

UAW HEAD ATTACKS UNION MILITANTS

Leading Unionists Will Speak At Rally For 18

Baldanzi, Wolchok and De Lorenzo to Address CRDC Mass Meeting in Behalf of Imprisoned Trotskyists, in N. Y. C. June 8

Samuel Wolchok, President of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the CIO Textile Workers Union, and Thomas De Lorenzo, President of the CIO United Automobile Workers Brewster Local 365, will be among the outstanding labor and liberal leaders who will address the coming largest united rally yet held on behalf of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case, which Warren K. Billings recently called "the same kind of frameup as was perpetrated by organized capital against Mooney and myself during the First World War."

ILGWU Leaders Back Fight to Free 18

The imprisonment of 18 members of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers' Local 544-CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders on December 31, 1943 is being protested by many prominent labor leaders, among them Julius Hochman, Israel Feinberg and Charles S. Zimmerman, all of the ILGWU, as a grave injustice against the labor movement, according to the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

The three-time refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to review the Smith "Gag" Act under which these 18 have been convicted on account of opinions they hold, leaves this act, sponsored by Congressman Howard Smith who co-authored the Smith-Connally Act, untested for its constitutionality.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the 18 prisoners, is conducting a campaign to secure 10,000 signatures asking freedom for those convicted and repeal of the Smith Act. The committee's headquarters is at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

[Reprinted from June 1 issue of Justice, official organ of International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.]

General Strike In Paraguay Crushed By Military Terror

News of a paralyzing general strike which stopped dead the industry, transportation and public utilities systems of the South American republic of Paraguay, has just been received by *The Militant* from sources in Argentina. No word of the strike has appeared in the press of the United States and it was practically ignored by the capitalist and Stalinist press of South America.

The strike broke out on Feb. 14 and lasted until the second week in March when it was finally smashed by the reactionary government of President Higinio Morinigo with the indirect aid of the American imperialists.

STRIKERS' DEMANDS

Demands put forward by the workers were for wage increases commensurate with the rise in the cost of living; repeal of a decree disbanding the trade unions; the right to strike; restoration of democratic rights, including free speech and press; removal of fascists from the government administration and the army.

The government employed every weapon at its command in order to crush the strike and a brutal reign of terror was instituted. Troops occupied all government buildings, state and private enterprises for three weeks.

In Asuncion, the capital, more than half of the Paraguayan army, some 6,000 soldiers, were employed to maintain "law and order."

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Unionism Upheld By War Veterans

A poll of World War II veterans, the results of which were published in the current issue of *Iron Age*, leading trade journal of the anti-labor steel barons, gives the lie direct to the vicious propaganda of the Roosevelt administration, Congress and Wall Street.

According to the published admissions of this foremost organ of the industrialists, the following are the real sentiments of the returning veterans toward organized labor:

90 percent actively favor unions as the only means to secure job protection.

59 percent are in favor of the closed shop.

64 percent favor the retention of the strike weapon after the war, although a majority oppose wartime strikes.

As for the employers' propaganda that the workers are enjoying a "silk shirt" era on their wartime wages, *Iron Age* reports that among the interviewed veterans "there was complete unanimity in pooh-poohing the concept of war workers' swollen purchasing power."

The poll is all the more significant because it reflects the views exclusively of veterans who have seen actual overseas service during this war and are now, as a result of medical discharges, back in industry.



GEORGE NOVACK

support that is joining the CRDC's campaign for an immediate unconditional Presidential pardon for the 18, victims of the most notorious violation of labor and civil rights in America during this war.

PROMINENT SPEAKERS

Other prominent progressive and workingclass political party spokesmen who will participate as speakers in the united rally will be Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, leading national organization devoted to defense of civil rights; Daniel Bell, Associate Editor of the *Socialist Democratic Federation's New Leader*; Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party; and Albert Gates, Editor of *Labor Action*.

