

## The Negro And The U. S. Army

See Page 4

# THE MILITANT

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# STRIKE BRINGS VICTORY AT BETHLEHEM

## Kremlin Worried By Hitler's Move

But Its Timid Protest is Addressed to Bulgaria and Not to the Nazi Invader

Adolf Hitler moved his forces into Bulgaria last week and established them at a dozen points along the Greek frontier. The move brought him to within striking distance of the Dardanelles.

While the world waited to see whether Britain could muster sufficient forces to make a landing in Greece and thereby create its vitally needed Balkan front, a sudden stirring came out of Moscow.

During the many weeks of plot and counterplot in Bulgaria that Germany's occupation of that country was being prepared, the Kremlin sat tight in its now familiar attitude of frightened silence.

Nazi troops in Bulgaria meant Nazi troops close to the Dardanelles — the Soviet Union's outlet to the Mediterranean. It also meant new Nazi bases along still another Soviet frontier — this time bases capable of sustaining an attack on the oil fields of the Caucasus.

When Hitler's hordes finally did move into Bulgaria on March 2, the Kremlin sent a note — not to Hitler — but to the Bulgarian government. In this note for the first time since the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Kremlin permitted itself to take openly a hostile tone toward the Nazis. The note deplored Bulgaria's acquiescence in German occupation, which it said meant "extension of the war." The note added that the Soviet Government "cannot render any support" to the Bulgarian pro-Axis policy.

This Kremlin move was apparently designed by Stalin as a timid warning to Hitler. Stalin, who mortally fears involvement in the war, did not dare to serve even this timid warning on Hitler. He sent it instead to Bulgaria — which is in no position to do anything on its account.

Those wishful thinkers in the Anglo-American camp who will

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

The question of "war aims" is raised but little these days. Somebody writes a letter about it to the New York Times. Or an isolationist senator grasps at it for a moment in his search for telling arguments.

What are "war aims" anyway?

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

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

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

## Cops Couldn't Break This Picket Line



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

## Ford Men All Set For Biggest Strike Ever

### Physical Struggles Break Out Between Unionists and Ford's Thugs Danger Spot in Strike is Failure to Concentrate on Negro Workers

DETROIT, Mich.—The UAW-CIO has finally thrown down the gauntlet to Henry Ford. It has filed notice with the Michigan Labor Board of its intention to strike the plants of the Ford Motor Company!

It is high time that the union took this action! The tension is becoming unbearable inside the River Rouge plant. For the past two weeks, union men wearing their union buttons are being physically attacked and slugged by the service men and quite a few have been sent to the hospital. It is not, however, a one-sided battle. In the past week more and more of the service men are getting a dose of their own medicine. Today service men do not dare enter certain departments that are 100% organized!

The Ford union men are clamoring for a strike and it is doubtful whether they can be held back very much longer. They all know that Ford wants a test of strength. They know that he has been preparing for months for the battle of his life. They all know that Ford will never sign a union contract until the union displays its full strength and forces old Hank to his knees.

The union organization drive has taken a tremendous spurt upward since the last two favorable NLRB decisions have come through. The union states that it is now signing up Ford workers at the rate of 1,000 a day.

The Ford challenge has aroused the other UAW-CIO locals around Michigan as no other challenge has aroused them for the past three years. And the UAW-CIO has over 200,000 members in Michigan. These locals are today organizing their flying squadrons and preparing, eager to throw their full weight behind the Ford workers to ensure the victory of the strike against the tyrant of the River Rouge.

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

BLACK AND WHITE  
UNITE AND FIGHT!

It is imperative that the UAW-CIO begin a large scale campaign to explain to the Negro workers how Ford and the manufacturers are attempting to use them against the white workers and in this way enslave further the whole working class, both Negro and white — The old policy of "divide and rule."

The UAW-CIO must also launch the battle for a fighting program to abolish all discrimination and Jim Crow policies in industry and on "national defense" work. Merely repeating that the union stands for a policy of "no discrimination, because of race, color or creed" is not enough in these days. The union must abandon this passive policy and adopt a more active policy to gain equal rights for Negroes in industry and on national defense work and include these guarantees in all of its future union contracts.

The UAW-CIO must now draw up an official union contract to be presented to the Ford Motor Company, which will include the basic demands of the men: collective bargaining procedure, shop steward system, a flat 10c. hourly wage increase, seniority rights, abolition of the service department etc. The Ford workers want no weakening now. They want no capitulation to government "mediators" or Defense Commission representatives.

CHICAGO—A mass meeting to protest the conviction of Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper sentenced to die on March 14 for the self-defense killing of his landlord, will be held in Chicago on Tuesday, March 11, at Good Shepard Church, 5700 Prairie Avenue, at 8 P.M.

The meeting is sponsored by the Chicago branches of the Workers Defense League and the NAACP, with the support of the Brotherhoods of Sleeping Car Porters and Red Caps, the ILGWU, the Federation of Jewish Trade Unions and other organizations.

The WDL, in cooperation with the NAACP, is fighting to obtain a new trial for Waller and to win his freedom.

## Bethlehem Men Show The Way!

And Everywhere Workers Are Showing They Understand This Is the Right Time to Strike

AN EDITORIAL

Militant strike action has brought victory to the workers at the huge Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem Steel. This victory is more than a local success. It is more than a new impetus for the complete organization of the steel industry. It is a beacon-light, showing the way for the workers of the entire country. It shows that the workers, through militant action, can defend their rights against the whole caboodle of bosses.

This victory, as well as the Allis-Chalmers strike, the International Harvester strike, and the many other battles now going on in the war industries, show that the workers have not been overly impressed by the patriotic ballyhoo of the bosses. These strikes show that millions of workers have already grasped the fundamental idea that the government's war preparations are no reason why the workers should forego their right to strike to improve their conditions.

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

All this the workers understand, as their splendidly fought strikes demonstrate. They understand it far better than their "leaders", the trade union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats will, on occasion, especially when the question is one of founding the union and getting the first contract (this was the case at Bethlehem), permit the workers to use the strike weapon; for the union officialdom desires to increase its revenue and prestige. But in general the connection of the top union officials with the government (and through it with the bosses), and their desire to appear super-patriotic, makes them infinitely more cautious and less militant than the rank and file.

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

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

## TWO DAYS' STRUGGLE DOES IT

Bethlehem's Myth Of Invincibility Is Gone Forever

BUFFALO, N. Y., Feb. 28—All the city cops, county deputies, company thugs, scabs and strike-breakers that Bethlehem Steel was able to muster—and there were plenty of them—could not pull the trick. For 38 hours they cracked their heads against a wall of steel-men bodies and fists, steel-men courage and fighting solidarity. And in the end, Bethlehem Steel, for the first time in its fifty-odd years, had to give in to the workers.

