

Workers! Fight For Your Right To Strike!

Army Strikebreaking And Drafting Strikers Is Aimed At The Entire Labor Movement

The right to strike—the sacred right which was won by struggles of millions of workers over a period of decades, by struggles in which thousands of workers gave their lives—has been taken away. On Monday that right was taken away by force of arms from the United Automobile Workers at the North American Aviation plant.

And on Tuesday a government ultimatum was served on the Die Casters Union to settle immediately its strike against the aluminum monopoly or likewise have its picket lines broken by the Army. "You show me a case like the North American Aviation case and we'll act just as we acted then," says Assistant Secretary of War Patterson. Such a "case" would be any strike in any plant working on "national defense" orders. That means 90 per cent of American industry. If Roosevelt and the capitalist class are permitted to continue the tactics they followed in Inglewood, California, the right to strike will be completely done away with.

Read the text of Roosevelt's order sending the troops against the North American Aviation strikers. It justifies this foul act by (1) the "national emergency" (2) government contracts and government-owned materials in the plant (3) the strikers' refusal to continue agreeing not to strike while negotiations and mediation dragged on indefinitely. There is nothing peculiar about these three conditions at the North American Aviation plant; any or all of these conditions will be true in every other important plant. Roosevelt's reasons for sending troops against the UAW-CIO in Inglewood apply to practically every other conceivable strike in industry.

If Roosevelt's order didn't make that plain, it became crystal-clear a few hours later when, with Roosevelt's express approval, General Hershey ordered all draft boards to call up for reclassification ALL strikers previously deferred because of the nature of their work. Not "irresponsible" strikers—the pretext used by Judases like Hillman about the North American Aviation strikers—but ALL strikers.

A precedent has been set by the use of the Army against the North American Aviation strikers. From now on the employers will sit back and stall on the legitimate demands of the workers. The employers have nothing to lose. Their government is ready to break any strike the workers might decide to call.

And worst of all, this precedent was supported by spineless, belly-crawling labor "leaders" who in the moment of crisis revealed their true role as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

In his "fireside chat" of May 27th, Roosevelt called upon "both" employers and workers not to interfere with "national defense" by stopping production. In a tone of impartiality he cautioned both labor and capital.

But against whom was the army called out? The army was called out against the workers. The plant was temporarily taken over to break their strike. The employing corporation gleefully welcomed the army.

Dare anyone claim that this was because labor was wrong and capital was right in this case? The facts annihilate such a claim. The UAW-CIO won the NLRB election at the plant. The 40 to 50-cent an hour minimums and other corresponding wages at the plant are below the subsistence standard of living, even as computed by government agencies. The strikers were demanding a 75-cent an hour minimum and a ten-cent increase for others, obviously reasonable demands, in the light of the rising cost of living.

The corporation could scarcely pretend it couldn't afford the raises. Its own figures show it made a clear profit of over seven million dollars in 1940—\$855 on every worker it employed that year. It topped all other aviation firms in rate of profit in proportion to sales. With a \$204 million back-log of orders, it is certain to make far bigger profits in 1941.

Despite all this the company, when finally forced into negotiations on April 16, proceeded to stall. When, more than five weeks later, the union membership voted overwhelmingly in favor of strike on May 23, the company kept on stalling. In the thirteen days between then and the beginning of the strike, the union made every effort to reach a peaceful settlement.

The company made no effort to settle—and now we may well wonder whether its conduct throughout the negotiations was not based on an understanding with government officials. Conciliation and mediation officials showed no signs of getting the company to stop stalling. These were the conditions under which the workers struck.

To be sure, production was interfered with. If, however, the only purpose of the President was to prevent a cessation of production, why didn't he order the management to grant the workers' demands? Why did he not threaten to take over the plant if the management did not grant the workers their demands? Why did the President not take the plant over and immediately call the workers back to work by granting those demands?

Instead, all Roosevelt's pressure, all his force, were used against the workers. Roosevelt did not exert any pressure nor any force, nor did he use the Army, against the bosses. This is the naked fact and it cannot be contradicted by the apologists for Roosevelt.

These apologists will eagerly seize tomorrow upon some minor action of Roosevelt and offer it to the workers as proof that Roosevelt is after all a "friend of labor." Yes, it is true that Roosevelt is perfectly willing to go on playing the game of being a friend of labor—so long as it does not interfere in any way with vital capitalist interests. An occasional gesture in the direction

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ARMY BREAKS STRIKE--BUT WORKERS' MORALE IS HIGH

Draft Order Is Aimed Against Every Strike

Draft Order Is "Work Or Fight" Ultimatum To Every Trade Union

The draft administration's "work or be drafted" strike-breaking edict, issued Monday, is being put into immediate effect everywhere.

Draft boards in Los Angeles anticipated the order by reclassifying 100 striking North American Aviation strikers to Class 1-A.

Immediately following the order's issuance, Captain Charles Going, California draft head, announced the order would be put into effect against the striking CIO and AFL machinists in the San Francisco shipyards.

West Hartford, Connecticut draft officials promptly hailed the order as vindication of their previously having reclassified to 1-A a CIO striker at the Hanson-Whitney Company strike.

Cleveland draft board officials announced Tuesday that if the aluminum strike continued, strikers would be put in class 1-A.

The purpose of the draft administration's order is to supplement the use of troops to break strikes.

"Troops can't make planes" was the slogan of the North American Aviation strikers.

No one realizes this more than Roosevelt.

TROOPS AREN'T ENOUGH

Plants cannot be operated without the workers. And not just any workers, but workers who have been trained in the job.

It isn't enough for Roosevelt to send troops to escort a few hundred scabs back into a struck plant. To break the North American Aviation—or any other strike—he must force the original workers back to work. To do this he is threatening the workers with army service at \$21 a month.

Brig. Gen. Lewis Hershey, acting national draft administrator, a few hours after the troops arrived in Inglewood, California, set in motion the second half of Roosevelt's strike-breaking tactics.

At the direct instruction of Roosevelt, Hershey issued orders to the state draft heads to cancel

(Continued on Page 3)

What Wall Street Really Thinks Of FDR's "Socialism"

What Wall Street actually thinks about the "draft property" idea is disclosed in the following report from the financial section of the New York TIMES, June 8.

"Wheat and cotton soared yesterday to new high levels for the season. Stocks followed, supported also by word that President Roosevelt is prepared to take over the North American Aviation Corporation's plant unless the strike there is ended tomorrow."

Yessir! Wall Street's all for Roosevelt's "Socialism."

all draft deferments of striking workers.

Roosevelt believes, as Wilson did, that the "Work or Fight" formula will be a decisive weapon in driving workers back into strike.

Immediately thereafter it was discovered that Tobin was conning with Governor Stassen

and Blair, head of the State Labor Board, to sign agreements with the bosses behind the backs of the teamsters. The swift and sudden move of Local 544 in bolting to the CIO

caught this unholy alliance completely off-guard, upsetting their conspiracy and placing the union and its membership in a strong position to take the next steps in their struggle to renew their contracts.

There is no possibility of appre-

hension with Tobin or any of his agents. Local 544 is through with the AFL and has gone over to the CIO, lock, stock and barrel.

A. D. Lewis, Chairman of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, CIO, had invited the truck drivers to affiliate at their Monday meeting, stating:

"We visualize this move on

the part of the truck-drivers of

Minneapolis and our organiza-

tion as the first step towards

the complete organization of

all truck-drivers in the United

States in the CIO."

The Executive Board of Local

544 announced that it had ac-

cepted Lewis' invitation "in order

to liberate itself from the dead

hand of a reactionary dictator and

to align itself with a more pro-

gressive section of the American

labor movement. Its CIO charter

will permit it to move forward at

a faster pace and on a wider scale

to protect and promote the inter-

ests of its membership, to secure

new wage gains to offset the

swiftly rising wartime cost of liv-

ing, and to find for itself and its

members a place in the American

labor movement where liberalism,

militancy and progress will be re-

warded rather than punished."

OVER 4,000 AT MEETING

The membership meeting which

took these momentous actions was

one of the greatest outpourings of

labor Minneapolis has seen in re-

cent years.

(Continued on page 3)

They're Still Picketing



Undaunted by the presence of 3,500 federal troops confronting them with fixed bayonets, these militant strikers of the North American Aviation Corp., Inglewood, California, last Monday continued their picket lines, marching directly up and down the ranks of the soldiers. The next day the army authorities banned all picketing.