One of the main features of the meeting will be a report by George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, who is completing a three month's coast-to-coast speaking tour, addressing thousands of workers at CRDC meetings and union gatherings in the nation's principal cities. No-

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"Kindly Words About Spain"



Churchill Assails Trotskyism, Extols Stalin And Aids Franco

By Ralph Graham

"Kindly words" about the bloody Spanish dictatorship of the fascist General Franco, reiteration of the Allied intention to dismember Germany, and an implied promise to cover all of Europe with police-military dictatorships of the type already foreshadowed by the Badoglio government in Italy—these were the high points of the speech made by Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons on May 24 in outlining the war policies of the British government.

British Brass-Hats Jail Soldier for Trotskyist Views

Freedom of speech, which is one of the "Four Freedoms" supposedly guaranteed by Churchill and Roosevelt, does not extend to soldiers in the British army. This was made abundantly clear only a few weeks ago when a Private Stanton was framed up and haled before a Field General Court-martial in a north England town and charged with "action prejudicial to good order and military discipline" because he had expressed revolutionary socialist views to his comrades-in-arms.

Stanton was found guilty and sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the brass-hat tribunal which held, in effect, that mere expression of opinion was a violation of the Army Act.

The arrest and trial of Stanton who steadfastly defended his revolutionary socialist opinions, coincided with the wild smear campaign in the capitalist press

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SEE EDITORIAL
ON PAGE 6:
'No-Strike Pledge'

50,000 Northwest Lumbermen Strike For Pay Increase

SEATTLE, Wash., May 25—An estimated 50,000 members of the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers are on strike throughout this Northwest Pacific area in a fast-spreading walkout against a War Labor Board decision denying the lumber workers the much-needed and much-promised wage increases they have been demanding since Pearl Harbor.

The strike began on May 19 when 5,500 workers here and at Tacoma refused to report to work following an announcement, after 16 months of stalling, by the West Coast Lumber Commission of the WLB that the union's demand for a 15 cents-an-hour wage increase had been turned down. Granting of the increase would have brought top wages in the industry to only \$1.05 an hour. Present wages for many workers are as low as 70 cents an hour on jobs that are notoriously dangerous.

WALKOUT SPREADS

Within three days of the initial walkout here, the strike had spread to all corners of the Northwest lumber fields and mills in Oregon and Washington. Even the local members of the Stalinist-dominated CIO International Woodworkers are catching the fever. Much to the embarrassment of the strike-breaking Stalinist top leadership, the non-Stalinist Portland local of 1,300 workers has voted "to go fishing and report the results back at their union meeting Wednesday night." This action followed a statement issued by the Stalinist international leadership on the previous evening that "their men would not strike."

Officials of the Northwest Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers, who claim the strike is "spontaneous" and have given it no formal endorsement, have as yet issued no direct order for the men to return to work. John M. Christenson, President of the Northwest Council, who prior to the strike had declared that "the lumber workers are restless and it's very, very likely that the men will strike or simply quit their jobs," replied to capitalist press queries about his position on the strike that "some of the men went

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R. J. Thomas Statement Gives Aid To Anti-Labor Offensive

Big Business Press Jubilantly Hails Blast Against Workers Who Fight to Defend Union

By C. Thomas

In the midst of a ferocious anti-labor drive whipped up by Big Business, its political agents in Washington and its press, R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, comes forward to blast the membership of his own union with ammunition borrowed from the arsenal of the most rabid enemies of labor. In a statement issued last week, Thomas unloads sole responsibility for a number of work stoppages that have occurred in recent weeks, on those UAW members and locals who resisted the deliberate pro-

provocation of the auto barons, who defended the union contracts and who fought to maintain union rights and union conditions in the industry. "Within recent weeks," says Thomas, "There have been too many wildcat strikes. Public opinion has become inflamed against our union. Word of these strikes is going to our millions of men in uniform. Our union cannot survive if the nation and our soldiers believe that we are obstructing the war effort."