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

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

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

### A NATIONAL INSPIRATION

Reports from Bethlehem, Johnstown, Sparrows Point, Pottstown and every other town where the 80,000 Bethlehem Steel workers are being organized, testify that the strike has roused the Bethlehem workers everywhere to a fighting pitch, hope and confidence.

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

### WORKERS WON ALONE

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

But it could not be halted. By eight o'clock of last Wednesday evening, — one hour before the strike's deadline — thousands of workers had assembled at the SWOC hall to organize picket squads and flying squadrons.

By nine o'clock, when the strike officially began, 6,000 workers were already at the seven plant gates and patrolling the miles of iron fence around the plant. They carried defiant banners and signs: "Bonuses for the Bosses—Bones for the Workers," "Grace Gets \$125,000; How Much Do You Get?", "SWOC Organizes While Bethlehem Deputizes," and a score of other slogans.

The toughest going of the first

(Continued on page 3)

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

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

Editor:

The following excerpts from a letter from a worker—not a radical—to one of our comrades, about his life in Camp Shelby, may interest you.

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They are pretty strict out here. You have to salute the officers and obey them or else the guard house or court martial. You must answer the officer, "Yes, sir"; "No, sir". You are no longer a citizen but a soldier with a number.

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We have to wake up at 5:15, salute the flag at 5:30, and eat at 6:00. We drill from 7:00 to 11:30, eat at noon, and work again from 1:00 to 4:30. When we drill, we get ten minutes out and shut up or else.

## Anti-Union Move At Morris Park Railway Shops

By The Queens Correspondent

JAMAICA, New York City, March 3.—The management of the Morris Park railway repair shops, a subsidiary of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, have launched a drive to crush bona fide unionism among their employees through the re-establishment of a company union. James Mills, son of the boss, who heads the company union, is circulating a petition among the workers demanding a new election to determine what union shall represent the workers.

At present the workers are divided among the various AFL craft unions which superseded the company and succeeded in regaining the former wage level after a ten per cent cut had been put into effect by the management. The craft unions then gained an additional five per cent increase.

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

**DIVIDE AND RULE**  
In its drive to revive the company union corps, the management is attempting to pit one craft against another. Passenger car repair men are either laid off or shifted to repair of freight cars which pays 78 cents an hour instead of 86 cents an hour although the work is the same. The men must buy a new set of tools at their own expense when they are put on freight cars. The company is now trying to place the freight car repair men on sheet metal work which should pay 86 cents an hour. The company however would pay only the freight car rate of 78 cents. The seniority rights of the coach cleaners are likewise violated.

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

Many of the workers are becoming aroused over the danger of the boss drive. They see clearly the necessity for defending what gains they have already secured and they are ready for a militant program of struggle against the management.

of each hour to smoke or rest. After eating at 5:30 the rest of the evening is mine, but what the hell can you do in the evening when they won't let you go out without a pass. You are a prisoner. They give you a pass once a week. The rest of the week you can go to a canteen and drink beer. Or else you can go to a show for 20c. You may also go to a recreation hall and listen to music or watch a boxing match.

We wash our own clothes or send them to a laundry. My laundry bill will be about \$1.50 to \$2 a month. That's a lot of money out of \$21.

The prices here are too high. The business men in the towns around here try to take the soldiers for suckers.

I went to a Protestant church today, and I had to march and keep in step. Boy! they sure do take your liberty away from you out here. I guess I got to take it and shut up or else.

## Strike for Pensions For Lead-Poisoned Battery Workers

CLEVELAND—Holding ranks 100% solid, workers at the Willard Storage Battery Co., organized in local No. 88 UAW, are staying out until the company agrees to pension at a living wage the workers who are permanently incapacitated by lead poisoning. The company has agreed to other demands but wants to sign these crippled, dying workers off with \$30 a month, and the workers are fighting mad.

At one time, the workers received wages of fifty cents an hour average; organization got them a substantial boost of around 50%.

But the work was killing them. A dozen men at a time were in the hospital with lead poisoning. The company doctor diagnosed these cases as rheumatism, stomach ulcers, and anything but lead poisoning. Now the company agrees to get a new doctor. But even then, the union is going to make a double check with its own doctor from now on.

This company has crippled and killed scores of workers by its failure to institute safety measures, and then has cheated these workers and their families out of many thousands of dollars worth of compensation. But this time, these workers mean business about lead poisoning, and the company is expected to settle soon on the basis of complete acceptance of the workers demands.

## Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

## SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles
Sat.	March 15	and vicinity
Sun.	March 16	"
Mon.	March 17	"
Tues.	March 18	"
Wed.	March 19	"
Thurs.	March 20	"
Fri.	March 21	"
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	"
Mon.	March 24	"
Tues.	March 25	"
Wed.	March 26	"
Thurs.	March 27	"
Fri.	March 28	"
Sat.	March 29	"
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	"
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	"
Thurs.	April 3	"
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	"
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	"
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities

## Allis-Chalmers Men On The March



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

## OPM Executive Found to Be on British Payroll

Another angle on "working both sides of the fence" is revealed by the report that corporation "dollar-a-year-men," assisting the Office of Production Management, are on the payroll of the British Purchasing Mission at monthly salaries of \$2,000 or more each.

A reporter for the DETROIT FREE PRESS broke the story during a press conference with Roosevelt on February 24.

One of the "dollar-a-year" assistants on the OPM, A. J. Brandt, has been named as one of those under contract with the British Purchasing Mission at a reported \$2,000 a month. High officials of the OPM revealed the fact when they stated that OPM Director Knudsen has already asked Brandt to make an "explanation" for his dual employment. The indiscretions of the small "fat cats" are making it embarrassing for the big "fat cats," like Knudsen.

ees; city purchases of union-made goods; no reduction of teachers' salaries.

The campaign committee states: "A great preponderance of the people of Superior are working people. A large majority, in fact, are members of organized labor or dependent on wage-earners who belong to organized labor. Hence, if we are to have majority rule and a government of, by and for the people, it is fitting and proper that labor stand together and elect its candidates. Further, our principles and aims are concisely expressed in the above platform, which we think is broad enough for all classes to accept."

And that is just the trouble.

The platform is NOT a labor

platform but a capitalist reform

platform. There is nothing in the

platform to inspire workers to

participate actively in the cam-

paign.

The Superior experience is nevertheless a symbol of the growing participation of organized labor AS LABOR in politics.

