

Labor's Answer To Government Strikebreaking

An Editorial

Against state police and company gangsters at River Rouge—and at Bethlehem—and at Allis-Chalmers—and at International Harvester's plants—everywhere the workers are showing their readiness to fight as hard as necessary to win their just demands.

Company towns where yesterday no worker dared wear a union button are today union strongholds: Ford's Dearborn and Bethlehem and Johnstown are only the more dramatic examples of this transformation, wrought by the workers' will to struggle.

Everywhere they have brushed aside the bosses' argument that this is no time to strike. The war propaganda has not blinded the workers. They KNOW that this is the moment to win and they are on the march!

But as they march toward victory, enemies lie in ambush. Enemies whom the workers don't yet fully realize are enemies. Unless the workers recognize these enemies for what they are, the great march of labor will be waylaid and cut to pieces.

Who are these enemies? They are those who sent the order to the Allis-Chalmers strikers to return to work. Those who declare that henceforth all unions must observe a "cooling off" period. Those who, in the International Harvester, Vanadium, Universal Cyclops Steel, Cornell-Dubilier strikes demanded that the strikers go back to work immediately and thus continue negotiations under conditions where the boss, with his plant running, has the upper hand.

The enemies of the workers are those who call upon the 48 state administrations to speed up organization of the Home Guard "to curb labor disturbances." Those for whom the six-ton armored car belching gas at the Allis-Chalmers strikers, the 30-inch riot sticks with which women and children were clubbed at Bethlehem, the Chicago killer-cops, are not enough, but who demand "Home" Guard strikebreakers by the tens of thousands—these are the enemies of labor.

Who committed these crimes against labor? Their names are known to all workers. OPM Director Knudsen and Secretary of the Navy Knox sent that order to the Allis-Chalmers strikers. National Mediation Board Chairman was responsible for telling all unions henceforth to observe a "cooling off" period. The National Mediation Board as a whole told the strikers, in every case certified to the board, to return to work first and discuss their grievances later. It was Secretary of War Stimson who, reminding the state government they would get from him all the guns they needed, urged them to speed expansion of their Home Guard units to "maintain law and order" against "labor disturbances."

Nor do these names complete the list of enemies of labor. The direst threats against the workers are coming from the poll-tax Congressmen, Summers of Texas, foaming at the mouth with glass-hatred, calls for death in the electric chair for strikers in war industries. Cox of Georgia calls for industrial conscription of all workers up to the age of 65. Smith of Virginia launches a new assault on the last vestiges of the Wagner Act.

And does anybody rise in Congress to blast these poll-tax Congressmen out of their seats? Not at all. On the contrary, the poll-tax Congressmen's speeches are being used to scare the workers. Congressional "friends of labor" point to these rabid speeches and tell us: "See, unless you are reasonable, and do what the Mediation Board and the other government agencies want you to do, Cox and Summers and Smith will have their way." Thus the poll-tax Congressmen and the "liberal" Congressmen are together working the old "hard-cop, soft-cop" trick: the hard cop hits you to make you give in, while the soft cop wheedles it out of you.

Nor does this exhaust the list of those who are cracking down on the workers. Roosevelt demands "uninterrupted production" of coal, but says nothing about the fact that the miners offered to continue working on condition that any gains under the new contract be retroactive until April 1, and that the bosses refused this. By saying nothing, Roosevelt condones the refusal of the bosses and puts pressure on the miners to go back to work unconditionally.

Nor does this exhaust the list. The most outrageous acts against the workers have come from those agencies of government in which labor "representatives" are functioning: the Office of Production Management in which Hillman is co-director with Knudsen, the Mediation Board on which sit Green and Harrison, Murray and Kennedy. Hillman "vacations" and lends consent by silence, while Knudsen orders strikers back to work. Philip Murray, CIO head covers up the strikebreaking moves made by the Mediation Board on which he sits.

Add all this up. Add together the actual moves made against the workers, plus the threats of further action against the workers, and the answer is plain: the basic tendency of the government as a whole is toward systematic strikebreaking. All these individual instances are not separate and apart from each other, but are parts of this strikebreaking tendency.

This kind of strikebreaking, like any other kind, can be stopped by the workers. But they can't stop it until they understand what it is. Once they understand that it is government strikebreaking, then they can fight it successfully.

Unmask this governmental strikebreaking! Show it up for what it is! No trade union official shall serve the government agencies as a fig-leaf covering up its strikebreaking. Withdraw all union officials from the government service!

Every strike shows that the workers can win only by their own independent class action. An end to this business of union officials spending all their time fraternizing with government bodies while inexperienced picket lines are left to shift for themselves.

These and other immediate tasks of the working class become clear and can be concretely formulated, once we understand what must be done.

In the adjoining column we submit such a program of immediate tasks for the consideration of all workers and their trade unions and other workers' organizations. We welcome discussion of this program by all workers and throw open our pages to letters from trade unions and individual workers.

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A Program For Today's Fight

1. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.

Hillman and Murray, Harrison, Green and Kennedy shall no longer serve as union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking.

2. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of government cops and company hoodlums.

No more inadequately prepared picket lines. The place of union officials is directing the strengthening of picket lines and not trying to get non-existent government "help" for favorable settlements. The workers can win only by their own independent class action.

3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against "law and order committees," "home guards," and all other anti-labor bands.

4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.

The CIO had no business lending its name to four electricians working for a boss who wouldn't sign the regular AFL union contract at Wright Field; that gave the government a pretext to crack down on what it called a "jurisdictional" strike. On the heels of that came the AFL's chartering of the company union at International Harvester, giving a "jurisdictional" cover to Chicago's cops to beat up the CIO picket line. Similar crimes are being committed by the AFL at Allis-Chalmers and Ford.

5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.

The main responsibility for a divided labor movement must be placed on the shoulders of the craft union moguls of the AFL. They can and must be forced to yield to a progressive unification of the trade union movement.

6. Independent working class political action.

"Pure and simple" trade unionism is bankrupt. Every governor, mayor, sheriff, police chief, who acts today against the workers got his office with the help of "non-partisan" labor votes. It is now a life-and-death question that the workers must have their own party, an Independent Labor Party constituted by the trade unions, all of whose candidates shall be answerable to it for all their actions. Such a party will rally the farmers and all other toilers behind it and open up the road to a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Everybody knows that when Hitler speaks of "liberation" he means enslavement. Everyone knows his "order" and "peace" is chaos and war. Everyone knows his "promise" is always a conscious deception.

But Hitler has no monopoly on this imperialist doubletalk. When Churchill, Roosevelt and their minions speak glitteringly about "freedom" and "independence" and "post-war adjustment" just what do THEY mean by these things?

Last week Lord Halifax, the British ambassador, was in New York. He made a speech before the Pilgrim's Society in which he spoke eloquently about all these fine-sounding propositions like the rights of man and the free independence of nations. The next day, however, he made the mistake of facing a battery of New York reporters who tried to pin him down to some more concrete explanation of his terms.

In his replies, the British envoy gave a pretty good demonstration of capitalist skulking. One reporter asked if the Anglo-American "cooperation" of tomorrow meant abandonment of the Ottawa imperial preference system erected as a barrier against U. S. trade inroads into British imperial markets. "I wouldn't at all be taken as saying that," the ambassador replied quickly.

Another reporter dwelt on the ambassador's promise that in the post-war world "economic difficulties" would be ironed out. He asked the envoy "to point to a specific failure in world economic dealings which may be corrected in the future." "I think it would be unwise," Halifax uncomfortably replied.

Steel Workers Win In Two Bethlehem Strikes

This Human Wall Did It



An unusual shot of one of the scenes during the victorious strike of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) at the 21,000 man plant of Bethlehem Steel in Bethlehem, Pa. A mass of strikers are shown here blocking the entrance to the main gate of the plant.

SWOC Shows Strength In Huge Victory Parade

BULLETIN

Score two runs in a row for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO). The strike of 15,000 steel workers of the Cambria Works of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation at Johnstown, Pa., which began Friday right after settlement of the strike at the parent plant in Bethlehem was ended Sunday, March 30, with a victory for the union. Called to halt a company union election, the strike won an agreement identical with that won in Bethlehem.

* * *

By ART PREIS

BETHLEHEM, Pa., March 28—The victory parade of the Bethlehem steel strikers starts.

"It's bigger than the day they signed the Armistice!" an exultant steel striker beside me exclaims.

The steel workers pour out of the smoke-filled, jam-packed Beth-Alen Casino where they have just shouted their acclaim to the agreement with Bethlehem Steel.