Thomas "stab-in-the-back" statement was released for publication just a few days after the International Executive Board of the UAW by unanimous action, had removed the officers of Local 490 and established a receivership over the local, for participating in an "unauthorized" strike against the Chrysler Corporation. As *The Militant* has repeatedly pointed out: although the executive board is split up into cliques (Thomas - Reuther - Addes - Frankenstein, etc.) engaged in an unprincipled scramble for power, when it comes to a question involving a fundamental issue, all clique distinctions evaporate as the bureaucrats unite—against the rank and file.

PRESS JUBILANT

The plutocratic press, whose particular function it is to inflame "public opinion" against the unions, jubilantly seized upon Thomas' statement and featured it in their columns.

"Thomas Says Union Will Die If Strikes Go On: Motor Workers' President Asserts Public Is Inflamed by War-Time Walkouts," was the head carried by the nation's leading Republican newspaper, the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*, over a story featuring the Thomas statement. "CIO Union Must End Strikes Or Die, Says Thomas: Surprise Statement Declares Soldiers Believe Union Is Obstructing War Effort," chorused the *N. Y. Times*, one of the most authoritative organs of Big Business in the country. The Stalinist *Daily Worker* joined their Wall Street bedfellows in gleefully pouncing on Thomas' statement to whitewash their strike-

breaking role in the Montgomery Ward strike. "His warning," gloated the *Daily Worker*, "was delivered at a time when certain liberal organs, notably PM and the *Chicago Sun*, were attacking Communists for fighting against strike provocateurs."

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In the past few months conditions in the industry have gone from bad to worse. The corporations have consistently ignored the union grievance machinery, violated the union contracts, victimized those militant stewards and committeemen who fought for the rights of the membership and otherwise engaged in a planned campaign of provocation designed to undermine the authority of the union and weaken its position in the industry.

The UAW executive board recognized this condition in a resolution which it adopted three months ago wherein it was stated that an increasing number of corporations "have deliberately pursued a course intended to deny them (the union membership)

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ROOSEVELT'S DRIVE FOR FORCED LABOR

By R. Bell

The campaign for labor conscription, ballyhooed by the plutocratic press and spearheaded by the brass hats, has been kept alive by the forced labor advocates since Roosevelt first proposed such legislation in his annual message to Congress. One of the first acts of the recently appointed Secretary of the Navy, James V. Forrestal, was to appear before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, to urge the adoption of the Brewster-Bailey "Work-or-Fight" bill. The bill, a bi-partisan measure, sponsored by the poll-tax Democrat, Senator Josiah W. Bailey of North Carolina and the Republican Senator, Owen Brewster of Maine, has been introduced as a "modified version" of the "more drastic" Austin-Wadsworth National Service Act. It provides:

THE PROVISIONS

(1) That Selective Service shall have the power to assign workers to any job they see fit, to shift workers from one job to another or from one locality to another. Any worker, between the ages of 18 and 45 who fails to obey the draft board's order is subject to induction into the army and assignment to a special labor battalion. After being placed in army uniform, the worker can

then be ordered to work at army pay, wherever the army directs under penalty of a military court martial.

(2) That a worker employed in a so-called "essential" industry plant who leaves his job without first getting permission of the draft board is subject to induction into an army labor battalion to be sent back to work at army pay.

This "modified" version of Roosevelt's labor draft proposal is comparable to the methods used by Hitler to enslave the German workers. So flagrant are the union busting provisions of the "Work-or-Fight" bill that the habitually submissive heads of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood were moved to protest its enactment. The heads of the CIO and AFL reiterated their contention that such legislation wasn't "wise or necessary." Martin H. Miller, legislative representative of the Railroad Brotherhood, expressed a more vigorous verbal opposition when he said: "The great majority of the people when they understand, oppose and resent conscription of civilians who would be driven like cattle, to the private profit-making industries of the nation."

