FOR A RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET **INCREASED LIVING COSTS!**

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GOVERNMENT ACTS TO CHECK PAY RISES AT THE STEEL CONVENTION

Steel Union Convention Shows Rising Discontent

Rank and File Delegates Voice Growing **Dissatisfaction With Leaders' Policies** By ART PREIS

CLEVELAND, May 23. - The four-day consti- speak their minds, Murray and the tutional convention of the CIO United Steelworkers of America, which raced through its final session last night in the Public Auditorium here, revealed the rank and file steel workers' deep-seated dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic administration of their. union and with the do-nothing policies of the leadership in the settlement of their mounting grievances.

Behind this dissatisfaction, which expressed itself during the convention primarily on organizational issues, is a growing unrest among the steel workers because of their rapidly worsening conditions: extensive part-time unemployment despite increasing war production; the refusal of the bosses, taking advantage of the no-strike agreement of the union leaders, to settle grievances; and the sharp D decline in living standards due to to their wage and union security

and Roosevelt.

At the very outset of the con-

vention, in his opening key-note

ed as his chief concern the main-

price rises.

This underlying unrest revealed itself at the convention in the form of rank and file resistance to a number of proposals put forth by Philip Murray, chairman MURRAY'S KEY-NOTE of the former Steel Workers Organizing Committee and president of the newly constituted inaddress, Murray made plain the ternational. main lines of his policy. He stress-

MURRAY DOMINATED

From the very outset of the con- tenance of undeviating support vention, Murray personally as for Roosevelt and the war, and sumed the job of beating down the continuance of the no-strike this rank and file opposition. He and government arbitration comdisclosed his main aims to be the mitments made by the national centralizing of all power in his union leaders after Pearl Harbor. own hands, lining up of the union Any delegate, he indicated, who dared to oppose his policies would for unconditional support of the be considered disloyal not only to Roosevelt administration, and Murray but to Roosevelt, and curbing of any attempts to initiate a fighting program in de- would be branded as an unpatriotic disrupter. fense of the steel workers' inter-In deference to the obvious de-

ests. From first to last, this was Mur- sires of the delegates to create a

intervened, as he was to do on all subsequent issues. While the delegates were per-

mitted a scant five minutes to other officers were permitted to speak as long as they desired. The main point of Murray's first statement on the overtime issue was in the effect that it was really no sacrifice, that present practices in the steel industry were such that few workers would be affected by such a surrender.

MURRAY CRACKS WHIP

After this, ten more delegates took the floor in opposition. The response to their views grew warmer and warmer. Then Murray spoke again, this time cracking the whip hard.

He poured it on about every union in the country supporting demands, while offering no plan the proposal. He declared that if

to win them other than continued the steel workers did not accent reliance on the War Labor Board (Continued on page 2)

Above is a scene at the first constitutional convention of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, representing 600,000 organized workers. Probably the largest trade union convention ever held in this country, it was attended by about 1700 delegates. A report on the convention written by THE MILITANT's special correspondent will be found on the left side of this page.

ACT NOW TO SAVE WALLER'S LIFE!

-An Editorial

The fight to save the life of Odell Waller, Negro share- selves are unable to pay the poll tax. More than 80 per cent cropper condemned to be executed in Virginia on June 19, was of the population in Waller's county are barred therefore both taken to the United States Supreme Court for the second time from voting and serving on juries. this week.

case, and failed to even state the reason for its refusal.

general counsel for the CIO, and Joseph A. Padway, general the brutal sharecropper system. counsel for the AFL.

ray's convention. He dominated democratic union, Murray repeat- ican Civil Liberties Union; National Association for the Ad- refusing to review this case. But they do know that the dis- that the administration is consid- outstanding example. it at every moment, speaking edly spoke of his desire for a vancement of Colored People; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car franchisement of the southern workers and sharecroppers re- ering favorably the fixing of a Porters; National Urban League; United Transport Service sults in the systematic election of legislators who control the Workers of America; Southern Tenant Farmers Union; Union most important congressional committees, sponsor the most refor Democratic Action; Negro Labor Committee. The defense actionary anti-labor legislation, spike such measures as antimovement is also supported by numerous central labor bodies lynch bills and relief appropriations and thus affect the con- the lines of the wage-freezing firms with government contracts and trade union locals, and liberal groups.

The masses of people do not know what legal pretext the The first time, on May 4, the Court refused to review the Court had in mind when it refused to consider the Waller case. the employers to stall wage nego-But they do know that if one man can be denied the right of This time the Waller case goes to the Court with more trial by a jury of his peers, so can others. And they know public support than ever before. This time a brief to the Court that the best time to stop it from going any further is now. on behalf of Waller was signed among others by Lee Pressman, That is why they are rallying to the defense of this victim of

The masses do not know what the Court's attitude is to- dicated last week by William Other organizations which signed the brief are the Amer- ward the poll tax, because the Court expressed no opinion in Davis, WLB chairman. He stated tracts. The shipyard's case is one

Bosses Get Roosevelt 'Hint' To Stall Wage Negotiations

Administration Putting Pressure On Union Heads to Accept 'Voluntary' Wage Freezing

President Roosevelt's April 28 declaration that the workers "will have to forego higher wages for the duration of the war" is shaping up in practice as a drive to hold up any general wage increases now. This drive is further intended to lay the basis for invalidating existing union contractual provisions and to force the union leaders into "voluntary" wage freezing agreements.

Roosevelt's latest move to block wage increases was his press statement on May 22 in connection with the report that three West Coast aircraft companies were prepared to offer wage increases. He stated that the government would do all in its power to prevent what he called "unwarranted" wage raises voluntarily granted by the employers.

Even where the corporations express willingness and ability to pay, as in the instance of the arrival to pay as in the instance of the arrival to pay arriva declared that no plant could be directly intervened to force the unions to accept less than half permitted to grant increases which would make workers in

of the increases to which they were entitled under an existing government-written contract. Immediately following Davis' wage policy statement, an-

EFFECT OF FDR's "HINT" Roosevelt's statement is genernouncement was made that Roose ally regarded as a weighty 'hint' velt intends to set up a special to the private companies to grant | board to formulate government no further wage increases withpolicy with respect to wage inout sanction of the government. creases offered voluntarily by The general effect of this "hint" private management or through will be to strengthen the hand direct negotiations between the of the entire employing class in posses and the unions. This board, resisting the unions' demands for it is reported, will most likely wage increases. It will encourage consist of Davis, Price Administrator Henderson, War Manpower tiations and insist that all wage Commissioner Paul McNutt and disputes go before the War La-Secretary of Labor Perkins. bor Board or other government One of the most dangerous as.

pects of the emerging form of The policies which the govern-Roosevelt's wage policies, is the ment is likely to follow were inprecedents he is setting for the abrogation of existing union con-

Another, which has



'democratic union" and a "democlengthily on all issues, great or small. In addition to his own per- ratic constitution."

sonal prestige, carefully built up But this was mere windowand ballyhooed, Murray relied dressing. The second main point principally on the authority of of his opening address was a scar-President Roosevelt, in whose cely veiled threat against any dename he continually spoke, to legate who might seek to organize whip the delegates into line and an opposition to his policies: shove over his program. "I do not want-as a matter of

In this way, and with the aid fact. I shall fight any attempt of a powerful machine of paid orthat is made to have little back ganizers and functionaries who room caucuses while this conven honeycombed the convention and tion is going on So if any of whooped it up for Murray at every the boys are thinking right now crucial point, Murray secured the of midnight sessions in strange constitution and powers he sought. places in the city of Cleveland But this was achieved at the ex- just begin to forget about it right pense of his prestige among a now. There is only going to be large number of delegates. Mur- one convention-remember that, ray himself openly bears the reand that is this convention in this sponsibility for the unpopular hall. Do not forget that." measures which he thrust down This was aimed primarily at the throats of the delegates.

A CHANGED ATTITUDE

loval rank and file steel union members whose dissatisfaction

Today hundreds of the rank and was well known to Murray and the mill towns and steel centers discontent around the hotel lobare angry as hornets. They feel bies prior to the convention. compromised before their local FIRST BIG FLAREUP members, who in many instances

The rank and file resistance mandated them to fight for issues which Murray opposed. Most of flared up on the first important issue, during the report of the them had entered the convention staunch Murray supporters, firm-Committee on the Officers' Report, on strike. ly believing that Murray himself hand-picked by Murray as all the bore no responsibility for the other convention committees were. When the reporter for the combureaucratic, do-nothing methods of his lieutenants and organizers. mittee read the section concurring Every conscious delegate now in the leaders' policy of surrenderknows differently. ing the standard overtime pay for

The genuinely representative week-end and holiday work falldelegates had come to the conven- ing within the 40-hour week, there tion with the hope of drafting a was an immediate stir among the truly democratic constitution, delegates.