Bitter And Fighting Mad, They Vote To Go To Work

By BILL MORGAN

LOS ANGELES, June 10—3,500 strikers, members of Local 683, United Automobile Workers (CIO), still fighting mad and determined to maintain and strengthen their forces inside the plant, met this morning and accepted the advice of local union officials to formally end the North American Aviation strike.

In the late afternoon the strikers formed solid ranks and marched in a body to the plant area, where troops halted them and permitted only night shift workers to enter the plant. Day shift workers were forced to remain outside a restricted zone established yesterday by the military, within a mile radius of the plant. They will be permitted to enter the plant tomorrow morning.

As an act of reprisal against the strikers, three night-shift members of the local's negotiating committee were barred from the plant. It is expected that attempts will be made to bar other strike leaders tomorrow, as the troops are examining each worker in an attempt to weed out the leading militants. Action of the UAW International officials in declaring the local's officers suspended has served as the pretext for this discrimination.

WORKERS ARE BITTER

The workers are bitter and stunned by Roosevelt's strikebreaking use of federal troops. They have learned fast in the past two days. And the main thing they have learned, emphasized by bayonet points, is that Roosevelt is no friend of labor.

During most of last night and today, as thousands of patrolling troops imposed martial law for a mile around the plant, the area was a virtual war zone.

Outside the restricted zone, in the southwestern suburbs where most of the strikers live, motorized troops patrolled the streets throughout the night.

WHEN THE TROOPS CAME

When the troops marched in yesterday morning, the strikers were lined up 6,000 strong around the plant. As army trucks filled with armed soldiers, their steel bayonets glistening in the hot sun, first rolled up the road, some of the younger and less experienced workers cheered. The older workers smiled grimly. The soldiers didn't return any greetings. They looked straight ahead.

Then the troops formed ranks, bayonets thrust forward, and began to deploy toward the line of pickets. Machine guns were quickly placed at strategic spots, their deadly nozzles bearing directly on the mass of workers.

"Move on!" came the grunted command. No worker cheered now. They began a reluctant retreat, giving ground slowly, a step at a time.

Suddenly a bayonet flashed and there came a sharp cry. Carl Clement, one of the pickets, had been stabbed in the thigh for not moving fast enough.

The troops moved ruthlessly. (Continued on page 3)

Dobbs' Speech to the Truckdrivers

MINNEAPOLIS, June 10—Farrell Dobbs' speech to the membership meeting of the Drivers Union follows in part:

This is a fight to the death between Local 544 and Dan Tobin. Local 544's leaders have the guts to fight the employers, which is a lot more than Tobin can say.

Tobin has a grudge against this union. His grudge is that the leaders of Local 544 are not yes-men, whom he can kick around as he pleases.

OUR FOUR CRIMES

In Daniel J. Tobin's eyes, this union is guilty of four great crimes.

Our first crime is that we believe in fighting the bosses all the way. Tobin doesn't believe in this. I hope you all read the little editorial on the inside front cover of the June issue of Tobin's personal organ, wherein he states:

"Business agents and salaried officers of unions are going to be held mainly responsible by the state and federal governments for the actions of their members as time goes on. In most instances paid representatives of local unions are in a position to stop trouble. In some few instances they are

not strong enough to stop the rank and file, but in those instances where they fail or where they are unable to protect the rank and file from themselves, they should notify the International Office of such failure."

Translated out of Tobin's language into English, that paragraph is a warning and a threat to every official of every IBT local that Tobin doesn't want the drivers asking for higher wages, he doesn't want any trouble, he doesn't want any strikes, he doesn't want to pay out any money for strike benefits. And God help any business agent or officer who can't hold down the drivers and get them to lie down. If they can't do it, Tobin will have their scalps. That's what Tobin is saying in his editorial.

Local 544's second crime in Tobin's eyes is that the delegates from this union to the last convention of the IBT—Tobin permits a convention once every five years—voted against his proposal that he be given dictatorial powers to force arbitration upon any affiliated local. One of the delegates to the convention, Miles Dunne, who made such an effective speech it took Tobin half an hour to get the convention to order. Brother Dunne was not the only unionist at the convention to blast Tobin's program; delegates from the East and West Coasts spoke against it. By agreement with other progressive delegates, Miles Dunne made his talk; together, the convention was able to deal Tobin a stiff defeat, something unheard of at IBT conventions.

Local 544 delegation voted against Tobin's request to raise his annual salary \$10,000 to \$30,000 a year. We figured that Tobin ought to be able to skimp along on \$20,000 a year—and that if he couldn't he ought to turn his case over to 544's Federal Workers Section and ask for supplemental aid from the relief officials.

There stands Tobin with his \$30,000 sack of dough over his shoulder, almost tipping him over backward, holding up his hand to the drivers, and howling "Don't strike, boys. I got mine."

Those are the four points that are the real issues in this fight. This is a fight over trade union policy, and charges of radicalism have nothing to do with it.

Radicalism? Why? Tobin hired me on May 1, 1939, to be an international organizer. Tobin knew what I was then. He knew my ideas and beliefs. He knew them even better when I resigned as international organizer a year later. At that time, he talked with me several hours, asking me to reconsider my decision. He advised me to keep my paid-up card in the IBT and said I could always return as an international organizer. Well, I have returned; I am back. I am back not to serve Tobin, but to help you fight him.

(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.

EDITOR:

The peculiar sporadic quality of coverage which you give to Soviet Russian news has puzzled me and not only me. For a period you will have an article a week. Then nothing for months at a time. Is there some rhyme or reason to it? Nor do your periods of coverage always coincide with periods when Russia looms in world events. Precisely then, often, except for an editorial or so, you have nothing to say. Certainly there should be an explanation of this—to say the least—peculiar coverage given Soviet Russia.

J. R.

Detroit, Mich.

The Editor's Answer:

The manner in which we are compelled to cover the developments in the Soviet Union arises not out of choice but out of necessity. The only source of first hand information at our disposal is the arrival in this country of Russian newspapers, magazine, etc. If this material arrived regularly, it would have been possible to cover the news regularly, and we would not have failed to do so. But the whole point is that since the outbreak of the war the receipt of this indispensable material first became very irregular, and then—last November—ceased almost completely.

Primarily responsible for this condition is the rigorous censorship imposed since the Stalin-Hitler pact by the Kremlin itself. The only dispatches which still emanate from Russia are the official dispatches of the TASS—and these are few and far between. The extent of the censorship may be gauged by the fact that in the last two years no foreign correspondent or press agency has been allowed to cable to the outside world the text of any of the Kremlin's decrees. (The only foreign correspondents still remaining in Moscow are the Nazis.)

In addition to this, the circulation of the official press outside the borders of the Soviet Union has been greatly restricted. Thus, for the year 1940, no issues of either PRAVDA or IZVESTIA for the first five months—from January to May—are available in this country.

Last September, copies began to arrive again, covering the months of June, July, August, September and October 1940. It was this fortunate circumstance that made it possible for us to make public the

THE EDITORS

Trotsky On Japan Plan For Conquest Features June '4 International'

Leon Trotsky's "The Tanaka Memorial," published for the first time in the June FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, just out, bares a fourteen-year secret which proves the authenticity of the document in which Baron Tanaka outlined Imperialist Japan's plans for world conquest.

Trotsky's article—one of the last he wrote—reveals for the first time how the secret document was secured from the guarded files of the Japanese government. Japan's imperialist rivals have helped suppress this story. Stalin, who concluded a pact with Japan at the expense of China, though he well knew Japan's plans for China's enslavement, likewise suppresses the facts.

The projected July 1st Negro March to Washington as a protest against Jim Crowism in the armed forces and the defense industry.

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She Daren't Unmask



Fearing that she might suffer reprisal from her employer, this girl had to appear masked at a union quiz program staged by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (CIO) over WMFR, High Point, North Carolina.

Strike Wave Gains in Detroit

United Auto Workers Is Spearhead Of Detroit Battles To Defend Unionism

DETROIT, Mich.—The battle of the American workers to defend their unions and their living standards against the combined attacks of Wall Street and Roosevelt's Mediation Board, gathered momentum this week, as wave on wave of union reinforcements took to the picket line, the spearhead of which is the United Automobile Workers.

The biggest wage drive in the history of the UAW, inspired by the victory of the Flint General Motors strike which forced a ten cent wage increase throughout that corporation, is now reaching into every automobile plant in the country almost without exception.