So great is the opposition of large sections of the population to slave labor that the sponsors

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True Role And "Destiny" of Norman Thomas And His Party

By Norman Daniels

The American Socialist Party, headed by Norman Thomas, is reenacting in this war the performance of the European Social Democracy in the last. Prior to August 1914, the European Social Democracy was opposed to imperialist wars and used to adopt at successive international congresses militant resolutions pledging unflinching struggle against the capitalist rulers and their wars of rivalry over world markets. But all these solemn pledges were instantly forgotten by the treacherous Social Democratic leaders at the outbreak of the first World War. Instead of oppos-

ing the war, they placed themselves at the service of the war-makers and became their servile agents in the working-class ranks.

The American Socialist Party was anti-war until Pearl Harbor, that is, until the U. S. entry into the war. Norman Thomas and his friends were wearing proudly their anti-war garb in peace-time when that was fashionable in the best circles; they discarded this garb as soon as the war drums began to beat, just like the European Social Democrats did in the last war. But here the similarity ends.

TRAGEDY AND FARCE

The treachery of the European Social Democracy was a tragedy

from which the working class has not recovered to this day. To this treachery can be traced the costly post-war defeats of the European workers, the rise of fascism and the outbreak of World War II. But the act of the American Socialist Party of Norman Thomas in giving up its opposition to the war was no more than a farce.

The European Social Democracy commanded great mass parties. Everything they did or failed to do affected the lives and fortunes of the working class as a whole. What Norman Thomas and his cohorts do or fail to do affects merely their own reputations—reputations long tarnished by their entire political record.

The European Social Democracy in 1914 forgot its working class internationalism and turned

its back on its socialist objectives. Norman Thomas has never really known the meaning of internationalism; he never became a Marxist socialist.

The European Social Democracy traded their socialist principles for ministerial portfolios. Norman Thomas is not trading any socialist principles. He never had any. He has never been more than a liberal and a pacifist. He reveals this most glaringly in his recent book *What Is Our Destiny?* (The Country Life Press, Garden City, N. Y., 1944. Price \$2.00).

As can be gathered from the title, Thomas' book falls within the category of similar recent contributions by authors who

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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 open-shoppers 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 a 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 pol-

icy that most of the corporations have adopted since the union leaders gave away the right to strike. The bosses fire the best militants in the union, and then laugh at the union grievance committees when they "arbitrate later."

The Stalinist Daily Worker, May 23, came to the defense of Harry Bridges, the "Communist Political Association's" stooge head of the CIO Longshoremen, against alleged "misrepresentations" about him in the March 18 Business Week, one of the Wall Street house-organs.

The Daily Worker's sole complaint is that "the resignation early this year of Philip M. Connelly (Stalinist) as California state CIO director, and election by the state executive board of J. G. Timmes (non-Stalinist)... was blown up into a defeat for what 'Business Week' called 'the Harry Bridges machine.'"

We are still waiting to hear what the Stalinists have to say about the real substance of the Business Week article, which pointed out to the employers, that there is "a new amenability in union leadership" and "a more conciliatory attitude toward business" among the CIO unions controlled by the Stalinists. The article further states: "Since Russia's involvement in the war, the leadership in these unions has moved from the extreme left-wing position in the American labor movement."

It then points out that the Stalinists have been the best strikebreakers, the only advocates of the speed-up incentive pay plan, "the last to call for smashing the Little Steel formula... and the only unions which support the President's call for a national service act."

Business Week then passes on to a "further hard-boiled tip" that in those plants where workers are "proving fractious," that is, fighting for their rights, a word from the bosses to the Stalinist union leaders "will bring all the organizational disciplinary apparatus to focus on the heads of the unruly local leaders."

The reference to Bridges, on which the Stalinists now understandably center all their ire, reads: "As the Timmes victory in California suggests, a rank and file which has been fed raw meat will get restive on a diet of corn flakes. A dent could not be made in Bridges' union standing as long as he was the militant leader his followers loved to call 'Elifire Arny.' But when he and his associates urge soft-pedaling of grievances, support for national service, and harder work, his position of leadership is threatened."

