

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The CIO officialdom is.complaining bitterly against one of Roosevelt's pet agencies, the National Labor Relations Board. This body has been putting into effect one arbitrary decree after another nullifying the protective clauses of the Wagner labor relations act.

Chief target for the CIO leaders is the proposed NLRB rule permitting employers to question a union's majority collective bargaining rights in a dispute before the War Labor Board or other government agencies. This was the stratagem used so effectively by Sewell Avery in refusing to extend the contract of the Chicago Montgomery Ward workers.

Philip Murray testified before the NLRB that this NLRB proposal, as the CIO News puts it, is "an appeasement outgrowth of the Montgomery Ward situation." Thus, a Roosevelt agency has become the direct instrument for putting into general effect a policy which Avery and the openshoppers have been demanding.

The CIO accuses the NLRB of nothing less than "subverting the fundamental principles of the National Labor Relations Act," and of following practices that "actually deprive the workers of the fundamental rights which the act was intended to guarantee."

The irony of the whole business is that the CIO officialdom has opened fire in particular against NLRB member Gerard Reilly, another New Deal "friend of labor" who has panned out like all the others of his breed. Reilly was put on the NLRB back in 1941 at the direct insistence of the CIO.

But Murray and his lieutenants do not draw the conclusion that is again made obvious by this latest "double-cross." They only try to cover up for Roosevelt, put the blame for his policies on his underlings, and do all in their power to falsely represent the capitalist government agencies as instruments which the workers can depend upon to protect their interests.

What local unions everywhere are being confronted with by the arrogant employers is illustrated by the situation in Cramp Shipyards, Philadelphia, where Local 42 of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers has been waging running battle for the past year against company provocations.

Two strikes last year were broken by the combined action of the international union officials and the government, with the WLB invoking penalties against the workers. Now the company is intensifying its union-busting policies, recently firing the union's treasurer and a leading shop steward because they protested one of the company's hazardous job practices.

The Local 42 News sums up the company's "disciplinary" policy as one of "fire 'em first, arbitrate later." This is the compliment and praise.



The following letter from one of our Detroit agents contains so many good suggestions and interesting comments that we pass it along for the information of all our readers:

"I am dropping you a line about *The Militant* to let you know what some of the people think of the paper and where I think improvements can be made in line with the conversations I have had with new subscribers. The reaction of many who have received the paper is excellent. They like it and some have asked for sub cards so they can get their friends to subscribe.

"The make-up of the front and back page goes over good: Readers should send in articles about their plants. There was very good reaction to the one on Motor Products. Workers in the plant mentioned it and the president of the local asked for a copy and he showed it to members of the committee.

"The Workers' Forum must be continued as it gives life to the paper. The 'Militant Army' is swell. Small cartoons, pictures of Lewis, Thomas, Roosevelt, in big articles will help to break the material up. Many workers are tired and when they see a long article that, on the surface, doesn't catch their eye, they shun it."

San Francisco is accomplishing a two-fold task through their efforts to obtain 3-month trial sub-

SWP Branches Top 3,000 Quota In 'Militant' Subscription Drive

In eight weeks our goal of 3,000 NEW readers to *The Militant* has been achieved. In only eight weeks eleven branches have already gone over 100 percent. This is a record of which every single branch member who participated in getting subscriptions can be proud.

There are still five weeks before the official termination of the Militant Subscription Campaign. Judging from the enthusiastic tone of each letter, the promise of "more-subs-to-follow" that accompanies each batch sent in, we feel confident that not only will we obtain several thousand more NEW readers before the campaign ends, but that every single branch will finish with at least 100 percent of its quota:

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Buffalo continues to hold first place on the scoreboard with 396 percent. St. Louis jumped from zero to 40 percent.

New York Local, Detroit, Newark and Los Angeles locals sent in the most subs this week, in the respective order.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Detroit: "Some of the teams are going out this Sunday in full force. So by Monday I hope to have an additional 100 subs to send you. S. and G. sure are doing fine work in this sub drive. G. has 83, S. 60. They are setting a fine example to new people coming in."

San Francisco: "We went over the top in the sub drive yesterday, bringing our score up to 170 subs. The record of the Party exceeds everyone's expectations. We turn to the scoreboard the first thing when a new copy of the paper arrives. New York's record is the most amazing. Not too long ago, 1940 I think, 100 subs was a very high number. Now the city is moving toward the 1000 mark."

Bayonne: "Please mail immediately 100 sub cards."

Toledo: "We are going to continue our house-to-house sub campaign and hope to far surpass our quota.

Tell Reading and Philadelphia: Toledo has just begun to fight."

Newark: "Having reached 250 percent the sky is now the limit. We have already received favorable comment from shop workers who bought subs on several union stories in the paper. We are now making plans to coordinate the sub campaign with contact work and have adopted a slogan, 'Sow Subs in the Spring; Reap Recruits in the Fall.'"

Minneapolis: "The enthusiasm amongst the comrades is very great. Several of them have been going into a working-class neighborhood, where we had distributed *The Militant* before, and are able to get as high as four and five subs in one evening. Please send us 50 more cards."

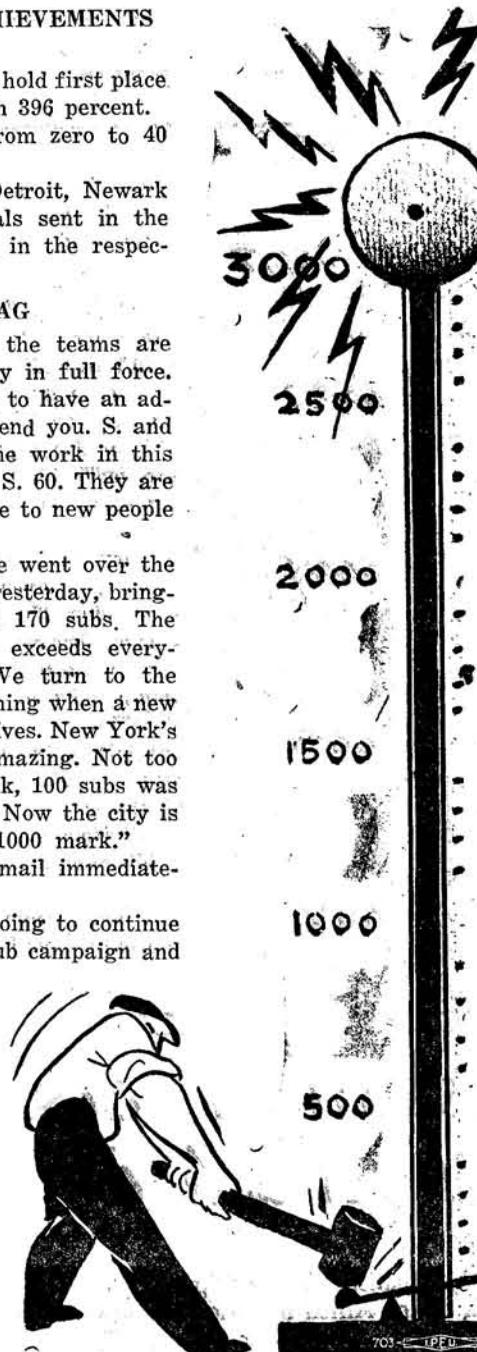
Los Angeles: "Please send us another 200 sub cards as we now intend to go to work on them. You can rest assured that Los Angeles will come out near the top of the scoreboard. We are going to start off on a real drive with mobilizations for the next few Sundays in a neighborhood that has already been covered with *The Militant*.

Chicago: "Will you please furnish us each week for the remainder of the sub drive with the total number of subs currently obtained by the West Side Branch (New York Local) and the Minneapolis Branch so that we may know how we stand in the competition with those branches."

Brooklyn Branch (New York Local): "We have gone over our quota by 242 percent. This door-to-door work has given our branch more spirit and enthusiasm than we ever had before. We have sold subs to workers in aircraft, shipyards, steel and the garment industry. Over 150 were sold in one housing project. The Brooklyn membership is confident that we will go over the 400 percent mark by June 30."

With this kind of determination and enthusiasm we can't fail in our objective — every branch at least 100 percent by June 30!