In Detroit the Chrysler workers followed up the GM wage

increase with a demand for similar increases, and reopened the contract which was to have frozen wages for several months. The corporation was obliged to grant an 8 cent general wage increase.

With the NLRB vote tucked under their belts, the Ford workers are now negotiating a contract with the Ford Motor Company.

FORD TRIES SPEEDUP

Already Ford has shown he will not give in peacefully, and has initiated a union-busting policy in the plants which thus far, however, has been met successfully by the militant Ford workers. The Ford management has allowed department after department to become depleted of workers who have been called by the draft or have left because of illness or other reasons. Ordinarily these men are immediately replaced.

But now Ford has not filled in the vacated places on the assembly line, and has attempted to initiate a speed up among the remaining men to make up for the work of those who had left. This was a calculated policy to provoke difficult situations throughout the plant.

The union men refused however to do the work of two or more men. Each man performed only his own duties, and the union committees demanded that the company hire new men to fill in vacancies. In an unsuccessful attempt to intimidate the union, Ford closed down the Ford assembly on Saturday. The company cried that a "slow down" had forced a shut-down. The union has not been fooled by this trick and is holding firm, determined to make Ford sign a real union contract.

HEARINGS NAIL FORD

The Labor Relations Board hearings in Detroit have exposed a cross-section of the vicious system of espionage and terrorism which prevented unionism in the Ford Empire prior to the great strike of April 2. Witness after witness testified to the fact that huge sums had been paid for spying on unionists, union men had been beaten, intimidated and locked out of the plant. The whole dirty underground stoolie system was revealed and has shown the fraud of Ford's claims that his workers were satisfied with conditions. The hearings prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Ford ruled his open shop only by threats and spying and intimidation.

"The Balkans," by Jack Weber describes the agonizing thwarted struggle for freedom of the Balkan people in a world of expanding imperialism. "Jak Valtin: 'Out of the Fight,'" by John G. Wright shows Valtin's betrayal of Bolshevism, first to Stalinism and now to bourgeois "democracy."

"How Paris Fell," by Terence Phelan is a gripping eyewitness story, his second to appear in the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The renegade James Burnham's "alternative" to socialism, "The Managerial Revolution" is dissected by Joseph Hansen.

With 60,000 dues-paying members in Ford, there should be no doubt as to the outcome of the battle to sign a union contract with the tyrant of River Rouge. It is possible that a strike may be necessary, but in that case the strength of the union will be more obvious to all.

Negotiations for wage increases covering approximately 250,000 "communist inspired" the Buick

Stalinist Hoodlums Beat Salesgirl For 'Militant'

Socialist Workers Party Protests Thug Tactics In Labor Movement

A lone MILETANT salesgirl, Kathleen O'Brien, was subjected to a well-organized and obviously premeditated assault by forty members of the Communist party and the Young Communist League, on Wednesday, June 4, at 8:30 P.M., before Manhattan Plaza in New York, where a "Free Browder" meeting was being held under the auspices of the Communist Party.

The group of Stalinist hoodlums emerged from the hall and took positions surrounding the girl. Some of them displayed some impatience for beginning the assault at once but were warned by others to wait until the number of "outsiders" standing or walking in front of the building was small. When the ringleaders felt the moment was ripe, the gang made concerted move upon her, snatched the literature from her arms, punched her in the mouth, hurled her to the ground and knocked her unconscious. Then they retreated hastily into the hall and left the girl lying on the pavement.

The girl's lip was badly cut, a tooth loosened and her body bruised.

An onlooker who witnessed the assault and tried to make some protest was hustled into the hall by the Stalinist gang.

PROTEST LEAFLET ISSUED

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, realizing that criminal acts like this can only result in the embarrassment and injury of the entire working class movement, decided to launch a campaign to halt such practices by giving them wide publicity.

A leaflet was addressed to members of the Communist Party, calling upon them to protest to their leadership against such sadistic and fascist-aping conduct on the part of party members.

The leaflet reads in part:

"This is not the only instance of its kind; it is simply the latest of such assaults upon members of working-class political groups not in agreement with the Communist party line. We lay the responsibility for these hoodlum tactics—sadist and fascist—directly at the door of the leadership of the Communist party. We do not believe that the rank and file is itself capable of perpetrating such vicious acts."

"Such behavior can only hurt the fight to free Browder. Who, may we ask, can take seriously your announced fight for democracy when you yourselves are on trial, faces a ten-year jail sentence and a \$5,000 fine because she is allegedly a member of the Communist Party, a 'crime' in the state of Oklahoma. She is the fourth Oklahoman to be tried for this 'offense,' her husband and two others having already been sentenced on the same charge."

deny it—and by physical violence—to other sections of the labor movement, simply because they are not in political agreement with you?

"We call upon you members of the Communist party to renounce such tactics and in no uncertain terms voice your true feelings to your leadership. Only a united front of all workers irrespective of their political beliefs can safeguard the democratic rights of labor."

Cafeteria Workers Vote N. Y. General Strike

By LOU COOPER

Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union of New York, the second largest local of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union, prepared to use its man-power of 10,000 workers this week for general strike in the industry. Monday night, June 9, at a membership meeting of over 4,000, the workers threw back the insultingly meager offers of the employers with a ringing challenge.

The reasonable demands of the union had been stalled off by the bosses since the expiration of contracts on April 31, and the membership was determined not to repeat another half-year stalling, as happened in 1939.

A minimum two dollar general wage increase would still not allow the workers to meet the tremendous rise in rents, food and clothing. If salaried, steamboatmen, night countermen, were to receive \$35 per week, and day countermen \$32 per week, they would still not make up for the cuts forced upon them by the bosses four years ago. They would still be working 48 hours, 6 days per week and supporting families on \$18 (male) and \$16 (female) per week.

While the union is at the present time not demanding a general decrease in hours and work days for all categories, the membership is, however, definitely demanding a decrease of these slave hours for the women workers. A six day, seven hour week for the women workers would be a 45 minute cut below what they now work each day. Is that too much to ask for the counter-girls who work at such tremendous speed behind the counter?

FOR EQUAL PAY

By far the most important demand of the union is for the elimination of wage differentials, the same pay for the same work in all cafeterias, (chains and independents). The situation in the industry is one in which chain stores such as Silvers and Stewart, pay countermen 21, 22 and 23 dollars per week compared with the \$30 minimum in Branch A (independent) stores.

The UAW convention will take place in the midst of a great strike wave, and of governmental strikebreaking. With victory after victory saluted away, the militant delegates will make that convention a memorable one without doubt.

But more than an unorganized sentiment of militancy is needed. Now more than ever the real union fighters realize they must organize and fight for a program with guts in it, and counterpose such a program to the ineffectual program of capitulation to Roosevelt now prevailing in the UAW International Executive Board.

When Walter Reuther attacked the recent Flint GM strike as "communist inspired" the Buick

War Chest Drive Speeding Up As Branches Act

The second week of the War Chest campaign saw the amount collected go up from \$917.32 (collected by the end of the first week of the drive) to \$1,887.45. In other words, approximately 10 per cent of the \$10,000 was collected in the second week of the campaign. That's good going.

Cleveland has nosed out Buffalo for first place and is now heading the list with 40 per cent of its quota fulfilled. We of course don't count the members-at-large as a branch, but it is worthwhile noticing that members-at-large have already paid in 71% of the amount pledged.

There are, however, still too many branches that have not yet sent in any money on their pledges.

With great events demanding more and more activity on the part of our party, it is mandatory on the part of every comrade and sympathizer to send in War Chest funds at the earliest possible moment. Organizers must be sent out, the circulation of the paper must be enlarged, more pamphlets must be published—the party must grow speedily in the face of the imperialist World War and Roosevelt's Blitzkrieg against the trade union rights of the workers. Let us mobilize with equal speed!