Bridges and the Daily Worker will have a hard time making out a "slander" against Business Week for what it really said. And they are giving a poor show of gratitude for what this Big Business mouthpiece intended only as compliment and praise.

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 that Toledo has just begun to fight."

Newark: "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!

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 maizy 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 dashing madly around the country, rubbing salt into the wounds which labor has received from these assaults.

Could his trouble be that he has spent so much time with management that he has been half way converted to their way of thought? Or is it simply that it is so long since he has worked in the shops that he has lost contact with actual conditions? Whatever his troubles are, they could be cured by a union convention.

How in the world is it possible to believe that big business will call off its all-out assault against labor if only the unions will adopt a boot-licking appeasement labor policy? It is about time that somebody told Thomas to get in there and get to pitching for the union or else go on over and join the other gang and be done with it.

For a man that is drawing a salary from the union for doing union work, Thomas is perform-

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

R. J. Thomas Statement Gives Aid To Anti-Labor Offensive

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their rights under their contracts." From this premise, the board then proceeded to arrive at the singular conclusion that drastic penalties would be imposed on those members and locals that actively resisted corporation provocation! This action so encouraged the corporations in their flagrant disregard of the union contracts that a wave of resistance developed among militant sections of the UAW. A number of powerful locals, numbering among them Briggs Local 212 Chrysler Local 7, Aircraft Unit Ford Local 600, Flint Chevrolet Local and others, adopted resolutions which were submitted to the executive board, demanding a special convention to rescind the no-strike pledge, which is the king pin in the entire machinery that keeps labor shackled. What was the UAW officialdom's answer?

This demand for a democratic solution to the most burning problem confronting the union was met by the board with hostility, threats and punitive action against militants who incurred the displeasure of the corporations, culminating in the recent removal of the elected officers of Chrysler Local 490, the appointment of a dictator-receiver over the local and the open strike-breaking declaration of Thomas and Addes urging the auto workers to crash any picket line because: "There can be no such thing as legitimate picket lines." The bureaucratic action of the executive board, supplemented by the Thomas statement, have demonstrated that the top leaders of the UAW are determined to combine in crushing any resist-

ance to the fatal policy of capitulation and surrender to the labor-hating corporations while riding roughshod over the democratic rights of the membership.

THOMAS' POLICY

The treacherous statement by Judas Thomas and the executive board's onslaught on the workers rights comes at a time when unions throughout the country are being forced to resort to labor's most effective weapon, the strike, to defend themselves against the union-busting offensive of the bosses.

Committed to the support of the Roosevelt administration and to policies that have rendered the unions impotent to cope with the persistent assault of the money-bags, the top bureaucrats have turned like ravenous wolves on those local officials and members who refuse to follow the policy of "playing dead" while the corporations trample their unions into pulp. "I know that government agencies are too slow," says Thomas, "and that management in many cases is trying to provoke strikes, or at least to take advantage of the no-strike pledge to weaken our union." The auto workers will be glad to learn that Thomas "knows" what the corporations are up to. What is of greater interest is what he and his executive board intend to do about it!

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 Co., is reduced to "taking it on the chin."

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 disastrous policies advocated by Thomas and the International Executive Board of the UAW. And the returning soldiers, will hard-

A Correction

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 American Federation of Labor.

Churchill's 'Kindly Words' For Franco

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the reactionary elements of Europe, because now he feels sufficiently confident to drop the false mask of "democracy" and openly avow the reactionary character of the war.

He took occasion to gloat in ghastly fashion over all the reactionary, retrogressive developments in the Soviet Union under the rotten rule of the Stalin regime, about which he also had "kindly words" to say. "Profound changes have taken place in Soviet Russia," he declared. "The Trotskyite form of communism has been completely wiped out. The victories of the Russian armies have been attended by a great rise in strength of the Russian state and a remarkable broadening of its views. The religious side of Russian life has had a wonderful rebirth. The discipline and military etiquette of the Russian armies are unsurpassed. There is a new national anthem... These are marked departures from conceptions which were held some years ago."