"Only 'twenty' per cent out, huh?" crows a big striker in a leather jacket. "Old Eugene Grace would like to make a profit as big as this 'twenty' per cent."

"God Almighty! Wouldn't this be some parade if that 'eighty' per cent who scabbed were in it?" roars another voice.

"Write this in your paper, will you, Shorty?" says the striker in the leather jacket.

High up in the air they hoist me, on two powerful shoulders. All the way down Broad Street, clear to New Street, is a sea of heads. Eight and ten abreast, pressed chest to back, the steel workers are massed in the street. And behind us I see the line swelling and growing for a block, two blocks, as new hundreds leave the sidewalks and join the parade.

ARE STALINISTS SWITCHING?
A fact of no little interest is the curious behavior of the Stalinists in Yugoslavia. The illegal, brutally suppressed, but nevertheless not insignificant Communist party, for years vociferously advocated collective security. Just as obediently as everywhere else the Yugoslav Stalinists switched after the Stalin-Hitler pact and started whining for peace and neutrality.

The bourgeois press speaks of authenticated reports according to which the Comintern has instructed the Yugoslav section to join hands with the new government. Which may and may not be wishful thinking. However, it is an indisputable fact that the Stalinists have actively participated in the demonstrations at Belgrade, Skopje, and Cetinje.

Furthermore, the Yugoslav minister to Moscow, Milan Gavrilovich, close friend of the Stalinists and in constant touch with the Kremlin, resigned immediately after the signing of the Vienna pact. Does his pro-British conduct signal the long-expected return to the "fight for democracy" line?

But the masses of Europe are stirring. The real struggle is beginning. This is but the first stage of the struggle in Yugoslavia. In its unfolding it will go far beyond mere anti-fascism.

NOW THEY KNOW—Not until this moment have these Bethlehem Steel workers fully understood what the union is, what it represents, its size, its solidity, its power.

Even inside the only available hall in the area, where three to four thousand had managed to squeeze in, while overflow thousands crowded the broad stairs and out into the streets, the full realization had failed to dawn upon them.

Not even when they heard the details of Grace's concessions—the first ever granted to a union in Bethlehem's parent plant—did they fully grasp what the union and this strike really means.

Now, when the parade swings forward, they see the UNION as it really is. They see it whole, its numbers, its dynamic power in action, stretched forward and beyond as far as the eye can see.

"God Almighty!" Leather Jack et breathes one final exclamation

(Continued on page 4)

Jugoslav Masses Given

No Part in Army Coup

New Regime A Dictatorship, Like the Old; But the Revolt Was Popular, For the Masses Are Determined To Resist Fascism

What happened in Yugoslavia was a *coup d'état*, staged by anti-German officers, apparently with support and connivance of the British legation, and without too much opposition on the part of the old government. What mainly differentiates the new from the old dictatorship is that it is on the side of the British—and that is why Yugoslavia is said to have "found her soul" and become a "hero nation" overnight.

While it is undoubtedly true that in their own way the army leaders will make every attempt to defend Yugoslavia against German and Italian aggression, they can at the same time be trusted by the bourgeoisie to be completely incapable and unwilling to solve that country's most pressing and dangerous problems: a fact amply and brutally demonstrated during the sixteen years of King Alexander's reign, when the army was the real soul.

And yet the events of the past few days in that country may well signal the beginning of the real struggle in Europe. Undoubtedly the British and American press had good reason to play up the "popular revolt" angle. But at the same time we must guard against underestimating the part which popular opposition, particularly in Serbia and Montenegro, played in these developments.

In this and in all the other embarrassing subjects brought up at the conference, the British ambassador showed a curious unwillingness to fill in the shadow outlines of his speechifying with concrete facts and names. He himself explained the difficulty:

"It is comparatively easy to lay down principles (but) the trouble may come when you come to the question of discussing with other nations how these general principles are to be applied."

In other words, in "general principle" Britain is for freedom for India, world economic "adjustment," freedom and independence for all. But when it comes to applying them, we always discover that Britain really means enslavement for India, continued anarchy in world economy, and continued subjection of the world to imperialist interests.

Hitler doesn't fool anybody with his big words. But neither should Churchill, Roosevelt and Halifax. None of them is really talking about freedom for the people of the world. What they are fighting about is who shall be slave-master of the rising Soviet power.

PRO-RUSSIAN PEASANTRY

At the same time, however, due to the similarities of culture and language, a true pro-Russian feel-

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.

Harlem Negroes Are Picketing Bus Lines For Jobs For Negroes

EDITOR:

The New York bus strike was settled over a week ago, but in Harlem the picketing of the bus lines still continues. Various Negro organizations have joined with the Harlem Labor Union in a concerted effort to place 100 Negro mechanics and 100 Negro bus drivers on the New York bus lines. There are no Negroes employed by either of the two bus companies.

Picketing by the Harlem Labor Union has been going on along 7th and 8th avenues at all the major bus stops in Harlem. The Negro people of Harlem are being urged to stay off the busses. A free bus system has been put into operation: all cars and taxis that the Harlem union can get have been mobilized for service. These cars carry a plain white card on the right hand side of the wind-shield to distinguish them as service cars. A soup kitchen has been set up at the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

The strike committee has tried to contact Mayor LaGuardia, John A. Ritchie, head of the bus companies, and Mike Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union. As yet none of these people have responded to the repeated invitations of the committee, except that the TWU sent M. H. Froge, editor of the Transport Workers Bulletin, as representative to speak for the union. Froge explained that the TWU has been fighting the Transit Commission on many issues and one of the main issues has been the Commission's refusal to hire Negroes. Froge pointed out that the main responsibility for the present sit-

uation lay with the bus companies. He pledged the Transport Union's further cooperation in ending Negro discrimination on the bus lines.

Although the Harlem Labor Union has repudiated the support of the Transport Workers, I believe that the Negroes now picketing in Harlem can best fulfill their aims by achieving solidarity with the white transport workers.

Both the Negro and the white workers are subject to exploitation under the present capitalist system. The Negroes in Harlem have a strong hatred for the white boss class that gives them only the most menial tasks, that pays them the lowest wages, that exploits and bears down upon them by segregating and discriminating against them in all phases of capitalist social, political, and economic life. They see the white workers in the trade unions, with higher wages, better working conditions, than they, the Negroes, enjoy. Because of isolated incidents where unscrupulous trade-union bureaucrats have discriminated against them, they feel resentful when they see the white workers in their trade unions fighting and winning higher wages and better working conditions.

And so they say, "Only the Negro can solve the Negro's problems!"

Yes. Only the Negro can solve the Negro's problems; but he can only do it by cooperating and fighting side by side with the white worker against the boss system that has been the cause of his suffering. The struggle of the Harlem Labor Union is a fight against the boss system, just as the fight of the white workers is. Both Negro and white worker can best achieve their task by fighting together against the common enemy.

New York City
MURRAY M.



BULLETIN!

Forty-one subs amounting to 84 points arrived this morning after this column was set up. They are not included below. However, they came in before the deadline, and make the week's total 161 subs, 339 points!

MASS STRIKES AND MASS CIRCULATION

Last week was a militant one—for the working class and for us.

Last week was a week of headaches for those in high places; it was a week in which our press reached its peak circulation to date. Workers in the Bethlehem victory parade snatched eagerly at every extra copy we could rush there. Workers, either actually on strike or standing at the threshold of class action, welcomed the thousands of copies of the *MILITANT* made available to them by the loyal and devoted work of our comrades in Allentown, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Youngstown.

SPLENDID RESULTS OF OUR SUB CAMPAIGN

Except for a few tardy subscriptions which we know are still on the way to us from the remotest parts of the country, the column below gives final results on the two-month subscription drive conducted with a gusto and enthusiasm unsurpassed by any section of the political labor movement in recent years.

A complete grasp of the significance of these totals cannot be had from the scoreboard as it here appears, but even a cursory glance will show one interesting fact: Whereas the campaign was conducted with a 50c. special combination subscription as the base, the final total in points (1 for each 50c.) indicates that the aver-

age payment for a subscription ran well above a dollar.

Minnesota speaks for itself; it simply ran away from the rest of the field. Chicago, which lost out to New York on a fluke last week, has redeemed herself and come in second.

The press staff of THE *MILITANT* and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL here publicly expresses its boundless gratitude for the token of enthusiasm and devotion represented in the final totals of this short and effective drive: 798 subscriptions and 1658 points (\$829).