Hands shot up, delegates called which would safeguard the rights of the members and provide them | for the floor. There was a whiswith local autonomy and the pered consultation among the means for building their local leaders on the platform. Three unions. They had come in the be- delegates took the floor one right and a half, and has had to face lief that they would be permitted after another, to speak against the to establish a militant leadership proposal. They were not too articulate, they were not used to grievances have been taken to directly elected from their own ranks, including their local or- speaking to such a large audience, ganizers. They had come expectand they felt uncomfortable being to initiate a program of ac- fore the microphone. But they tion which would enable them to spoke the voice of the members settle their grievances in the back home.

plants and win their demands for a dollar-a-day general wage raise and the union shop.

and our local union objects to especially munitions. with a constitution formally con- that absolutely and we will not But they left the convention stand for it.' solidating all power in Murray's

hands alone and depriving the local unions of any vestige of volley of applause. Two other de- the labor movement has rallied Detroit plant, 88 cents an hour, direct incentive to organization autonomy. They left with a pro- legates then spoke briefly in the to the support of Local 813 - paid to unskilled laborers, is about of the Philadelphia plant and the gram which pays mere lip service same vein. At this point Murray because they realize that the as much as the highest paid work- winning of the strike.

this case.

dispute over the crop shares belonging to the Waller family, it must grow more and it must protest louder - until even He was entitled to trial by a jury of his peers — but he was the Supreme Court, which "follows the elections," does not sharecroppers like Waller who barely earn enough to feed them- and should be called upon to take action before it is too late. national shipyard negotiations.

THOUSANDS STRIKE AT BUDD PLANT

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., May 25. - Local newspapers have been completely silent about the most important local strike in many years — the strike of the United Auto Workers Local file delegates homeward bound to who were openly voicing their 813 at the Budd plant, largest industrial factory in Philadelphia.

The Budd management, which has always been the symbol of the open-shop in this city, brought things to a head early last week when they locked out a group of union welders for asking for higher wages. E. G.P

Budd refused to engage in any negotiations, and the union was house," as Budd is called, will forced to call its members out

Several thousand workers have already come out, with more decampaign. partments and shops joining

the plant.

The Budd workers have the them every day. The entire lobacking in this fight not only of cal labor movement - CIO, AFL the Philadelphia labor movement, and Railroad Brotherhood - is supporting the strike, and with but also of the body shops in Detroit, and particularly of Budd union truck drivers refusing to Local 306 of Detroit, which has cross the picket line, materials demonstrated its support in a maare growing ever scarcer inside terial as well as moral sense by

donating \$1000 to aid in the or-The CIO has been trying to organization of the Philadelphia ganize the plant for the last year plant.

die-hard opposition and continu-STRIKING CONTRAST

ous discrimination. Numerous The striking contrast in condithe NLRB and the WLB, but Philadelphia and Detroit is a pertions between the Budd plants in

Budd stands firm, refusing to mefect example of the difference diate and make any concessions. between an open shop and a well The union has called on the govorganized shop.

ernment to take over the plant, Philadelphia welders get apwhich formerly manufactured The first opposition speaker auto bodies and now has millions proximately 80 cents an hour, simply stated: "I object to that, of dollars worth of war contracts, get \$1.28. Machine operators get | fired at will.

The employers in Philadelphia about 75-80 cents an hour, while

ditions of workers in all parts of the country. That is why | "Canadian plan." All this is evidence of the growing realization by the mass- the masses want the Supreme Court to act on the Waller case, es that their own rights as well as Waller's are under attack in and using it as a basis, to declare the poll tax unconstitutional.

The movement defending Waller is growing every day. Waller killed his white landlord in self-defense during a its voice of protest is becoming loud and unmistakable. But denied the right to such a trial. In Virginia only payers of the feel it wise to ignore the case. In this fight every workers' or would follow the lines of the sopoll tax can be placed on the jury lists. The poverty-stricken ganization in the country has an interest and a part to play, called "Chicago formula" in the

maximum wage "ceiling" beyond | little newspaper notice, was which no increases would be Roosevelt's signing of a bill on granted. He cited \$25 a week May 14, suspending the Walshas a possible maximum, along | Healey Act provision requiring

A "GOOD NEIGHBOR"

other plants unhappy." (N. Y.

Times, May 23.)

agencies.

Such wage increases as might than eight hours work a day be granted in the "sub-standard" brackets, he stated further, will probably be limited to not more than 50 per cent of the cost of living increase since the fixing of the previous wage scale. This

to pay overtime rates for more where such is included in a union contract. This abrogates an important contractual obligation, and permits government contractors to work men 12 hours a day before paying overtime. In those industries affected by material shortages, such as steel, this will mean a direct wage cut for many workers. This, as well as the shipyard case directive, is in outright violation of Roosevelt's April 27 assurance that "existing contracts between employers and employes must, in all fairness, be carried out to the expiration dates of those contracts."

AIM AT "VOLUNTARY" WAGE FREEZING

The aim of all these threatening moves is to put pressure on pus proceedings because their de- the trade union leaders to accept tention was unconstitutional fail- some form of "voluntary" wage ed when the court of La Paz ruled freezing, disguised under the forthat the proceeding is under the mula of "wage stabilization." jurisdiction of the criminal code. Roosevelt prefers to fix wage The State's Attorney has signlevels by this method, rather than tablished in Bolivia as a section ed an indictment providing that resort to compulsory measures a criminal proceeding begin awhich would intensify working January 14, 1941, with Miguel gainst Oscar Alandia Pantojo and class dissatisfaction with the administration and create a serious the eight other workers arrested. source of friction with the union movement.

The first fruits of this drive The reactionary Bolivian dictafor "voluntary" wage freezing was the agreement last week by torship, paraded as a sister "de the AFL Building Trades Counmocracy" by Washington. is thus following in the footsteps of its cil, the most powerful section of Yankee master. The conviction of the AFL, to freeze most of the existing wage scales as of July 1 for at least one year and "sub-"seditious conspiracy" charges in ject to annual renewal for the the infamous Minneapolis trial, in duration of the war." The agreewhich sentences of sixteen and ment signed by the building trades union leaders and the govtwelve months were handed down ernment contracting agencies further established a Wages Adjustment Board to administer the agreement.

So far as the workers' living standards are concerned, the net effect of "voluntary" wage freezing is the same as that of compulsory wage freezing. In either case the workers wages would be remind class-conscious American | fixed in the face of rising living costs due to mounting taxes, scarcity, price rises, etc. The workers must resist "voluntary". common exploiter-Yankee im- and compulsory wage freezing

Fourth International Leaders Nine members of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International have been arrested by the Bolivian Security Police on Nacion of Buenos Aires, an at the charge of "planning to overthrow the government," and tempt of those arrested to secure others are being hunted, according to Bolivian and Argentine their release through habeas cornewspapers received here.

Bolivian Government Arrests

The newspaper El Diario of La Paz, the Bolivian capital, carries an eight-column headline, 9-

unionization of the "slaughter- in its February 22 issue: "Fourth tido Obrero Revolucionario (Work-International was planning to ers Revolutionary Party) was eshave an inspiring effect on the overthrow the government." It workers throughout the city and reports that Trotskyists "cells" of the Fourth International on may set off an all-out organizing were operating in Potosi, Oruror, Cochabamba, Pulacavo and other Alandia Pantoja as General Secmining towns, as well as in La retary; Oscar del Villar as Sec-Paz where the arrests took place. retary; and with Guillermo Lora, The Assistant Chief of the Sec-

Humberto Perez Rocha, Oscar FOLLOWS U.S. PATTERN urity Police, David Mollinedo, in Alandia Pantoja and others as its an interview with El Diario, names among those arrested Humberto Perez Rocha and Oscar tified as head of the La Paz

arrested are not given.

According to the police the Par

ers in the Philadelphia plant receive.

has a complete system of senior ity which protects workers from discrimination, while in the Phiwhile in the Detroit plant they | ladelphia plant they are hired and

These differences are not only have rallied to the support of in Detroit they get \$1.25 an hour. a sign of what organization can This brief statement brought a Budd for the same reason that In fact, the lowest wage in the gain for the workers, but also a lice to a systematic hunt for the ers of the Americas against their

National Committee. Apparently the General Secretary and the Secretary have not yet been seized Alandia Pantoja, the latter iden- by the police, who say that the central leadership of the party 18 members of the Socialist Work-

Grasso. The names of the others

FROM OTHER LANDS

press, much was made of the the Bolivian reactionaries. In claim that pamphlets and letters both cases the charge boils down were received by the POR from to the fact that the victims are New York, Argentina, Uruguay. revolutionary Marxists, fighters Chile and other South American countries.

Leaflets and slogans pasted on Bolivian revolutionists serves to year by the party had led the po- workers of the unity of the work-

In addition, the Detroit shop

"cell." A third named is an Ar- was established in the mining ers Party and Local 544-CIO on gentine citizen, Carlos Ibarra center of Cochabamba. SAY LITERATURE CAME

> December 8, is the master pattern In the police statements to the which is now being followed by

for working class freedom. This vicious blow against the the city walls during the past

La Paz "cell."