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Cleveland	\$ 150.00	\$ 60.00	40%
Boston	350.00	93.50	40%
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	292.33	26%
Flint	200.00	50.00	25%
Buffalo	60.00	14.00	23%
Philadelphia	125.00	29.00	23%
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20%
Newark	500.00	100.00	20%
New York City	2500.00	464.00	19%
Portland	30.00	5.00	17%
St. Paul	300.00	50.00	17%
Reading	25.00	3.50	14%
Minneapolis	1200.00	142.00	12%
Chicago	1200.00	132.62	11%
Detroit	500.00	45.00	9%
San Diego	100.00	5.00	5%
New Haven	50.00	1.50	3%
Los Angeles	500.00	0.00	0%
Youngstown	150.00	0.00	0%
Akron	50.00	0.00	0%
Fresno	50.00	0.00	0%
Rochester	50.00	0.00	0%
Toledo	50.00	0.00	0%
Pittsburgh	40.00	0.00	0%
Louisiana	25.00	0.00	0%
Quakertown	25.00	0.00	0%
Seattle	25.00	0.00	0%
St. Louis	25.00	0.00	0%
Texas	20.00	0.00	0%
Baltimore	10.00	0.00	0%
Milwaukee	10.00	0.00	0%
Members-at-Large	555.00	395.00	71%
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$1887.45	19%



SOME ITEMS FROM OUR FAN MAIL

The publishing office of a left wing labor periodical receives certain indices of the popularity and value of its publication. This week we have several such encouraging items:

One publication, not essentially in agreement with our political position, in a letter requesting additional information from us on one of our articles says: "We receive a great number of radical newspapers in our editorial offices but we find THE MILETANT by far the most interesting."

This week there has been a noticeable increase in the number of subscriptions sent in with the blanks clipped from copies of the paper, which indicates that workers who have read either one or several issues have been sufficiently impressed to move them to send in money for more. There is a moral in this for the party branches, too. If the paper by itself has such much pull, then a very little solicitation by members ought to put a good proportion of our lapsed subscriptions back on the mailing list.

A censored letter came to us this week from England asking that an address be changed at once in order that no issues of the paper will be missed. The change, our informant says, "has been made necessary by enemy action." Enemy action in more senses than one, not forgetting the important sense that a proletarian residence has been wiped out by the internecine war of the enemy class.

NEW INCREASE IN BUNDLE ORDERS

Two cities this week—one in the automobile area and one near a nationally important steel center—have asked for permanent increases in their bundles and

BIG SALE

Books and Pamphlets

Marxist Classics

So This Is What the Army and Navy Is Used For!

Draft Order Is Threat To Unions

(Continued from page 1)

bound plants. It is not unrelated to the use of armed force as in the North American strike. It is, in fact, the direct complement of that force, an essential part of Roosevelt's strikebreaking technique.

While Hershey's formal order does not directly mention "strikers," it is clear that it refers precisely to strikers.

TEXT OF ORDER

The exact words of Hershey's order reads:

"The basic principle upon which selective service operates is to keep the man on the job where he can render the greatest service to his government. The citizen who has been deferred because of the job he is performing in the national defense program, cannot expect to retain the status of deferment when he ceases to work on the job for which he was deferred. The status of deferment and the responsibility to perform the necessary work are inseparable.

"Therefore, I hereby direct all agencies of the selective service system to take the necessary action to reconsider the classification of all registrants who have ceased to perform the jobs for which they were deferred, and who are, by such failure, impeding the national defense program."

A GENERAL POLICY

The order is not directed against any given group of workers. It covers all workers, in all industries.

This is not a matter of policy in a given strike. It is the Administration's general policy.

This order, in effect, utilizes one more means to deprive all the workers of the right to strike.

By this one stroke, Roosevelt has wiped out any misconceptions that might exist about his actions in the North American strike.

These strikebreaking actions are not directed against one isolated group of workers, a few "irresponsible" elements. The national "work or fight" order is all-inclusive. It is a strait-jacket intended for every young worker in the United States.

OLD CAPITALIST WEAPON

Roosevelt, in this strikebreaking technique, is following a well-beaten path. His formula is the classic one of every capitalist government in the world.

It is also a direct parallel to the strikebreaking method utilized by Woodrow Wilson in the last war, — with this difference: Wilson's "work or fight" order was addressed to one group of workers; Roosevelt's order is directed at every worker.



Federal troops sent by Roosevelt to break the strike of 12,000 workers at North American Aviation Corp. plant are shown deploying in regulation skirmish formation, with fixed bayonets, as they drive back the pickets. These troops are not

draftees, but hardened professional soldiers of the regular army, who have seen years of service in the interests of American imperialism in China and other foreign territories, where they helped to break Chinese strikes.

Army Breaks Aviation Strike

(Continued from page 1)

They drove the workers back with blows from their rifle butts. Cries broke out from the workers' ranks, "Heil Roosevelt!"

These were not ordinary police methods against strikers. These were full military maneuvers on the scale of dealing with a major insurrection. The Army seized the opportunity to rehearse as against a revolution.

The city police, who earlier in the day had attempted to smash the pickets lines with tear gas and clubs and had been driven back by the militant resistance of the strikers, were sent home.

Additional troops continued to arrive, to the number of 2,500. Another 1,000 were to arrive by night.

These were no young draftees. They were the toughest regular army troops, seasoned by years of campaigning in China and other foreign territories.

Trench mortars, anti-tank guns, machine guns, automatic rifles, and two anti-aircraft guns were set up. Field kitchens, hospital units, radio units moved in.

Patrols of soldiers led by corporals entered the massed

crowds and began calling for volunteers to return to work. They got little response. The troops opened lanes among the strikers to escort a few scabs through, mostly office workers and foremen.

The army and company officials began rounding up all available scabs. They finally got together about 800 of the 12,000 workers normally employed. The troops grimly to their posts and continued to function. The morale was not broken, and not until the workers voted to go back the next day, was the plant really able to operate.

THE WORKERS' DEMANDS

The demands of the strikers were for a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour, and 10 cents an hour more for all workers. This was the demand which J. H. Kindleberger, company president, had scoffed at with the remark:

"I don't have to pay anymore to my workers because most of them are young kids who spend their money on a flivver and a gal."

FRANKENSTEIN'S ROLE

On the day the strike was called, Richard Frankenstein, international representative of the UAW, rushed to the strike scene by plane.

Frankenstein did not wait to consult the strike committee. He broadcast a denunciation of the strike that same night over a national radio hook-up.

The strikers held firm, however. Frantic appeals were repeatedly broadcast over the radio for scabs. "Loyal workers" were promised an escort of two soldiers each.

Late Monday night, martial law was declared for a mile zone around the plant. The union con-

tinued the fight. Strong picket lines were established at the zone limits. The publicity committee, strike kitchen, picket squad captains, who had done a splendid job all through the strike, stuck grimly to their posts and continued to function. The morale was not broken, and not until the workers voted to go back the next day, was the plant really able to operate.

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Next morning, the strikers massed in thousands at the plant. And from this point on they fought the battle out to the bitter end.

Local 544 Accepts CIO Invitation To Affiliate

Overwhelming Majority Of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Vote To Withdraw From AFL; First Step To Organize Country's Truckers

(Continued from page 1)

cent years. Over 4,000 truckdrivers crowded into the three halls of the General Drivers Union headquarters to hear the reports of their leaders, while thousands more jammed the streets outside, tying up all traffic for blocks around.

Vincent R. Dunne reported for the delegation which appeared before Tobin and his International Executive Board in Washington last Tuesday. Local 544's board has been under charges made by the employer-inspired "Committee of 99." Dunne charged that these accusations had been made "with malicious intent" for the purpose of soliciting Tobin's help in removing 544's leadership.

He pointed out that none of these charges were concerned with the conduct of union affairs, but were exclusively based upon charges of "radicalism," and that these charges have been launched not only against the entire leadership of 544 but also against large sections of the stewards and the most active members.

Tobin had picked up these charges as pretenses for removing 544's leadership and getting complete control of the union.

Dunne also pointed out that these were the identical charges which had been hurled against the leadership ever since 1934. They were the same charges made three years ago by the five firms backed and financed by the Associated Industries and the bosses who sought court removal of the leadership. The Minneapolis newspapers had printed these accusations with flaring headlines in countless articles. Tobin himself made the same accusations during the 1934 strikes and again in 1935 when he expelled the union from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Tobin was the only one to speak at the board meeting. None of his other board members dared open their mouths before this senile dictator except to interpose the most harmless remarks.

"At the hearing the Committee of 99 presented 9 fresh affidavits repeating mostly on hearsay evidence that the members of 544 were radicals. When a committee of four representing the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council came in to the meeting, Tobin kept them standing and rudely attacked them. 'You know we're not invited here. Why did you come? Why did you put the Council to that expense? But as long as you are here, what have you got to say?'