Churchill, in particular, can feel gratified at the degeneration of the Soviet state under the reactionary rule of Stalin and the bureaucracy. It was not so many years ago that he was leading the British imperialist attack against the Soviet Union. He then demanded that Trotsky be placed before a firing squad. Those were the days, too, when he was an ardent admirer of Mussolini, whom he regarded as having saved Europe from Bolshevism.

STALIN'S ROLE

Stalin is today one of the defenders of European capitalism against the perils of revolution which would also undermine and destroy the reactionary Stalinist ruling caste in the Soviet Union. That is why Churchill, the Tory chief, can now shake hands with the bloody renegade chief of the Soviet state.

Most people thought the Atlantic Charter had been forgotten. But it bobbed up again, rather unexpectedly, in Churchill's speech. "The Atlantic Charter in no way binds us about the future of Germany... There is no question of Germany enjoying any guarantee of any kind that she will not undergo territorial changes if it should seem that the making of such changes would render more secure and more lasting the peace of Europe."

EMBRACING FRANCO

Nothing could be better calculated to keep the German masses subservient to the Nazi regime than this open threat to impose a new and worse Versailles and dismember Germany as part of the overall plan to Balkanize Europe. There was a time when the Anglo-American imperialists sought to persuade the German people that Allied victory would mean their liberation. This pretense has now been abandoned and the Germans are promised only awful retribution and a new form of enslavement under alien imperialist rule.

ly thank Thomas and Co. for betraying the cause of labor and their interests as workers while they were away!

In urging the Chrysler workers to end the strike which was called in protest against the unwarranted discharge of 16 members of Local 490 and the despotic removal of their elected officials William Jenkins, president of the local who was ousted along with 14 other officers by the executive board, indicated the correct line of action to be followed. Jenkins declared that the local was carrying its fight to the convention of the UAW in September "where every effort would be made to revoke the no-strike pledge," and to compel the restoration of that full measure of internal union democracy for which the UAW has provided a model in the past. Every union militant in the UAW will join with Local 490 and the other advanced locals in the international in fighting for the internal union democracy without which the struggle for the preservation of the union will be threatened by bureaucratic degeneration and eventual destruction. The task of the UAW militants today is to mobilize their forces for the impending showdown at the coming convention around a program that will ensure the existence of their union and reestablish the UAW to its rightful place of eminence as the most progressive and militant union in the country!

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 "democrat" 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 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 by the wealthy, and the accumulation of private incomes above their consumption level in whatever form they see fit..."

Wall Street's plutocratic pirates 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 so-called 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.



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-

scriptions in The Militant Subscription Campaign:

"For the past two weeks we have been covering a Negro war housing project and with very good results. The Stalinists got there before we did and all of us are deriving excellent experience in conjunction with our sub-getting, explaining to the people the difference between their literature and ours. Needless to say, we have been selling the pamphlet 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' along with the subs and in some places it is being read along with Browder's, 'Victory and After.' Of course, this means that we have to devote quite a bit of time to each potential subscriber, but we feel that it is indeed worth the effort if we can clarify the issues and counteract the Stalinist influence in the project."

In San Pedro a longshoreman, upon being approached for a subscription, said: "Sure I'll subscribe to your paper. I belong to the CIO and had a subscription to the 'Peoples World' (Stalinist West Coast paper) but now I tell the mailman he can put it in the fireplace instead of the mailbox... Before the war they were like this — now they are like that. It's not for me... I work with a bunch of fellows and we have lots of political discussions. I brought your paper down there and some of them said 'Trotsky paper, no good,' but I read it and I like it."

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? 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 jig-saw 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 his 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 placidly to ignore it. From then on his exclusive concern is with 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 heaven-sent influence of churches in this crisis than there 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 — its 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 WLB 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-baiting 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 WLB, 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 WLB 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 WLB 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 WLB for two reasons. First, the WLB 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)

der" and keep essential services functioning.