According to the March 1 La¹ perialism and its "native" agents. with equal determination,

THE MILITANT

MAY 30, 1942

AN OPEN LETTER IN DEFENSE OF Dunne Returns To Washington In Last Lap Of Tour

In Seattle, Open Meet'g In Tacoma erals. Freeman Cochrane, sec-retary of the Tacoma Industrial

T W 0 -

SEATTLE, Wash., May 24. - V. R. Dunne, Minnesota labor leader and one of the 18 "sedition" trial, was welcomed the union members said they of Washington by two extremely successful affairs held in Seattle and Tacoma last week. Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is mobilizing labor and Leaders Escape public support for the Minneapolis defendants.

Dunne was held at the Church of the People; it was sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Had Been Imprisoned Union and the local branch of the CRDC.

the banquet and after hearing Dunne explain the issues in the Minneapolis case, about 30 signed up to aid the work of the CRDC.

son, chairman of the local ACLU, welcomed Dunne and spoke of the danger to civil liberties from the 1940 Smith "Gag Act," under which the Minneapolis defendants were found guilty. Fred W. Shorter, chairman of the local CRDC, then introduced Dunne and spoke of his respect for Dunne as a person and for the fine work he was doing.

The audience was composed of rank and file AFL and CIO members, members of the ACLU. NAACP, FOR, Urban League, IWW and faculty members of the University of Washington. Many of the above groups plan to act the CRDC at their next meeting. A collection of more than \$20

was taken at the banquet and a great deal of literature was sold.

TACOMA MEETING HELD IN CIO HALL The Tacoma CRDC, under the cently.



chairmanship of R. J. Pearsol Speaks at Banquet chairmanship of R. J. Pearsol, arranged a meeting of some 30 neone in that city. The meeting people in that city. The meeting was held Sunday, May 17, in the CIO hall and was attended primarily by union members and lib-

retary of the Tacoma Industrial Union Council, was chairman of the meeting. After Dunne's speech the audience discussed ways and means

Dunne is now on the concluding lap of his nationwide tour of the Ceylon Trotskyist is defendants. In Seattle a banquet honoring British Jailers

members in outlying locals.

For Their Struggles Seventy-nine people attended Against Imperialism

Four leaders of the Fourth International section in Ceylon, the Lanka Sama Samaja Par-State Senator Mary Farquhar- ty, escaped from prison early

> in April, according to British newspapers just received here. Previously THE MILITANT reported the escape of N. M. Perera and D.P.R. Gunawardene, elected members of the Ceylon State Council, as reported in a radio-alarm from Ceylon heard in Far Eastern waters.

In addition to these two comrades, it is now reported that two others escaped: Colin R. de Silva and Edmund Samaakody. Another outstanding leader of and drove the fascists to cover. the party, Leslie Gunawardene, has successfully evaded arrest upon endorsement of the work of since 1940, so that all the principal party leaders are now at large, despite the desperate attempts of the British Governor-General to keep them behind

> bars. The Trotskyist party was formally outlawed by the British re-

DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT Party leaflet slanderously attacking the Trotskyists and THE MILITANT, the Socialist Workers Party of San Francisco last week issued an open letter to the organized labor movement of San Francisco and the mem-

Brothers:

ter reads as follows:

Those individuals and groups who seek to destroy democracy are deadly enemies of the work-

bers of the Communist Party. The open let-

ing class. Unfortunately, there is such a group active in the labor movement. Their weapons convicted in the Minneapolis of aiding the CRDC. Several of are slander, lies and vilification. They seek to terrorize and intimidate any who dares to oppose on his return trip to the state would arrange to contact their them. That group is the so-called Communist Party. They do not use the firing squad and concen-

tration camp to silence their opponents only because they lack the power. Last week, a mimeographed sheet was distributed to sections of the San Francisco trade union movement aiming to whip up a lynch spirit against the distributors of THE MILITANT, Trotskyist national weekly newspaper. This leaflet was issued by the "Waterfront Section" of the Communist Party. Among other choice bits of slander it had the following to say:

"Distributed in some parts of town and particularly to union meetings is a Trotskyist sheet . . . THE MILITANT, hard at work for the Axis . . . '

The Stalinist "Waterfront Section" charges that THE MILITANT has been "hard at work for the Axis." Proof for such a serious accusation? NONE! There is no proof and there can be none because it is a vile lie concocted by the leaders of the Communist Party. The facts are the oposite. THE MILITANT, together with the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists), has established-an outstanding record in the American labor movement as determined fighters against fascism. We give here a small part of the record!

Anti-Fascist Record Is Proven

On February 21, 1939, the Bundists and Coughlinites held a mass meeting in New York City. The Socialist Workers Party, utilizing THE MILI-TANT, mobilized the workers of New York in a monster demonstration against the mass meeting

On the next day, February 22, 1939, the Bund tried the same stunt of holding a mass meeting in Los Angeles. There again the Socialist Workers Party together with THE MILITANT rallied the workers in a counter-demonstration that made the Bundists run like, rats for their holes.

Further, when the boss-sponsored Silver Shirts tried to invade Minneapolis, the Trotskyists along with the leadership of Local 544 of the Teamsters organized a workers defense guard movement that drove the Silver Shirts out of town. This is in the record and can be verified by anyone interested in finding out the truth

At this moment 18 men and women have been tried and convicted under the notorious Smith Gag Law. This law was sponsored by the profascist, poll-tax Congressman Smith, of Virginia. The Smith Gag Law has been condemned by both

C. P. BOOKBURNERS AT WORK



That the Communist Party will stop at noth g in its efforts to keep the workers from learning the truth about the anti-labor offensive and the treachery of the Stalinists is indicated by the above photographs taken at the Los Angeles CIO hall. Cloaking themselves in patriotism and trying to make the workers forget that only a year ago they were supporters of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Communist Party forces in the Los Angeles CIO Council railroaded through a resolution "deploring" the distribution of certain working class papers in front of the CIO hall. When the slanderous resolution failed to achieve its purpose, the Stalinists posted the sign and built the box shown above, and stationed "monitors" beside the box to put pressure on the workers. But at last reports, the Stalinist book-burners have still had little success, and the workers continue to read the papers.

the CIO and AFL. Among the 18 convicted are the national leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, the editors of THE MILITANT and the leaders of Local 544 (CIO).

During the trial of the 18, the Federal government, which had made an investigation of the activities and ideas of the defendants, did not so much as hint that these defendants could be linked with any Fascist movement, whether American or foreign.

If the 18 Trotskyists and labor leaders are "hard at work for the Axis," explain then, Messrs. Stalinist leaders, how the following labor organizations-which are only a few of a long listsupport the 18. Are these organizations Axis agents too?

Labor Support of Defendants

. For the benefit of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party we will first mention the waterfront unions which have voted moral and financial support for the defendants: The Marine Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Firemen and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen of San Diego, San Pedro and San Francisco. Four locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers have endorsed the defense. Among the other union organizations are numerous locals of the United Auto Workers, CIO; New Jersey State Industrial Union Council; St. Louis, San Francisco and Bridgeport Industrial Union Councils; Steel City Industrial Union Council (Pittsburgh); CIO Council No. 2 of Bucks County, Quakertown; United Shoes Workers Joint Council No. 13, New York City; United Auto Workers District Council, Lockport, 'N. Y.; International Ladies Garment Workers Joint Board, AFL, Baltimore and the Dress and Waistmakers Joint Board, ILGWU, AFL, New York City.

These unions who rallied to the support of the 18 did so because it is crystal clear that the men and women convicted were being persecuted for their progressive union activity, socialist ideas and courageous anti-fascist struggle.

The 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case were convicted for advocating the Socialist ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. To support the indictment, the prosecution introduced as evidencethe Communist Manifesto, as well as the works of Lenin. We leave it to the "Waterfront Sec-

tion" to explain why an organization that calls itself the Communist Party stigmatizes as allies of the Axis, people whom the capitalist courts have just convicted for advocating the ideas and program of the great founders of scientific Socialism. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The Trotskyists are the foremost fighters against fascism in all countries. Many hundreds are suffering in the concentration camps of Germany, Italy, Spain and France. Others have been executed for their struggle against fascism by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Above all others, the Trotskyists are hated and feared by the fascists.

For Defense of Soviet Union

In addition, the Trotskyists have a consistent record of being the defenders of the-Soviet Union as a workers state, in spite of the misleadership of the Stalin bureaucrats. In the midst of the period when all those who are now praising the Soviet Union were loudly condemning it, the Trotskyists and THE MILITANT remained firm in their defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

We charge that the leaflet issued by the socalled "Waterfront Section" of the Communist Party is part of a national and international lynch campaign against all those in the labor movement who dare oppose the Stalinist policy of completely subjugating the unions to Wall Street and the large industrialists. These dollar-patriots mouth patriotic phrases while continuing to cripple war production in order to stuff their bulging purses with "sky-is-the-limit" profits.