Each member of the Council committee, in his own way, and according to his understanding, declared Dunne, presented a defense of Local 544, stating that its leadership was honest, had lived up to their promises and had helped build the union movement.

"After dismissing the Teamsters Joint Council with an insolent air, Tobin launched into a speech about the international situation, the war, the necessity for his union and the whole labor movement to knuckle under the demands of the government, to make sacrifices, to give up their gains, and even perhaps to give up their unions. Tobin showed that he had no stomach for fighting the employers or their government agents. Throughout he showed a fighting attitude only toward militant leadership like that of 544, that wants to do something for its membership."

"The hearing concluded on Tuesday without Tobin or the Board taking any action, but with an agreement that the 544 delegation would hold a private interview with Tobin the following morning in his office.

THE SHOWDOWN

"At this interview Tobin proposed to the 544 delegation that it recommend to the executive board of the union that it ask Tobin to send in an outside dictator-receiver to run the union, with full power to remove or expel any officer or member."

"The delegation replied that it represented a democratic union, that it had no power to make any decisions, but had come to Washington only to receive Tobin's proposals and bring them back to the

union if necessary to give the bosses their way.

"We had information that Tobin had telephoned Tobin to get up here quickly with International organizers to oust 544's leaders and negotiate contracts behind the backs of this union.

"The greatest danger to our union today is represented by this three-pronged assault from the bosses, Stassen and Tobin. Tobin is the foremost prong in this assault."

Dunne reported that the 544 delegation as well as the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council committee had been treated by Tobin in a humiliating and insulting manner. The only committee that seemed to have any standing with Tobin was the fink "Committee of 99."

WHAT TOBIN SAID

"For thirty or forty minutes Tobin read from a bulky manuscript of about 35 pages containing charges that 544's leaders were radicals and not entitled to be leaders or even members of the union. Not one of these charges was of trade-union character.

"We know what the score is."

Dunne concluded, "We know Tobin and Stassen and the bosses are getting in a position to negotiate contracts behind the backs of Local 544's membership, and that Tobin wants to confront us with the ultimatum that our union accept his contracts or face expulsion."

"Tobin's proposal is one that cannot be accepted by honorable union men.

"Your committee while it was in Washington talked to other people, to friendly people, to people of another labor movement, quite different people, people who were sympathetic to our union. The CIO officials we talked to in Washington were very sympathetic to Local 544 and interested in our fight."

"Summing up this report, I say to you that this union is not going to permit itself to be handled with rough hands, that it is not going to accept dictatorship, no matter from whom. (Prolonged applause).

"Tobin is not going to get away with his plot. We will have a union, we shall continue as union men." (Loud and lengthy applause).

Farrell Dobbs, former secretary-treasurer of Local 544, followed Dunne with a brilliant, fighting speech which brought down the house.

While the hall was still ringing with applause for Dobbs' fighting speech, Miles Dunne, President of 544, after a brief review of the history of 544's relations with Tobin, presented the proposal to disaffiliate from the AFL and become part of the CIO.

Only one speaker came to the microphone when the floor was opened for discussion. He opposed entrance into the CIO. "That's what happens under a Trotskyist leadership. Here, you have got your example of a revolution," he shouted to the laughter of the audience. If this was a Trotskyist revolution, the members of 544 were for it.

The motion to break with the AFL and join the CIO was carried by an overwhelming majority, with only a few dissenting voices. The meeting closed to enthusiastic applause when banners were unfurled bearing the slogans: "LOCAL 544-CIO" and "MAKE MINNEAPOLIS A CIO TOWN."

The action of 544 has had a bombshell effect on the Minneapolis trade union movement. Many other local unions are already debating the question of following in the footsteps of 544 and joining the CIO.

A People's Army?

"A list of 319 more appointments of officers in the Home Guard was issued yesterday. It includes peers, baronets, knights and brigadier-generals. There are only 19 plain 'misters'." — DAILY TELEGRAPH (London), April 15, 1941.

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Sidelights On The Plant "Seizure"

That ain't the way Wall Street heard it!

"(Wall) Street liked the statement of President Roosevelt indicating the temporary nature of the government's interference in the North American strike... Possession of the plant... will not disturb the rights of the stockholders... The Company will receive compensation so it will not be without income for the period." (WALL STREET JOURNAL, June 10.)

North American's minimum wage rate runs between 40 and 50 cents an hour, 3 cents below the average in the aircraft industry in Southern California, and 5 cents below the minimum at Vultee Aircraft, where the CIO conducted a successful strike last November.

If anyone was afraid the War Department might be unduly severe with the North American Aviation bosses, Secretary of War Stimson's statement was guaranteed to allay concern.

Stimson stated to the press:

"J. H. Kindleberger (North American Aviation Corp. president) has a good reputation with the government for making planes and as a square shooter. There are not enough like him. We do not want to do injury to such a man. You may draw your own inference from this."

One of the CIO pickets was carrying a large, gold-tasseled American flag as he stood in the path of Roosevelt's troops. The troops deployed smartly around the striker and seized the flag.

This should teach the workers that the flag protects only the bosses.

Colonel Branshaw authored the funniest story of the strike, when he claimed that the government was taking the plant away from "both" the company and the strikers.

Col. Branshaw, in answer to toward totalitarianism in this

country. Necessarily civil liberties will take it on the chin... but that's just too bad." — (N. Y. DAILY NEWS editorial, June 10.)

"When the Government has seized the plant, its next move must be to get the strikers back to work. Its first decision must be the rates of pay and working conditions that it will offer. These will either be those previously maintained by the company, those demanded by the strikers, or something in between fixed by the Government, presumably on the recommendation of the National Defense Mediation Board. This will be, in effect, compulsory arbitration imposed on the strikers. But if compulsory arbitration is to be adopted, it could be adopted just as well without seizing the plant at all..." — (N. Y. TIMES editorial, June 9.)

The TIMES is all for federal strikebreaking. It's all for the use of troops against strikers. But it wants things called by their right names. It wants compulsory arbitration and not terms like "plant seizure" which might be subject to misinterpretation.

Richard Frankenstein, international official of the UAW-CIO, declared last Sunday that the demands of the North American workers were "entirely justified and consistent with the financial ability of the company to pay based on its own earning report."

And so he promptly condemned the strike!

The TIMES' leading clientele did not get too concerned over this

Roosevelt's "Property Seizure" Bill

It Boiled Down To A Strikebreaking Method Within Four Days

The bill sponsored in Congress last week by the War Department, empowering the President to take over private property when necessary to "national defense," has almost been forgotten already, as Roosevelt, not bothering to wait for such powers to be accorded him by Congress, has "taken over" the North American Aviation plant to break a strike.

Why did the Administration put forth its "property seizure" bill last week? Why was it not introduced two years ago or eight years ago?

During the years of pre-war economic breakdown, when factories were idle or operating at a low capacity, Roosevelt did not propose to commandeer plants and keep them operating "at all costs."

For eleven years, the masses of this country went through the hell of unemployment, insecurity and want because the owning class shut down the plants and factories. But Roosevelt did not threaten to send out the army to occupy factories closed by the bosses and keep them running in this "national emergency."

The War Department's bill to empower Roosevelt to take over private property when he deems it necessary in the interests of "national defense" was therefore obviously not motivated by consideration for the needs of the masses.

The conduct of the war, from the standpoint of the owning class, means not merely military measures against the enemy abroad. The bosses are imbued with an even greater fear of the enemy at home, the class enemy—the workers. To the ruling class, the class enemy is the most immediate enemy, against whom forceful measures of repression must be taken before the bosses can

Aluminum Strikers



These strike pickets at one of the five strike-bound Cleveland plants of the Aluminum Company of America stopped marching long enough to pose for their picture at one of the plant entrances last Monday. Roosevelt's National Mediation Board answered their strike with an ultimatum to return to work immediately or suffer the intervention of federal troops.

case of the Allis-Chalmers strike, which tied up production of essential materials for the Navy for weeks...

The Executive said that he wanted authority to take over in such cases where the materials essential to defense were not coming through. This appeared to many of his auditors to be a warning to labor and business that the government intended to see that strikes did not paralyze defense production.

The inclusion of "business" in this warning against strikes was pure deceit. To commandeer property for strikebreak-

ing purposes is entirely in the interests of the bosses. Roosevelt cited the example of the Allis-Chalmers strike. He cited none of the innumerable instances of war production being held up by manufacturers and raw materials producers dictating higher prices and profits.