Many municipal labor campaigns

similar to Superior's will be con-

ducted this year.

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The FAREHS UNION HERALD reports that five thousand North Dakota farmers marched on the state capitol in Bismarck February 3rd, to protest against the proposed amendment to the Anti-Corporation Farming Law.

The amendment would lift the ban on corporation-owned farming which goes into effect in 1942. The mass protest was effective in preventing repeal of the law. However, the HERALD warns that the corporations will now seek to delay the bill in order to give time to counter the effect of the mass march.

From reports in the HERALD, farm leaders will support the lease-lend bill in return for a provision in the bill requiring Great Britain to take her normal amount of farm commodities along with such armaments as are given her. This would mean that over a million bales of cotton, several million bushels of wheat, much lard and other produce would be paid for out of the Treasury.

Thus Washington and the farm leaders seek to bribe the farmers to support war and dictatorship.

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The CLEVELAND CALL POST, colored paper, writes editorially that Mr. Hillman has been as silent as death about the almost universal discrimination against Negroes in defense jobs."

The POST cites many instances in which state employment services advertise for workers, always amending it to say "white workers only." This is agreeable to Hillman, apparently, as he has not raised his piping voice in protest.

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

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

The removal from the ballot of Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor Party candidate, was reversed Monday by Supreme Court Justice Morris Eder.

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

In flagrant violation of labor's right to representation on the ballot, the Board of Elections last Wednesday ruled the American Labor Party candidate, Connolly, off the ballot in the special election in the 17th Congressional district of New York. The ruling was announced on February 26, the day following the deadline set for filing of independent nominating petitions.

Two motives were clearly apparent in this violation of democratic rights. The Democratic machine wished to eliminate the threat of a third candidate, feeling that Baldwin, the Republican candidate, would have a better chance to win over Dean Alfange, with Connolly on the ballot. But at least equally important was the fear of these watch dogs of Wall Street that Connolly, an independent labor candidate running on an anti-war platform, would crystallize the anti-war sentiment of the workers.

The Board of Elections made its ruling on a flimsy technicality. The right wing of the American Labor Party which supports Alfange, the war-mongering Democratic candidate joined with Tammany in contesting the nomination

of the ALP that it would run Connolly, as widely discussed in the New York labor movement. The SWP program of trade union control of military training, which the SWP is urging the American Labor Party to adopt as the real alternative to the plans of the war mongers, found favor among militant workers as against Connolly's purely pacifist opposition to the Lease-Lend Bill.

#### PRESS DISTORTS FACTS

The *World Telegram* published misleading and wholly incorrect statements such as: "Trotskyites Forget All About Assassination to Join Stalinists Backing Connolly for House." This story also falsely quoted Arthur Burch as having declared that "Connolly and the American Labor Party are Stalinists." This headline in the press was merely a deliberate attempt to smear Connolly as a Stalinist and to drag in issues which have absolutely nothing to do with the campaign.

Connolly stands in the election as an independent labor candidate opposed to the war-mongering candidates who represent the Sixty Families. A big vote for Connolly means encouragement for

the chairman of the nominating meeting to certify the nomination!

Meanwhile the withdrawal in favor of the ALP candidate, Arthur Burch, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, which was done upon the announcement

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.

1. Can the British Empire Survive? Imperialism and Colonial Revolt.

2. Japan and the United States: Struggle for Asia.

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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.

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Wednesdays—8:50 to 10:20 P.M.—6 Sessions \$1.00

REGISTRATION  
ATTENDANCE

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

ANOTHER WEEK OF BIG RESULTS!

More than \$125 in sub drive money came in during the past week: 106 subs, totalling 257 points. This is the greatest number of points for one week since the beginning of the drive, bringing the point total to date to 655. The complete tabulation for the week is as follows:

This Week Total  
Subs Pts Subs Pts

Minnesota 65 175 162 348  
New York 6 9 27 48  
Detroit 4 12 20 47  
Chicago 3 16 19 43  
L. A. 3 4 13 27  
Cleveland 4 10 12 25  
Boston 3 3 17 23  
Youngstown 2 5 13 20  
Flint 7 12 10 15  
Newark 0 0 10 14

Totals 106 157 333 655

## CHICAGO SUB SOCIAL

We reproduce below the leaflet issued to contacts by the Chicago local as a means of pushing the sub drive over the top. Chicago intends to beat its competitors Detroit, Boston and Newark—and certainly shows them how it's done.



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

# Harvester Strike Spreads To The Fourth Plant

## 2nd Chicago Plant Shut Down Tight

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

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

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

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

**COPS BACK DOWN**

Prior to the formal closing of the plant by the company, the Chicago police department gave public backing to the company and announced the intention of giving police escort to scabs and full aid to the company as a "tax payer entitled to as much protection as they require."

FEWOC representatives talked cold terms to the police and company, informing them that the feeling among the strikers was:

"No IHC employee shall pass through the picket line, and if the police try to break through, the CIO stands ready to call a 'Chicago CIO Holiday' and have enough people in front of the gates to see that we get a square deal."

This afternoon the strikers erected picket shacks before all the plant gates, preparatory to maintaining a 24 hour guard on the plant. The morale of the strikers is very high.

### SETTLEMENT TERMS

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

Word is being awaited here from the committee of local union representatives and members of the Organizing Committee who left yesterday afternoon for Washington for negotiations with the management and Department of Labor officials.

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

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

### COMPANY'S PROFITS

The strikers are more determined than ever to stick to their demands and score a victory since the announcement of the IHC "earnings" for 1940, which tripled those of 1939. The net profit of the IHC bosses in 1940 was \$28,161,110 as compared with a 1939 profit of \$7,952,810—nearly triple! IHC was seventh on the list of the 25 firms having the greatest profits in 1940, and showed the largest percentage of profit increase of all these corporations, 191.3%.

## Labor's Stake In Newark Election

### War Boom Brings Trade Union Struggles; Labor Must Also Fight Boss Parties

By GEORGE BREITMAN

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

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

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

Workers are signing up in one factory after another, several militant strikes led by the CIO have already taken place, and important struggles are just around the bend in several important union situations.

All this has shown that the workers are ready to fight for better conditions, in spite of the waves of propaganda for war and for a "national unity" that will leave the workers helpless in the grip of the bosses.

But the question is this: Will this revived spirit of workers' militancy and confidence be confined to the purely trade union field in this next period before the declaration of war? Will the workers continue to fight their enemies on the economic field at the same time that they leave their power untouched on the political field? Or will they logically continue their struggle against the bosses' anti-labor drive onto the electoral and political front, challenging the bosses' power there too?