This Week Total

	Subs	Pts	Subs	Pts
Minnesota	27	87	335	828
Chicago	29	52	65	172
New York	8	14	70	120
Boston	10	16	53	93
Detroit	1	2	36	81
Cleveland	11	17	32	66
Los Angeles	1	6	22	53
Flint	1	1	29	37
Newark	6	8	21	32
Youngstown	0	0	23	31
Frisco	4	4	14	18
Toledo	0	0	12	18
New Haven	0	0	12	17
Rochester	5	8	11	15
Milwaukee	5	5	8	11
Quakertown	5	10	5	10
Allentown	0	0	4	7
Philadelphia	1	2	3	6
Plentywood	0	0	2	6
Paterson	0	0	3	5
Pittsburgh	0	0	3	4
Pittsburgh	0	0	4	4
St. Louis	1	1	3	4
Kansas	1	2	2	4
Palo Alto	0	0	1	4
London, Eng.	0	0	1	4
Rockville	0	0	1	4
New Castle	1	4	1	4
San Diego	1	1	3	3
Texas	0	0	2	2
Albany	0	0	1	2
Memphis	1	2	1	2
Fresno	1	2	1	2
Wash. D. C.	1	2	1	2
Totals	120	255	798	1658

done on velvet-tone paper (unframed)
8 by 10 inches—\$ 2.00
(4 times the area of this cut)
11 by 14 inches—\$ 4.50
16 by 20 inches—\$12.00

Thompson Chain Strikers



United May Day Group Meets

Police Refuse Committee's Line Of March; SWP Delegates Seated Only As Observers

By JOSEPH HANSEN

NEW YORK CITY, March 28.—Plans for a united May Day parade were presented to representatives of trade unions and other labor organizations today at a conference in Webster Hall, called by a self-constituted Provisional May Day Committee. The conference passed a resolution to make this committee permanent, with Louis Weinstock, secretary-treasurer of District Council 9 of the Painters, as Chairman, and Harry Weinstock as Director.

The credentials committee declared that the 216 delegates

it to Eighth Avenue, which is a block closer to Fifth Avenue, the traditional street for parades.

The conference passed a unanimous resolution asking all working-class organizations to telegraph Police Commissioner Valentine protesting his arbitrary and undemocratic attempt to detour the May Day parade.

The credentials committee present represented 60 organizations, 75 of the delegates representing 43 local trade union bodies with a membership of 148,375. Most of these organizations were among those which are generally recognized in the labor movement as led by Stalinist leaders and allies: IWO, Painters, Furriers, Shoe Workers, Pocket Book Makers, etc. etc.

The credentials committee

recognized and seated as delegates all the representatives present with the exception of Arthur Burch and Joseph Hansen of the Socialist Workers Party, Local New York. The reporters of the

Stalinist goon squad

attacked by a Stalinist goon squad of 15 to 20 men. Apparently the

Stalinists were afraid of letting the workers read the truth about the Soviet Union as published in the Trotskyist press.

The distributors managed to

stage off the attack for about ten minutes during the time the greatest number of workers were crowding into the meeting, by calling the attention of the union members to the threatened violation of civil liberties by the Stalinists.

The representatives of the Socialist Workers Party were invited to remain as observers pending a decision by the permanent May Day committee as to whether or not political organizations of the working class will be invited to participate in the May Day parade.

POLICE ARE HOSTILE

Harry Weinstock, who is in

charge of the organizational details, reported that negotiations with the police for a permit to

parade down Fifth Avenue into Union Square had been highly unsatisfactory.

The police at first wished to

shunt the parade down Ninth Avenue, which is close to the Hudson River. They later conceded moving

for the next distribution.

Art Walker, one of the *Militant* distributors, suffered a blackened eye in the melee, but swore he will be back at the same spot for the next distribution.

The police at first wished to

shunt the parade down Ninth Avenue, which is close to the Hudson River. They later conceded moving

for the next distribution.

By the time the resolutions committee was ready to report, the greater part of the delegates had

gone. A list of 45 slogans were

unanimously approved as "official," and all resolutions were unani-

mously left up to the resolutions committee for "appropriate" action.

The slogans approved were in

large part purely pacifist slogans

of the type which the Stalinists

are now shouting, such as "Get out and Stay out of the War,"

"The Yanks Are Not Coming,"

"No gold star mothers," "Defend democracy by preserving peace."

Such slogans are no different

from the stock in trade of professional pacifists who shout for

peace only at the last moment to

jump in the war chariots and call for "total victory."

Some slogans were good, how-

ever, such as "No Jim Crow Army," and "Defend the Right to Strike," although the latter slogan needs as a supplement: "Organize Workers Defense Squads."

WHAT IS NEEDED

What is needed now, and especially on this historic May Day which may well be the last one before U. S. entry in the war, is a set of militant slogans that really provide an alternative to the capitalist war.

The representatives of the Socialist Workers Party are submit-

ting to the Resolutions Committee for consideration the follow-

ing slogans, NONE of which were

included in the official slogans

passed by the conference:

1. Down with Imperialist War!

2. Defend the Soviet Union!

3. Trade union control of military training!

4. Build an Independent Labor Party!

5. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

6. For a Socialist Society!

The next meeting of the com-

mittee is scheduled for April 19.

At this meeting the committee's

decision will be announced as to

whether political parties of the

working class will be invited to

participate in what was announced

by the Provisional Committee as a "united" May Day parade.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

BY CARL O'SHEA

For a prime example of mealy-mouthed politics, read the statement by Norman Thomas, national chairman of the Socialist Party, on the resignations of Porter, Trager, McDowell and Woodecock from the national committee, and the statement by Porter-Trager. They appear in the March 22nd CALL.

Despite their open pro-war position and resignations from the committee, Porter, Woodcock and Trager continue as S.P. members.

By the way, Thomas was not so gentle when he was expelling the revolutionary wing of the Socialist Party—remember?

At last this policy is boomeranging on the brotherhoods. The railroad unions' LABOR for March 25th reports that the Railway Express Agency, owned entirely by the rail carriers, is now buying thousands of new trucks and trailers, to haul any kind of freight by truck anywhere in the country. The Express Agency has ordered 2,667 trucks and trailers to add to its present fleet of more than 13,000, and has filed with the I.C.C. applications for authority to operate trucks over 65 routes scattered from coast to coast. The Standard Labor Railroad Organizations, which originally supported the applications of the Railway Express for truck operating rights, is now whining that if the I.C.C. grants the applications, trucks will be substituted for trains and the jobs of railroad road men lost.

Featured speaker was Reverend Clarence A. Boyer of the Madison Square Church House. He delivered a sermon on the virtues of peace which could have graced any pulpit in any chapel of any denomination at any time up to the day the professional pulpits trade in their "peace is wonderful" theme for a list of army-approved recruiting slogans.

Among the attractions at the conference was a film of last year's May Day parade, a boy's band

Newark's Relief System Exposed

After Driving Workers' Organizations Out Of Stations, City Slashed Relief Budgets

By GEORGE BREITMAN

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for City Commission
NEWARK, N. J.—Two years ago this month the Newark relief administration succeeded in putting through the plan it had been working on so long—the barring of unemployed organizations from the relief stations of the city.

But with the passage of the ruling that "every relief client must speak for himself," the Franklin-Malady relief administration began a series of cuts which have reduced the rolls to half the number of two years ago, and wiped out every one of the gains won in the eight years previous to that.

RELIEF TODAY

The period of waiting after application for relief is now from three to four weeks, often more, where previously it was a week or so. The special "emergency check" is now a thing of the past.

Special diets, which were granted on any doctor's recommendation, thus providing more food for sick people, are granted in only 1% of the cases which had them previously. No longer is the recommendation of any doctor sufficient: only a city doctor's word is good enough now.

Where previously as much as a quart of milk was allowed for children below 12 years of age, today half-a-quart is considered quite sufficient by relief officials.

Relief granted to strikers was always of great help to unions of newly organized workers with little finances to run their strikes. Today strikers are not allowed relief.

CONDENMED TO FREEZE

In 1939, the department began to issue coal for the winter season in October. In 1940, "money was saved" by not issuing the coal until the middle of December. During this period a wave of influenza and pneumonia cases reached almost the proportions of an epidemic in the workers' neighborhoods.

Previously, by exerting a lot of pressure, a relief client could get an order for clothing that could be cashed in a clothing store. Now this has been done away with. Relief clients get only clothing made on the WPA projects, and extremely little of that. In 1940 less than 1¢ per day per person was spent by the city on clothing. The 1941 budget calls for about the same figure.