Roosevelt remained quiet about the bill for a day or so. It was good strategy, as we can now see. The ultra-reactionary press and spokesmen yelled against the bill—that served to make a section of the workers think that maybe the bill might have some virtues.

Lots of newsprint and radio time was consumed in talk about the "ultimate" implications of the bill. That served as a smokescreen to hide the naked strikebreaking that was to come at the North American Aviation plant.

But soon enough Roosevelt proceeded to reassure the bosses. He informed his press conference that, while he was in accord with the general principles of the bill, he had not read its precise words, and indicated his willingness to modify its terms to eliminate any features objectionable to the bosses.

That was on Tuesday. And by

Friday, June 6, came the payoff. The "socialistic" measure had been boiled down to its purely and nakedly strikebreaking proportions. A June 6 United Press dispatch told the story succinctly:

"President Roosevelt has authorized his Congressional leaders to limit the 'draft property' bill to a grant of additional power to commandeer strike-bound defense plants, it was learned today. Accordingly, leaders are drafting amendments which will greatly modify it."

And on the heels of that, Roosevelt didn't even bother to wait for the Congressional authority to use such power, but sent the Army against the aviation strikers Monday.

WHY MANY CAPITALISTS DISLIKED THE BILL

In the light of what has happened, last week's outcries by ultra-conservatives against the bill sound pretty funny today. But their objections to the bill are well worth examining, for they help us to understand the character of the capitalist class which rules America.

Three principal reasons were behind the objections to the bill as originally drafted:

1. Some employers are so concerned with their own individual interests that they are unwilling to accept any restraints whatsoever, even those imposed by their own class in the interests of their class as a whole.

The attitude of this undisciplined group was most crudely expressed by Representative Wolcott of Michigan, who, in arguing against the "draft property" bill declared:

"It would permit seizure of wealth in the form of money, securities or factories. How far

Left Jabs

By CORT

HE'S TRYING, ANYWAY

"Representative Robert W. Kean, Republican of New Jersey, charged today that Captain James Roosevelt is wearing medals to which he has no legal right." (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, June 3.)

We have no idea just what medals dangle from the Captain's skimpy chest. He hasn't led any charge up a hill under the murderous fire of the "enemy." On the other hand he might well answer the Congressman in the words of Milton: "They also serve who only stand and wait."

Al Smith, speaking on the radio:

"This (democracy) is the thing that made me possible, both politically and personally." What an indictment!

THEY MUSTN'T THINK

Secretary Stimson has banned polls of opinion among the men in the Army. "Our Army must be a cohesive unit," he told his press conference, "with a definite purpose shared by all. Anonymous opinion or criticism, good or bad, is destructive in its effect on a military organization."

Their's not to reason why, their's but to do and die.

WARTIME BLESSINGS

The drafting of workers into the army has blessed America in many ways. Not the least of these is the fact that Bert H. Rush, a railroad cop, has been able to take things easy for the first time in 23 years. Rush told an Associated Press reporter that since the emergency "hobo travel on the Erie Railroad has sharply decreased." Nowadays "hobos" don't ride the rods, they shoot them.

Only trouble for Mr. Rush and his class is—if they ever have to ride them again they'll have an itch in their trigger finger.

"The war increases the number of unwise marriage," according to Dr. James H. S. Broppard of the University of Pennsylvania. "Marriages in New York during the summer of 1940 doubled those of the same months in 1939."

Perhaps the solution could be found in longer waiting periods before these ill-considered marriages. Say—no more weddings until after we take Dakar. By then the young men should know their own minds—if they still have their skulls.

"Easy-going employees are terrified into activity by the tongue-lashing with which Britain's new Minister of State, Lord Beaverbrook publicly dismisses a lazy worker. They don't know that The Beaver keeps a group of stooges who are fired periodically, just for effect." (N. Y. Post, June 1.)

Lord Beaverbrook is not as efficient as we thought. He ought to let his stooges (Morrison & Co.) take care of his stooges.

The Japanese anti-smoking league has asked Foreign Minister Matsuoka to refrain from appearing publicly with his pipe. They claim such appearances have "an unhealthy influence on Japanese youth."

If the Japanese are disturbed by Matsuoka puffing a few smoke rings from Kentucky-burly, they ought to live here and see the fire and brimstone issuing from Roosevelt's mouth. There really is an unhealthy influence on youth.

Army officers at Camp Hunter Liggett in California are, according to the Associated Press, upset about the "slipshod" way in which their troops expose themselves during mock wars. To remedy this they are advocating the use of a "little live ammunition" next time a practice battle is fought. They plan to sprinkle real bullets among the blanks issued to the troops. Thus the men would never know at what moment death instead of noise would issue from the guns.

It's obvious that these officers won't actively participate in such battles. One zing of a bullet and they're in GHQ figuring out strategy.

AFL Leaders Are Scared By Roosevelt's Plan

The American Federation of Labor has expressed its disapproval of Roosevelt's plan to commandeer strike-bound plants—the "draft property" idea for strikebreaking.

In the AFL Weekly News Service, June 3, Philip Pearl writes in his column, "Facing the Facts":

"The Roosevelt Administration will not approve any legislation outlawing strikes or otherwise impairing labor's constitutional rights. But there is nothing to cheer about in this news. For the Government has discovered a simpler and much more effective way of assuring uninterrupted defense production which may prove even more disastrous to trade unions than mere legislation."

"The scheme is simply this—the moment management and labor fall out in any important defense industry and production stops due to a strike or slowdown, the Government will step in and take over the plant under emergency powers granted to the President. The workers will then be placed in the position of Federal employees who cannot strike because that would mean striking against the Government."

The AFL leaders thus express deep concern over the measures the government and the employers are putting forth to prevent strikes.

These leaders are opposed to legislation restricting the rights of labor. They are even more opposed to the government's alternative to such legislation, the operation of struck plants by the army.

They correctly see Roosevelt's "plant seizures" mean union-busting on the grand scale.

They obviously don't trust the government to operate industries in the interests of the workers. In their own words, such a government policy would be "more disastrous to the trade unions" than even anti-strike laws.

The AFL's "Alternative"

But what does the AFL leadership propose as its positive alternative, as against the government's strikebreaking plans for keeping industry in continuous operation?

The leadership of the American Federation of Labor, writes Pearl, "has been constantly on the alert to this danger (commandeering of plants to break strikes.) That is why its no-strike policy was first adopted."

The employers could want nothing better than that. By accepting the AFL "alternative" of no-strike, labor would voluntarily surrender its only effective means of enforcing its rights. In effect, the AFL is asking the workers to accept the

employers' scheme for arbitration, provided the word "compulsory" isn't actually attached to the term arbitration, in black and white. Labor would retain the right to strike in "principle" and lose it in fact.

What would arbitration mean under the conditions which the AFL leaders would impose on organized labor?

The government would decide the issues in every labor dispute and fix the conditions and wages which the workers must accept.

But isn't this the same government whose control over industry these AFL heads fear? If the government cannot be trusted to take over industry because it would do so in the interests of the employers against the workers, how can the workers be asked to trust that same government to act in the interests of labor in matters of arbitration?

In a word, the AFL has no "alternative" to the government's strikebreaking methods. Its ostensible alternative is really a cowardly abasement before the will of the employers.

There Is A Positive Alternative! We are also opposed to Roosevelt's "draft property" and "plant seizure" program. But we have an alternative program to offer. We can answer the question of how to keep industry in continuous operation so as to benefit the great masses of people.

Roosevelt says that his greatest concern is to get the maximum of production? Roosevelt

claims that his one great purpose is to defeat fascism, and that all other interests are secondary to that aim?

Our program gives the simplest method and most certain guaranty of ensuring these two ends.

Let the government appropriate the war industries and let the workers themselves operate these industries under their own control and management!

If the national "emergency" is as serious as Roosevelt claims, then war production should not be subject to the whims of a profit-seeking handful of owners, who under any circumstances are inessential to the operations of industry.

