening in the CIO strike at the McCormick plant of International Harvester in Chicago. Mediation, he now said, was no longer necessary, since the strike "had been broken." In other words, where the boss and the cops can do the dirty work themselves, mediators need not intervene.

The Mediation Board will prevent and terminate strikes by doing its utmost to prevent the workers from strengthening their organizations and improving their conditions. That is the only way it can operate. Its mentality must essentially be that of a cop. If workers demonstrate, strike, risk life and limb to fight for their demands, the cop looks for the "agitator." That the workers' struggles arise out of their bitter economic need, that they would much prefer not to have to strike but to secure their needs another way—all this is irrelevant to the cop. His attention is turned entirely to making "peace" by ending the demonstration or strike and dispersing the struggling workers. This same mentality must, at bottom, be the attitude of this Mediation Board, for the simple

reason that neither it nor its creator Roosevelt has either the power or the inclination to solve the economic needs of the workers.

Many workers may not yet understand the real nature of this Mediation Board. They may have illusions about it-but not for long. We predict with confidence that the Board will not be able to put an end to the great strike struggles. The workers have already shown an admirable indifference to the exhortations lavished upon them by the bosses and their press and government. The workers have disregarded all the buncombe about the necessity of being patriotic and therefore being satisfied with the conditions the bosses are willing to give them. On the contrary the workers have taken advantage of the opportunity created by the spurt in the war industries, to build their unions stronger, to organize the unorganized, and to press the bosses harder and harder for better conditions and higher wages. To their great credit the workers have understood that now is the time to win their demands; for after war production ends and mass unemployment returns, the workers would not be in a bargaining position to enforce their economic demands.

At this stage of the game, the government and the bosses would not d'are to create such a board without finding labor "representatives" to sit on it and thereby to endow the board with the necessary moral authority in the eyes of union officials and workers. Ways and means were found to get CIO head Philip Murray to line up. Murray knows very well what this board really is. He served on one like it in Pennsylvania during the last war. A week before he agreed to join this one, he made a damning criticism of all such boards (we print his statement elsewhere on this page). And then he lined up on the wrong side, as he always does on really fundamental questions.

Roosevelt needed Murray more than anybody else because there has been gradually developing among the workers some understanding of the role of such labor leaders in the government like Sidney Hillman and Daniel W. Tracy. Large sections of the workers look upon these men as renegades. Fresh labor leaders were needed by Roosevelt to take up the slack. In reality, however, as will become increasingly evident to the workers, there is no difference between a governmental post like Hillman's and one on the Mediation Board. Both are Roosevelt appointees in governmental bodies.

In such periods of history as the one we live in, a man's moral credit in the labor movement can be wiped out in a day. Collaboration with Roosevelt will destroy the confidence of the workers in any labor leader who stays openly in his service. Whatever moral authority this Mediation Board begins with, we are certain it will not last long. Life itself will teach the workers better.

Halifax's Speech

It took a world of gall to call Tuesday's speech by Lord Halifax an "outline of the war aims of the British," but the New York Times has that amount of gall. The speech was, in reality, designed to hide Britain's war aims rather than indicate them, and the New York Times' headline was merely an attempt to mollify the many who want to know what those war aims are.

At one crucial point, however, Halifax found it well nigh impossible to conceal altogether the plans of Anglo-American imperialism. This was on the question of what will be done to a defeated Germany. Halifax said:

"The gulf that has thus been dug between them (the German youth) and our own vounger generations will take time to bridge. And, therefore, after the war is over and until we can be satisfied of Germany's cooperation, I can hardly doubt that nations resolved to preserve both peace and freedom must needs retain sufficient armed strength to make their will effective."

In short, even if the German people overthrow Hitlerism and sue for peace, they can look forward only to a period of a defenseless Germany in a world policed by the armed might of British and American imperialism. At the best this will be a repetition of Versailles.

The full implications of Halifax's position are brought out if we recall that, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Halifax authorized Sir Robert Vansittart Chief Diplomatic Adviser of the government, to make a series of broadcasts blaming the entire German people for the crimes of the Nazis. These broadcasts were to pave the way for the punishment of the entire German people, i.e., the subjugation of Europe to British imperialism.

That Halifax was behind Vansittart was confirmed authoritatively by the political correspondent of the British Sunday Times of February 23, 1941, who answering criticism of Vansittart, said:

"Any uninformed reader might have supposed that Sir Robert Vansittart had, on his own initiative and authority, violated 'the whole tradition of the British Civil Service.' What, then, has really happened? The rules, regulations, customs and usages of the Civil Service are intact.

"It was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, then Halifax, who approved of Vansittart making the broadcasts."

The policy of Halifax is, of course, the policy of the British government, no matter what its labor lackeys may say. And this policy helps Hitler as almost nothing else could. So long as the German workers feel that the defeat of Germany will be followed by another Versailles or worse. Hitler is immeasurably aided in keeping the Ger-

man workers in subjection. Here is but another proof of the fact that "democratio") imperialism candot fight fasdism. Only the workers can smash fascism everywhere. Only when the workers take the power in Britain and America can they wage a real war against fascism and a victorious war, by joining hands with their German brothers against fascists of every stripe and nation.