By June 30



SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Buffalo	50	198	396
Newark	80	200	250
Toledo	30	65	216
New York	500	1027	205
Reading	30	58	193
Philadelphia	30	50	166
Allentown	15	22	146
Boston	100	128	128
Detroit	300	383	127
San Francisco	150	170	113
Seattle	150	169	112
St. Paul	50	40	80
Youngstown	50	37	74
Milwaukee	15	9	60
Los Angeles	400	216	54
Minneapolis	200	105	52
Chicago	200	100	50
Bayonne	50	23	46
Akron	40	18	45
Cleveland	50	22	44
New Haven	25	10	40
St. Louis	20	8	40
San Diego	50	18	36
Flint	15	3	20
Quakertown	10	2	20
Members-at-Large, Friends	355	68	19
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
Texas	10	0	0
TOTAL	3,000	3,149	104

Churchill's 'Kindly Words' For Franco

(Continued from page 1)

Churchill devoted quite a bit of his speech to Spain. "I am here today," he said, "to speak kindly words about Spain." Why? Because, as he explained, the butcher Franco had refrained from joining in the war on the side of the Axis, had turned a blind eye to Allied military preparations for the invasion of North Africa which had taken place in full view of Spanish territory, etc. etc.

That Spain is governed by a fascist regime is no concern of the "democratic" Churchill: "We do not include in our program of world renovation any forcible action against any government whose internal form of administration does not come up to our ideas, and any remarks I have made on that subject refer only to enemy powers and their satellites who will be struck down by force of arms . . . There is a clear line of distinction between nations who go to war with you and nations who leave you alone."

Here in the plainest of plain language Churchill has told the world that the war is not a war for democracy at all. The vilest of fascist regimes are acceptable to these "democrats," provided only that they do not actively join in the war camp of the Axis.

THEIR PREFERENCES

As a matter of fact, Churchill prefers regimes of the fascist type in Europe, because these are more effective in keeping the masses down. The regimes of capitalist "democracy" have had their day and would prove completely impotent to stem the coming tide of the European revolution.

The bloody regime of Franco exists over a social volcano that is always threatening to erupt.

Wall St. Flunkey

Earl Browder for once uttered the truth when he told a Madison Square Garden audience last Tuesday that the program of his Communist Political Association contains "nothing whatever of socialism" and "not the slightest suggestion of confiscation of wealth, nor even of wartime proposals for a limitation upon private incomes of the wealthy classes."

"On the contrary," Browder emphasized, "this policy (of the CPA) is consistent with the fullest possible expansion of consumption of the wealthy and the accumulation of private incomes above their consumption level in whatever form they see fit . . ."

Wall Street's plutocratic pillars may not publicly express grateful acknowledgment of Browder's solicitude for their profit interests, but they will unquestionably accept Stalinist strikebreaking aid to ensure the continuation of their accumulation of private incomes above their consumption level."

After Franco will come the socialist revolution, for there can be no return to the old regime of capitalist democracy which had already collapsed when Franco fought his way to power in the teeth of the Spanish revolution. Churchill knows that. Hence his "kindly words" about the Spanish dictator and his verbal castigation of "people who think our foreign policy toward Spain is best expressed by drawing comical or even rude caricatures of General Franco."

Two days after Churchill delivered his Commons speech, Sir Samuel Hoare, Britain's ambassador to Spain, gave an address in which he underscored the fear of revolution in Europe which haunts the British imperialists and their American allies and which is at the root of the support given to reactionary cliques all over Europe, Spain included. Said the British envoy:

"In the great void that will be left after the crash of totalitarianism, many parts of Europe will become the prey of new devils worse than the last if Britain does not take a leading part in forestalling them." (N. Y. Times, May 27.)

Hoare's "new devils" can be described in two much more meaningful words: SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Against it, all the reactionary powers of old Europe are being mobilized under the leadership of Churchill and Roosevelt. But the legions of socialism will prove more powerful than these defenders of the rotten system of capitalist exploitation. The working class of Europe will have the last word.

AN OPINION ON R. J. THOMAS

(Reprinted from the April 27 issue of *The Searchlight*, official publication of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, Flint, Mich.)

By this time practically everyone knows who mairzy doats and doozy doats are, but what a lot of good union members want to know is, who R. J. Thomas thinks he is. Thomas acts like a man who feels that he almost got run over by the war chariot and is now carefully looking over both sides of the labor-management street to see which is the safest side. Half his time is spent stuffed away in that magnificent office of his muttering and moaning about the vicious and relentless assaults against labor by big business. The other half of his time is spent dashings and subs and in some places it is being read along with Browder's, "Victory and After." Of course, they are giving a poor show of gratitude for what this Big Business mouthpiece intended only as compliment and praise.

The Local 42 News sums up the company's "disciplinary" policy as one of "fire 'em first, arbitrate later." This is the compliment and praise.

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By June 30

UNLOADING THE BLAME

As justification for the policy of unconditional surrender to the corporations, Thomas goes on to say: "This war must be won. If management will not sincerely work toward that end, then labor must do so. We may have to take it on the chin here and there for a time . . ."

He then concludes his statement with the warning that if the UAW doesn't "restrain" itself, "there will be no union after the war."

After unloading the blame for strikes and work stoppages on the unions, Thomas proceeds to burden labor with the sole responsibility for "winning the war." Labor has nothing to say about the conduct of the war; it has nothing to say about the political policies, foreign or domestic, which determine the course of the war; it has nothing to say about the "war aims" of a government which functions as the executive committee of "management"; and under the policy of Thomas and his executive board intend to do about it!

ANTI-UNION DRIVE

The essence of the matter is that the "management" isn't waiting until "after the war" but is engaged RIGHT NOW in an unremitting campaign to destroy the organizations and institutions of labor. As far as the corporations are concerned the "main enemy" are the workers in their own country. And it is precisely the pretext of the "war emergency" that "management" is utilizing in its war against the unions. The best assurance that any corporation can have that "there will be no union after the war," is contained in the disastro

sous of Henry Ford that he sent him the highest decoration of the Nazi State.

For a man that is drawing a salary from the union for doing union work, Thomas is performing some of them said "Trotsky paper, no good, but I read it and I like it."

In a biographical sketch of William Haywood, published in the May 27 issue of *The Militant*, it is incorrectly stated that Haywood had "worked militantly" within the AFL until 1904. There was never any official connection between Haywood and the International Executive Board of the UAW. And the returning soldiers, will hard-

Prominent Trade Union Leaders To Speak At Mass Rally In New York, June 8, To Aid CRDC Fight To Free The 18

(Continued from page 1)

vack will have an inspiring message for the New York workers in the description of the enthusiastic support that is being mobilized throughout the country to win the freedom of the 18 and secure repeal of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted. Hundreds of unions and progressive labor organizations have already adopted resolutions in support of the CRDC's "Free the Eighteen" campaign, and a flood of letters has poured into the White House calling on Roosevelt to grant an unconditional pardon to the 18.

Wolchok, as President of the union which led the Chicago Montgomery Ward strike, gained national prominence recently as the first head of a CIO international who has endorsed a strike since Pearl Harbor. He will bring to the rally an expression of solidarity from his union, which is considered one of the most progressive labor organizations in the country.

Baldanzi, whose international has gone on record by resolution to support the CRDC campaign, will be the official chairman of

the New York mass meeting. He will preside as a member of the National Committee of the CRDC, which he recently joined.



SAMUEL WOLCHOK

The participation of DeLorenzo in the rally will be of particular significance because he himself is facing a frameup federal indictment growing out of his militant record as head of the Brewster Aircraft union. In a recent exclusive interview in *The Militant*, he

De Lorenzo pointed to his indictment as another manifestation of the anti-labor drive in which the Minneapolis Labor Case was one of the first union-busting actions.

As preparations for the June 8 rally are being completed, new union support for the 18 is reported by the CRDC. Antonino Crivello, Manager of Local 144, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Newark, N. J., has informed the national office of the CRDC of the action of his local in adopting a strong resolution on behalf of the 18, which the local is introducing at the current national convention of the ILGWU. Other locals have sent the convention similar resolutions.

The Local 144 resolution charges that the Minneapolis prisoners "have been framed by the reactionaries because they stood for the rights of the workers," that "nothing can be imputed to the eighteen prisoners but their loyalty to labor and their socialist principles" and calls on the ILGWU convention to demand the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act and "request President Franklin D. Roosevelt to restore to freedom these eighteen champions of democracy."

One of the foremost leaders of the ILGWU, Julius Hochman, General Manager of the New York Dress and Waist-makers'

and radicals convicted last year under the Smith Sedition Act of 1940. The evidence is clear that these eighteen men and women committed no overt act of any sort in violation of the law; they were convicted simply and solely for views expressed by them in speech and writing. We of the labor movement can hardly help feeling apprehensive about the future of our civil liberty under the Constitution if this dangerous precedent is permitted to stand."