This question will be decided for the rich industrial area of north Jersey in the course of the current Newark City Commission campaign, the only important election scheduled here between now and the official declaration of war.

The main functions of the City Commission are concerned with money—with raising it by taxes and expending it for things like police and fire control, relief, WPA, schools, hospitals, health care, housing, etc. The method of taxation, the emphasis on where the money is spent, and the policies pursued in the various departments combine to determine the character of the regime at City Hall.

### TWO BOSS PARTIES

There has never been complete unity among the big business interests of the city over these questions. This has been reflected in the formation of two main factions at City Hall and in the old party machines.

The elections in 1937, at a time when the labor movement was on the advance, gave a clear majority to the group headed by Mayor Ellenstein, who called himself head of Newark's New Deal.

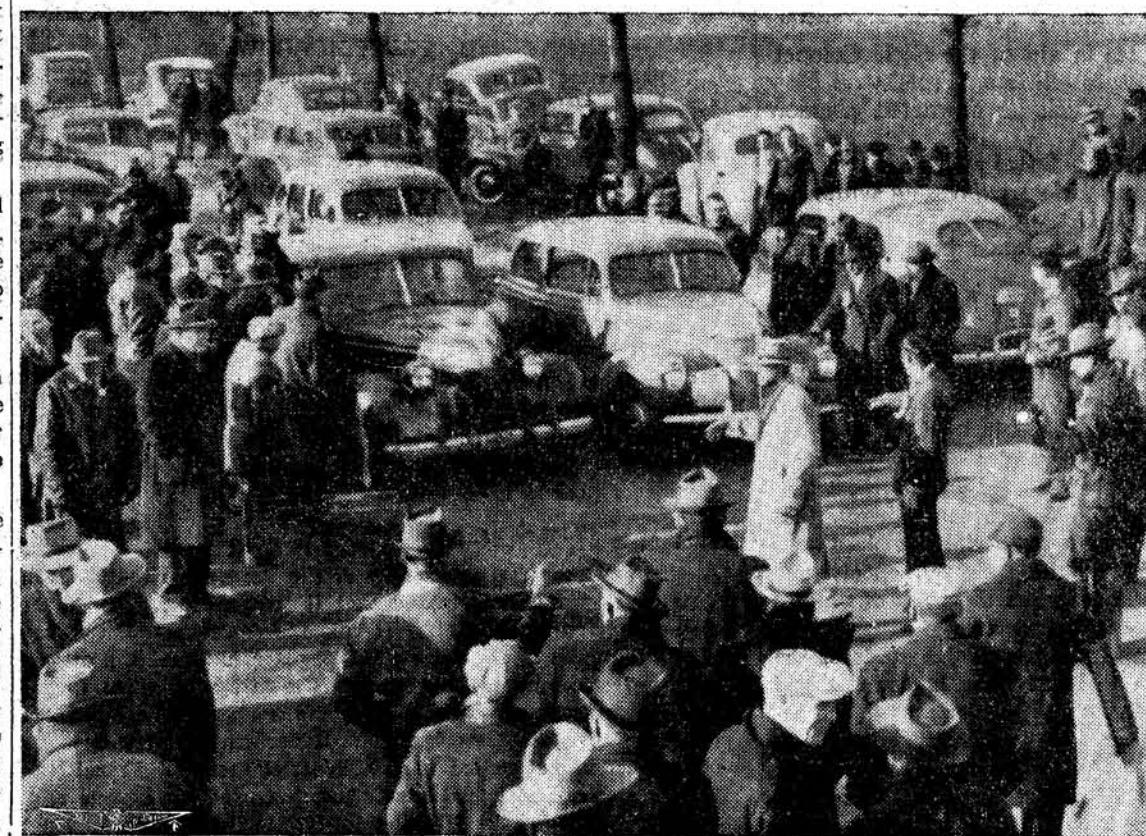
This group was composed of the re-elected members of the Commission: Ellenstein himself, a shrewd independent Democrat supported by many unions, Labor's Non-Partisan League and (unofficially) by the Stalinists, mainly because of his '37 slogan, "Keep Hague Out of Newark City Hall"; Pearce Franklin, Regular Republican and self-advertised "Champion of the Underprivileged" who made much of the fact that the relief and health administrations are included in his department; and Michael Duffy, a habitual drunken nonentity re-elected by his police and fire department supporters.

The other two elected, who often combined to form a strange united front against the predominant machine, were Vincent J. Murphy and Joseph Byrne. Murphy (who received the highest number of votes and dislikes the Ellenstein group because by precedent he should have become Mayor) is the secretary-treasurer of the State Federation of Labor, and was elected with the backing of trade unions, LNPL and the Communist Party. His campaign literature put him forward as "trade unionist, veteran banker."

(Next week: The other old party candidates.)

# Bethlehem Strike Victorious

### Carnegie Steel Workers Are On The Go Too



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

(Continued from page 1) night occurred at the strip mill gate. The pickets here, numbering about six hundred strikers, started off peacefully persuading anybody who drove up in cars not to enter the plant. At 8:30 P. M. one scab, refusing to halt his car, drove full speed through the pickets, knocking down and injuring one worker.

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

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

At No. 1 gate, the only entrance within the Buffalo city limits—all others are in Lackawanna—a big detail of city police was on hand as expected, and there the scabs tried to pull a fast one. Every car which drove up contained "superintendents" or "assistant superintendents," and were permitted to pass the picket line. When the ninth "assistant superintendent" tried to get through, the strikers got tougher and he was informed there were enough "superintendents" inside to run an empty plant.

### COPS TALK BIG

When the Police Commissioner appeared and informed the pickets at the Buffalo gate that the cops would be on hand in the morning to escort scabs into the plant and he didn't want any "interference" from the strikers, he was told in blunt and none too delicate words what the strikers thought about his threats.

At No. 3 gate, matters were kept pretty well under control by a big crowd of husky workers. One scab tried to drive through and was halted. He became a little insistent. So did the strikers. When he stepped on the gas, his car wouldn't budge. The rear wheels kept spinning around but they were a foot off the ground.

At 11 P. M., the shift that had been on the job at the time the strike was called, came out. Many of this shift had already walked out of the plant when the strike dead-line arrived.

By midnight, quiet fell over every gate.

The company also made an attempt to ship strike-breakers into the plant on box-cars over railroad adjoining the strip mill. A hall of furnace coal suddenly fell over the box-car and that brief trick was abandoned. Strikers spoke to the railroad workers, and were promised that the railroad men would refuse to haul any scabs. That promise was kept.