But the best example of all of

PROGRESS MFG. ON STRIKE IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA, March 28—The 400 young workers of the Progress Manufacturing Company here are standing firm in their second strike of recent weeks for union conditions and wages. The present strike was called after the company refused to agree to decent wages for the workers, who have been receiving the miserable minimum scale of 30 cents an hour.

A previous militant strike, settled March 7, ended with the winning of sole bargaining rights for Local 90, Metal Polishers union (AFL) and an agreement to negotiate all questions of wages, hours and working conditions.

All classifications of work which call for more than the minimum wage are 10 cents to 20 cents an hour at Progress than the prevailing wages in this town. Progress manufactures lighting fixtures and appliances.

A skeleton picket line is being maintained at the plant. The workers, young men and women with a lot of fighting spirit, are determined to continue the strike until their just demands are won.

Warren Bender, bus-agent of Local 90, who is assisting the strike, has expressed his conviction of victory because of the fine spirit of unity and militancy which the strikers have displayed. During

the treatment of the loyal union workers by the police is in marked contrast to that accorded strikebreakers who were arrested by the police during the last strike for carrying revolvers and other deadly weapons. These strikebreakers have all been released. Police are continuing to offer aid, escort strikebreakers into the plant.

The management is attempting to pull one of the oldest tricks in the game to divide the union members, by trying to create a race issue. The company has tried to induce as many unemployed and desperate Negro workers as possible to act as strikebreakers. The union members, who include a number of Negro workers, are not falling for this stunt. The white workers in the shop have shown their high regard for the fine union qualities of their fellow workers by electing a Negro as shop steward.

Government's Strikebreaking Attempt At Allis-Chalmers Foiled By Labor Unity

Knox and Knudsen Believed They Had Murray's Support For Move

The story of the government's attempt to break the strike of UAW-CIO Local 248 at the Allis-Chalmers plant in West Allis, Wisconsin, must be studied by unionists everywhere. Other government strikebreaking moves are certain to come elsewhere.

The strike began January 22. The union had vainly sought to assure an end to a systematic attempt by the company to break the union. Company stooges in the plant—some operating as an AFL local—had been interfering with union activity, picking fights with UAW-CIO members, etc., although the UAW-CIO had a contract with the company.

THE UNION'S PROPOSAL

Local 248 proposed to the company that, if the union proved that these stooges were guilty of interfering with the union's activity, the company should discipline those guilty. On the pretext that such an agreement meant a closed shop, the company refused, and the union went on strike to enforce its demand.

At the end of the fourth week of the strike, the OPM called company and union representatives to Washington. On March 1, OPM Directors Knudsen and Hillman proposed that both parties agree to arbitrate on the basis that, if the arbitrator found that the union was correct in charging certain men with interfering with union activity, the company should discipline those men. The union accepted. The company refused, apparently feeling that almost any arbiter would have to accept the proof which the union could present.

The OPM had to admit the truth; in a list of strikes submitted by the OPM to the new National Mediation Board, the OPM said: "The union unconditionally accepted the agreement. The company refused."

GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING

Did the OPM then force the company to agree? Not at all. On the contrary, all the moves of the OPM and the other government agencies thereafter were directed AGAINST THE UNION!

Why? Because private property is sacred to this government, and it would never move against the bosses. But against unions, it

Vanadium Strikers Accept Mediation Board Proposal

BRIDGEVILLE, Pa., March 31—The strike of the 400 workers of the Vanadium Corporation here, which has been in progress since February 10, ended today with an agreement to place the issue of the strike before the National Mediation Board, on the condition that the company take back all strikers, including the six members of the strike committee, whom the company had sworn it would never rehire. The hiring of six non-union guards, which precipitated the strike, will be subject to further consideration through the Mediation Board.

Further details are not yet available.

machine—joined in the order to the Allis-Chalmers strikers.

The Milwaukee *Journal* came out Thursday morning with a headline: "Company Acts Upon Order of U. S. Officials; Firm Prepares for Full Resumption on Friday; Calls 7,800 Workers To Return Tomorrow." Each striker received that morning an individual telegram from the company that, "In compliance with the United States government's wires to us and to the union we are notifying you and our entire force to report for work on your regular shift Friday"

POLICE FORCES READY

The forces of "law and order" were mobilized to help open the plant. William Watson, Sr., Allis-Chalmers vice-president, notified Chief of Police Thomas Kastello of West Allis that Thursday morning that the company "will expect ample protection." Kastello not only promised that the 41 members of his force would be on duty "to protect workers entering the plant," but also asked Milwaukee County Sheriff Joseph Shinners for reinforcements.

Shinners in turn replied that his department was "ready to handle any situation that may arise in the enforcement of the law," and added, that in addition to his regular staff of 100 deputies, he was checking civil service lists for possible appointees as special deputies.

Governor Heil meanwhile took the cue from Washington and an

ounced: "I can assure the people of West Allis and Milwaukee County that we are going to preserve order."

STRIKERS STAND FIRM

But the strikers stood their ground. Immediately upon receipt of the Knox-Knudsen telegram the leaders of Local 248 of the UAW-CIO called a mass meeting on a lot near the plant and declared that no man would go back to work. Twelve union men who had been permitted by the union to continue to work in the shipping room, in return for a company pledge not to try to recall workers until the strike was over, were called out of the plant, for the company telegram was a clear violation of the agreement. A mass meeting was called of all Allis-Chalmers workers for Saturday.

Before the meeting was held, it was a foregone conclusion how the workers would vote—against return to work. The strike had been so effective that the company had not dared to try to operate.

Just the day before the Knox-Knudsen telegram a "back to work" parade was supposed to march past the strikebound plant.

Even the New York *Times* (March 30) had to report: "More than 5,000 UAW workers affiliated with the CIO voted today at a mass meeting to persist with their strike at the Allis-Chalmers Company plant, hooting down the appeals of government officials The company reported that more than 2,000 other workers had ignored the threats of the union..."

There are plenty of lies in these few sentences from the *Times*, but we'll skip that. The main thing is the admission, by the *Times* and the company itself, that the overwhelming majority of the 7,500 men at the plant are for the union and for the strike. Knox and Knudsen lied when they implied that the union doesn't have a real majority of the workers in the plant.

That great meeting of strikers adopted a resolution which said in part:

"Why do you not insist upon compliance (by the company) with your original proposal?"

Apparently, Knudsen and the others had not expected united resistance by the CIO leadership "Defense officials," reported Louis Stark in the N. Y. *Times*, Friday March 28, "were taken aback by the vehemence of Mr. Murray's challenge." Knox and Knudsen, in their reply to Murray, said: "You were familiar with our proposal to issue an appeal to the workers to return and negotiate while the plant was in operation." Apparently they thought Murray was to play ball with them.

Faced by the united resistance of the strikers, their international union and the national CIO, the government officials decided to retreat.

Despite the plain language of

their telegraphed order of the day before, and the press description of it as an order, they now boldly declared to Murray: "Contrary to your statement, we issued no 'ultimatum' in connection with the reopening of the plant. We did appeal to the patriotism and loyalty of the men and the company" Needless to say, they did not answer Murray's concluding question.

Instead, Knox and Knudsen dishonestly tried to shift their ground. Wednesday's telegraphed order had told the strikers to go back to work solely on the ground of "vitally needed defense orders without delay." Thursday, however, Knox and Knudsen said: "The final decision to ask the plant to open came after the fact was established that the original strike vote was obtained by fraudulent means. To continue the strike in view of this . . . would seem entirely unreasonable."

MEETING REFUTES LIE

The complete answer to Knox and Knudsen came Saturday when the strikers filled the State fair grounds, five miles west of the struck plant.

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"Be it further resolved that Knudsen and Knox be condemned for their conspiracy with your original proposal?"

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Be it further resolved that we hereby instruct our union officers to make it clear to all the company officials, government officials and the press that this local union will not be used as any guinea pig experiment for settlement of this strike, that we want before we return to work exactly what the government has promised us, and that we will not return to work before."

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The Negro And The U. S. Army

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

* * *

By EUGENE VARLIN
Christian Charity and the Negro
Soldiers

Y. M. C. A. secretaries often refused to serve the Negro soldiers. The 10,000 Negro soldiers encamped at Camp Greene in Charlotte, North Carolina, were not permitted to use the five 'Y' buildings there, save to purchase stamps and paper. "This building is for white men only" read a sign over one building; a table was placed outside the building where the colored men could write their letters.