L. A. MEETING

Significant expressions of opinion on the Minneapolis Labor Case were contained in public addresses of prominent West Coast la-

GEORGE BALDANZI

Joint Board, recently addressed a personal letter to President Roosevelt urging pardon for the 18. His letter stated:

"May I respectfully urge you to grant a Presidential pardon to the Minneapolis trade unionists



THOMAS DE LORENZO

ment made more and more the province of those who are unprincipled, dishonest and unscrupulous. For they have no need to try and tell the truth; they have no need to state what is their real conviction. They can, thereby, evade all such laws as these. But those whose political actions are principled cannot take this course. They must be either silent or risk punishment. This is

one of the most significant ways in which laws such as the Smith Act and prosecutions such as the Minneapolis Case destroy the very moral fibre of men."

OTHER PAPERS

Other leading union papers which have recently declared support for the 18 include Justice, AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Union Voice, CIO Workers Union; Advance, CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Aero-Notes, CIO-UAW Brewster Local 365; Knitgoods Workers Voice, Local 155, ILGWU; and the 104 Reporter, AFL Boiler-makers Seattle Local 104.

Advance declared in urging a Presidential pardon for the 18 that "when the U.S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the Minneapolis case, it thereby refused to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act. This now places a legal weapon in the hands of reaction."

GROWING SUPPORT

The ILGWU's Justice quoted the statement of General Manager Israel Feinberg of the union's Cloak Joint Board to the effect that the Minneapolis convictions are "a violation of the Bill of Rights" and that the Smith Act establishes principles close to the "Japanese 'dangerous thoughts' doctrine."

"Leading liberals, jurists and public minded citizens have protested this imprisonment as undermining our liberties and as being contrary to the provisions of the Constitution," Knitgoods Workers Voice pointed out.

104 Reporter records the action of the union in donating \$250 for the case to aid the "labor leaders

and radicals convicted last year under the Smith Sedition Act of 1940. The evidence is clear that these eighteen men and women committed no overt act of any sort in violation of the law; they were convicted simply and solely for views expressed by them in speech and writing. We of the labor movement can hardly help feeling apprehensive about the future of our civil liberty under the Constitution if this dangerous precedent is permitted to stand."

Partial List of Unions Backing CRDC Campaign

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA - CIO

Local #3, Detroit, Mich. Local #30, Detroit, Mich. Local #42, Cleveland, Ohio. Local #43, Detroit, Mich. Local #51, Detroit, Mich. Local #82, Racine, Wis. Local #88, Cleveland, Ohio. Local #102, Elkhorn, Wis. Local #103, Detroit, Mich. Local #121, Detroit, Mich. Local #268, Newark, N. J. Local #285, Detroit, Mich. Local #288, Cleveland, Ohio. Local #298, Newark, N. J. Local #308, Terre Haute, Ind. Local #309, Toledo, Ohio. Local #310, Buffalo, N. Y. Local #311, Newark, N. J. Local #320, El Cajon, Calif. Local #323, El Cajon, Calif. Local #325, El Cajon, Calif. Local #326, El Cajon, Calif. Local #327, El Cajon, Calif. Local #328, El Cajon, Calif. Local #329, El Cajon, Calif. Local #330, El Cajon, Calif. Local #331, El Cajon, Calif. Local #332, El Cajon, Calif. Local #333, El Cajon, Calif. Local #334, El Cajon, Calif. Local #347, Reading, Pa. Local #350, El Cajon, Calif. Local #353, Anderson, Ind. Local #355, Newark, N. J. Local #356, El Cajon, Calif. Local #357, El Cajon, Calif. 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Norman Thomas -- His True Role And "Destiny"

(Continued from page 1)

have been inundating the country with plans for a post-war world.

Thomas, too, is deeply disturbed that "America, freest of nations to play disinterestedly for lasting peace, has no peace policy." (Page 2.) This sentence of itself sheds illuminating light on the author of "Our Destiny." Whose America is he talking about? Whose destiny is he concerned with? There is on the one hand the America and the destiny of approximately seventy million workers; and there is, on the other, the America and destiny of the Sixty Families, the huge monopolies controlling the immense productive machine of the country, who run the government. The leader of the Socialist Party draws no such distinction.

His book is like a jigsaw puzzle — without a design and without a color scheme to guide even the most conscientious effort to fit the various pieces together.

Reverence for Capitalist Institutions

In the 192 pages of the book, Thomas manages to comment on almost every topic under the sun. All his comments, disjointed and scrambled as they are, have one common feature: reverence for the capitalist institutions and for the magnificence of the persons in authority, along with a total disregard of the working class and its inherent power. Thomas even ignores both the own Socialist Party and its "destiny." The only reference to the party he leads is contained in a five and a quarter line footnote. The text follows verbatim:

"About half of the Socialist Party convention in Milwaukee in 1942 wanted to go on record for 'political non-support of the war' — notice, not political opposition

(Heaven, forbid! — N.D.), much less refusal of conscription. The other half favored 'critical support.' A compromise tacitly permitted both positions. The convention was united in its views on the rise of fascism and war in general." (Page 11).

The sole reference that Thomas does make to his party is thus for the obvious purpose of proving that it has a "kosher" position on the war. This accomplished, he can go on plausibly to ignore it, from then on his exclusive concern will be Churchill, Roosevelt, Hoover, Willkie — in short, generally those who "count."

Adulation of Churchill

A few passages chosen at random from the book will show us how reverently Thomas deals with capitalist politicians and institutions:

"In Winston Churchill, Britain has produced the outstanding leader of the war, the inspirer and organizer of his people, and the strategist who, more than Mr. Roosevelt, has directed our policies . . . He is the aristocrat who in great emergencies can supply democratic leadership." (Page 70.)

Again, "I have much to praise in the President's policy toward our neighbors in this hemisphere." (Page 16.)

And again: "I have been very critical of administrative blunders and arbitrary actions which could have been avoided if Mr. Roosevelt's abilities had included greater administrative talent." (Page 143.)

In his high praise of Churchill, as well as in his "critical" remarks about Roosevelt, our author does not see them as the representatives of the exploiting ruling class, he remains blind to the social forces that determine their policies. This is why he is able to speak as he does about the Depart-

ment of Justice and the FBI, the capitalist institutions of repression, namely:

"Undoubtedly there has been an encouraging growth in the support of certain phases of civil liberty by the government and the people since World War I. At this point praise is due the Department of Justice, including the FBI." (Page 38.)

Another Typical Omission

Thomas forgets to mention the imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyists; persecutions of other labor leaders, De Lorenzo, for example; wholesale violations of the right of free speech and free press, and the Bill of Rights in general; Roosevelt's drive to enslave labor, through the victimization of union militants, anti-strike legislation, government strikebreaking, etc., etc. The only reference he does make to these glaring violations of civil liberties and workers rights is some 118 pages later when he files his objection to the Supreme Court's refusal to review the case of the 18.

In fairness to Mr. Thomas we take note that his praise is not confined to the institutions of capitalist repression. He has a good word also for the various and most poisonous means of deception. According to him:

"In England today one of the most popular and influential of the leaders for social righteousness is none other than the Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of the established church. Church conferences like that at Malvern, in England, and at Delaver, Ohio, have made a real contribution to our thinking about peace and the post-war world. Definitely there is more and better to be hoped for from the leavening influence of churches in this crisis than was in World War I."

Mr. Thomas abandoned the pulpit for the

Socialist Party. Why? The author apparently anticipates this question. He says, "But when an occasional earnest churchman says, 'Secular agencies have failed; let the churches lead us to a lasting peace and a better democracy,' the answer must be that they are too divided and that they lack power for the task."

Today even without the benefit of the pulpit, Thomas manages to preach his sermons. The book contains a goodly number. There is a sermon on the text: "the fool's gold of imperialism;" another on "racial strife;" a third on "war's biological and psychological legacy to the post-war generation." And so forth and so on.

What is the answer to all the ills afflicting humanity?

Throughout the pages of "Our Destiny" Thomas scurries about in search of some magic formula which would turn the trick, which would succeed "in winning the earliest possible peace that will last." This is no easy task. One can almost see the beads of sweat rolling down his brow. For Mr. Thomas, you see, is in addition in search of a formula that would curb the imperialist appetites and still be acceptable to the imperialists.

A Friend and a Formula

With the aid of a friend Norman Thomas has come upon a formula which he believes might do. He writes:

"Soon after Pearl Harbor a friend presented me with an idea which has haunted me by its excellence. It was that all colonial Africa be turned over to an international authority, pledged to enforce a solemn charter of native rights, to guide the people to full self-government, and to insure equality of opportunity to trade with Africa to all nations which would accept

this international authority and its requirement that the beneficiaries abstain from aggressive armament."