The Stalinists are not only anxious to appease the monopolists who are conducting a constant anti-union campaign, but have become the leaders of a 'witch-hunt' against ALL militants who want to preserve union gains and union rights.

Far from leading to an effective struggle against fascism at home or abroad, the Stalinist policy of hamstringing the workers, of misleading them into putting their faith in this or that boss rather than in the workers' own power, their own unions and their own organized strength, leads to a weakening of the labor movement and a strengthening of fascism.

The monopolists, who are now being whitewashed by the Stalinists, have in the past supported, are now supporting and will in the future support fascist movements directed against the labor' movement.

On Guard Against Frame-Up Machine The attack which the Stalinists are attempting

to unleash on THE MILITANT and the Trotskyists is a forerunner of similar attacks against all who stand in favor of preserving labor's rights. On guard against the frameup artists, lynch inciters and liars in the leadership of the Com-

munist Party!

larly those with less than 5.000

"Here it comes! Here it comes!'

krieg on my own."

Workers! Trade Unionists! Rank and File members of the Communist Party! READ THE MILITANT FOR YOURSELF AND THEN JUDGE THE TRUTH OR FALSEHOOD OF THE POISON PEN BUREAUCRATS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

> Issued by the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists), San Francisco

Wants to Help In Distribution of THE MILITANT

Editor:

I recently arrived here from of which was printed in the Feb. on the point that to oppose this organization: Boston, Mass., after a three-year 23 N. Y. Times. Nowhere is the was to oppose Roosevelt and the stay there. I attended meetings element of "unexpectedness and war, "because the Commander in ganic unity has its obstacles. Committee did not make its reheld by your group there and suddenness" mentioned in the Chief of the Army and Navy. There are definite difficulties to port until late on the third day was deeply gratified by the work May 1 document. they are doing,

I am a Negro and I am sure my people will be interested in your paper, THE MILITANT. I A Loan am sure I can put out as many | Editor:

papers as you could send. So mail me as many as possible and perhaps some booklets and other pamphlets, C.O.D. each week. T. S.

A CORRECTION

Editor:

Permit me to correct an error that crept into the column, "Stalin Blames the Red Army Ranks for Early Defeats," which appeared in the May 23 MILI-

TANT. While not a grievous mistake, it nevertheless tends to obthe column.

two pronouncements of Stalin. They were both made in the form of Orders of the Day. One was made on the anniversary of the Red Army, Feb. 22; the other on May 1.

In the Feb. 22 document, Stalin blamed the early defeats of Stalin evolved an entirely new reason for the same defeats, one kick the bucket or not." I began to talk fast. "Well." that is characteristic of the criminal methods of the bureaucratic Stalinist regime. In the new been working for two years for version, the defeats are blamed the unemployed and now I am on "complacency and frivolous- helping the CIO. I have been in ness" in the ranks of the Red the labor movement for years, through the War Labor Victory Army.

In my article I quoted the fol- everybody to get work." lowing from Stalin's Feb. 22 Orthe German Army was confronted so badly. You take it for your- get it back." catastrophe." However, self." with when this was printed in THE And so we argued. At last I

MILITANT, it was described as part of Stalin's May 1 Order of the Day.

I wish to emphasize: the above it they would place themselves in on this resolution, Murray indi- way. quotation is from the Feb. 22 opposition to the rest of organiz- cated that the craft union chiefs Order of the Day, the full text ed labor. And he pounded away were still opposed to industrial ing the debate on the constitu-

Fraternally, M. STEIN vilege.'

this sort, the vote was immedi-I opened the outer door of the ately taken. Despite Murray's apartment building where I live intimidation, about 60 delegates and was fumbling for the key to openly voted against the propothe inner door. It was 11 P. M., sal, while many more, not wishthe time one gets home from a ing to put themselves on the spot, Florida. | branch meeting. simply abstained.

Suddenly I felt a thrust in the **KEY RESOLUTIONS** side. A gaunt looking young man

The first major task facing the had burst into the entrance. His convention was the discussion on hand was in his pocket and was pushing against me. "Listen, the 25 resolutions brought in by Murray's Resolution Committee. lady," he said, "I have a gun One of the key resolutions was here. Give me that," pointing

on "Labor and the War," setting to my purse. Now I have heard that pick- forth the position of "wholeheartpockets never keep purses in their | ed support to the program of the possession, as they can be used War Production Board," "wholescure the point I was making in as evidence. So I said, "You hearted devotion to the Presidon't want this, but I will give dent's War Program" and pledg-

The column was concerned with you the money in it." I began to ing to "rout out . . . disrupters search the purse for money, but and fomenters of national discould find only a little change. unity." "Well," I said, "I haven't much here, but I think I have a couple of do lars tucked away in my alive. Several of them began to

clothes. I'll give you that." raise the question of demanding a

tion." I said, "that's too bad. I have The next resolution was on 'AFL-CIO Cooperation." This resolution urged a greater measure of collaboration with the AFL trying to make it possible for Board, but avoided any reference

"Oh," he said, "now maybe you der of the Day: "This circum- need the money. You'd better persuaded him to keep a onestance should be noted: No soon- give me the change in the purse dollar bill. "Listen, lady," he er had the German arsenal lost and keep the two dollars." "Oh, said earnestly as he was leaving, the weapon of suddenness than no," I repied. "I don't need it "this is only a loan. You will C. ROBINSON,

Discontent At Steel Convention

(Continued from page 1) to organic unity. In his remarks fore they could make any head hands of the international presi-

while the country was involved in be met with, and they are, per- of the convention. By this time, a great war situation, asked Am- haps, the same kind of difficulties Murray was urging the conventhat the CIO had to meet with tion to greater and greater speed, erican labor to forego the priback in 1935."

After a 20-minute barrage o AN INSPIRING EVENT The most inspiring point of the cussion on the resolutions against Jim Crow discrimination in in-

> ed forces and against the polltax system in the South.

The role of the Negro delegates at the convention was outstanding. There were about 75 Negro delegates. They participated in all the discussions, and proved to be the most articulate and militant workers at the convention. Several of them, who spoke on the anti-discrimination and polltax resolutions. received spontaneous, standing ovations from the convention.

One Negro delegate who inspired such an ovation, an officer of a Chicago local, indicated that At this point, the few Stalinist increasing trade union leadership delegates at the convention came is coming from the ranks of the oppressed Negro workers.

"So far as racial discrimina-When he saw I was so willing "Western Front." Murray just tion is concerned in my local," he to help him, he said, "Lady, I'm brushed them aside, and they re- stated, "it is scarcely noticed, but the Red Army on the "unexpect- sorry to have to do this, but I ceived little encouragement from in the plant in which I work there edness and suddenness" of the can't get work anywhere. I am the convention. All the satisfac- are only nine Negroes, eight of German attack. On May 1, a lit- an ex-convict and I can't get de- tion the Stalinists finally got, was whom are in the union, five of the more than two months later, fense work or any other kind of a resolution passed later on ask- whom are holding office. I have work. They don't care whether I ing the CIO Executive Board "to been the president since 1937, give consideration to the ques- without any opposition."

Other delegates, both Negro and white, evoked great applause when they declared that the resolution against discrimination should be more than a matter of lip-service and that the union should take specific steps to combat every concrete manifestation

of Jim-Crowism.

CONSTITUTION DEBATE Throughout the first two days of the convention, there were sudden little oppositional flareups on various issues, but Mur-Chicago, Ill. ray promptly squelched them be-

But the real upsurge came dur-

tion, the main business of the "The matter of obtaining or- convention. The Constitution obviously anxious to avoid any debate or opposition.

The delegates were handed a convention was reached in the dis- printed copy of the proposed con- cals to demand the election of orstitution and asked to begin vot- ganizers and similar functionaing on it at once without any ries, because of their sad experdustry, government and the arm- opportunity to read or study it lences with the kind of organizin advance. There was an immediate protest from several delegates. A motion to recess for one-half hour was made, but Murray sharply opposed it. On his insistence the motion was defeat- to democracy. Murray argued hour. He told them that anyone emphasis on the vital issues of ed, although there was a strong that the union was "only six years who voted against the per capita

> voice for the recess. As the initial articles and sections of the proposed constitution were read, it became clear to many of the delegates that it was designed to place all power in the

James P. Cannon Continues his lectures on THE HISTORY OF **TROTSKYISM IN** THE U.S. for Six Weeks On WEDNESDAY EVENINGS

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dent, that is, Murray. "DEMOCRATIC LICENSE" ganize locally. A rumble spread through the convention hall when a constitutional provision was introduced giving the international president sole power to "appoint, direct, old 75-25 division.

suspend, or remove, such organizers, representatives, agents and employees as he may deem necessary" and to fix their salaries. Many of the delegates had come

expressly instructed by their loers Murray had thrust on them. Only one delegate had had the chance to speak when Murray stepped in to head off the storm. Here was not even lip-service

old." "We cannot run the gamut proposed by him was working to "undermine and destroy our of democratic procedure to the point of license. You are only tak- union." He pictured the intering the first step in the direction national officers with their hands of a democratic set-up. Good as tied, and visualized the halting your intentions, you should not of all work of union expansion. assume the hazard of placing the But he was really talking against union in jeopardy. And that's the very basis of union democwhat you would do if you threw racy, which is dependent on the this convention into confusion power and strength of the local unions and their ability to funcand tried to elect organizers, etc." Several delegates took the floor, tion properly. The real issue was enumerating the bad experiences whether the union is to be built they had had with the machinefrom the top down, or the bottom picked organizers. Before the deup.