Company police, reinforced to

the number of several hundred, were on hand through the night. They were lined three deep behind the plant gates, but at no time did they dare to venture forth.

The picket lines were bolstered by workers from other plants. At

the Buffalo gate, it was

a different story. There the Buf-

alo police were out in full force

on Thursday morning.

pealed to do what Bethlehem Steel had never done before in its history. Grace had agreed to reinstate the 1,000 workers who had been issued "indefinite suspensions," the immediate cause of the strike; and to meet with the union committee, — something which company officials had repeatedly declared they would never do, — to negotiate and settle grievances.

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

### STRIKE BACKGROUND

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

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

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

The company issued provocative statements, charging the fired workers with sabotage and destruction of company property. 500 more workers were laid off.

On Tuesday, a mass meeting of the Lackawanna workers issued an ultimatum for the reinstatement of the discharged workers and set a strike dead-line for 9 P. M. Wednesday.

### HILLMAN BUTTS IN

The government, appealing to the strikers on the issue of "national defense," tried frantically to prevent the strike.

In addition to the two demands which the strikers won, they had originally demanded the holding of an NLRB election and a 25 per cent pay increase.

The proposals made by the OPM, which were the basis of the strike settlement, ignored the question of wages altogether, and merely gave lip service to the question of the NLRB election.

### PICKET-LINE MAJORITY

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

### MAYOR CONCEDES DEFEAT

Chief victims of the battling at the Buffalo gate were two cops. One of the victims got tangled up in the legs of a horse, and one got tangled up with a group of strikers. The latter lost his pants and blouse.

In the early evening, Mayor Holling called quits to any further efforts to try to pierce the wall of strikers at the Buffalo gate. He issued an "emergency proclamation" closing off all approaches to the No. 1 gate.

At the strip mill gate, where the biggest battle had occurred Wednesday night, a great crowd of pickets were on hand through the day. One ear managed to break through during the day, at the cost of all its windows.

At several of the gates, and at the new bar mill located in the Town of Hamburg at the westernmost part of the plant, when scabs drove up they found a solid wall of strikers' cars lined up across the entrances, bumper to bumper.

When night arrived, Entwistle, the company manager, sent a telegram to Governor Lehman asking for state troops to be sent. This was an open admission that the strike was successful, and that his statement of the previous night that only "69" men had quit the night shift was a lie.

Throughout the course of the night, the pickets maintained their vigil in shifts. There were few further attempts to get scabs through. The pickets stood around camp fires and big metal drums full of burning coal and wood to keep warm.

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

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

This strike marks just the successful beginning of the struggle to win union recognition and a union contract in Bethlehem Steel.

## Flint Fisher Body Fight On Suspensions Still On

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

FLINT, Mich., Feb. 28—Eighty-two trim shop workers at Fisher No. 1 auto body plant here, who were summarily discharged by the management February 12 for participating in an "unauthorized walkout," were still without jobs today as negotiations between the management and union representatives failed to get results.

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

The General Motors Corporation has been fighting an unrelenting war in all body plants against standards in the trim shops. The speed of an entire body plant depends in large measure upon the speed of the trim shop. In Flint the trim shop standards, gained after long years of struggle, are the best in GM. Naturally the company centers its attack here, where it must break down organization in order to speed up the body plants nationally.

That this war on the trim shop standards is not local, is evidenced by the fact that in Lansing a speedup campaign resulted last week in the discharge of nine trim shop workers who refused to be intimidated into speeding up the line.

As a major weapon in this fight to destroy standards, the General Motors corporation is using the infamous letter recently sent to the company by the International Executive Board of the UWA-CIO, which flatly states the union will give no protection to men involved in "unauthorized walkouts."

This is what Thomas did publicly, before consulting with the local officers of Local 518. However, in mass meetings of the Fisher workers in Flint he did not dare to take such an outright pro-company stand. Here he promised to fight for the seniority rights of the 82 men, although he believed the men were guilty of a violation of the union constitution and the contract and therefore ought to be disciplined.

In plain English, Thomas told the company that he had no desire to fight for the reinstatement of the 82 men. The company magnanimously announced that the 82 men could apply for re-employment in two weeks and would be rehired "without seniority." Some of these men have twelve or more years of seniority rights.

It is very simple, then, armed with this weapon, for the company to send in its agents and provocateurs, harry the men, insist on speedups, suspend individuals here and there, and finally exhaust the patience of the men until they are provoked into some kind of action. This is exactly what happened at Fisher Body No. 1 in Flint on February 12.

The action of R. J. Thomas, a

Members of Local 518 did not disagree with Thomas on this point. They agreed that the action of the men in the trim shop in engaging in an unauthorized walkout was undisciplined. But they insisted that any discipline should be the job of the union, not of the employer.

The local union is determined to save these men their seniority rights. It is not known to this reporter, naturally, just how strenuously Thomas fought for these men in negotiations. It is certain that he will find it difficult to get the local union to make a settlement on these cases which deprives 82 men of all seniority and thereby practically condemns them to death in the industry.

That Thomas himself realizes this is evidenced by the fact that he did state, after the Fisher mass meetings, that he thought the company disciplinary measure was much too severe.

It is still to be seen what the final results will be. One thing is sure: the infamous letter to GM is a dangerous weapon in company hands to chop off the heads of union men whom the company provokes into "wildcat" actions.

Secondly, the International Board cannot stop unauthorized actions by police methods in conjunction with the company. To stop unauthorized action, it is first necessary to take a militant stand on a national basis against the corporation's campaign to speed up the body shops and all plants where the union has established good conditions. An organized struggle to defend standards is the best way to put an end to wildcat action... for it would get at the root cause.

Like all bureaucrats, Thomas and Reuther do not understand this. They resort to police methods, the axe, and end up in the camp of the company.

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# Toledano Moves To Free Siqueiros

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY—At an ever increasing tempo, the Stalinist machine is mobilizing its forces in aid of the GPU Colonel, Siqueiros, who led the first attempt to kill Leon Trotsky on May 24th of last year—an attempt in which he murdered Sheldon Harte.

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

The second step followed closely on the first. Today there appeared, again in EL POPULAR, a resolution passed by the Congress of the CTM, now in session, asking for the liberty of Siqueiros. "The Congress is also in favor of liberty for the revolutionary painter, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and will take the corresponding steps in the case." Siqueiros is not only a "great artist" but also a "revolutionary painter."