But no sooner does Thomas put this "solution" down on paper, than it dawns on him that, "It would be a miracle past hoping for that a victorious Winston Churchill would agree to such an arrangement for Britain's colonies in Africa or anywhere else, or, indeed, that Franklin Delano Roosevelt would ask it."

Nevertheless, Norman Thomas is undaunted. He is no doctrinaire. He has a solution to this, too. He immediately offers a compromise: "What might be possible," he continues, "would be that the Italian colonies and the territories formerly administered under the mandate of the League of Nations . . . should be administered under the authority of a world federation to which could also be committed certain territories recovered from Japan. The solemn purpose should be to help them to full self-government."

The Contradictions of Thomas

By the time he reached this point, Thomas had completely forgotten what he himself had said at the beginning of his book. Speaking of "the great failure of Versailles," he makes the profound observation:

"The peace-makers were right in giving weight to the self-determination of nations; their mistake was in applying it mostly against their enemy and not within their own empires." Toward the conclusion of his book, Thomas picks up that same "mistake" of Versailles in order to — offer it as a formula for "the earliest possible peace that will last." In this Norman Thomas remains true to himself. Marx long ago characterized such individuals as follows:

"A petty-bourgeois of this type glorifies contradiction because contradiction is the basis of his existence. He is himself nothing but social contradiction in action."

"Our Destiny" is consistent only in one thing — its inconsistencies. It is a graphic example of the war-time role of a muddled-headed pacifist. Until Pearl Harbor he had been spreading the illusion that American monopoly capitalism could or would stay out of the war; "Pearl Harbor meant for me the defeat of the dearest single ambition of my life; that I might have been of service in keeping my country out of a second World War." This preacher who heads the Socialist Party never learned the socialist ABC that war cannot be prevented by pacifist sermons, that wars flow inevitably out of the profit system and that so long as capitalism exists there will be greater and more devastating wars.

Whom Thomas Really Serves

All that Thomas could do after Pearl Harbor was to offer prayers that this be a good war: "It is true that there have been very few good wars — God grant this may prove one of them — that have been relatively, but in an important sense, wars of liberation."

Thomas in his search for "the earliest possible peace that will last" serves the interests not of peace but of the propaganda of the warmakers. He continues to deceive himself and his followers by spreading the illusion that a non-imperialist peace can flow out of an imperialist war. At the same time, the head of the SP serves imperialist interests when, in violation of all socialist concepts, he tries to convey the impression that capitalist countries are capable of conducting wars of liberation.

Ford Canada Local In WLB Run Around

By Stephen White

WINDSOR, Ontario—After a strike extending over a period of three weeks, 14,000 workers employed by the Ford Motor Company of Canada, returned to work under a temporary agreement drawn up by the Canadian Wartime Labor Relations Board. The militant solidarity of the workers, organized in the UAW-CIO Local 200, wrested a number of concessions from the company and the government agency established to arbitrate labor disputes. The run-around given the workers by the WLRB proved to be temporarily successful only because of the capitulation of the union leadership.

The workers were herded back to their jobs on the promise that a new contract would be negotiated within the next 30 days.

If that contract doesn't materialize, if the promise given is broken, as so many of the past promises have been, a recurrence of the militant struggle against the union-hating Ford Motor Company will undoubtedly take place.

On Saturday April 29, officials of the UAW-CIO Ford Local 200, called a mass meeting of the striking men to present the proposal of the WLRB, granting the union its old contract with some amendments which were supposed to favor the union. The proposed agreement was to be in force until a new contract was negotiated and signed within the next 30 days. The workers, on the recommendation of their leaders, returned to work. On the surface it appeared to be a victory for the union. The men felt that a contract should have been signed prior to their return to work, they went back to their jobs on the terms of the temporary agreement, watchful of the actions of the WLRB and the company.

WORKERS DISCOVER FRAUD

On Monday, May 1, when some of the departments resumed operations they discovered notices on the bulletin boards stating the grievance procedures were to be exactly the same as proposed by the company before the men walked out on strike. The men refused to work under these conditions. The union immediately called a mass meeting at which it was disclosed that the WLRB had written the company's grievance procedure into the agreement. Nevertheless, the union officials asked the men to stay on the job. When the vote was taken the workers voted to continue the strike until the union won its demands. The union officials, under the pressure of the workers, were forced to make an appeal for them to stay united. (That appeal wasn't necessary as the workers had demonstrated their unity in action!).

The Stalinists on the other hand had inserted paid advertisements in the newspapers, appealing for the men to go back to work. One thing is certain, the Stalinist "back to work" movement is as popular among the workers as a skunk at a garden party.

The workers realize that they cannot expect a favorable decision from the WLRB for two reasons. First, the WLRB is appointed by a capitalist government and functions in the interest of the employing class. Second, the existing labor legislation is of such an anti-labor character that even

with the accusation that the Trotskyists were behind the strike action of the workers which is sabotaging the war effort.

The CCF club of Windsor instructed a committee to draw up a statement in support of the strike.

Paraguay General Strike Is Crushed By Military Terror

(Continued from page 1)

if the WLRB were in favor of labor and sincere in its aims, it would be impossible for it to force the Ford Motor Company to abide by the agreement. As the true role of the WLRB becomes clear, more and more workers express their views saying, we must elect a labor government in order to put through decent labor legislation and we must keep it in power in order to carry it out.

ARNOLD'S DISCLOSURES

Fred Arnold, vice-president of Ford Local 200, speaking at a Canadian Commonwealth Federation meeting regarding the Ford situation, said that he and other officials of the union were thunderstruck when they got the decision of the Dominion WLRB in black and white. "It was the exact duplicate of the Ford Motor Company's own proposal of April 1," Arnold asserted. "We had walked out because the union could not operate under those conditions. That government decision was simply transferred from Ford's stationery onto government stationery."

"When our committee returned from Ottawa," Arnold declared, "they brought back a half-baked proposition, but they wanted to get those men back to work and they were enthused with the wonderful promises they had gotten in Ottawa." And yet Arnold, as well as the other union leaders tried to make the workers believe that this was not a half-baked proposition. That by itself showed that the double cross could never have taken place without the help of the union leadership.

Further Arnold revealed: "We knew this trouble was coming. Ford's and the manufacturers' associations in Canada and the United States are out to break the union movement. Naturally they picked out the largest local in Canada as a guinea pig for their effort." He stated that tremendous pressure was being put on the union officials, both as a group and as individuals, "but we are not going to send our men in those plants and work under conditions as they were before there was a union."

The Stalinist scheme to use the Canadian Commonwealth Federation as a strike breaking body backfired in their own faces. A significant incident took place at a CCF meeting, when a member of the Windsor club asked why the CCF did not take a stand on the strike. The intentions of that member were made clear when she stated she expected the CCF to support the Stalinist "back to work" movement. During the discussion it was apparent that the CCF was behind the workers and supported their strike. The Stalinist stooge then burst out

with the accusation that the Trotskyists were behind the strike action of the workers which is sabotaging the war effort.

Seven years ago, on Memorial Day, occurred the massacre of the Chicago Republic Steel workers during the 1937 Little Steel strike. That butchery of peaceful workers and their wives and children in defense of the profits of the steel barons, is indelibly engraved on the memory of the American working class. In one murderous assault by the police agents of the Kelly-Nash "New Deal" political machine, the true picture of capitalism and the role of its political hirelings was unveiled. Never will class-conscious workers forget that this slaughter of 10 workers the maiming, blinding and wounding of scores of others, was the vile work of Roosevelt's closest political collaborators, and that his only response was his smug dictum, "A plague on both your houses."

On May 30, 1937, a peaceful column of several hundred strikers, their wives and children, were marching in a demonstration to the plant of the Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago. They were in a festive mood — many families had brought along lunches, happy at the thought of a day out-of-doors. But they never ate those lunches.

COLD BLOODED MURDER

Two hundred cops were guarding the grounds. According to an eye-witness account, "The strikers stopped, face to face with the police, waiting quietly while a union spokesman asked Police Captain Mooney for permission to picket on the public street... Captain Mooney walked toward the edge of the line . . . mumbled the formal notice to 'disperse in the name of the law.' Suddenly, without a word of warning, the police cold-bloodedly fired into that peaceful holiday crowd; the shooting "was thick as machine gun fire," said one witness. Men, women and children turned and ran in confusion, and as they ran, scores fell, shot in the back. Tear-gas spread across the prairie. Over the prostrated bodies of the wounded, gassed workers and their families, raced the cops, still firing, stopping only to club the fallen victims who tried to rise to their feet.