No delegate spoke after Murbate could get well under way, Murray's men on the floor began ray finished. It appeared that he had stlenced all opposition. The clamoring for the vote, which Murray hastily put. This time, vote was called. So strong was the "No!" voice vote, that Murray was over 150 delegates arose to vote against Murray. forced to call for a standing vote

Then Murray and his lieute-This was a method favorable to nants began driving for greater Murray, for many delegates were speed, discouraging debate, reafraid to expose themselves. Nevertheless, some 300 dèlegates minding the delegates that this was the last day of the convenstood up and openly voted in option. But the greatest resistance position to Murray. was yet to come. This was on

VITAL QUESTIONS the question of dues and per ca-The great shortcoming of the pita to the international. convention was the failure to

THE HOTTEST ISSUE properly discuss any of the basic One of the principal organiza- economic issues confronting the tional grievances of the rank and steel workers. The crucial quesfile has been the heavy per-capita tions of wage increases and union they must pay the international, security did not come on the floor 75 cents out of each dollar of of the convention until the very monthly dues. As a result of this, tail-end, in the last half hour of find for it a warm response among most of the local unions, particu- Friday night's extra session.

While Murray had expressed members, have little or no funds himself at one point in the conwith which to operate and or- vention against wage freezing, the specific question of the dollar-Hundreds of the delegates had a-day wage demands in Little come to the convention instructed | Steel and the demand for the by their locals to vote for a 60-40 union shop were deliberately buridivision of dues, instead of the ed throughout most of the convention.

No sooner was the section on At the last moment, a wage the 75-25 arrangement for dues policy resolution, containing read, than pandemonium' broke many correct features including loose. A great shout broke out: the reaffirmation of the dollara-day increase demand, was hast-Half the convention was on the ily read to the convention. There floor clamoring for recognition. was no opportunity for discus-But there was no opportunity sion. There was no implementfor debate. Murray stepped up to ing program offered for winning the microphone with the words, the demands. A quick vote was "Now I'm going to do a little blitztaken, and the convention was then adjourned. It was obvious Thereupon he scored the rank throughout the convention that and file delegates for a full half Murray did not care to place any wages and union security.

> The results and significance of the convention can be briefly summarized.

In itself, the establishment of an international steel workers industrial union with its own elected officers marks a great historic achievement of the American labor movement, crowning a struggle of more than half a century against the greatest open-shop interests in the country.

While the steel workers did not secure the kind of democratic union based on militant policies which they desired, they demonstrated at this convention their growing will and determination to build such a union

It was clear that the steel workers failed to secure an effective program to defend their interests because they are in the contradictory position of trying to win economic gains while upholding a union leadership which is constantly retreating before the osses and government.

But the lessons of this convention have been driven home to hundreds of the delegates who participated in it. They are beginning to see the need for a clear cut militant and progressive program. In the coming period, they will formulate that program and the ranks of the steel workers.

8 O'CLOCK



ence between Hitler and the American Jim Crow elements on this question is that Hitler openly By a Correspondent says that the Negro people are half-human, while the Jim Crow elements treat the Negro people as though they were half-human. Nevertheless, there is a difference between a protest and an effective protest. And we must and I started back home. In have no illusions that Jim Crowism can be abol-

chiefly to observe the attitude of

His American Subjects

Shortly after the United the natives toward paying tribute States entered the war, the job to the king. But apparently the on which I was employed in British officials had learned a les-South America came to an end, sibility of demonstrations. the course of my somewhat

A Nisie (second generation ternational Transport Workers' Japanese-American) student was Federation reveals that war proelected president of his high

fiteering is just as widespread in school here only a few days after Pearl Harbor. Students at City College are collecting toys and games for children at Manzanar. ese members expressed hostility

Only when the show was over to the evacuations and declared

France since 1940 as it was before or as it is today in the United States and Britain. It says:

the period prior to the country's

tory.

be obliged to devote their energies to the cultivation, harvesting and picking of agricultural products recognized by the Governor General as being necessary to the war efforts."

The "obligations already laid down" required the natives to do "Quotations of leading stocks 60 days of unpaid forced labor per have risen 250 to 300% between year. Now they can be subjected to complete slavery at the dis-

cretion of the Governor-General.

own behalf, if the World War had not intervened, cannot of course, be said. But that they were reaching toward an effective solution seems plausible. . ."

All the evils in the conditions of agricultural workers under the capitalist system, have of course become highly intensified under the war program. Overnight, reports McWilliams, the government bought thousands of acres of land or its war needs, and in many cases gave the farmers two weeks to hit the road. These farmers did not receive compensation from the government, because the land did not belong to them. Neither did they receive any kind of stipend or grubstake from their absentee landlords. They were simply set adrift to join the throngs of other dispossessed farmers suddenly forced to seek another way of making a living. All social problems of the migratory workers are sharpened by the war program: health, education. housing, demoralization. There are 250,000 migrant children in the nation today without school opportunities. Dysentery, pellagra, syphilis, even leprosy, have broken out in many migrant camps. By now, suggests the author, consideration of the agricultural problems should have progressed from talk to action. He does not believe it is necessary to go so far as to nationalize land, but "if our policy is to force the land to support a large population in order to minimize relief costs, then social control of land is essential." Among the suggestions McWilliams offers are: land leasing associations financed by the federal government; the recognition of the "right to relief" on the basis of need and not of residence; an alliance between the "under half" of American agriculture and organized labor, with labor realizing that there is not one farm group but two - "the spectacle of the AFL and CIO sitting in conference with the Associated Farmers of California is rather ludicrous." The political problem in agriculture is that "farm labor and farm migrant groups are not adequately represented, either functionally or politically in our scheme of things," In large measure this is because they are not organized. The Grange and Farmers Union do "for the most part, really represent farmers" but the powerful American Farm Bureau is a "company union" of farmers — the initial fund for the organization came from the Lackawanna Railroad and the Chicago Board of Trade, and was formed for the express purpose of keeping down unrest. Utterly devoid of sentimentality or romanticism regarding farming as a "way of life", written without fear of offending the offenders, this book is a terrible indictment of the capitalist system of rule and ruin. The remedies McWilliams offers are not given as the only possible solution. Indeed, he seems to say that his proposals are offered merely as a bridge to a complete solution: he does not urge a reversal of the historical trend, legislating the large-scale farms out of existence. The author sums up: "Until the masses of the people actually get possession of the reins of power, both economic and political, they will not be able to create a democratic non-exploitative economic order." This is only another name for socialism.

ished in the army by a protest such as Sullivan's. Its only immediate result is to remove a brave fighter for Negro equality from the arena of active struggle against Jim Crowism.

But, some people may say, suppose it was more than one person who did what Sullivan did, suppose there were many who followed his example? Wouldn't that be effective?

In the first place, a realistic examination of the situation shows that there is little possibility of a mass movement of Negroes in this direction. Most Negroes are dissatisfied with the way they are treated, but for a number of different reasons they are not ready to go to jail as Sullivan did or are not convinced that such a course would help the situation any.

Would Pose Question of Power

Secondly, and this is much more important, the government if faced with such a movement would take much stronger repressive measures and proceed to crack down with all the power at its disposal. The ruling class would undoubtedly mobilize terroristic gangs such as the Ku Klux Klan to launch a pogrom against the whole Negro people. All this would pose the question of power — who is to control the government? The government of course would fight to the last ditch on this question. But what about the Negro people?

Unless they were prepared to fight back with the same kind of determined struggle, they would suffer a crushing defeat, and if anything their conditions would be worse than they are now.

So you can see that a mass movement following Sullivan's example would be faced with all the questions that face a revolutionary movement. It would first of all have to recognize the decisive character of its fight, and have a clear idea of its goal, the overthrow of the oppressors of the Negro people. It would have to have an experienced revolutionary leadership. And it would have to have the support of the majority of the working class, both white and Negro, or it would go down to defeat.

Whatever else may be said about the present situation, almost everyone will agree that there is at this time no such Negro movement with a revolutionary perspective or revolutionary leadership. To undertake such a course under these conditions then, would be to invite sure disaster.