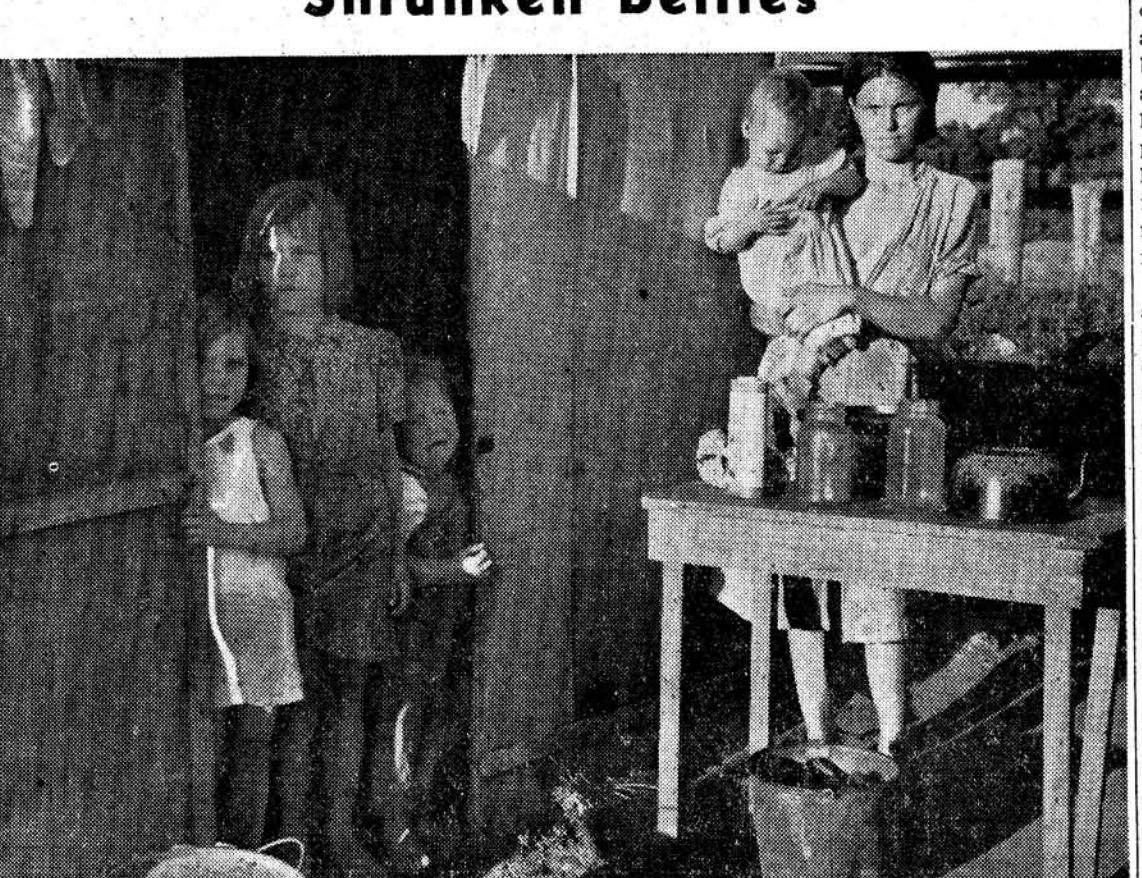
Under Workers' Control, industry could be co-ordinated in a planned fashion, because it would be freed of the restraints imposed by the greed of competing individual employers and private corporations.

Under Workers' Control, our productive facilities could be completely employed, the millions of jobless could be put to work. Once that is done, there would be not only a sufficiency of "defense" production, there would be an abundance of civilian goods as well.

Under Workers' Control, the billions which the war profiteers siphon from the purchasing power of the workers would be distributed instead to the workers as additional wages.

This is the only real alternative to the Roosevelt strikebreaking method of keeping industry at peak production. Bosses' control or workers' control—there is no third method.

Shrunken Bellies



This is a scene in the home of a typical family of the Southwest. This mother and her children are among those included by John L. Lewis in his statement that there are "52,000,000 shrunken bellies" in the United States.

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The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

His Friends Write To Roosevelt

Not long ago an open letter to President Roosevelt was published in the *California Eagle*, signed by several members of the Randolph Committee sponsoring the July 1 March On Washington, including Randolph himself, Frank Crosswaith, Walter White, and others such as William Pickens and Elmer Carter.

"As persons who are sympathetic to your social and labor policies and friendly to your foreign policy of giving effective aid to Britain and her Allies," they tell Roosevelt, they ask him to use his influence to help Negroes get jobs and equal rights. The letter as a whole is very friendly. Even in its last sentence, where a note of reproof might have entered, there is only a certain mournfulness as they state:

"Those who practice or complacently tolerate race discrimination are not 'all out' believers in democracy; and we solemnly warn you and our fellow citizens that they will prove untrustworthy in the hour of democracy's greatest trials."

If it weren't for the seriousness of the problems involved, you would certainly be forced to describe as comical this 'friendly,' 'solemn,' respectable letter. You would never think that this letter was addressed by Negroes to the man who after eight years in office has yet to utter a syllable one way or the other about the anti-lynch and poll tax bills!

I mention it, rather, to demonstrate an approach to the problem of destroying Jim Crowism, which must be studiously avoided by all class conscious and militant Negroes.

Here we do not refer to that servile tone employed by the misleaders, nor to their disgusting habit of lauding Roosevelt as "a great humanitarian and idealist"—but rather to the question of the general strategic approach.

What The Uncle Toms Are Saying

Observant Negroes must have noticed that every time the Uncle Toms discuss the question of the fight against Jim Crowism, they try to separate it off from all the other fights of the masses, they try to present the question of race discrimination as though it is the only, or the only important, problem to be solved.

"This country," they say, "is the finest in the world; this government is the finest in the world. There is only one thing wrong: Negroes are not given a fair and square deal."

Following this line, they go on: "Because it is the best government, we must defend it, and we must support it in any war it enters. Not only is this necessary to us as patriotic Americans, but it has an added advantage in that we can more effectively appeal to the government for a fair deal, and in this way we will get concessions in the end, equal rights."

In other words, the only thing wrong with American capitalism is Jim Crowism. Remove that, and although you leave everything else untouched, you will find paradise on earth. This is the theoretical basis for the general approach of the Negro misleaders.

But this is false through and through. The problems of the Negro workers would not be solved even under capitalist system that was in some way magically cleansed of racial discrimination and segregation. The Negro masses would still have to contend with the questions of war, unemployment, fascism and all the other critical problems that the white workers face.

The Real Fight Against Jim Crow

No one should accuse us, on reading the above, of underestimating the paramount importance of the struggle against Jim Crowism. We are the first to declare that the workers must wipe it out in every nook and cranny of every institution, and we are proud to take our place in the militant struggle for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. As a matter of fact, we are the best fighters in this struggle precisely because of the fact that we understand clearly the connection between the roots and cause of Jim Crowism and the capitalist system which uses it to maintain itself and to oppress the divided masses.

The misleaders base themselves on the idea that it is possible to wipe out Jim Crowism gradually within the confines of capitalist rule. We base ourselves on the understanding that the struggle against Jim Crowism is an outstanding part of the wider struggle to replace capitalism with socialist society. The misleaders pretend or believe that it is possible by peaceful means, petitions, respectable demonstrations and even flattery to win equality. We contend that Jim Crowism even in the North will not be wiped out until it is wiped out in the South, and that only a far-from-peaceful fight will destroy Jim Crowism in the South where most of the social, political and economic relations are based directly on the oppression of the Negro. In fact, we can safely say that only another Civil War will end the rule of the Southern Bourbons.

Actions flow from our basic concepts and theories. The actions of the misleaders are based on their concepts too. Real life is everyday proving how false they are, and we would not waste much time on them if it weren't for this important fact: By isolating the struggle against Jim Crowism from all the other legitimate and necessary struggles of the masses, they are weakening the struggle against Jim Crowism itself.

We, on the other hand, because we recognize the fight against discrimination as part of the fight against capitalism, show on every occasion the inter-connection between these struggles, so that we can mobilize the white workers side by side with the Negro workers for the solution of their joint problems. It is only in this way, unity of black and white, that capitalism and Jim Crowism can be overthrown.

British Workers Are Unarmed

Arming And Training Under The Trade Unions Is The Solution

LONDON—"Stay put" says the Government. "When Hitler invades the country—stay put!" "If you have to do anything other than 'stay put' the military authorities will tell you."

In the one command—"Stay put!" is revealed the greatest fear of the National Government and of the whole ruling class. They pretend that it is a safeguard against the same blocking up of the roads as took place on the Continent. In reality it is a safeguard against any possible independent action on the part of the masses when invasion comes.