POLICE BRUTALITY

During the strike, members of the Paraguayan section of the Fourth International issued several leaflets and participated as delegates in the strike committees at Asuncion and Pilar. Two members of the International Communists of Germany, now in exile, were arrested while collecting contributions for the strike fund.

Paraguay, with a population of little more than one million, entered the "democratic" camp of the self-styled "United Nations" when the reactionary dictator of the government of Morinigo, under pressure from Washington, broke relations with the Axis on Jan. 26, 1942.

Thereafter, this puppet government of Wall Street demonstrated its love of democracy by ordering disbandment of the trade unions and strangling all other popular democratic rights.

The workers have grown more and more rebellious over having to sacrifice their already inadequate living standards in order to aid in the prosecution of a war whose alleged democratic purposes find no reflection at all in the regime that rules over them. On top of increasing economic hardships, they were deprived of all democratic liberties.

The general strike was a

splendid demonstration of working-class solidarity and shows the growing restlessness of the Latin American workers under the oppressive rule of Wall

Street-sponsored dictatorships.

One worker, with the superhuman strength of despair, uprooted a young tree and wielded it as a club. He went down heroically, under the combined blows of his attackers. Most of the workers, taken by surprise, were too startled to defend themselves.

When the bloody battle was over, ten workers were dead; scores were left wounded; hundreds mercilessly beaten. Workers hastily improvised ambulances to carry away their wounded, and save them from further torture at the hands of the police. They stuck crosses of cardboard in the windows of their cars, and drove out onto the field to pick up as many workers as they could. One rescuer, returning with his car only half full, brokenly explained, "We had another man, but the cops dragged him out, wouldn't give us time to tie a turniquet on his leg . . . They threw him in a pad-

dy-wagon." That man was listed among the dead, with the laconic comment, "unidentified, wound in leg, apparently bled to death." In recognition of the bloody strike-breaking achievement, of the Chicago police, Girdler and Republic Steel rewarded the police department with a shiny new squad car.

Newsreel photographers had taken pictures of the entire event. The photograph reproduced on this page is one of the scenes. These newsreels were released in Chicago, but ran only one day, before the city administration ordered them withdrawn. So clearly did the films show the sequence of events — the peaceful march of workers, the surprise onslaught by the cops, the incredible brutality, the final cynical gesture of smiling policemen dusting themselves off, after a job well done — that not even the powerful Kelly-Nash machine dared to face the rage those pictures would have aroused in every worker's heart.

The workers who shed their blood and died in the Memorial Day massacre did not suffer in vain. Their struggle and sacrifices inspired hundreds of thousands of steel workers to carry on the battle for unionism. Today, the million-strong CIO United Steel Workers of America stands as a monument to those Chicago workers who died that their union might live.

American labor, on this Memorial Day, will remember with sorrow and anger with what savagery the capitalists fought to destroy unionism in the steel industry. The workers will remind themselves, amid all the jingo propaganda of the bosses, their government agents and their labor lieutenants, that in peace and in war, the ruling capitalist class is the mortal enemy of the workers. Only when capitalist class rule is ended by the socialist order of the working class will the martyrs of the Memorial Day massacre be avenged.

War Labor Board's denial last

Wednesday of industry-wide increases. Pres. John M. Christensen of the Northwestern Council declared this week that union of

workers have done everything in

their power to keep the men

working, the action taken by the

crews is completely out of the

union's hands."

The government agencies, as

usual, have joined forces in an

effort to break the strike. The

director of the fuel rationing

division have remained virtually

stationary despite price rises

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Skepticism of Mr. Schuyler

George S. Schuyler, in his *Pittsburgh Courier* lampoon of May 27 dealing with the farcical two-party political fracas — in the presidential campaign — soon to be staged, reveals a complete lack of confidence in and lack of knowledge of the inevitable political awakening of the American workers. Some of his passages are well worth quoting because they show that he really knows the score. Since he is nobody's fool you can take your own guess as to why he fails to draw any logical conclusion.

Wading right in, in a characteristically satiric manner, he notes that "... the columns of guff in the newspapers, the comments over the radio and the statements of assorted bigwigs are completely divorced from reality in order to confuse the public into believing there is democracy ... in the coming Punch and Judy political contest, ... as if one individual, no matter how wise or good, could possibly change the aims and plans of the handful of people who own and control this country ... The whole ballyhoo is nothing but a fraud."

Schuyler goes on to explain that powerful political organizations elect the president who, then, must do their bidding. He realizes it is the economic base which molds the party program. "Since the party and not the man is what we should consider, our concern should be with what economic and class interests the party is aligned and what does it stand for."

He is "unable to discern any difference" in the two old parties "because each loudly proclaims its allegiance to the *status quo ante bellum*; i.e., unemployment, poverty and insecurity." In other words, Republicans and Democrats are both agents of the ruling class. Therefore, "To think this is going to be changed by millions of people putting pieces of paper in boxes or pulling down rows of levers is the height of childish gullibility ... Under the circumstances, getting excited about whether all or a few of the people vote seems pathetic. If they all voted, [for capitalist parties, he means], in every State and county and town, the same 60 families would own and run the U. S. A."

Although adeptly dissecting the hypocritical pattern of capitalist "democracy," Mr. Schuyler betrays his petty bourgeois contempt for the masses by his lack of confidence in an ultimate working-class political awakening. Apparently he expects things to remain

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

Wall Street's Scheme To Grab World-Wide Air Line Monopoly

By James Cowan

Inter-continent and transoceanic air transportation is one of the central links in the chain of plans of American monopoly capital for domination of the post-war world. This link is represented by Pan American Airways, Inc., a monopolistic enterprise which ranks among the world's giant corporations.

In a period of about 15 years, during which aviation rose to its present stature, Pan American has grown from a small concern operating a single air route between Key West and Havana, to a giant enterprise whose skyliners girdle the earth along 98,000 route miles. Its gross \$109,000,000 and its personnel, numbering 88,000, were spread over three-fourths of the earth's surface.

Schuyler's only reference to labor is when, either from ignorance or malice, he attempts to tie up the destiny of the rank and file with their present perfidious top officials. Speaking of the "benefits" of the two-party system, he says, "Even so-called enlightened labor leaders believe this nonsense, and the hope of the future is supposed to reside in them. If this is true the future is going to be very dark." We agree such a future would be very dark because most of Mr. Schuyler's labor leaders, like most Negro leaders (including columnists), are nothing but servants of reactionary capitalism.

Although ignored — not unexpected — by Mr. Schuyler, the interests of the workers — which will triumph in the end — are now being anticipated, defended and fought for uncompromisingly by the Socialist Workers Party. Let us check our program against the listed shortcomings of the capitalist parties as exposed by Mr. Schuyler in his May 27 column. He says: "Neither [party] is committed to solving the so-called Negro problem by abolishing the social and economic restrictions which prolong the life of this problem." The SWP is for a Workers and Farmers Government which would do exactly that.

"Neither favors getting out of the war." Leaders of the SWP are in Roosevelt's jails today because they told the workers the truth about the war. Our co-thinkers in England are in Churchill's jails.

"Neither has any sensible plan to end poverty, insecurity and privation." Our goal is a socialist world with planned economy. We hope that Mr. Schuyler, king of the cynics, lives to see the workers assume power, as they did in Czarist Russia in October 1917. Maybe then he will be less skeptical of the workers' ability to recognize and rectify a fake democracy and a decayed social system. Maybe then he will admit what everyone else now knows: "You can't fool all the people all the time." But meanwhile, just whose interests are really served by his skepticism?

Air mail contracts were let to Pan American without bid, even when there were competitors in the field. Tripp and his associates have influential friends in Washington who saw to that. Between 1930 and 1940 foreign air-mail rates were lowered by about 40 percent, but were still excessive. Between 1939 and 1941 it was found that Pan American had received excess mail payments to the extent of several million dollars on its South American contracts alone, but the company was permitted to retain this extra loot with the proviso that it be invested in service improvements. The Roosevelt regime is always kind to its capitalist friends. And besides, Pan American has helped establish Wall Street's hegemony in Latin America.

FREEDOM OF THE AIR

Just as the American capitalists in general have become advocates of international free trade because with free access to markets their great wealth and productive capacity assure them commercial supremacy — so Pan American Airways and its Washington fairy god-mother have been

come proponents of "freedom of the air," meaning freedom for the Pan American monopoly to outpace all its foreign competitors, especially the British air monopolists, for control of the greater part of the world's air-borne commerce.