It should also be noted, incidentally, that the only way such a movement could be even theoretically successful would be by a struggle. Passive resistance, pacifism and all that go with them would have to be quickly discarded once the fight began to involve the masses. This in itself is an argument against such individualistic acts of protest — which are futile when they are not imitated by others, and have to be abandoned when they are.

light on the attitude of the King." By this time everyone had

their British rulers. Georgetown, British Guiana, was a port I visited in the latter part of January. This fairly old

coastal town, which projects off the northeast corner of South

of living of the natives is even lower than that of the poorest a wage increase of about sixpence Police Add Slander

a day, 12 cents, and it had taken several weeks for the British of-ficials to give in to this small demand. The war has skyrocketed the cost of living there, but wages which were too low to start wages which were too low to start with, did not keep pace with the Baltimore Cops Charge That Drunkenness rise in prices - just as in the Is Responsible for Negro Dissatisfaction United States.

This night, however, the for-

mality suffered a casualty. The

forced to sit up front in the mo-

vie, would not budge from their

seats. For five seconds there was

a distinct rumbling of voices

NATIVES SAT STILL

BALTIMORE, Md., May 23. - Late last month 2000 In Georgetown I went to a lo- angry Negroes marched on the state capital to demand of the cal movie. At the start of the Governor an immediate end to the beatings and killings of Negroes by Baltimore police. This week official action was bemain feature they always flash a picture of King George on the gun to whitewash and to "study" the charges of police brutality screen, and play a short refrain that have aroused so much resentment among the Negro people from "God Save the King," at here. which everyone is supposed to stand up.

The local police department and courts had already whitewashed the cops involved in re-D

cent sensational cases. Now, in in this way they lay the ground natives who are segregated and an attempt to divert attention for the addition of more police from themselves, the police have to the Negro areas. begun to siander the Negro peo-The police department, says the Baltimore Sun, never mentions ple. According to them, the only reason there has been any trouble. is because - the Negro people

from the entire native section of drink too much! the audience. In the balcony the they expecting? Let them hon-Fantastic as it may seem, Powhites stood up. Then the main lice Commissioner Stanton called feature was swiftly flashed on. Usually there is a fine of $\pounds 10$ a hearing at which witnesses, have to admit it is because Nemostly cops, testified that the (\$50) for this "insult" to the national anthem and imperial fig- cause of all the unrest in the groes are fed up with police bru-

tality and their miserable living urehead. However, it was a full Negro districts comes from the conditions. 200 natives who remained seated | bars, taverns and package liquor and for that reason no one was stores. That is the way the offi-The Negro people of Baltimore arrested and the event was not | cial mind sums up the problems mentioned in the local press. The of 175,000 Negroes forced to live

fact that the pooriy paid natives | in three square miles of what is flaunted this comparatively high chiefly slum territory. fine is an indication of what they A DANGEROUS SLANDER feel about British rule.

EVERYONE STANDS

ed by another, staged by the Almost two months later I State Liquor Board, which carvisited Port-Au-Spain, Trinidad, ried on with the same slander,

and the lights put on, did they | these brothers to be among the conlapse in 1940 and the Spring leisurely trip back, I observed flash the king's face on the screen most devoted and most militant of 1942. On the other hand, two incidents which throw much | and start playing "God Save the | members. All this is reflected in the tone

American colonial people toward already arisen to leave. In this of press handling news of the ing.

way things are so arranged that actual evacuations. The evacueveryone stands up for the king. ees are pictured as good citizens louse and Lyons shows that the I think it would be fair to say who are making their sacrifice Government - decreed minimum that this is a typical British im- for national defense. Stories of wages are not sufficient for hare perialist solution of the problem the efforts of the Chamber of necessities, and even these miniof native discontent, as well as | Commerce to tighten up the alien America, had witnessed a local a manifestation that the native land laws are reserved for the Toulouse, 41.9 per cent of work- on liberty. You can easily imagstrike by the stevedores for an people no longer have the slight- inside pages. The army, having herded the (\$23.50) a month. increase in wages. The standard est confidence in their rulers.

And this slavery is justified by workers and all those dependent the interests of the "war for on their daily earnings are starydemocracy." The strangest thing about this "democracy" that the 'An investigation . . . of Tou-African people are ordered to defend is that they themselves are not allowed to enjoy any of it. Another great "democrat." the

royalist General de Gaulle, remum rates are not observed. In cently delivered a grand speech ers earn less than 1000 francs | ine the style, no need to give quo-

tations. But where did he make this speech on the blessings of liberty? At Brazzaville, that is, in the center of the slave exploitation of the African native people by the "Free" French. . .

Belgian Labor Party Adopts

One hears little of the Second International in these tempestuof personnel and employment at the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft ous times. However, a precious Co., who for years has told Nedocument has just arrived. It is groes they can't work at his facso precious in fact, that it should

WHAT ABOUT THE SEGREGATION PROBLEM? Of course, no part of the administration has a word to say

on the question of segregation. The crowded living conditions of this war-boom town bring disease and death to both white and the word "riot," but constantly Negro; but the death rate among means? What kind of "riot" are city is 60% higher than among whites. Those responsible for estly teil why they think there continuing these conditions are may be a "riot" and they will killing off many thousands of Negroes more than the police de-

partment. Whatever the Negro people have gained anywhere in the way of better jobs, better housing and must beware lest the police seek greater respect for their rights, lies."

some excuse for a mass attack on they have won only by struggle, them! They must denounce and by demonstrations, by militant expose everywhere the slander organization. Now that the lathat their neighborhoods are the bor movement, has made good strides forward in this city, the

scenes of drunken orgies. The police hearing was follow-As for Governor O'Connor, his | Negro people will find it in their | only answer to the March On An- own interest to look upon the napolis has been to appoint a unions as their allies, and to cocommission to "study" the situa- operate with them in the soluone of the busiest ports in the pretending that the mounting tion. Composed of a very conser- tion of their joint problems. In Caribbean which is now being wave of dissatisfaction in the Ne- vative group of people, it is a the direction of Negro-labor unity developed as a U. S. army base. gro districts is due to too much sure thing that the commission's lies the solution of the problems Here I went to the movies again, whisky. They know better, but recommendations will be mild in- of the Negro people.

deed, and neither the Governor nor the State Legislature will be under any obligations to carry **A** Program them out. Militant Negroes here have no illusions about this commission which includes the chief

> be included in the text books of future generations to show how people die intellectually, although their bodies continue to live. This document is the program of

the Belgian Labor Party, recently revealed in London by former Labor Minister Arthur Waters: "The program lists projected internal electoral and adminisprepares for it. What does this the segregated Negroes in this the monarchical system be retaintrative reforms and specifies that ed but on the basis that the king rules, not governs' and that the system be governed by natural interest.

"Private initiative will be encouraged, according to the projected program, but measures must be taken to prevent the 'harmful influence' of monopo-

To give moral advice to the King, that is the answer of these "Socialists" to the tasks of our epoch!



Reviewed by Dina Saunders.



FOUR-



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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Memorial Day Massacre - Five Years After

It was five years ago this May 30, on a warm and sunny Memorial Day, that a parade of several hundred men, women and children, steel workers and their families, marched across a large open field in Chicago toward the strike-bound Republic Steel plant.

They were marching to bring a message of unionism, of industrial freedom, to the non-union men and scabs being used by the open shop corporation to break an important section of the Little Steel strike of 1937.

THE MILITANT

Seamen Overcome Navy **Gunners Anti-Union Bias**

Union Seamen Win Sailors' Confidence By Showing Them What Unions Can Do

An interesting account of how the action of union seamen broke down the anti-labor antagonism deliberately built up among men in the armed forces is related in the May 14 issue ship was approaching the North of Seafarers Log, organ of the Atlantic and Gulf District of the Seafarers' International Union, AFL.

When the S.S. Greylock left for the Red Sea last fall, she carried her regular crew but also, for the first time, a Navy crew of gunners to man the newly installed anti-sub and antiaircraft armament.

"There were eight Navy men steps to remedy the situation. under the command of an Ensign. They held a meeting and voted Most of them were green kids to supplement the gunners' rawho had never been to sea before. tions from the regular crew ice They were pretty suspicious of box. And they further decided he SIU men when they came that, if it became necessary, they aboard. They kept to themselves would take up a collection to buy as much as possible. the Navy men additional chow.

"This aloofness between union "After the vote had been taken and Navy men continued until and the gunners were about to it came time for chow. Then the leave for their own quarters, one gun crew sat up and took notice. of them said, 'Gee, you guys are Their plates were about half as OK. We were told to stay clear full as the SIU men's plates. of you because you were a bunch They demanded to know 'how come?' The Ensign informed my monev. them, in the best shave-tail tones,

"The following day the SIU that they were on Navy rations and he did not want to hear any the gunners. This time one of complaints. them said, almost apologetically, "After the meal was over the

'We've been thinking this thing Navy gunners got together and over.. and well - what we wonelected a delegation to call on dered was if we could join the the SIU crew. The delegation SIU. came to the focs'l and wanted to "It was explained to them that know (very meekly and politely)

how it was that the crew ate so by their joining the Union while well. The boys patiently explained that civilian crews hadn't alif they still wanted to go to sea ways eaten so good aboard the after the war was over, there ships, but that a little trade union pressure here and there had ac- would be a card waiting for them complished wonders over the past | in the SIU. three years.