When transportation was halted by the walk-out of railroad men, street-car operators and truck drivers, "Lend-Lease" army vehicles supplied by the United States were used to bring about a partial restoration of traffic. Long after the strike had ended, the street-cars were being operated under police protection.

Printers and newsmen joined in the great demonstration of working-class solidarity and the only paper that appeared was the official government gazette, El Paraguayo, which was bought out by a handful of strikebreakers.

Every device known to a reactionary regime was employed to break the strike, including the threat of punitive action against the wives and children of the strikers.

Only after more than 600 employees and functionaries of the disbanded trade unions had been arrested and herded in concentration camps; and only after hunger and government promises had driven a number of unorganized workers to scab, was the strike finally crushed.

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 dictatorial 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 restiveness of the Latin American workers under the oppressive rule of Wall Street-sponsored dictatorships.

7th Anniversary Of Chicago Memorial Day Massacre During 1937 Little Steel Strike

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 fled 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

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 tourniquet 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.



Scene of the Kelly-Nash police assault during the 1937 Memorial Day Massacre when 10 South Chicago Republic Steel workers were murdered. This picture is from the suppressed newsreel of the brutal attack on the peaceful marchers.

50,000 JOIN LUMBER STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

to dig worms and go fishing. Others went to go on trips. They're all scattered now and there hasn't been any big assemblage at any time." He added: "At last night's meeting... I told them to stay on their jobs and be good patriotic workers, but they just told me to go places. They said that was just the old mullarky I've been giving them for the past sixteen months."

A union statement declares that the union officials "attach no blame to those who walked off the job following the National

War Labor Board's denial last Wednesday of industry-wide increases. Pres. John M. Christenson of the Northwestern Council declared this week that union officers 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 of the OPA has issued scarehead stories about great suffering next winter "if the strike spreads" because of alleged

wood-fuel shortages. The Washington State Director of Selective Service stated that strikers are to be considered as "not working" and "naturally will be reclassified I-A." These threats have been followed by the further spread of the strike.

At this writing, all signs point to an even larger increase in the strikers' ranks. The lumber mills and camps are seething with resentment against the lumber kings and their WLB agents. Wages in this dangerous industry have remained virtually stationary despite price rises since the beginning of the war. Profits, however, have increased tremendously. Since 1940, the lumber barons have jacked up the price of a thousand feet of lumber from an average of \$21 to over \$38. The OPA has permitted one price boost after another, only a month ago authorizing an increase from \$1 to \$3 per thousand feet of No. 3 sawmill and camp-run Douglas Fir logs.

Bulletin

PORTLAND, Ore., May 28 — In defiance of the union's Stalinist-dominated international leadership, the Columbia River District Council of the CIO International Woodworkers today issued a statement that it could not "conscientiously" order its membership to obey a WLB directive demanding that the CIO workers discontinue their participation in the Pacific Northwest lumber strike.

At the same time, the Northwest Council of the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers, the bulk of whose members are on strike, today adjourned a meeting without taking action on the WLB's strikebreaking ultimatum.

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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 downright fraudulent."

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 as they are or get steadily and endlessly worse. He ignores the thesis that the exploited majority must, sooner or later, win political power, replace the Sixty Families now exercising the dictatorship with elected proletarian representatives who will conduct the affairs of state for the economic benefit of the masses.

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 communists), are nothing but servants of reactionary capitalism.

Although ignored — not unexpectedly — 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?

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

THE HISTORIC 1934 STRIKES IN MINNEAPOLIS AND TOLEDO

With the revival of industry, the workers gained new confidence in themselves and began a movement to wrest back some of those things which had been taken away from them in the depths of the depression. The ground for the mass activity of the Trotskyist movement in America was, of course, laid by the action of the masses themselves. In the Spring of 1934 the country had been electrified by the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo in which some new methods and new techniques of militant struggle had been introduced. A political, or at least semi-political grouping, represented by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which had set up the Provisional Committee for the formation of the American Workers Party, had led this tremendously significant strike in Toledo through the medium of their unemployed League.