The British air monopolists, organized in British Imperial Airways, are visibly perturbed by the growing pretensions of Pan American. An air conference held in London recently was reported to have drawn up plans for maintaining and strengthening the British hold on Empire air lines in face of the growing competitive threat from the American colossus. Secretary of State Cordell Hull was prompt in denying rumors that Washington had acquiesced in, much less endorsed, the British plan for air exclusiveness.

GROUND FOR ALARM

The alarm of the British air monopolists is well-grounded. Under the auspices of the Army and Navy Air Transport Command, Pan American has opened an air route across Africa from the coast of Liberia to Cairo and has acquired rights to a spur line from Liberia to Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo. From Cairo, the main trunk route now reaches Iran to link up the system with southern Russia. Another fork runs to Karachi and Calcutta on the route to Chungking.

"What is this, a military or a commercial operation?" dismayed officials of Imperial Airways asked in Cairo when Pan American and Air Transport Command planes began operating the new routes through the heart of Africa and the Near East.

Matthew Josephson does not disclose the fact that the British imperialists, under stress of war needs, were compelled to yield to American air penetration of their aerial empire — and, what's more, to furnish the bases for it.

American leases of British air bases, not only in Africa and the Near East but in many other parts of the world, including Australia, New Zealand, India, Canada, Newfoundland, are supposed to lapse six months after the war. But on either side of the Atlantic there are none so naive as to imagine that these valuable outposts of Wall Street's imperialist expansion, which have cost more than a billion lend-lease dollars, will be lightly relinquished, contract or no contract. And if, after all, they must be given up, Pan American — as

the benevolent treatment accorded to Pan American is in harmony with the conscious policy pursued by Washington in furtherance of its aim of world domination. Matthew Josephson says that "America's foreign air line monopoly was long subsidized by our government as our Chosen Instrument, representing us politically and economically."

Tripp himself, as the author says, regards Pan American as an "American institution" as "the instrument of national policy."

"Looking to the future, he foresees a great struggle — which must reach its climax at the coming peace conference — for advantageous position in the commerce of the world and in the carrying of the world's passengers and merchandise by surface means and by air. But control of the air will be the strategic factor as control of the seas was the strategic power in the world of yesterday."

AIR IMPERIALISM

This is Pan American, big capitalist corporation, instrument of monopoly expansionist policy, which is prepared to compete with all comers for commercial air supremacy. "I am informed," says Matthew Josephson, "that at the present day the drift of thought in certain high government and industrial circles is all toward air-imperialism and what some people call 'realism'."

Josephson believes that the "whole chaotic system of international aerial skullduggery, this clash of

air imperialists, must be eliminated if we are to escape a new

race of death, and reap the full

benefits of modern aeronautics

for civilization."

But how? It is the system of

capitalism which breeds imperialist rivalries and they can be eliminated only by abolishing capitalism and setting up the rule of

the working class on the road to

socialism.

labor conscription. The war has provided the dollar patriots with a pretext to destroy the organizations of labor, enslave the workers and regiment the entire nation in order to "make the world safe" for unbridled exploitation by the high priests of finance capital.

Particularly in view of recent shutdowns of such key war plants as Brewster aircraft little credence is now given to the flimsy excuse, previously offered, that a labor draft was required in order to relieve a "desperately acute" manpower shortage. To compensate for the lack of any plausible justification for labor conscription, the brass hats have fallen back on the legend that the "boys in the foxholes and jungle" are demanding such legislation.

Admiral Gatch, under the prompting of Forrestal, expressed the view that unless a forced labor law was adopted, "I fear the resentment of fighting men against the men at home who are getting ten times as much pay." When the brass hats originally raised this issue during the official ballyhoo which accompanied Roosevelt's initial proposal for labor conscription, Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, exploded this fable by demanding to know when the heads of the Army and Navy Departments "would start fighting the war and stop trying to 'Prussianize' the American people?" And then added, "They say the boys in the fox holes and jungle demand labor conscription. Be not deceived. No boy in the slime and mud of the jungle wants his father, his mother, or his sister kicked around like dogs by bungling Washington bureaucrats."

In the same issue of *Justice*, June 1, Will Allen supports the contention made repeatedly by *The Militant*, when he says: "All supporters of the labor draft legislation are counting on the opening of the Western front to raise an emotional tidal wave in which the still small voice of reason and common sense will be drowned and on which such legislation will be carried past all barriers. This was the 'timing' worked out by the political strategists in the War and Navy Departments." Just who are these "political" strategists that Allen refers to?

WALL ST. DEPUTIES

Newspaper columnist Drew Pearson revealed recently that the Navy Department is honeycombed with Wall Street bankers and political deputies of the large financial interests. In fact, James Forrestal, now Secretary of the Navy, was, before being brought to Washington by Roosevelt, the president for more than five years of Dillon, Read and Company, Wall Street firm of bankers and stockjobbers. He was known as one of Wall Street's "boy wonders."

Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, another strong advocate of a forced labor draft, was a Wall Street lawyer long connected with the banking fraternity both by wealth, service and family connections. Together with such authoritative champions of Big Business as the N. Y. Times and the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, the "bankers-in-uniform" have been the most vigorous advocates of

the workers' state would issue appeals to the German workers to overthrow their own capitalists and we in Britain would help them." But

Roosevelt Continues Drive To Institute Forced Labor

(Continued from page 1)

of the "Work-or-Fight" bill openly say that the enactment of the measure "now depends on the active support of President Roosevelt." Since his draft labor

proposal, Roosevelt has remained in the background while his henchmen have conducted a persistent campaign for labor conscription. The latest Roosevelt came to testify on behalf of the Work-or-Fight bill was Donald Nelson, head of the

War Production Board. The Washington correspondent of *Justice*, Will Allen, commenting on this fact, remarks: "To find Nelson, therefore, testifying in favor of the Bailey-Brewster Bill is interpreted in Washington's informed circles as the result of orders from the White House."

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10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 2, 1934

TOLEDO—The famous Auto-Lite strike which won the first strong hold for the auto unions of America, was brought to a victorious finish after a bitter six-day battle. This inspiring struggle paved the way for the organization of the auto workers first in Ohio and Michigan and then nationally. This was the second strike called by the union within five months, in the struggle for union recognition, better working conditions, a 20 percent increase in wages, and other demands. Under the militant leadership of the Toledo militants of the American Workers Party (which soon afterward fused with the Trotskyist Communist League), the workers for the first time defied a court injunction by mass action. 68 Toledo unions voted to call a general strike in support of the Auto-Lite workers, after thugs, special police, company guards, and National Guardsmen united in the assault on the picket line, playing a leading role in the struggle and demonstrating the importance to the labor movement of unity between the workers and the unemployed.

Expressions of solidarity came from other parts of the country, as the significance of the strike became known. In New York, a united front meeting called to protest the Toledo police reign of terror included delegates from the Communist League, the Socialist Party, the American Workers Party, the IWW and other tendencies within the working class movements with the exception of the traitorous Stalinists.

MINNEAPOLIS—The General Drivers Strike, a landmark in the history of American labor, was settled with key gains for the union, including union recognition, unconditional reinstatement of all strikers, and an agreement to arbitrate the demands on wages and hours. At strike headquarters, the union leaders, including Carl Skoglund and Vincent R. Dunne, were cheered by the membership as they called for continued militancy and vigilance, to guard the union's conquests.

In the historic "Battle of Deputies' Run" at the Minneapolis City Market on Tuesday, May 22, 1934, the workers with splendid organization, and unforgettable courage, turned the police attack into a rout. Cops and deputies, armed with sawed-off shotguns and vomiting gas, dropped their weapons and ran for cover as the pickets, aided by reinforcements sent from strike headquarters, held the market place.

The dramatic battle which climaxed the strike, proved once more the value of organized leadership of the workers' struggles. The strike headquarters despatched flying squads of pickets at the very moment they were needed, kept skeleton crews of pickets at other points, rendered first aid to the injured, provided hot food for the strikers and their families, took care of every emergency as it arose, so that the morale of the workers and their wives remained at the same high point during the entire struggle. To break through the conspiracy of silence of the capitalist press, the women's auxiliary was assigned the task of leading a mass demonstration on the mayor's office; thousands of workers who followed them, were addressed from the steps of the city hall by a member of the auxiliary.

Out of the victorious struggle, came immediate gains for the union, paving the way for greater gains in the future. Tremendous prestige accrued to the Trotskyist leaders of the strike who worked with such untiring devotion and skill to entrench the union movement in the formerly open-shop town of Minneapolis.