"The gunners were amazed to between the SIU men and the and gunners - and good union learn that belonging to a union gunners got back to the Ensign men! could increase the number of and he blew his top. He didn't spuds you got on your plate. "But their problem still re- he didn't like the idea of his men against the SIU crew. He is

nained. They didn't belong to even talking to union members. the SIU and they were hungry. He made the rest of the trip hell cy, insubordination and subver-"The SIU immediately took for the Navy men, and he tried sion."



By DAVID WARNER

Many workers are aware that ever since Pearl Harbor, the their methods of propaganda every-day drive of the capitalist class against the labor move- from Hitler or vice-versa is dement has taken on a new and concentrated form. The "no- batable indeed. strike" agreement, put over with the connivance of the labor The only newspapers read by

to pull the same stuff on the SIU men. Needless to say, he was put in his place.

"Well, all went peacefully (except for the Ensign) until the return trip to the States. As the American coast, she was attacked by two subs at once. One came at her from the port side and the other from starboard.

TOKEN OF APPRECIATION "The Navy gunners sprang to action with the precision of a well oiled machine. They swung their 4-inch gun to port and blasted away. The sub was 400 yards away and the sea was

rather heavy, but the fourth shot

got the sub. She sank rapidly,

leaving behind only an oil slick. "The gunners then swung to starboard to meet the second sub which had already launched 2 torpedoes — both missing their mark. The gunfire was so accurate that the sub was forced to submerge and abandon the atof agitators. But you're OK for tack.

"Throughout the engagement the SIU crew worked in closest men were again approached by cooperation with the Navy crew, acting as shell passers. . .

"When the Greylock hit port the SIU men took up a collection and presented the sum of \$330 to the gunners as a token of their appreciation for saving the ship and possibly their lives there was nothing to be gained There was only one small stipulation attached to the gift - none they were in the Navy, but that of it was to go to the SOB Ensign.

"This was OK with the gun ners — you can be sure. They left the ship on a short furlough "The story of the friendship in New York, seasoned seamen

"P. S. We just heard that the like the idea of trade unions and Ensign has brought charges charging them with incompeten-



Why It Took So Long

The Russians have a proverb: "When one master fights the other, the muzhik gets his head cracked." Earl Browder was prosecuted and then sent to jail, because his master, Stalin, had made a pact with Hitler and denounced Anglo-American imperialism in very bitter terms. Stalin has been in the embrace of the same Anglo-American imperialism ever since Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union. Since then, Stalin had won the most tender praises of Churchill and Roosevelt. But it took close to eleven months before Roosevelt would right the wrong done to Browder. Browder was sent off to jail with dispatch, considering the fact that the country was not yet at war and at the time the case couldn't be rushed too much under peacetime conditions since the "due process of law" had to be observed. But there was no hurry to release Browder even though the President's signature was all that was required.

Why didn't Roosevelt act earlier to sign the same piece of paper that set Browder free? Or for that matter, why won't the British government permit the publication of the Daily Worker which it suppressed during the Stalin-Hitler pact, especially since a lot has changed in the British government, and Stalin's friend, Sir Stafford Cripps, is now Churchill's second in command? Didn't Roosevelt know immediately after June 22, 1941 that Stalin and all his agents could be relied upon for the most uncritical, most wholehearted support? Doesn't Churchill know the same?

We think that the answer can be found in the very question. Just because Churchill and Roosevelt have been sure of the uncritical and complete support of the Stalinists, there is not a thing they have to do for them, there are no concessions that they feel called upon to make to them. It is an axiom: The ruling class will persecute those sections of the labor movement that struggle for the rights of labor. But very often the rulers are also compelled to make concessions to those who struggle.

How Prices Are Fixed

But even those who do not know the meaning of struggle, those who are in the market always ready to sell out the rights of labor-they know that when they yield too easily, the price is brought down. The Stalinists have yielded so easily and with such abandonment, that they cannot ask for any price. The release of Browder is one of the typical bits of Rooseveltian generosity, the generosity of the master who is a good tipper, who knows that in the end a good tip pays dividends in greater service.

The delay in releasing Browder shows how considerate Mr. Roosevelt is towards the arch-reactionaries of his own class. He gave the Communist Party close to eleven months to demonstrate even to the most conservative of the conservatives, that it can outdo them in conservatism. He gave the Communist Party close to eleven months to demonstrate even to the most brutal of the exploiting employers that it can be relied on to try to pacify the workers.

Stream of Fascist Ideas at Army Ranks

stant repetition of lies and slanders. The question of whether the "democratic" bosses learned

bureaucracy and resulting in the abolition of labor's one real the men in the camps are those of the bosses. Filied day in and

MAY 30, 1942

Across their path, these men and their families met the armed hirelings of "law and order," several hundred blue-coats pumped full of anti-labor venom and incited by the corporation and the boss politicians.

Without a word of warning, the police opened fire, pouring a stream of bullets into the orderly marchers. Scores fell to the earth. The cops charged the fleeing workers, beating them down with their night-sticks, bashing in the skulls of the injured and dying.

That night ten steel workers' families mourned their dead. Scores of injured men, women and children twisted in pain on their hospital beds, some to die later, others to go through life maimed and disabled.

Seldom had American capitalism given a more vivid demonstration of its consuming hatred and fear of organized labor. Seldom had the American workers received a more bitter lesson of the true nature of the ruling class.

When the bodies were all buried, when the crippled and bruised were all hidden in their homes nursing their hurts, when the strike was broken, the Little Steel bosses congratulated themselves. Their murderous clubs and bullets, they believed, had beaten the union.

But the bosses thought wrong. Their violence and terrorism could not beat down the irrepressible urge of the steel workers for unionism, for organization to fight back against the brutal exploitation of the steel barons.

Last week, in Cleveland, Ohio, the sacrifice of the martyred dead of the Memorial Day massacre was vindicated. For their struggles and death had given renewed inspiration and white-hot resolve to others. These others came forward to catch up the banner from their lifeless hands, thousands and tens of thousands, until last week the mighty international union, the CIO United Steelworkers of America, came to full being.

That union is their monument, as it is the monument of all those who in the decades past have fought and died that the steel workers might be free. The blood they shed has helped to nurture into richness the soil from which an army has sprung. That army of labor will yet break thru the ramparts of capitalist reaction and build the kind of workers' world where there can never be a Memorial Day massacre.

not washed away even with both classes affected by the catastrophe of national defeat in war. The bourgeoisie refused, even knowing the benevolent aim of the social-democrats. That aim was to prevent any working class outbreak against capitalism after the war. The "socialists" wish to give such assurance to the capitalists so that the latter will not resort to a totalitarian regime of their own the moment the Nazi regime ends.

AFTER THE WAR ?

By A. ROLAND

That is the question confronting all the political

elements among the French classes. Nor does it trouble

the French alone. The same problem keeps awake

o' nights many American and English statesmen, and

Each and every conscious force is preparing against

the time when the Germans are defeated and driven

from the occupied countries. Will the war really be

over then, and everything settle down peacefully in

a period of reconstruction? Nobody really believes

that! The war will enter into a new phase in which

there will be a struggle for mastery over the nation

The representatives of the old bourgeois parties hope

to reestablish life just as it was before the war. The

deputies and senators who "democratically" voted

themselves out of existence and gave legality to the

totalitarian regime of Petain, will do their best to

forget that painful episode. They are ready to serve

their country in the same manner as before. That is

why they have attempted to continue meeting more

or less regularly, even if only as a rump parliament.

Petain and Darlan would have liked to suppress these

meetings entirely, but they felt themselves entirely

too weak and unsupported to start the kind of strug-

gle that would have followed. Instead, they there-

fore acted the ostrich and looked the other way, finally

getting the agreement of the Herriots to have their

meetings only in Chatel Guyon, a suburb of Vichy.

This suited the interests of both groups, the "ins" and

the "outs," since it prevented the outbreak of a con-

flict that might have further weakened the capitalist

The exact shadings in the ranks of the bourgeoisie

from those who feel sure of a German victory to those

who feel sure of the opposite may some day be fully

traced. Naturally it is the latter whose anxiety leads

them to establish links with one side of the under-

ground movement, the side which stresses nationalism

and which calls itself the movement for "National Lib-

eration." This group issues a magazine called "Com-

bat." Its program is the restoration of bourgeois dem-

ocracy and the driving out of the Nazis. The possibil-

ity for the achievement of this program it sees in a

victory for the United Nations. Naturally it hopes to

The most significant fact about the underground is

that it shows a distinction along class lines. The old trade unionists and worker elements from the ranks

of the social-democrats as well as the Stalinists par-

ticipate in the movement for "Liberation." It is not

too easy to distinguish between the programs of the

two movements. The magazine "Liberation" calls it-

self the "Organ for the Forces of Resistance of France." All that one can say is that it has a working class

The social-democrats never feel at ease except in a

milieu of class collaboration. It was perfectly natural

therefore that some of their leaders in the "Libera-

tion" movement approached the leadership of the mo-

vement for "National Liberation" for a Popular Front.