"Good Neighbor" Mexico Means A Good Servant

The Consequences Of Camacho's Policy Mean That Me xico Would Be A Colonial Dependency Of Yankee Imperialism

By BERNARD ROSS

is moving to the right. The land the United States. reform, financial and labor policies of Cardenas which did little enough for the Mexican masses are being altered, if not completey shelved.

With the trend in internal poltics, there is coupled a decided reactionary turn in the country's loreign policy. Camacho is determined to iron out all outstanding differences between Mexico and the imperialist rulers of the United States.

In the process, President Camacho is not only yielding to the aims and pretensions of Yankee imperialism, but is assuming more ey for Wall Street. The foreign attacking Mexico?" policy of the Mexican government altogether a colonial dependency Phillippines are attacked?" of Wall Street.

compelled to appear before that foreign country?" inion, which has been alarmed at that the United States will quick- ism.

reports and rumors that secret ly abandon sites occupied in our Recent eyents in Mexico have accords and commitments, includ-country?" indisputably disclosed that the ing the cession of air and naval government of President Camacho bases, exist between Mexico and pact allow the United States to

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS Padilla agreed to answer all juestions asked by the senators. Of course he only meant harmless, inoccuous queries which would

nature of Camacho's foreign pol-Unexpectedly one senator, Alfonso M. Flores, asked Foreign Secretary Padilla a number of embarrassing questions which the

not force him to reveal the true

"Has the foreign secretary trustworthy data that any nonand more openly the role of lack. American power has intentions of

"Will the pact of mutual assistcan be adequately summed up in lance cover aggressions only dione phrase: far-flung economic rected against the Americas, or and military cooperation with will Mexico be compelled to aid Yankee imperialism, which con the United States if the latter's cretely means endorsing Uncle possessions in other parts of the Sam's plans to make Mexico world, for example, Hawaii or the

"Is the mutual assistance pact This was sufficiently revealed solely a defense against foreign when Foreign Secretary Ezequial aggression, or will Mexico be equipare placed at the disposal of the Padilla testified at a session of the ally obligated to declare war if the Yankee war machine, Mexico's Mexican Senate recently. He was United States declares war on a

body and attempt to allay the "What precautions can the Mex- land south of the Rio Grande will fears and suspicions of a substan- ican government take, or what increasingly become a financial tial part of Mexican public op guarantees will Mexico receive, dependency of American capital-

"Should the mutual assistance occupy strategic military points in the country, what restrictions concerning length of time and extent of area ceded, will the secretary put into the treaty?"

"With what funds will they (naval and air bases) be constructed, since it is not even pos sible to increase the national defense budget?"

"If those bases will be financed by the United States-in what manner will Mexico guarantee the value of those investments which latter evaded and refused to anwill considerably augment the country's foreign debt?"

PADILLA'S "ANSWER"

Since he is only foreign minister. Padilla lamely said, those questions could only be answered by the minister of national defense! The senators were satisfied with this preposterous reply forgot about the questions, and went home.

The present course of the Mex ican government can only worsen the condition of the country's sick economy. If the nation's natural resources and limited mannower economic backwardness will be perpetuated and aggravated. The

Philip Murray's Remarks On The Mediation Board

In the official organ of the CIO, the CIO NEWS of March 10th, an article appeared, under the headline, "Murray Scores Plan For New U. S. Board To Act On Strikes." We print that article verbatim below. As you read Murray's article, try and figure out what possible excuse he can now give—he has given none yet-why, on March 16, less than a week after this article appeared, he agreed to nominate himself and UMW Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy as the "labor representatives" on this antilabor board.

Murray's article follows:

settle disputes involving defense industries will present "an obviously impossible task and one the situation," Philip Murray, to that particular industry." CIO president, warned in a memorandum presented to the Labor Policy Committee of the National Defense Commission. The memo was presented by Allan S. Haywood, CIO organization director.

The new board proposal, which has been backed in Administration circles, was described in Murray's memo as having anti-labor implications.

"Under the new program," Murray wrote, "in effect three public representatives are charged with the responsibility of understanding and formulating solution for the labor problems of all the industries in the nation. This is obviously an impossible task and one that will not meet the needs of the situation."

INDUSTRY COUNCILS Murray referred to the industry council plan presented to the Administration last December,

which "would have given labor Now Available

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proposed Federal labor board to each industry where management and labor, with a thorough and complete knowledge of their industry, could formulate the polthat will not meet the needs of icy that would be more applicable tively under the Wagner act.

FIVE OBJECTIONS

Murray's memo listed five principal objections to the new proposal:

of working conditions for labor." powers.

2. Compulsory arbitration will cess to "bring terrific pressure to Murray wrote.

ed to the board could easily bring about interference with the workings of the Wagner Act, the wages and hours act, and the Walsh-Healey act, since the agencies administering those acts would be unable to resist the board's pres-4. This in turn would make the

bear on labor to agree to arbitra-

tion in practically all situations."