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

And now, the bureaucrats of the same organization ask the liberty of the guilty GPU agent, and

# Hitler's "New Order" Doesn't Work

Hitler Sought To Avoid Errors Of 1914-8 Invasions, But Same Fatal Flaws Appear Again

By FELIX MORROW

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

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

## Hitler's Original Plan for Europe

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

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

Above all in Norway and Holland this plan was attempted. The occupying troops carried explicit—printed—instructions strictly governing their contacts with the subjugated peoples. There were demonstrative punishments—including some executions—carried out on troops who were charged with not maintaining a correct attitude toward the Norwegian, Dutch and French people. The Nazis sought to prove that the standard of

living in Norway and Holland remained higher than in Germany—this as a proof that the occupied countries were not being ruthlessly stripped by the conqueror. The occupying forces, it was insisted, would not interfere with the native government, both national and municipal, or with the courts, the press, etc. By and large, the Nazi leadership made no great blunders; everything they could do to carry out their plan, they did.

## Hitler's Plan Proves Impossible

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

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

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

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

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

reduced to rule by naked bayonets. All Hitler's desperate attempts to avoid this outcome have failed.

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

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

## Why Hitler Blames "Outside Agitators"

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

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

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

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

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

## Trotsky Predicted Hitler's Fatal Weakness

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

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

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

Leon Trotsky then wrote:

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

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

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

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

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

# The Negro And The U. S. Army

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

By EUGENE VARLIN

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

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

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

The American officer was not content to limit his insults to the Negro soldiers of his own country. In April, 1919, a colored French soldier and a white French woman entered a St. Nazaire restaurant frequented by American officers. The woman's brother overheard an insulting remark made by one of these officers. The restaurant was demolished in a free-for-all fight, with a number killed.

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

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

have great numbers of armed Negro soldiers on Southern soil.

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

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

A week earlier, this white Bourbon attitude had driven over 125 Negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry, stationed at Houston, Texas, to armed retaliation against the provocative treatment accorded them by the blood-brothers of the Spartanburg Mayor and Chamber of Commerce. The soldiers stole some ammunition, shouldered their rifles, and marched toward Houston. They shot down a company officer on the way. Seventeen were killed and more than twenty wounded. A force of Illinois guardsmen and armed Houston citizens was brought into action to stop the Negroes.

Thirteen of the mutineers were summarily executed.

The Spartansburg Chamber of Commerce crowd was looking for trouble. Colonel Haywood of the 369th told his men to expect even physical abuse. "He urged them to stand such abuse with fortitude and without retaliation . . ." Here are typical incidents: Marshall, a colored captain, was ordered off a trolley car; he left the car. On another occasion, a Negro private, Noble Sissle, went into a white hotel to buy a New York newspaper. The proprietor asked him with an oath to remove his hat. Sissle was somewhat slow in complying; he was struck down and kicked as he left. To avenge him a group of colored and white soldiers rushed the hotel. Lieutenant Europe, a Negro, ordered them to disperse.

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

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This is the third article in this series.

# Chiang Kai-shek Moves Against 8th Route Army

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

By LI FU-JEN

Having attacked and decimated a large part of the Stalinist-led New Fourth Army in central China, Chiang Kai-shek has now set out to liquidate the Stalinist-controlled Eighth Route Army in the Northwest, according to Japanese reports relayed by the China correspondent of the *New York Times* on Feb. 26.

In this spreading civil war there can be no doubt where the Trotskyites stand. We stand unconditionally with the Stalinist-led peasant soldiers, all of them heroic fighters against Japanese imperialism. The Chinese Trotskyist, as always, stand with the Chinese masses. We will unite with them to smash the murderous moves of the hangman Chiang Kai-shek in order to develop the movement for China's national and social liberation.

Without reservation we endorse the main demands which the Chinese Communist Party has submitted to Chiang Kai-shek following the attack on the New Fourth Army (see last week's *Militant*). But these demands will remain

on paper unless they are backed up with mass pressure against the Chiang Kai-shek regime. The Trotskyists are ready to unite with the Stalinists in building this mass pressure, in building a mighty protective movement around the New Fourth and Eighth Route armies. Only in this way can the reactionary moves of the sinister hangman of the Chinese revolution be halted.

In putting forward their demands, however, the Chinese Stalinist leaders stated that they were designed to remove friction in the "united front" to make possible "further cooperation" between the Stalinists and Chiang. By this the Stalinist leaders have indicated that they are ready to continue their fatal policy of class collaboration which, more

than anything else, aided Chiang in the preparation of his attack on the New Fourth Army.

Honeyed words will not serve to stay Chiang's hand. Bolstered by American loans and military supplies, and promises of more to come, Chiang has decided to disengage himself from the Stalinist embrace and to stamp out the independent peasant armies. For these forces, despite the class-collaborationist policies of their leaders, represent a threat to Chiang's dictatorship and to the interests of the landlord-bourgeois class. Chiang realizes, perhaps better than the Stalinists, that these peasant soldiers will some day be forced along the path of revolutionary action—if not with their present leaders, then with Chiang Kai-shek instead of turning to the people.

In order to effect a turn toward the people, a program for the people is necessary. The banner of the agrarian revolution must be raised again. The cry "Land to the Peasants!" must resound throughout the land. The people must be shown the indissoluble connection between the agrarian revolution and the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

And in the end Chiang Kai-shek will have been helped to strike more telling blows than those recently dealt the New Fourth Army. There will be a complete decimation of the revolutionary forces—unless a mass protective movement is built up around them. Such a movement cannot be created by the Stalinist leaders if they insist on dictating with Chiang Kai-shek instead of turning to the people. This should not be forgotten.

**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

**Jim Crow Means Death**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Veasey shows how the retreat from Dunkirk was made possible only by the sacrifice of scores of thousands of Negroes who were rushed up and thrown into the breach to hold up the Nazis long enough for the British soldiers to get away.

If there were Negroes in the United States who didn't understand what Roosevelt's Jim Crow ruling meant before, they should certainly understand it now.

**British "Democracy" at Work**

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

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

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

They must be fighting for democracy at half price.

**Lawson Defends Judas Goats**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Stalin Resorts To Inflation

## The Printing Presses Will 'Make' Rubles---And Hunger

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin is resorting for a second time in fifteen years to the policy of inflation which took such a terrible toll among the Soviet masses during the First Five Year Plan.

Incontrovertible proof that Soviet currency is again being recklessly inflated is to be found in the budget adopted by the Supreme Council of the USSR.

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

The 1941 budget originally called for a natural income of 216,000,000,000 rubles and a total outlay of 215,400,000,000 rubles. "The anticipated revenue," explained Moscow, "will exceed expenditures by 788 million rubles" (*Daily Worker*, February 26).