Cannon Analyzes 1934 Minn. Strikes In F. I.

The May issue of *Fourth International*, features "May Day 1944," in commemoration of the international holiday of the working class. Beginning with a survey of the political scene on a worldwide scale, Ralph Graham in this article points out the role of all current political groups, and draws the perspectives for the Trotskyist movement; "to speed the consolidation and growth of the genuine revolutionary parties" as the day of socialist upheavals draws closer in Europe and the

colonies, spurred by the war-weariness of the masses and their growing understanding of the reactionary war aims of Anglo-American coalition.

Of particular interest for those class-conscious workers just beginning to think in terms of the revolutionary movement, is "The Great Minneapolis Strikes," the eighth chapter of James P. Cannon's forthcoming book, *The History of American Trotskyism*. In this chapter, Cannon vividly describes the historic strikes led by the Trotskyists in Minneapolis, and draws their lessons; the necessity for integration of the revolutionary vanguard in the mass organizations of the workers; the importance of long, careful planning before strike action is taken; the role of the strikers' wives who fought shoulder-to-shoulder with their husbands; the aid sent by other unions; the high morale maintained by the printing of daily strike paper; above all, the importance of bringing the economic struggles of the trade unions, the political experience and understanding of the revolutionaries.

Davis reveals the following interesting passage - at arms between Roosevelt and Churchill which occurred in connection with a discussion of Caribbean bases leased from Britain.

One of the Disputes At Teheran

The Saturday Evening Post has published two articles on "What Really Happened at Teheran," written by Forrest Davis, the Washington editor, who frequently is used by the Roosevelt administration as a conveyor for tid-bits of news which cannot, for diplomatic or other reasons, be given out officially.

Davis reveals the following interesting passage - at arms between Roosevelt and Churchill which occurred in connection with a discussion of Caribbean bases leased from Britain.

This discussion, says Davis, "led to an entertaining dispute. Newfoundland was mentioned, the prime minister observing Britain never would relinquish Newfoundland willingly, it being the oldest crown colony. Mr. Roosevelt declined to give

ground. 'It's not a crown colony,' he countered: 'it's a crown colony in bankruptcy. There's a difference.'

Having already become lessens of a base in "bankrupt" Newfoundland, the American monopolists now seem to aim at becoming the receivers in bankruptcy and — who knows? perhaps even the beneficiaries in receivership.

The Review of the Month includes analyses of such significant recent developments as the Communist Party participation in the Badoglio cabinet, the Allied plans for control of Europe as the invasion approaches, and the lessons American workers must draw from the Montgomery Ward case.

Other features include the resolution on War and Military Policy adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party of England at its recent fusion conference, and a book review by Harry Frankel of Leon Trotsky's "The New Course," to which Shachtman has appended his revisionist essay.

The series of articles by Trotsky on military theoretical subjects, is concluded in this issue's Arsenal of Marxism with the publication of Trotsky's report and speeches delivered at the conference of military delegates to the Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party on April 1, 1922.

Readers of *The Militant* who have not yet subscribed to the Fourth International, will find this issue an excellent introduction. Single copies are 20c; yearly subscription \$2. Order from Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

No-Strike Pledge

Three months have elapsed since the International Executive Board of the UAW adopted a resolution reaffirming its unconditional no-strike pledge and threatening drastic penalties against local unions and members who engage in "unauthorized" strikes. Instead of allaying the evil of widespread contract violations, this policy of unconditional surrender unleashed a tempest of unbridled provocation.

Despite the proven bankruptcy of their policy, the top UAW officials persisted in their false course to the point of uniting with the corporations in "disciplining" the victims of company provocation. Once embarked on that road the union bureaucrats abandoned all restraint in applying punitive measures to those members and locals who fought to defend their rights against the insolent auto barons. The latest incident is the removal of the elected officials of Chrysler Local 490 and the appointment of Leo Lamott as "administrator" over the local. Adding insult to injury, Lamott, despised Stalinist stooge, hated by the Chrysler workers for denouncing their strike last year in the capitalist press, is arbitrarily imposed on Local 490 as dictator-receiver responsible only to his cronies on the executive board.

The demand for the unqualified adherence to the unconditional no-strike pledge has inescapably led to a series of steps in bureaucratizing the union. In tracing the evolution of the Thomas-Reuther-Addes-Frankenstein clique, *The Militant*, March 25, 1944, said: "In their fight to preserve the UAW as a progressive organization that represents the interests of the auto workers, the rank and file militants must reckon with the fact that their top leadership stands on the side of the corporations and their political agents in Washington. No longer able to gain voluntary support for a policy that is false and fatal for the union, the labor skates seek to force adherence to their policies by collaborating with the corporations in purging those militants who resist."

We followed this analysis with a warning that is still valid: "These circumstances must determine the tactics to be followed by the union militants who constitute the active, conscious core of the UAW. Sporadic outbursts of indignation induced by the insolence of the employers and the bureaucratic action of the top officials, while understandable, are largely ineffective. The danger in such

outbursts is that they will lead only to the victimization of the militants and their elimination from organized contact with the mass of union members. Instead of dissipating their strength and numbers in isolated forays, the militants must mobilize their forces for the impending showdown with the corporations and the labor bureaucrats."

The process of bureaucratic degeneration, of depriving the members of their democratic rights, is not peculiar to the UAW alone. In fact, Thomas and Co. are following a pattern previously established by Sherman Dalrymple, head of the United Rubber Workers. Dalrymple, also in the name of the no-strike pledge, engaged in wholesale expulsions of militants in the URW, removing elected local officers and appointing "administrators" to rule in the name of the executive board. The rubber workers have fought, and are fighting, to wrest their union from the bureaucratic clutches of Dalrymple and his henchmen on the General Executive Board.

More recently the bureaucratic plague spread to the United Steel Workers when the International Executive Board suspended five officers and seven grievance committee members of Local 1519, Cleveland, Ohio, for violating the no-strike pledge. Philip Murray, following the precedent established by Dalrymple—and Thomas—appointed a receiver to take over the affairs of the local. Reporting this action, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* approvingly observed: "The move was seen as part of the recent effort by CIO unions to take stronger measures to implement the no-strike pledge." The unconditional no-strike pledge is thus being used as a noose with which to strangle the internal democracy of the unions.

In the April 1 issue of *The Militant* we pointed out: "The danger exists throughout the CIO unions. If the militants in auto now take the initiative in halting this fink drive of the top bureaucrats, they will find support and backing in the rubber union, the steel union and in numerous other sections of the CIO. The bureaucrats cannot be fought by isolated sporadic flareups and departmental strikes. These very often play into the hands of the corporations and labor fakers. What is necessary now is to organize the leading local unions in auto, rubber and steel behind a fighting program and then wage a fight for the program."

The struggle for internal union democracy cannot be divorced from the fight against the no-strike pledge. By tradition and influence as well as by its commanding position in the CIO the UAW is best fitted to take the leadership in this struggle. A number of powerful UAW locals are already on record demanding the revocation of the no-strike pledge. The eyes of the entire labor movement will be on the coming UAW convention. The militants must mobilize their forces around a program that meets the needs of the membership. Such a program should include:

(1) *The preservation, extension and safeguarding of the democratic rights of the membership.* Uncompromising opposition to any union official combining with the bosses to victimize the workers. Against the system of bureaucratic expulsions of members or the arbitrary removal of elected local officials! (2) *Rescind the unconditional no-strike pledge.* Rearm the union with its most effective weapon for resisting the provocation of the employers, for enforcing the union contracts and for preserving the union against attack by its enemies. (3) *For an Independent Labor Party.* Put an end to company unionism on the political field by breaking decisively with the political parties controlled by the corporations.

3,149 New Readers

With characteristic devotion, discipline and energy, the members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party have already topped the quota in the campaign for 3,000 new 'Militant' subscribers—since April 1 our paper has gained 3,149 new readers, with five more weeks to go before the actual close of the campaign.

In this splendid achievement, the Trotskyists once more demonstrate the meaning of a Bolshevik party in action. All the blows of the capitalist class enemy have failed to impair the morale, the vigor and growth of the Trotskyist movement.

All the reports from the SWP branches and distribution agents testify to the political awakening that has begun to manifest itself among the workers. They are not the dull clods and supine slaves the bosses and their agents would like to make them appear. No, these American workers who have fought giant union battles and built the mightiest union organizations in a brief ten years, will never return again to their old status—under a "post-war" order that Wall Street schemes.