3. Policy-making powers assign-

abor Relations Board merely a formalized agency "confined entirely to avoiding labor disputes," stripping it of the power to require employers to bargain collec-

5. The setup of the proposed board carries strong anti-labor possibilities in the three members supposed to represent the public. These members "are to settle controversies, make special investiga-1. Such a board "will necessar- tions hold hearings and issue rely find its attention directed ports, and arbitrate disputes," against labor in order to maintain making them the real powers in the status quo as much as pos- the board, since the other memsible," and will strive to stop bers representing labor and indu-"wage increases or improvement stry would simply have advisory

"It has been the experience of result from board activities, since labor that representatives from it would enter situations where the public are usually taken from collective bargaining was in pro- the ranks of retired businessmen,"

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We Stand

QUESTION: When you say that this is an imperialist war both on the side of Britain and Germany do you mean to say that you don't care who wins and that you contemplate a victory of Hitler without being disturbed by it?

By Albert Goldman

ANSWER: It means nothing of the kind. When we characterize the war as imperialist, and say that all of the imperialist countries involved ar fighting for their imperialist interests and not for or against democracy, we thereby simply indicate that it is impermissible for us as revolutionists to support either

QUESTION: But then it means, does it not, that you are willing to sit back and permit Hitler to conquer Britain and the United States?

ANSWER: No, it does not. It simply means that our task in this war is different from the task of the imperialists. They want to defeat their rival to protect their imperialist interests. We cannot and must not support them in such a task. Our task is to organize the working class for the purpose of taking over power and transforming this war into a real war for democracy.

QUESTION: But you claim to be revolutionary defeatists and that means that you want your country defeated by Hitler, isn't that so?

ANSWER: Not at all. Any one who says so either does not understand what revolutionary defeatism is or he is simply a vicious slanderer. We are more interested in defeating Hitler thaan is Churchill or Roosevelt. Both of these representatives of the capitalist rulers of their country can easily come to terms with Hitler.

QUESTION: But are you not helping Hitler win by not supporting the war?

ANSWER: Not in the least. All that we are doing now is educating the workers to our point of view. We are telling them the truth as to the character of the war and what to do to win the war against all the capitalists. Both our members and the workers whom we influence must go to war and do what they are told by the rulers of this country. So long as we do not have a majority behind us we are in no position to do anything except obey orders. It is true that we do not assume responsibility for this war in any way whatever, but to draw from that fact the conclusion that we thereby help Hitler win, lacks logic and common sense. The conduct of the war against Hitler is in the hands of Roosevelt and Churchill representing the American and British capitalists. That is unfortunate, and we are trying to convince the majority of the working class that they should take the power of government and the conduct of the war into their own hands, but we defy anyhody to show that we are doing a single thing that helps Hitler, the greatest enemy of the

working class. QUESTION: But I am given to understand that, if the U.S. went to war against Hitler or against Japan, your party would try to prevent war materials from being shipped for the purpose of fighting the

Japanese or the German armed forces. ANSWER: I don't know who gave you to understand such a nonsensical idea, but I can tell you that there is absolutely nothing to it. We do not believe in individual action nor in the action of small groups, As I said before, until we gain a majority to our ideas there is nothing for us to do but to educate

workers until we get a majority. QUESTION: Then there is nothing to the idea that your policy of revolutionary defeatism has any-

thing to do with sabotage? ANSWER: Absolutely nothing. Reactionary redbaiters and those who know nothing about our program try to connect us with sabotage. Revolutionary defeatism to us is a political concept. It simply indicates that we do not support the war and that we carry on the class struggle at home regardless of the

fact that it might have some effect on the front. QUESTION: Doesn't that mean, then, that you Would do certain things which interfere with the conduct of the war?

ANSWER: It means that we advise the workers to continue their struggle against the bosses at home, and if that affects the conduct of the war the blame is entirely on the bosses and their government. Why should the workers not take advantage of the increase in production due to war orders in order to organize themselves and better their conditions? The bosses are making huge profits; the cost of living is going up. It would be extremely foolish for the workers to be influenced by the propaganda of the bosses and refrain from demanding better conditions because such demands interfere with the conduct of the war. Let the capitalists grant the demands and then there will be no interference.

QUESTION: But then, if you will succeed in getting a majority of the workers behind you and try to take over the government, the capitalists will resist and will that not give Hitler a chance to win the

ANSWER: I don't think so, but if we have a majority of the workers behind us, we must take that chance. Because if the workers take over power, Hitler is sure to be defeated, while if we let the capitalist stay in power, Hitler's chances of a victory are much greater. Look what happened to France. The capitalists were in control. And they led the war in a miserable manner and capitulated in a miserable manner. Why? Because important sections of the French capitalist class sympathized with Hitler and other sections were afraid that a French victory would lead to a workers' revolution. In general, the capitalist class cannot inspire the masses with the confidence and the determination to fight to the death against fascism. A workers' government has a thousand times better chance to win the war against Hitler. if the capitalists resist the attempt of the working class to take over power they will, to that extent, interfere with our struggle against Hitler; but it is far better for us to take that risk than to let the capitalist class continue to rule. For it the workers let the capitalists rule we will be conquered by fascism-either by a victory of Hitler or of the fascists