The national income for 1940 was "estimated" at 179-billion rubles. The 1941 budget, therefore, proposed to spend 36.4-billion rubles more than the income of the year before! Where would this enormous increase come from? From increased production? Not even Stalin's boosters dared claim that production for 1941 would be expanded at such a tempo over the production of the previous year. Then the additional spending could come, logically, only from the hides of the Soviet workers and peasants.

But according to the budget, Soviet industry must provide not less than 31 billion rubles in profits. "The profits tax," lied Moscow, "will bring in 31,000,000,000 rubles, that is it will be 40 per cent more than last year" (*Daily Worker*, February 27). The brazen fraud is self-evident. 31-billion is an increase of almost 25 per cent over the 1940 profit of 14,000,000,000 rubles (*Daily Worker*, February 23).

The highest increase in profits envisaged by Moscow for 1941 was 40 per cent, which would make a total 1941 profits of not more than 20-billion rubles.

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The new figure for "profits" can be realized, therefore, in only one way: Stalin will have to print billions of paper rubles. There is no possible source for the billions which constitute the "extra" 85 per cent profit other than Moscow's printing presses.

The second major source of state revenue is the turnover tax, which is essentially an indirect tax on consumers' goods.

"In 1941," asserts the Kremlin, "turnover taxes . . . are planned to yield 124.5-billion rubles" (*Daily Worker*, February 27). Yet, according to Voznessensky, who presented the official estimate of the State Planning Commission three days before, "turnover of the state and comparative trade in

1941 . . . will amount to nearly 197-billion rubles" (*Daily Worker*, February 23). Taxes on this turnover, according to the figures given three days later, amount to more than 65 per cent of the total turnover for 1941.

Stalin is not a fool. But only a fool could seriously expect to divert into the state treasury 124.5-billion out of a total trade turnover of 197-billion. Stalin has, in reality, a different plan: the printing presses will work overtime to produce paper rubles by means of which the needed sums can be extorted from the population.

The extent of the currency inflation to which Stalin is resorting can best be gauged by comparing the total income from these two primary sources with the entire budget. Even by Stalin's figures, "profits" of 31-billion and "taxes" of 124.5-billion add up to only 155.5-billion rubles. But the budget calls for expenditures of 216.05-billion. This leaves the enormous sum of 60.45-billion still to be accounted for.

**PRINTING-PRESS "PROFITS"**

According to Voznessensky, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Soviet industry showed last year a profit of less than 14 billion rubles. "In 1940," he said, addressing the Eighteenth Party Conference, "the profits already amounted to nearly 14,000,000,000 rubles" (*Daily Worker*, February 26).

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**WHERE WILL STALIN FIND THIS MONEY?**

Could 60.45-billion conceivably be obtained through direct taxation? The standard of living of the masses would have to be very, very high indeed to make such a course feasible. The Kremlin, however, does not even pretend that this amount can be obtained through direct taxation.

Direct taxes—income tax paid by the workers and office employees, by collective farm household, by collective farmers, and by individual peasant households, and also the agricultural tax—never played a major role in state budgets; in all previous budgets direct taxes amounted to 7% of the total. Not that Stalin has neglected this means for further degrading the masses. Far from it. By taxing the wages of workers who make as little as 150 rubles a month, by levying an even stiffer tax on peasants earning as little as 100 rubles a month, and through all other channels of direct taxation, 9.7 billion rubles were squeezed out for the treasury in 1940. But that amount could be covered is—the printing press.

It is hardly necessary to explain what inflation means to the masses. The prices of commodities are already sky-high. The shortage of goods is already acute. Inflation, in the Soviet Union as in the capitalist world, will mean still higher prices, even less goods.

Mr. Walter Duranty, whose dispatches are invariably hailed by

## Stalin's Arithmetic in One Country

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

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

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

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

the *Daily Worker*, gives the lie direct to the brazen claims of Minor-Browder and Co. that the Soviet masses are constantly receiving more and more consumers' goods. "Mr. Voznessensky," reports Duranty, "frankly admitted that the production of consumers' goods must still take a secondary place" (*N. Y. Times*, February 25).

Let every Communist Party member, who tries to solace himself with the illusion that Stalin is draining the masses for the sake of strengthening the Soviet Union, ask himself these questions:

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

Why is the bureaucracy exempted from taxes and any and all sacrifices? Isn't it an established fact that planned economy is gravely disrupted if there is no stable currency?

Isn't it a fact that any regime in history which has deliberately resorted to inflation has thereby demonstrated the desperate crisis of that regime?

How can such a regime really defend the Soviet Union?

## The End Of The Popular Front In Chile

By QUEBRACHO

BUENOS AIRES, Feb. 15 (By Mail)—Chile is the South American country where hunger and chronic misery, supplemented by alcoholism, tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus, etc., etc., have produced the picture of a human society painted in Apocalyptic style. The indices of infantile mortality are the highest in the world (over 300 per 1000) and the general average of the life span the lowest: 23 years (before the war it was 55 years in England). No one who visits Chile ever forgets the scene of horror presented to the eye: a nation of strong men who, nevertheless, are worn out, undernourished and sick. The man of the people in Chile, the "roto" (literally: "broken one"), shows to what levels a human being can be reduced by the exploitation to which he is subjected by the dwindled oligarchy of Chilean landlords and their senior partner, imperialism.

The Chilean Popular Front, composed of a combination of parties favorable to Yankee imperialism—the Radical, Democratic, Socialist, Radical Socialist and Stalinist parties—was then organized against President Alessandri.

The Popular Front counted on the support of the Chilean masses who, under a government which they believed to be their own, still remained shackled to their chains of horrible misery, hunger, prostitution, syphilis, alcoholism, typhus, physical degeneration, etc. etc.

And even more: since the triumph of the Chilean Popular Front had in the beginning, in spite of the leaders, the characteristics of a popular uprising and provoked uneasiness in Yankee imperialist circles, the secretary-general of Stalinism in Chile, Contreras Labarca, made a special trip to the United States to give a series of lectures in which he reassured Wall Street.

The Yankees control the principal industries in Chile: nitrates (now worked under a more economical system which permits competition with the synthetic brand), copper, iron, electric energy, etc. Labarca's lectures assured the Yankee masters that they should not be disturbed, since he and his party would guarantee that the imperialist

properties would not be touched.

But, during that time there occurred the Nazi-Stalin pact, which fundamentally altered the line of Stalinism. The latter abandoned "the struggle against fascism" for the struggle against the "democratic imperialisms," England and the United States.