The war has not failed to leave its marks and scars on the working class. But they are at the same time being shocked into a new awareness of the shabby pretenses of "democratic" profiteers and war lords. Their dissatisfaction has deep roots, and they are seeking fundamental answers. No other organization, no other program, can give a correct solution save that of Trotskyism.

Lenin once wrote that "wars, with all their horrors and miseries, have this more or less beneficial result, that they mercilessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is rotten, obsolete and dead matter in human institutions." The war is now unveiling before greater and greater numbers the true meaning of capitalism. We feel confident that in the months to come many thousands more will swell the ranks of the 3,149 new readers of *The Militant*.

FREE THE 18!

THE MILITANT

Three Birthdays

Carl Skoglund, Vincent R. Dunne and Max Geldman, three of the 18 Trotskyist class-war prisoners, in recent weeks celebrated their birthdays in Roosevelt's "democratic" penitentiary at Sandstone, Minnesota. On this occasion The Militant extends felicitations expressing the respect, admiration and well-wishes of thousands of militant unionists and class-conscious workers. This, we are sure, will be among the most welcome gifts they might receive.

CARL SKOGLUND, that grand veteran proletarian warrior, was born 60 years ago in Sweden. In 1911 he came to America, where, as building tradesman, lumberjack, fireman, janitor, railroad worker, coal driver, mechanic, he has never ceased to raise the rallying cry of labor, "Organize!" His qualities of leadership, courage, single-minded devotion to labor, have been recognized by his fellow workers, who many times elected him to union posts, the last being the presidency of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. When Roosevelt's Minneapolis prosecution began, he was arrested by the FBI and held for deportation. But he was told the action against him might be "reconsidered" if he would testify for the government. He rejected the offer with contempt and marched to prison with his fellow-workers and comrades.

VINCENT R. DUNNE, now 55 years old, is one of the great labor leaders to come out of the Northwest. His career goes back to the historic strikes and free-speech fights of the IWW in 1906-08. He gained national prominence in 1934 when together with his brothers, Grant and Miles, he became a leader of the historic drivers

strikes which made Minneapolis a union town. He was one of the first to rally to the banner of Bolshevism after the October Revolution, remaining loyal to its principles ever since. A found-

CARL SKOGLUND VINCENT R. DUNNE MAX GELDMAN

ing member of the Trotskyist movement in America, he held the post of National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party when he went to prison.

MAX GELDMAN was born in a Warsaw, Poland, ghetto in 1905. From his early youth in this country he was an active fighter for socialism in the ranks of the Communist Party. With the degeneration of that party, he joined the Trotskyist movement, and during the years of the depression became a leader of the unemployed leadership in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike, he was arrested on a frameup charge and imprisoned in Sandstone penitentiary, where he is now confined for the second time for his loyalty to labor.

"War Emergency" Is Pretext For Child Labor Exploitation

By Ruth Johnson

Not since the heyday of the sweatshop at the turn of the century, has there been so great a number of child toilers. Last summer, five million youngsters were given temporary work permits for the vacation period; at its close, two million remained permanently in the labor force. This year, with the mounting cost of living, an even larger number of children and adolescents will be compelled to find summer jobs, and to retain those jobs when the schools reopen in September.

The social workers' excuse for wartime child labor, that "tremendous wages are proving an irresistible attraction for children," is a bare-faced lie. A Department of Labor report of conditions in Baltimore, proves that last summer, the weekly average rate of pay for boys was \$14.68—the rate for girls, \$13.98. Only dire necessity drives parents to permit their children to slave in factories and fields for wages so miserly. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living, would end the terrible financial pressure on the working class which forces it to sell its children's future to assure the family of bread today.

The labor officialdom, however, is committed to a policy that deprives the workers of their most effective weapon—the strike—for obtaining the necessary wage increases. The labor press has virtually ignored this growing menace to one of the most important social gains won by the labor movement through thirty years of struggle. Not so the bosses, who, under the patriotic cover of wartime emergency, have been working, both openly in legislative lobbies, and covert-

ly in their industrial enterprises, to nullify and violate legislation passed to give some protection to the health and educational opportunities of minors. The reactionary Congress, in the same five-year period that has seen a trebling of the child labor force, has cut appropriations for investigation of violations by one-third. The few thousand cases which are exposed by a skeleton crew of social workers with the Department of Labor, are, but an insignificant portion of the total number of violations known to exist.

Leading the assault against

America's youth are the greedy agricultural overlords who have for years exploited the children of migratory workers in the giant industrial farms of the West and South. The Canners' Associations have requested that child labor provisions of the Federal Wage-Hours Act be relaxed, to permit employment in the canneries at the age of 14. Dried-fruit growers in California, closely tied to the cannery barons, have petitioned for exemption of their industry from provisions of the same Act. A bill has been introduced in Congress which, if passed, will permit children to leave school and work in the sugar-cane fields, for the duration of the war.

According to *The Child*, Nov.

1943, official monthly bulletin of the Children's Bureau of the U.S.

Department of Labor, last year 27 state legislatures passed 54 acts which "included some backward steps" in the protection of children; "In addition, two of these states and one other issued . . . 14 administrative orders which brought about relaxations" of existing regulations.

What the Department of Labor nonchalantly calls "backward steps" and "relaxations" can be gauged by such facts as: In Delaware, children of 14 are now permitted to work until midnight; in logging camp, boys of 8, 9, and 10 years were working as wood-choppers, one of the most hazardous occupations even for trained adults. In canning factories, children as young as 8 years of age were found peeling, cutting, pitting and coring fruits and vegetables, heading shrimps, shucking oysters, and so forth.

Other violations were exposed by compensation suits, particularly in New York, which re-

ported 100 percent more payments of compensation to injured, illegally hired children in 1943, than in 1942. So grave is the situation that Mrs. Gertrude Zimand, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, warned, "too many (children) are working after school hours, far into the night, with resulting injury to their health and school work; too many very young children are being employed."

Only the pressure of an aroused

trade union movement can halt the steady encroachment on the youth and win back the safeguards wrung from the capitalists through decades of struggle, and extend those safeguards until every boy and girl in the nation is free from the danger of early exploitation, with its attending dangers of stunted growth, crippled bodies, dulled minds.

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America's youth are the greedy agricultural overlords who have for years exploited the children of migratory workers in the giant industrial farms of the West and South. The Canners' Associations have requested that child labor provisions of the Federal Wage-Hours Act be relaxed, to permit employment in the canneries at the age of 14. Dried-fruit growers in California, closely tied to the cannery barons, have petitioned for exemption of their industry from provisions of the same Act. A bill has been introduced in Congress which, if passed, will permit children to leave school and work in the sugar-cane fields, for the duration of the war.

According to *The Child*, Nov.

1943, official monthly bulletin of the Children's Bureau of the U.S.

Department of Labor, last year 27 state legislatures passed 54 acts which "included some backward steps" in the protection of children; "In addition, two of these states and one other issued . . . 14 administrative orders which brought about relaxations" of existing regulations.

What the Department of Labor nonchalantly calls "backward steps" and "relaxations" can be gauged by such facts as:

In logging camp, boys of 8, 9, and 10 years were working as wood-choppers, one of the most hazardous occupations even for trained adults.

In canning factories, children as young as 8 years of age were found peeling, cutting, pitting and coring fruits and vegetables, heading shrimps, shucking oysters, and so forth.

Other violations were exposed by compensation suits, particularly in New York, which re-

ported 100 percent more payments of compensation to injured, illegally hired children in 1943, than in 1942. So grave is the situation that Mrs. Gertrude Zimand, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, warned, "too many (children) are working after school hours, far into the night, with resulting injury to their health and school work; too many very young children are being employed."

Only the pressure of an aroused

trade union movement can halt the steady encroachment on the youth and win back the safeguards wrung from the capitalists through decades of struggle, and extend those safeguards until every boy and girl in the nation is free from the danger of early exploitation, with its attending dangers of stunted growth, crippled bodies, dulled minds.

The labor officialdom, however, is committed to a policy that deprives the workers of their most effective weapon—the strike—for obtaining the necessary wage increases. The labor press has virtually ignored this growing menace to one of the most important social gains won by the labor movement through thirty years of struggle. Not so the bosses, who, under the patriotic cover of wartime emergency, have been working, both openly in legislative lobbies, and covert-

ly in their industrial enterprises, to nullify and violate legislation passed to give some protection to the health and educational opportunities of minors. The reactionary Congress, in the same five-year period that has seen a trebling of the child labor force, has cut appropriations for investigation of violations by one-third.

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