Often there were signs on Y. M. C. A. huts reading "No Negroes Allowed;" and often services to the colored soldiers would be refused even when there were no such signs. On the boats home, the Y. M. C. A. secretaries often discriminated against the Negroes. "One sergeant in charge of a party sailing from Bordeaux attempted to put all the colored men in the steerage. They rebelled and left the ship, whereupon arrangements were made to give them the same accommodations as the others."

C. H. Williams wrote that ". . . a most careful investigation indicated that some (Y. M. C. A.) secretaries resorted to discrimination and segregation more than the men in any other organization and even more than the army with its military caste." And that was going some! "Sometimes," he added, "such an attitude was assumed even by ministers of the gospel."

There were times, however, when the policy of segregation was dictated to Y. M. C. A. secretaries by the army officers. In May, 1919, for instance, Colonel Doane of the Service of Supplies troops at Remaourt, issued this order: "There are two Y. M. C. A.'s, one near the camp, for

white troops, and one in town, for the colored troops. All men will be ordered to patronize their own 'Y'."

In the Red Cross, the activities of the Negro women were considerably curtailed. They could not engage in canteen work in whole sections of the country. Not only this, but no colored Red Cross nurses were sent abroad despite the protests of the Negro press, pulpit and organizations. When Emmett J. Scott as an official of the War Department investigated the situation, he was given the run-around by the Surgeon General and the Red Cross, each placing the blame for the situation on the other, neither anxious to do very much about it. Du Bois wrote that the few Negroes who "came to Red Cross hospitals were, with a few exceptions, not only 'Jim-Crowed' but officers were put in wards with their men." An interesting commentary on the medical treatment received by the Negro soldiers during the war, is the fact that 8,350 of the 9,558 Negro deaths resulted from diseases.

The Negro Soldiers Return

The Negroes had been deluded by their leaders into accepting the slogans of Wilson. They had been told that as a result of their uncomplaining sacrifices during the war, "after the war" the program of Wilson would become a reality. Tyler, the government's official Negro reporter in France, reported the cries of joy of the men when the Armistice was signed:

"We done signed another Emancipation Proclamation!"

"That 'New Freedom' must come—we have won it."

"We came to France and won a man's chance!"

Foresighting the new blows in store for them, only the American Negroes, of all the Allied contingents, were not permitted to participate in the victory parade at Paris.

The war was over—but not for the Negroes. In France and in the United States, they were detained in the armed forces out of all proportion to their number. We have noted the bitterness felt by the Negro cemetery-builders kept overseas. The same situation prevailed in the United States. A Director of Colored Work described the sentiment of the Negroes at Newport News in the following fashion:

"...They resent being kept in the Army for the purpose of doing all kinds of menial work every day of the week for the good of this section of the country, which they hate with a holy hate. They say that the war is over and why should they be kept at work on something that does not pertain to war... The low morale is something appalling; the men hang around in groups brooding and grumbling. They are beginning to look on the uniforms as emblems of slavery. You can readily see where this condition of mind is leading to. It strikes me that seeds of anarchy are being planted... There is but one remedy and that is to demobilize them."

Only their colored brothers greeted the returning Negro soldiers. ". . . the black soldiers have returned unnoticed," wrote the *Nation* on June 14, 1919, "while the streets have been beflagged and whole cities turned upside down to greet their white brothers-in-arms."

False stories were spread about the cowardice of the Negro combat troops. The myth of "Rastus always 'hot footin' it' to the rear" arose at this time. Even the Negro labor regiments returned unpraised. Scott said: "There were . . . a few narrow and prejudiced whites believing that anything was good enough for the Negroes. There were also a good many men of color, and especially ministers and the like, who maintained an attitude of apathy toward these men returning from the war." These Negro ministers and the like were successful in dragging their people into support of the war; they had idealized the Negro soldiers as "crusaders for democracy." Now they were "apathetic" and ready to let the returning men shift for themselves.

Afraid that the Negroes would not remain so patiently submissive as before the war, the Bourbon South revived the Ku Klux Klan and in this period it reached its greatest strength since Reconstruction days. A wave of lynching swept the South. Scott wrote that 100,000 Negro soldiers had decided to move North rather than to endure their old bondage any longer. But the North too has not been found a paradise for the returning Negro soldiers". . . .

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In Pittsburgh the whites posted threatening signs on the doors of the colored people declaring that the war was over and Negroes must stay in their place. Chicago became the scene

This is the seventh and final article in this series. In revised form they will be issued as a pamphlet by the National Negro Department of the Socialist Workers Party.

TWU Girds For Subway Fight

Steel Workers Organizing Committee Licks Bethlehem

Workers' Own Strength Did The Job

By ART PREIS

(Continued from page 1)

to the world in general, "Bethlehem ain't never seen a crowd this big before." And turning to me, he shouts: "Write it in your paper, Shorty, tell 'em what kind of union us Bethlehem fellows have got here at last."

The parade turns off Broad, the main business street, heads up New Street toward South Bethlehem; across the Lehigh River, toward Steel Town where the Bethlehem plants sprawl five miles along the south river bank; toward the smoke-blackened worn wooden and crumbling brick houses which are home to many of the steel workers.

We are marching up-hill now. The head of the line appears six blocks in the distance, rising over the crest of the company's toll bridge, with its sign "One Cent for Pedestrians, Three Cents for Motor Vehicles."

SYMBOL OF DEFiance

Day in and day out the workers who have entered the realm of Bethlehem Steel over this little bridge have given their offerings to the power and greed of the corporation. Millions of pennies have paid for the bridge ten times over.

No pennies today! Over the bridge the parade rolls in a solid stream. Ten thousand marchers and not one penny. "Let 'em try and collect their goddam penny today!" A symbol of industrial servitude is ground into dust under 20,000 feet crossing a small bridge.

All along the way we pass thousands of workers, their wives and sweethearts, cheering, yelling greetings, smiles and joy everywhere. Almost, everyone on the sidewalks has an SWOC pin, an "SWOC Picket" slip in bold letters, a "Join the Union" sticker proudly displayed on hat or coat.

All traffic is halted. Hundreds of cars, packed tight with strikers and their friends and families, are wedged along the curbs bumper to bumper.

SILENT FACTORIES

As we go over the bridge there is a sudden quiet. "Feel that?" "What?" I ask in turn. "There's no vibrations. It's the first time when I didn't feel the vibrations from the works. If those plants were operating, you could feel the vibrations all through you. Now you know what b—s—s the company and the *Globe-Times* have been putting out about 80 and 85 per cent of the men working during the strike."

A head in front of me jerks sideways and upwards. A huge fist waves high in the air. "Hide you rats, you dirty scabs! Go on, hide! We can smell from here!"

I look where the fist is pointed. I see three pairs of eyes, wide-open, scared, staring over a third floor window ledge of a plant building. "It'll be a miserable thing for those scabs when this bunch gets back in the plant," a short, middle-aged Hungarian worker says, almost in half-pity. Another marcher answer with a loud burbling lip-sound, scornful and merciless.

TOWN IS SWOC

The trolleys are pasted over with stickers, "Join the SWOC." From every window and doorway the marchers are cheered and greeted. All one can see is "SWOC" buttons, stickers, banners, picket tags. The whole town has literally become SWOC. For over 12 miles the parade winds through the town, past the length of the plant, and then returns.

This is the vindication of the strike, this is the moment of triumph.

The workers had left the plants on Monday night, the start of the strike, tense, uncertain, not too sure of their power. But now they know.

They have smashed the Bethlehem myth. "Bethlehem plant in Bethlehem will never be organized," they had been told. "It's the heart of the corporation. It's been a company town for 50 years, and it'll be a company town for the next 50. Grace will never

SWOC Keeps Brill Phila. Shops Shut

PHILADELPHIA, March 28 —

The strike of 1500 production workers at the J. G. Brill company here, world's largest manufacturer of street cars, is continuing as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) yesterday rejected the company's counter-offer of a five cent an hour "bonus" increase. This "bonus," intended as a speedup device to get more production out of the workers, would be paid only monthly, according to the company.

A meeting of the strikers unanimously turned down the company's "offer," and voted to stand pat for an eight cent an hour increase over the present minimum for unskilled labor which is 50 cents an hour.

The union has advised the company that it would extend the strike to plant foremen, office workers and maintenance help if the company refuses to comply with the union's demands by this Monday. The union officials have also indicated that a mass picket line will be thrown about the plant, especially in view of the rumor that the company intends to attempt to start a back-to-work movement with strikebreakers.

Wages for skilled workers in the Brill plant are far below the union scale. Toolmakers, for example, who receive \$1.30 an hour in other shops, get only 90 cents at Brill.

The strike has been in progress since March 10.

yield to a union in this town."