It is possible that the Stalinists had a finger in this

move, but there is no way of telling. The fact of the

matter is, however, that the bourgeois organization

refused the offer! They wanted nothing to do with

the worker angle of liberation. The class lines are

retain the French Empire intact.

slant on occasion.

even the Stalinist bureaucracy.

and its economic life.

class.

No doubt a major reason for the refusal by the bourgeoisie is its perspective of being restored to power by the armed forces of the United States and England. If it were not for that, the capitalists might have entered gladly into friendly relations with the "socialists."

One might ask the perfectly legitimate question: Why do the social-democrats attempt to organize the working class only in order to have the workers fight to restore the power to their oppressors? Evidently only for bargaining purposes, for payment from the masters for services rendered. This is reflected in the entire press of the social-democrats at home and abroad. Edward Loring merely expresses the mood of his entire movement when he writes in the May 23rd New Leader:

"Those who on the day after a second armistice can speak in the name of millions of well-organized (!) union members, will be in a position to bargain at the peace tables. Those new governments which succeed the exiled ones will need the support of an existing apparatus, which the unions have now. The underground movements mainly comprise former trade union nuclei. Any revolts especially those inspired by the United Nations, can come only from former union memberships, led by ex-labor chiefs. Law and order in the interim between Nazi retreat and Anglo-American-Soviet occupation must be maintained by the union headquarters."

The revolt Loring speaks of is a "national" revolt directed against the fascist invaders. Such a revolt is encouraged on all sides, even by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. Loring-and all the "socialists" of his school-approves in advance the occupation of all Europe by the "democratic" armies. He knows perfectly well that the function of these armies will be to restore capitalist governments everywhere, and to suppress any attempt to replace these governments, not by fascists but by workers. Loring's view is expressed best of all by John M. Work in the same issue of the New Leader:

"It is more important than ever that the truth about democratic socialism should be told, so as to prepare the minds of the people for a real solution of their problems. Otherwise there might be disaster after the war. It is the duty of all good socialists to try to prevent revolution. The way to do it is to build Socialism. This is no time to lapse into negative pessimism."

This travesty on the ideas of socialism is the one and only contribution of social-democracy to the postwar scene. It is of a piece with Blum's defense at the

veapon, the administration's moves to freeze wages in the face of a sharply rising cost of living — all are clear evidences of a powerful and intensified at-D the bosses to utilize all their tack by the bosses.

Most workers however are not propaganda mediums-the press, radio, movies, and certainly not aware that this drive is not rethe least important, their comstricted merely to the gains of plete control of the apparatus of the trade unions. One of its most the army and navy — in a condangerous aspects has been the stant effort to poison the minds conscious attempt of the bosses of the drafted and enlisted men to drive a deep wedge between against the labor movement. the men in the armed forces and COMMENT BY the trade union movement, to MRS. ROOSEVELT fill the minds of the soldiers and No less a person that Mrs. sailors with a vicious fascist ha-Roosevelt has stated in a speech

tred of the trade union movement reported in the April 25th N. Y. and everything that it repre-Times, that "there has been a decided propaganda drive against

sents.

The needs of modern warfare labor. It is not only directed at have forced the capitalist class the public mind — that would to create a huge conscript army, be an easy matter — but it is drawn chiefly from the ranks of also being done in the armed the workers and the lower mid- forces." Mrs. Roosevelt's prodle class. The capitalists know | found conclusion - that "some far better than do the workers awfully clever people" were rethe completely undemocratic nasponsible for this drive — is of ture of their army and fear no importance. What is meanabove all else that the soldiers ingful for the labor movement is and sailors may some day look that anti-labor agitation in the to the working class for leaderarmed forces is so widespread as ship in solving their thousand to draw comment from the wife and one grievances. of the President.

It is this fear which drives The methods of the anti-labor

Riom trial when he called on the world to witness that he had saved the power in France for the bourgeoisie which was now showing itself so ungrateful to him. The fascist counter-revolution, the imperialist war, seem to have failed to teach these cretins anything. Apparently they think that history can be turned back com- | ten that Hitler is the worst ene pletely on itself, that the bourgeoisie will restore the arena in | my that labor has got." which these "socialists" can wage a parliamentary struggle for the ever-so-gradual emanciption of the working class.

Social-democracy has played up the degeneration of the Soviet Union into the totalitarian Stalinist regime to frighten workers with the ideas of revolution. They do not stop to analyze why it is that this Stalinist regime is perfectly in accord with their views on the post-war world. Stalin is even more anxious than Loring group, bitterly inimical to labor. and Work that the American and British armies march into France after the defeat of Hitler. The social-democrats fear the establishing of a totalitarian regime like that of Stalin's in case of a their men shall read, what they revolution on the part of the French working class. But Stalin fears the end of his own totalitarian regime if the French proletariat comes to power. Stalin knows the difference between revolution and counter-revolution, between Leninism and Stalinism. The social democrats equate the two.

So it comes about that f or apparently opposite reasons, these two political streams pursue exactly the same course. The socialdemocrats fear the extension of Stalin's power all over Europe in is without effect on the men in case of working class revolution. But Stalin and his bureaucracy fear the end of their evil power in that same event. French socialdemocracy which claims to be opposed to Stalinism and all its works, therefore actually helps by its policies to maintain Stalinism the ranks of the soldiers. Next in Russia. And one need only quote from its own words to see how week we shall discuss some of brazenly it betrays the cause of the working class of all countries. this evidence.

day out with the constant refrain of labor's "greediness" in demand ing higher wages as contrasted with the self-sacrifice of the drafted and enlisted men, it would be a great wonder if the soldiers did not become affected. An innocent reader might be forgiven if he got the impression that the publishers and stockholders of the daily papers were also living on \$21 a month. PRESS, RADIO, MOVIES

It is indicative of the extent and virulence of the open antilabor feeling in the army that one of the leading contributors to the Stars and Stripes, organ of the U.S. overseas forces, is Westbrook Pegler, leading anti-labor columnist.

The movies too play their role. recent March of Time short, shown in scores of army camps and in movies throughout the country indulges in characteristic anti-labor propaganda. The movie takes the audience into the home of a supposedly average American family, the "Davises." The conversation is between Davis Sr. and young Bill, home on leave from the army.

Bill: "And it doesn't make it any easier when we hear about all these strikes in defense plants.

Davis Sr.: "It seems to me these labor bosses have forgot-

More important than any of these factors however, is the role played by the officers. Chosen by a system which makes it virtually impossible for a worker to crash through, the officers constitute a thoroughly reactionary Vested with complete power over the rank and file, deciding what shall see and how they are to spend their time, who can estimate exactly the weight of the anti-labor role played by the officer caste?

No progressive worker can comfort himself with the thought that such anti-labor propaganda the armed services. Enough evidence is at hand to show how deeply anti-labor and even fascist ideology has permeated in

There is no doubt that the Stalinists have stood the test. They have become distinguished from the ordinary run-of-the-mill reactionaries only by their greater zeal. Roosevelt felt that the time had become ripe to throw Browder to the Stalinists as a sort of a tip for the zeal with which they served. He freed Browder.

But some people just wouldn't be satisfied. You might think that everybody would like a good sport. Roosevelt had done the sportsmanlike thing. After all, you've got to give the Stalinists something for their services. They certainly didn't ask for very much. They asked for Browder! It was certainly no sacrifice on anybody's part' to give that to the Stalinists.

Some Are Never Satisfied

However, some people permit their vengefulness to obscure their vision. Take for example the telegram sent Roosevelt by Representative J. Parnell Thomas, a member of the Dies Committee: "Your executive order freeing Earl Browder, Communist law violator, is conclusive proof that the New Deal is garroted by Communism." What Earl Browder is this congressman talking about? Certainly not the Earl of 1942. A politician should know that the time element is very important.

One would expect a more charitable attitude from a man who speaks in the name of the Catholic War Veterans. But its national commander, Thomas Walsh, issued an open letter to the President, saying:

"It is indeed regrettable, that this group which since its inception has directed itself to disunity amongst our citizen population by espousing the doctrine of the overthrow by force of our established government . . . should now be the beneficiary of executive clemency for their leader who preferred jail to rendering service to his country in World War L"

It seems that the sin of having been a revolutionist once is unpardonable, even if you have to go back to the last World War for references. This man does not even make the pretence of hiding his class view of justice. He would keep a man in jail for his views in the last war.

The hysterically reactionary Westbrook Pegler, and the very dignified N. Y. Times have also come out against the release of Browder. Every indication is that the Stalinists are very much upset by this demonstration of hostility towards them. Robert Minor sent a letter to the Times pleading with the to change their attitude. But they will not be moved. There is nothing left for the Stalinists to do but to go on serving devotedly and meekly in the hope that somehow, someday, they will liquidate the debt for their revolutionary past.