Nevertheless, in one of their habitual and absurd contradictions (in accord with the Kremlin's slogan that the Popular Front must still be supported in the semi-colonial countries, such as those of Latin America), the Chilean Stalinists continued to support the agents of English and American imperialism (Ortiz in Argentina; Batista in Cuba; Cerdá in Chile, etc.). Because of that circumstance, the Chilean Popular Front continued to exist until the end of 1940.

But Yankee imperialism, in spite of the continued support given it in the colonies by the Moscow agents, not only did not trust Stalinism but determined to destroy it as an enemy throughout Latin America, before the Stalinist line changed again.

The Socialist Party became in Chile (as in Argentina) the shock-brigade for "democratic" Anglo-Yankee imperialism, taking over the post left vacant by Stalinism.

Schnacke, secretary-general of the Chilean Socialist Party, was the head of a Chilean delegation at the Havana Conference. Then, as the Stalinist Contreras Labarca did before him, he went to the United States, extended his hand to the Wall Street oligarchy, and listened to their word.

The victory of the Popular Front candidate in November, 1938, was celebrated by the deposed and suffering people of Chile: "Throw Stalinism, ally of Nazism, out of the Popular Front!" Other

wise the Socialist Party would leave.

But since the Chilean bourgeoisie still found it necessary to utilize Stalinism to continue subjecting the miserable and exploited masses of Chile, the bourgeois parties in the Popular Front considered it yet premature to liquidate an opponent who still could be of service to them.

In view of that

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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

### ON THE WAR FRONT:

#### For:

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

### AT HOME:

#### For:

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

## The Bethlehem Strike

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

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

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

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

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

## Knudsen's Demand

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## British Workers Cold To Stalinist Pacifism

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

LONDON, England, Feb. 8 (By Mail)—On the three days following the suppression of the *Daily Worker*, a mimeographed 4-page issue of it appeared. Since then there has been nothing, for the Communist Party has decided to fight the issue within the law in an effort to get a court trial.

There have been a number of indications that the *Daily Worker* would not be the only paper suppressed. Before that happened, eight detectives of the "Special Branch" on January 2nd raided the offices of *Workers International News and Youth for Socialism*, Trotskyist papers, while the editorial board was meeting. All members present were cross-examined and the articles they were discussing were confiscated. The principal article called for the arming of the workers to meet invasion and for workers' control of the armed struggle against Hitler and any British Hitlers or Petains.

Last Sunday a protest meeting against the *Daily Worker's* suppression was held by the Communist Party in Conway Hall here. Only 700 were present, an exceptionally small number for such a meeting. Trotskyists distributed a leaflet calling for a united front of all working-class organizations on this issue of democratic rights. The reception of the leaflet by the Stalinist rank and file was excellent: a very friendly feeling.

Sales of Trotskyist literature were unprecedented for a Stalinist meeting.

The Stalinists cannot fight the suppression of the *Daily Worker* because they have no program to offer the workers. "We must at all costs destroy Hitler" is the mood of the masses, and the bombing has strengthened, not weakened, this. The Communist Party has not responded to this demand of the workers in the slightest degree. Their policy has been sectarian, pacifist and sterile. For example, the Labour leaders and the bourgeoisie are having a grand time ridiculing the demand, which the *Daily Worker* had made in the midst of an invasion scare, that every soldier should have a week's holiday at Christmas!

#### STALINIST POLICY DUCKS FIGHT AGAINST HITLER

It is obvious that the Communist Party here is being kept firmly glued to a purely pacifist policy by the Kremlin. No sane party leadership could of its own volition stick to such a false policy, in the face of the real situation and the mood of the masses.

The Independent Labor Party is very half-hearted in its protest against the suppression. Only the Trotskyists have called for a united front of all workers' organizations on this issue and is distributing leaflets with that proposal nationally.

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

James B. Carey, International President of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, CIO, has sought to answer in the March 1 issue of the *U. E. News*, criticisms of Carey made in an article in the Feb. 1 issue of THE MILITANT.

"In the last two weeks," says Carey, "I received three letters containing the same article from the Feb. 1 issue of THE MILITANT."

He then quotes at length from our article, which had said:

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

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

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

#### CAREY IS CONSISTENT BUT ABOUT WHAT?

These Carey triumphantly produces to disprove "any charge of inconsistency on my part."

Let us begin by conceding President Carey's point. Yes, he was always critical of the Communists, and he has been quite consistent. His line hasn't changed. He has always been an anti-Communist, in favor of class-collaborationist policies and, in general, pursuing a course which is thoroughly consistent with his recent acceptance of a post in the Office of Production Management under Hillman.

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

basis of the collaboration between them and Carey.

We were opposed to Carey's policy when he was in a bloc with the Stalinists, and we are opposed to his policy now. It is a simple statement of fact that reactionaries throughout the union are rallying behind Carey. "In his consistency, Carey has 'suddenly' turned on the Stalinists. The suddenness of it was not his doing, but the Stalinist scheme of line.

The fact is, however, that for the moment the Stalinists appear in the union as opponents of the government's war policy, as opponents of Hillman's strike-breaking, and hence collide with Carey's consistent pro-Roosevelt, pro-Hillman policy. In fighting the Stalinists, Carey is in reality fighting against the best militants in the union, who are opposed to everything that Hillman stands for. Tomorrow the Stalinists will switch again and get together again with Carey.

The issue is Carey's false policy. Why doesn't he say a word against Hillman's vile role? Why has he joined the Hillman office staff? Why doesn't he prepare his membership for the coming great struggle against anti-strike legislation and against the labor-stifling War Labor Board scheme?

We grant President Carey all the consistency in the world. We grant him that the change in his relations with the Stalinist-led groups in the union is their doing and not his. Leaving these unessential aside, we want to hear from Carey a defense of his policy which, in our opinion, is a policy which can only lead to tying the union into the war machine as a helpless cog and thereby destroying the union conditions which the UE has so painfully built up.

## Yes, We Choose Connolly

### AN EDITORIAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

### By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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

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

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

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

### Their Plans for Germany

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

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

The truth is that capitalist statesmen find themselves utterly helpless. On the basis of the capitalist system they can find no plan which will guarantee peace. Hitler, in that respect, is in a far better position than the representatives of the democratic capitalist countries. For he is not compelled to conceal his motives behind democratic camouflage. His "New Order" is plainly a plan where German capitalism organizes Europe and the world for its own benefit.

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

Together with his victories Hitler's hypocrisies must increase. He will find it more and more difficult to poke fun at the democratic capitalists in view of his own acts. Nor is he in a position to do what the democratic capitalists are unable to accomplish, that is