But Grace has.

The company union, the "Employees' Representation Plan," whose attempt to hold a plant election precipitated the strike, has been licked. I saw steel workers this morning lined up in hundreds in the lobby of the meeting hall and all down the stairs, waiting to sign up with the SWOC. Thousands of those who had held out, friendly but waiting to see if the SWOC could pull the trick, are now joining up.

SETTLEMENT TERMS

In addition to stopping the company from recognizing the company union as sole bargaining agency for the workers, the company has granted recognition to the SWOC for the first time, explained John Riffe, SWOC regional director, at the meeting prior to the victory parade. The union will be able to post its bulletins in the plant. A regular grievance machinery will be established whereby the union men will be able to deal with the foremen and supervisors in the departments all the way up the line to the company heads themselves.

POLICE PROVOCATION

The pretext for bringing in the Pennsylvania "Cossacks" — the only name the workers have for these government strikebreakers — was manufactured Tuesday morning.

A car with a company cop in plain clothes drove up to the main gate where several hundred strikers were picketing. The strikers were in high spirits. They halted the car, tipped it over, and made the cop get out. He wasn't hurt.

The car was righted without any damage, and he was permitted to get back in the car and drive away the scabs who had collapsed.

The company, aided by the city and county officials who are in its direct or indirect pay, immediately wanted to bring in state police. Six hours after the strike started, and when there had been not a single instance of disorder County Sheriff Nickel appealed to Governor James for state troopers.

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GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKERS

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

AN URGENT APPEAL

The National Negro Department of the Socialist Workers Party is working at the present time, in conjunction with Pioneer Publishers, on a program of publications relating to problems of the Negro people.

We are sure that readers of THE MILITANT who have displayed an interest in the articles on these questions printed in this paper will be interested in their speedy publication.

One of the pamphlets now in preparation deals with the struggle to break down the Jim Crow bars against Negroes entering into the all-inclusive war industries in skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Another, already completed and ready to go to press, is a revised version of the series of articles just concluded in this paper, The Negro and The U. S. Army, by Eugene Varlin. The revision of this excellent series of articles brings it up to date, explaining the present situation of the Negro in the armed forces.

The third pamphlet, which will be a long work, is a basic discussion of the Negro struggle, analyzing the situation from all angles and presenting the program of the Socialist Workers Party for the Negro struggle for equality.

These pamphlets, which will be of great help to workers who want an all-sided picture of the problems and needs of the Negro masses, will be ready for distribution as soon as we have the necessary money to bring them off the press.

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REPEATING 1917

The war may not have taken exactly the same course this time as it did during 1914-1918, but the treatment of the Negro in the armed forces is so exactly the same that one might think the bureaucrats in control of the army were simply reading a history of what happened then and applying it today.

For example, there is the treatment of conscientious objectors.

Charles H. Houston, former Lieutenant of the 368th U. S. Infantry Regiment, in his series of articles called "Saving The World For Democracy," which were printed in the *Pittsburgh Courier* last year, recalled the following about 1917:

"There was one outstanding exception to the general pattern of segregation at Camp Meade (Maryland): white conscientious objectors were housed with Negro conscientious objectors in a barracks in the 368th Infantry area with an armed white guard over them.

"It must be remembered that the Army considered conscientious objectors as cowards and scum. In the case of white conscientious objectors at Camp Meade the camp command considered them too low to associate with the white soldiers, so it housed them with Negroes and stuck them in a Negro regimental area.

"The Army considered the white officers of our own regiment too good to share the same quarters or even live in the same area with us, their fellow Negro officers, but it could think of no greater degradation for white conscientious objectors than to house them with Negroes in a Negro regimental area."

And now, in 1941, comes an announcement from Washington, via Major Campbell Johnson of the Selective Service Board, that there will be "no separate Negro camps for conscientious objectors" and that the camps being set up will serve for all objectors, Negro as well as white.

The most brazen statement of any boss receiving contracts from the federal government was the one made last week by J. H. Kindelberger, president and general manager of North American Aviation, Inc.:

"Applications for jobs in the plant, where we will employ upward of ten thousand persons, will be received at the temporary Kansas City offices in the near future. We will receive applications from both white and Negro workers. However, the Negroes will be considered only as janitors and in other similar capacities . . . While we are in complete sympathy with the Negro, it is against the company policy to employ them as mechanics or aircraft workers. We use none except white workers in the plant in Inglewood (California) and the plant in Dallas (Texas) and we intend to maintain the same policy in Kansas City. There will be some jobs as janitors for Negroes. Regardless of their training as aircraft workers, we will not employ them in the North American plant."

You can imagine what the attitude of this company toward the Negro would be if it were not "in complete sympathy with the Negro"!

That the New York State Employment Service helps the bosses in discriminating against Negroes, Jews and Catholics was admitted by a spokesman of the Service in a discussion of the employment application blanks on which "Personal Description" is followed by several initials: "S M W - W N O - C P J," meaning "Single, Married, Widower; White, Negro, Oriental; Catholic, Protestant, Jew."

The spokesman tried to clear the Service of responsibility by saying: "It's entirely the employers' fault. You can't legislate discrimination out of existence."

It is true that it's the employers' fault, for it is they who want to know this information so they can discriminate. But that doesn't excuse the Service for helping them!

Britain's People's Convention

The Stalinists Saddled It With A Petty-Bourgeois Pacifist Program

By C. VAN GELDEREN

LONDON, England (By Mail)—2,234 delegates attended the Stalinist-inspired "People's Convention" which met in London on Sunday, January 12th.

The People's Convention had its origin—according to its Chairman, Harry Adams—in the "Men of Munich Must Go" movement which the Stalinists fostered after the disastrous defeats of the Allied armies in Scandinavia and France last year. The emphasis of that movement was not directed against the imperialist war but against Chamberlain, Halifax, Kingsley Wood and the other appeasers in the Cabinet. It left untouched Churchill and the Labor Ministers whose declared aim was "war to end" against German Imperialism.

This "Men of Munich Must Go" movement did not evoke much response among the working class. Then came the Blitz over London and the hopeless inadequacy of the Government's Air Raid Precautions Policy was revealed in all its ghastly horror. The Stalinists seized this heaven-sent opportunity to extend their influence in the labor movement. They whipped up a campaign on the shelter issue. This was actually the birth of the People's Convention.

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He concludes: "That it is not sufficient to get rid of the masters of the moment in order to create in Europe a real lasting peace. The disappearance of Herr Hitler and his friends will not prevent the others from making a new war within twenty years." Therefore, says Huysmans, "the errors committed after 1918 are not to be committed again," i. e., Germany must never again be permitted

The chairman of the Belgian Labor Party, Henry de Man, issued on June 28, 1940 the *Manifesto of the Belgian Labor Party*.

The overwhelming majority of the Belgian Second International leaders, however, either remained in or returned to Belgium after the occupation, and made their peace with Hitler. This, too, is not inconsistent. They always preached "national unity" in the service of a great power. They did that when Belgium was a satellite of France; now they do it when Belgium is a satellite of Germany.

Their wish, like de Man, to unite all the constructive forces of the nation in a great movement to serve the national collective and with that end, to put an end to all party politics . . . They believe that the phenomenon of class struggle, arising out of a free capitalist economy, must and will be transformed in our country into a social and economic order in which trade unions, representing the collective and under the control of the government, will fix the conditions of labor and regulate production."

They conclude with the slogan of the German Nazi labor front:

"The obligation to work, joy through labor, the labor front!"

Neither Nicolaevsky nor the *New Leader* make any attempt to explain how their comrades —

there can no longer be a pretense

AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION?

Thousands of people sincerely devoted to the struggle for peace are rallying around the "American Peace Mobilization" which meets in New York this week-end.

Will they find there a program adequate for their needs? No more than the British workers who went to the "People's Convention."

The program they will find there is that of pacifism. Both World War I and World War II have shown that program to be completely impotent to prevent war or to stop war.

Pacifism wants to stop war without destroying the basic cause of wars: the capitalist system with all its rivalries and conflicts. Failing to strike effectively at the roots of war, pacifism is impotent to fight against war.

Revolutionary Marxism, on the other hand, recognizes that the struggle against this war is the struggle against the capitalist order. It recognizes, furthermore, that in this epoch of war and militarism, all questions will be solved arms

in hand. What the workers need is not a pacifist policy but a proletarian military policy which will carry them to power and socialism—and thereby to peace.