But let us assume for a moment that it is directed toward

keeping the roads clear. It must mean, then, that with parachute troops landing in thousands, soldiers marching on villages and towns, tanks racing along the roads, the working men and women of this country are to shut themselves up in their houses or factories and do nothing.

What a farce! Could there be any more certain way of filling the roads with refugees than by asking *unarmed* people to "stay put" while the greatest military machine in history is hurling its entire weight at them? The press has admitted that after the heavy raids on Coventry and Swansgate the countryside around these towns was filled with refugees.

The ruling class is continually stressing the barbarism of Hitler's military advances, and saying that he stops at nothing—not even the machine-gunning of unarmed and helpless women and children in order to create military chaos and confusion. They emphasize that the attack on Britain will be even more ferocious than that on France. Poison gas will be used against civilians. And yet, in spite

of this, they propose to leave the masses helpless—completely unarmed and unorganized.

WHY THE RULING CLASS FEARS ARMING WORKERS

If the masses of the workers of Britain remain unarmed, unmobilized and unorganized in face of the coming invasion then the roads will be blocked with refugees just as they were in Belgium and France.

Why, then, if the ruling class is so anxious to avoid having the roads blocked, does it not arm and organize the workers? It is because they are more afraid of an armed working class than they are of Hitler.

The ruling class is only fighting Hitler's threat to its empire—not his fascism. The capitalists are certainly anxious for victory in their imperialistic struggle, but to achieve such a victory of British over German imperialism they are not prepared to place the workers in position where they might threaten to overthrow the capitalists and wage a genuine revolutionary war.

against Hitler. Faced with the threat of possible revolution the French ruling class preferred to surrender to Hitler. In Britain the ruling class shudders at the very thought of independent action by the masses—in spite of the fact that, with the assistance of the Labour leaders, they are more firmly in the saddle. Far rather, like their French confreres, risk a victory of Hitler with whom they have infinitely more in common than they have with the workers. If threatened by the workers, they will betray them into the hands of Hitler or create some British Petain.

If Churchill & Co. were really fighting Hitlerism they would arm and organize for resistance the most relentless enemies of Hitlerism everywhere—the workers. As it is, they would rather risk the roads being blocked and the consequent risk of defeat than take the greater risk of arming the workers.

DEMAND THAT LABOR MINISTERS ARM THE WORKERS

The Labour leaders say that they are anxious for a real struggle against Hitler's fascism. They have justified all the sacrifices made by the workers by the demands of this struggle. Why have they not put forward the elementary demand for the arming and organizing of the entire working class under the control of committees formed by the workers in the factories and Trade Unions?

This would not only render any invasion fantastic and innocuous but would make impossible the taking of control by a British Petain or Hitler. It would guarantee that the roads would not be crowded with fleeing, defenseless refugees a hundred times more effectively than any bureaucratic order to "stay put."

The workers must demand that the Labour leaders struggle for the arming, mobilizing and organizing of the entire working class under workers' control for resistance to Hitler and any British candidates for the role of Petain. The failure of Bevin, Morrison Atlee & Co. to do this will reveal them in their true colours to the workers. It will reveal them as fighting an imperialist war together with Churchill and the capitalist class. It will show that they are in the Government as agents of British capitalism and not of the working class whom they claim to represent. It will be made clear that only the way of class struggle, the way of the revolutionary socialists can offer the masses a way of fighting fascism whether at home or abroad.

The Home Guard is an emasculated concession to the impulse of the masses to be armed. Moreover the officers are carefully imposed by the reactionary ruling class from above.

FOR MILITARY TRAINING UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL

But the arming, organizing

and training of the whole of the working class under their own control would render Britain impregnable. Not a small selected section of the workers as in the Home Guard but the *levee en masse* is the organization the masses need.

The officers could be provided by the election of the most trusted and reliable leaders from the workers themselves. Training schools for immediate courses in military tactics and strategy must be arranged.

These training schools must operate under the control and supervision of the Trade Unions and be financed by the State.

These officers, elected by the workers and trained under control of the Trade Unions could never be used against the working class. A British Petain could never persuade them to help repress the workers and impose a reactionary dictatorship on them. They would fight against any danger of fascism from whatever quarter it might come.

Arm the workers under control of committees appointed by the workers in the factories, streets and unions.

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers for the workers militia.

Bundles Of Old Clothes For Britain

By JACK WEBER

The historic significance of the scene in the second-hand clothing district of London, when the English learned that clothing was to be rationed, probably escaped most people. It was the textile industry that started the British on the road to becoming the work-shop of the world. The application of machinery to spinning and weaving enabled the English to drive the hundreds of millions of hand-workers of India and the East out of business.

And now the English cannot supply even their own needs, let alone the needs of the entire world. Even the last war did not see so profound an erosion of English economy and forces of production as to necessitate the cuts in consumption now demanded of the masses. The devastating economic effects of totalitarian war are, in a sense, summed up in the sudden boom in the second-hand clothing market of all the towns of England.

The undermining of the forces of production by modern war is accomplished not alone by the bombing of whole towns and the resulting destruction of machinery and factories. In addition there is literally destruction as a result of the demands on production made by the carrying on of war. The immense flow of materials and wealth into the war machine is possible only at the expense of everyday production, the production of consumers' goods for civilian needs.

What A Long War Does

The boom in industry that occurs when war starts, the boom in American production that produced a shortage of certain types of labor and that sent several millions of the unemployed back into the factories, tends at first to mask the paradox of war economy. The greater the production for war use, the greater the destruction of the forces of production! That is particularly the case in a long war which this war threatens to become. First of all the government's demands use up raw materials and decrease the amount of such materials available for ordinary production. Foods, clothing, furniture, paper, leather begin to get scarce. The country starts with great stocks of materials of all kinds. Gradually these stocks in households, in retail stores, in warehouses and in factories, are used up.

They are used up because the raw materials to reproduce them, as would be the case normally, cannot be provided to the factories. Also because production of consumers' goods is curtailed in order to produce munitions and the sinews of war. The money used by the government to pay for all its needs comes from the savings and capital accumulation made annually by the entire population. Even this is not enough, and the government has to eat into the capital structure itself. With the savings used up, there is no money for the normal replacement of the wear and tear of machinery, buildings, etc. Thus the longer a war lasts, the more the machinery of production runs down, or erodes.

The English have just been forced to the slaughter of 300,000 cattle because of lack of fodder. Bombed homes cannot be replaced. Not only industrial plants, but the railways and all means of transportation deteriorate. All the capital and wealth previously accumulated in times of peace are devoured by the voracious hunger of war.

Inflation Is Part Of The Process

The lack of sufficient consumers' goods when there is the purchasing power to buy such goods, tends to bring on inflation. In England the cost of living has gone up more than fifty per cent. In Germany too there has been a price inflation whose extent it is difficult to discover, since there are no reliable statistics since 1939. The partial control of prices, or rather the control of the rate of their rise, give some persons the idea that Hitler has managed to get around the laws of capitalist economy. They fail to realize that restriction of prices is not a cure for inflation, but merely lays over or postpones the problem.

As further proof needed that LaGuardia, who holds three national posts heading leading "national defense" organizations, by collaborating with, befriending and protecting Pope, is knowingly covering up a powerful and dangerous fascist?

NO LABOR SUPPORT FOR THIS BOURGEOIS POLITICIAN!

This does not prove that LaGuardia is himself an agent of Mussolini. It merely proves that LaGuardia is a capitalist politician, corrupt to the marrow of his bones, who is willing to play ball with the vilest fascist scum for the votes they can bring him.

It merely proves that LaGuardia feels at home with the fascist ideology and fascists, that his differences with Hitler and Mussolini are not on the score of democracy versus totalitarianism.

LaGuardia is genuinely for the war for "democracy" against the Axis power. But only in the sense that he is for the victory of American capitalism, from which he gets his support, over German and Italian capitalism.

The character of the war which the American people are being asked to wage against the Axis nations is indicated by the character of the leading exponents of that war, like LaGuardia.

Such is the "champion of democracy" which the right wing of the American Labor Party has the gall to ask the workers of New York to support for re-election.

We want to see the A.L.P. elect a candidate for mayor. But not a capitalist candidate! No more LaGuardias, to hide behind a labor cover. We want an independent labor candidate, free of all ties with capitalist parties—and free of ties with fascist scum.

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