Not only is the APM program pacifist, but the APM is controlled by the Stalinists. That means that those who control the organization are not against war. They are simply following the foreign policy of Stalin. Yesterday they shouted for "collective security." Since the Stalin-Hitler pact they shout pacifist slogans. Tomorrow, if Stalin switches, they will be yelling for the "war for democracy." Woe to those who follow these misleaders.

There is only one road out of this epoch of war and militarism—the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of revolutionary Marxism. We are confident that many of those who are now in the APM are serious enough to think their way through the Stalinist lies and buncome and find their way to the revolutionary road.

calls for a "People's Government and a People's Peace." None of the speakers at the Convention made it clear what was meant by these ambiguous slogans. Some of the delegates obviously interpreted it as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, while to others it meant a Popular Front Government à la Blum. Not one of the three speakers from the platform said so much as mentioned the word "Socialism."

On the crucial question of control of the armed forces, the People's Convention proposes nothing

except: "Effective democratic rights for members of the armed forces."

A meaningless phrase.

How shall the worker-soldiers

secure such democratic rights?

What about putting an end to the life-and-death powers of the bourgeois officer-caste?

The absolute need of universal military training under the control of the trade unions?

The fact that the working class, as a class, must become

masters of the military arts in

this epoch of war and militarism? The Convention is silent on all this: in a word, it mirrored the purely pacifist policy of the Stalinists and not a proletarian military policy adequate to bring the working class to power and socialism.

The Stalinist crime of preaching impotent pacifism is all the greater because the Convention leaders had fine human material to work on. Although the labor bureaucrats had threatened with expulsion anyone who participated, many militants, especially from the Clyde and the mining areas of South Wales, sent their representatives to London.

Besides the worker delegates, the Stalinists collected together for the occasion all their old friends from Popular Front days.

Principal speaker at the Convention was the King's Councillor, D. N. Pritt, who sold his services to the Kremlin as long ago as the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial. Pritt

was Labor Member of Parliament

for the Hammersmith Division, and the Hammersmith Labor Party has demanded his resignation.

But, though Pritt and the C. P. claim popular support for their Convention, he refuses to take up the challenge and stand for reelection to give the workers of Hammersmith an opportunity to show their feelings at the polls.

IT ENDANGERS THE REAL MILITANT TASK

The People's Convention movement represents a potential danger to the labor movement. By attracting the most advanced sections by its demagogic threats to split the labor movement just at a moment when it is necessary for all militants to concentrate all their energies on ridding the movement of the "leaders" who have betrayed them and entered the war cabinet.

It is of course not accidental that the political program of the People's Convention is so vague. The Kremlin's foreign policy is in an impasse. Stalin lives in fear of Hitler. Today, Soviet foreign policy is still oriented towards parliament. Since the beginning of the war, there have been fifty-two such elections. To hide any signs of discontent, Churchill got a political "truce" from the Labor Party when he elevated its leaders into the government. Parliament must stay the same during the war — so many Tories, so many Labor members.

What have the workers to gain from all this? Exactly nothing. On the contrary, they lose all

along the line. Capitalism strengthens itself at every point at the expense of the proletariat. The workers are tied hand and foot, not only at home but in the colonies as well where the same laws

are made to apply with the benediction of Bevin and Company. Under the EPA (Emergency Power Act) the militant fighters for working class rights and for colonial freedom are seized and put in jail.

So was Wallace Johnson, President of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress, was jailed at once. So was Uriah Butler who led the militant West Indies strike of 1937. He was deported to a small island (Nelson) off Trinidad. Militant Hindu leaders were similarly disposed of.

STALIN'S BRITISH AGENTS READY FOR SWITCH

So the British Communist Party keeps open a line of retreat — the vagueness of their political program. *Not anywhere in the anti-war propaganda of the Stalinists do they so much as hint at revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist regime.*

Stalin's British stooges are keeping a wary eye on the Balkans and they are ready to jump at any moment should the Kremlin show a sign that it is turning to the Western powers. The People's Convention would overnight cease to be an "anti-war" movement. The Stalinists would

discover, not for the first time, that Winston Churchill had all the necessary qualifications for heading a "People's Government."

By banning the *Daily Worker*, the bourgeois dealt the Stalinists a shrewd body-blow. Having no real roots in the mass organizations, the *Daily Worker* was almost their sole means for making their influence felt and for spreading their propaganda. Its suppression has been taken very calmly by the workers who in their present patriotic mood welcomed the ban in many cases.

Nowhere have the Stalinists even dared to call for a demonstration against the suppression of the "workers' own paper." Certainly, the London meeting of the People's Convention would not have achieved the success it did without the sustained daily propaganda of the "Worker."

To the British Section of the Fourth International falls the vital task of awakening the militant workers to the dangers inherent in the People's Convention and to counterpose to its false

policy our proletarian military policy, based on the historic needs of the working class at this critical moment in the life of humanity.

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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.

Grim Anniversary

An old man with a bulbous nose and a pot belly draped with a heavy gold watch chain participated recently at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet to raise funds for Greek war relief. When Wendell Willkie, the principal speaker, concluded his remarks with "Pray God that day—British victory—will not be far away," the old man jumped to his feet and added his croaking voice to the cheers of the audience. The old man was J. P. Morgan.

Such a cheer from Morgan has a gruesome sound. We know, for we have heard that cheer before—exactly 24 years ago this April 6th, the anniversary of United States entry into the World War.

The present imperialist slaughter is not something new and unrelated to that last war. On the contrary, it is a continuation. It springs from the same imperialist ambitions and unresolved rivalries which fostered the first world war.

J. P. Morgan is the living symbol of this continuity. He, more than any other one man, controlled our participation in the last war.

In 1915, Morgan became the exclusive Allied purchasing agent in the United States. In addition he and his banker colleagues floated private loans to finance the Allied war efforts.

A letter which Colonel House, Morgan's friend, sent to President Wilson shortly before war was declared, has since been published. In this letter House pointed to the financial catastrophe to American capitalism if the Morgan-sponsored loans to Britain should be wiped out by a British defeat. House demanded a declaration of war. And it came.

The financial interests of Morgan and his breed are far more gigantic today than, in 1917. Britain is now at best a junior partner of the American bankers. Morgan's gruesome cheer is for a war that means many more billions in profits for him and his kind than in 1917 and equally as much more death and agony for the masses.

This war is a continuation of the last in still another sense. Out of the last war was born the Russian Revolution of 1917 and that great proletarian revolutionary tide which swept through Europe and stopped the war.

A continuation is not a repetition. This war will not simply repeat the events of the last. The present imperialist armed struggle is the expression of a capitalist world far more decayed than it was in 1917. It involves masses who have within their reach the knowledge and experiences of the

October Revolution and the lessons of the invincible Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

The last war witnessed the overthrow of the weakest link in world capitalism, the Russian bourgeoisie. This war places on the order of the day the revolutionary overthrow of the entire world system of capitalism.

In this overthrow, the American working-class is destined to play a decisive part. The American workers have passed through a tempering fire of vast struggles in the past ten years. They are more hardened and matured in the class struggle. Compared to the strippling who faced 1917, the American working class is now a full-grown giant.

Trotsky wrote in 1940, "...the objective situation and the experience accumulated by the American workers can pose within a very brief period of time on the order of the day the question of the conquest of power..."

It is this conquest of power by the American proletariat which will put an end to this war and to all future capitalist wars. Then we shall really celebrate the anniversary of April 6, 1917!

They Praise Violence!

The thing that happened in Yugoslavia last week is what is called the violent overthrow of a legally-constituted government. The army ousted the regular government ministers from office, arrested them, occupied government buildings. The regent, Prince Paul, was put to flight, and young Peter Karageorgevitch was proclaimed King.

Now we have been hearing a lot from President Roosevelt, Churchill & Co. about "violence and disorder." We are being told every day that we are going to have to go to war to combat these evil things. We just can't have governments being ousted, overthrown, parliaments ignored, ministers arrested and all that. It just isn't democratic.

What must be our surprise then to hear Roosevelt and Churchill both and all their radios and their newspapers hailing with joyful satisfaction this reversal of orderly democratic processes? Churchill said that "Yugoslavia has found her soul." Roosevelt promptly sent King Peter a promise of help. The New York *Times* called the military putsch "the choice of a free people."

Can it be that our rulers are not really defenders of democratic orderliness at all times and under all conditions? Is it really, really possible that they are ready to blind their eyes a little at deviations from the true path when their higher imperialist interests require it?

So it would seem. How else can we explain their pleasure over a violent military putsch? Or their alliances with the bloody Greek dictatorship? Or the inclusion of a dozen Latin American dictatorships in the hemispheric "democratic" front? Or the recognition of the hangman and butcher Chiang Kai-shek as a "democratic leader"?

In other words, we learn again that all this big talk about "democracy" and "orderly processes" is a lot of bunk. When it suits their imperialist interests, our rulers are quite ready to be pleased with violence and disorder, even with the overthrow of governments by means other than orderly elections.

Let us not, on our part, be hypnotized by empty words. Our bosses are quite realistic. We have to be too.

Convoys Next

"It is going to mean nothing in winning the war unless the goods we produce and ship reach their destination. But due to thinness of protection, ships are sunk and goods are lost... It is an essential part of German tactics to throttle the American supply. We have got to make up our minds what we are going to do about it. Are we going to deliver the goods?"

These are the words of Colonel William J. Donovan in his radio address of March 26. Donovan was "reporting" on his recent three months tour of the war zone as an "unofficial" Administration observer. His words are, of course, the ideas of Roosevelt himself.

This statement of Donovan's was the opening gun in the campaign for armed convoys.

Donovan implies, that the only way goods can be delivered to England is with the protection of the United States Navy.

It is significant that Donovan's "report" to the American people dwelt exclusively on the single question of implementing "Aid to Britain" and stayed clear of telling us the state of affairs in Europe. Not for the masses is the actual report he made to Roosevelt on the conditions in Europe, the war aims of the Allies, the commitments exchanged with Churchill. Ours not to reason why or to know why or wherefore.

The Administration defeated the attempt to amend the lease-lend bill to ban the use of convoys. Nevertheless, the bill as passed does include the clause: "Nothing in this act shall be construed to authorize or permit the authorization of conveying convoys of naval vessels of the United States."

This clause was thrown in as a deceptive sop to appease the fear of the masses that the lease-lend bill would pave the way to armed convoys and war. It was a lawyer's trick. The clause does not prohibit such convoys.

The fight of the anti-war forces must be concentrated now against the use of armed convoys. Only the sternest opposition of the American masses can give Roosevelt pause in taking this next step into the war.

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THE MILITANT

GPU Frees Siqueiros; Buys Mexican "Justice"

Leader of May 24, 1940 Machine-Gun Attack On Trotsky House Is Released On Bail Despite Guilt For Bob Harte's Murder

MEXICO CITY.—The GPU does not forget its agents. With its vast resources it has succeeded in corrupting Mexican justice and liberating David Alfaro Siqueiros, the leader of the GPU gang that made the machine-gun attack on the Trotsky home on May 24, 1940, murdering Trotsky's young guard Robert Sheldon Harte.

Siqueiros has not been fully liberated as yet. He has, however, been freed on bail. The bail bond required was the sum of 800 dollars (4000 pesos). Unless within Mexico there is a reaction to this perversion of justice it is easy to predict that Siqueiros will be completely liberated or suffer a slight fine or small sentence.

After the attack on May 24th the Communist Party and its fellow travellers, trying to throw people off the track, demanded that the culprits guilty of the attack be apprehended and dealt with severely. They then raised a howl that the attack was organized by Trotsky himself.

About 300 bullets were fired into Trotsky's bedroom and other rooms of the house. Incendiary bombs were hurled into some of the rooms. Robert Sheldon Harte, the young guard, was kidnapped and murdered.

Unfortunately for the GPU, some of the gang participating in the attack were caught and it became clear that the GPU was directly responsible.

SIQUEIROS' GUILT
Siqueiros was named by his accomplices as the leader of the attack. After much criticism the authorities finally succeeded in locating his hiding place and capturing him. During the hearings

it was proved, however, that Siqueiros came to the scene dressed in the uniform of a major of the Mexican army; that he directed the tying up of the policemen on guard at the house.

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HIS ABSURD ALIBI
Siqueiros made the preposterous claim that the purpose of the attack was to get some documents to prove that Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary.

Was it necessary to fire 300 shots from machine guns to get

these documents? Did it require the murder of Harte to get the documents? And why were no documents taken by the gang? Did Siqueiros know where those documents were?

Siqueiros' fantastic story was enough to convict him before any body. He was guilty of many crimes—the most serious being the attempt on the life of Trotsky and the murder of Harte.

But the GPU is stronger than Mexican justice. It has limitless amounts of money and tremendous influence.

MAY FREE ASSASSIN

And now that Siqueiros is out the GPU is already mobilizing its forces to liberate Jason, the assassin who killed Trotsky on August 20, 1940. It sounds fantastic, but let no one be surprised if the GPU succeeds in "proving" that Jason was insane at the time he attacked Trotsky or became insane afterwards.

There must be many Mexicans hanging their heads in shame at the spectacle of GPU murderers going scot-free. But it is not enough simply to be ashamed. An active campaign against the GPU is necessary to prevent the greatest travesty of justice.

Union Officials' Salaries Must Rise, Say Officials

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International (AFL) opens its Golden Jubilee Convention on April 21, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Whatever else the convention does or doesn't do, the one thing its international officers are determined on is to get a raise.

More interesting than this news are the reasons given by the officials to justify increases in their own salaries.

The stage was set for the increase in an article "The Case For More Adequate Salaries," in the international's monthly, *The Catering Industry Employee*, in January. The key sentence in that article read:

"They (the union officials) must constantly meet and fraternize with employers and professional elements, many of whom receive far greater salaries than we have been in the habit of paying (to our officers) and many have been the embarrassments suffered by uncomplaining officials because of this fact."

The international officials "fraternize with employers" and therefore should be able to live the same kind of life, financially, as the employers. That's what that sentence says, and quite baldly!

THE RESULTS OF "FRATERNIZATION"

What happens to union officials who "fraternize with employers" and live the life of the employers, with costly homes, vacations in Florida, etc.?

With their touching desire to avoid embarrassment for those who can't live on the same scale, such officials spare such embarrassment to the rank and file of the unions by the simple expedient of never "fraternizing" with the rank and file. They spend their time with those who can "fraternize" on that scale: other international officials and the bosses.

After a few years of that they understand the "problems" of the bosses infinitely better than they understand the needs of their "own" rank and file. They are no longer workers' leaders; they are "labor statesmen," performing a "national service" by graciously controlling the unions.

One local union protested against "The Case for More Adequate Salaries," and was sufficiently influential to secure publication of its letter in the March issue of *The Catering Industry Employee*. This was the Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Local 228 of Oakland, California. Its letter made a number of very cogent points:

On "fraternizing with employers" it said:

"Now it seems to us that as a matter of strict trade union principles, any of our officials, local or international, must meet with employers. However, we do not feel that the best interests of trade union principles are served by fraternizing with these groups."

On salaries it said:

"We do not compare a worker's wage with that of the officer who is supposed to serve him! Just absorb the full meaning of that revealing phrase! The working stiff and the union official—they are not of the same 'clay,' they belong to different worlds, their incomes cannot be compared with each other. There is the soul of the labor bureaucrat!"

Naturally, if he finds it impossible to compare in any way

the wage of the worker and the salary of the worker's "own" official, how, then, can the bureaucrat compare the wage of the worker with the "earnings" of the boss?

Horror is the natural sentiment which rises in the soul of the bureaucrat if he hears a worker say, to hell with the boss, we do all the work and we ought to get the fruits of our work. Horror—for what kind of a world would it be if the worker could squeeze the boss dry and—good heavens!—perhaps even reduce the boss to the living standard of the worker? Where would the international union official be in such a world?

"No," says the soul of the bureaucrat, "the world must be a place where common clay gets one kind of living, and an entirely different kind of living is reserved for those whose incomes 'do not compare with' the workers' wage—the bosses and those who 'fraternize with the employers.'"

Such is the soul of the labor bureaucrat— one which cannot conceive of any other kind of world except the capitalist world of privileged and underprivileged, of those who toil and those who reap the fruits, of the worker and his exploiters. That is the soul of practically all top trade union officials—the soul of labor-bureaucrats of capitalism.

The workers will be led to complete freedom not by these men but by those pledged to destroy capitalism—the revolutionary socialists.

THE BUREAUCRAT'S VIEW OF THE WORLD

"You take exception in your fifth paragraph to my statement that 'Brother Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, worked for the very modest stipend of \$10,000 and is raised to \$18,000.' All right—I repeat that statement. All things are relative, and we do not compare (workers') wage-scales with salaries paid our Business Representatives, Secretary-Treasurers of locals, let alone our National and International officers."

The International's answer to this letter—written by the monthly's editor—avoids most of the questions raised, but more than makes up for that by one utterly revealing sentence:

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