There was shown for the first time what a great role can be played in the struggles of industrial workers by an unemployed organization led by militant elements. The unemployed organization in Toledo, which had been formed and was under the leadership of the Musteite group, practically took over the leadership of this Auto-Lite strike and raised it to a level of mass picketing and militancy far beyond the bounds ever contemplated by the old line union bureaucrats.

The Minneapolis strikes raised the level even higher. If we measure by all standards, including the decisive criterion of political direction and the maximum exploitation of every possibility inherent in a strike, we must say that the high point of the 1934 wave was the strike of the Minneapolis drivers, helpers and insulators in May, and its repetition on a still higher scale in July-August 1934. These strikes

put American Trotskyism to a crucial test.

Minneapolis wasn't the easiest nut to crack. In fact it was one of the hardest in the country; Minneapolis was a notorious open-shop town. For fifteen or twenty years the Citizens Alliance, an organization of hard-boiled employers, had ruled Minneapolis with an iron hand. Not a single strike of any consequence had been successful in those years. Even the building trades, perhaps the most stable and effective of all the craft unions, were kept on the run in Minneapolis and driven off the most important construction jobs. It was a town of lost strikes, open shops, miserably low wages, mundenous hours, and a weak and ineffectual craft-union movement.

The coal strike ... was a preliminary skirmish before the great battles to come. The smashing victory of that strike, its militancy, its good organization and its quick success, stimulated the general organization of the truck drivers and helpers, who up to that time and throughout the years of the depression, had been cruelly exploited and without benefit of organization. True, there was a union in the industry, but it was holding on to the ragged edge of nothing.

The success of the coal strike uplifted the workers in the trucking industry. They were tinder for the spark; their wages were too low and their hours too long. Freed for so many years from any union restraints, the profit-hungry bosses had gone too far — the bosses always go too far — and the ground-down workers heard the union message gladly.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, Chapter 8; soon to be issued by Pioneer Publishers. This excerpt reprinted from Fourth International, May, 1944.)

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

By James Cowan

Inter-continental 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 revenues in 1942 amounted to \$109,000,000 and its personnel, numbering 88,000, were spread over three-fourths of the earth's surface.

The story of Pan American's rise is told dramatically and in considerable detail by Matthew Josephson in his recent book, "Empire of the Air."

THE SAME STORY

It is a story of pioneering initiative invested with all the elements of capitalist chicanery and government patronage invariably encountered in the history of big corporations. It is a story of ruthless competition, leading inevitably to monopoly, a story of "free enterprise" in the Wall Street tradition of a scramble for super-profits.

Juan Trippe, the president of Pan American, is described by Matthew Josephson as typifying, "knowingly or not, capitalist enterprise nourished and protected by the state, and inevitably assuming a monopolistic form." The "nourishment" which Pan American received from Washington has taken the form of subsidy through mail contracts. Each time an air mail stamp is affixed to a letter or package destined for a foreign country, Juan Trippe and his associates get a handsome rake-off.

Air mail contracts were let to Pan American without bid, even when there were competitors in the field. Trippe and his associates have influential friends in Washington who saw to that. Between 1930 and 1940 foreign 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.

Although it had accumulated great profits and enhanced its capital by unmercifully gouging the public and looting the treasury through mail contracts, Pan American displayed its patriotic colors when the U. S. entered the war by virtually refusing to risk its ships in dangerous zones. The federal government obligingly came to the rescue of Pan American's profits with an arrangement whereby it would buy and lease to the company the Boeing clippers to be used on inter-continental and transoceanic routes. Pan American thus continues to make tremendous profits at public expense and all risk of loss through flying accidents or acts of war is saddled on the public purse.

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."

Trippe 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."

"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 be-

come proponents of "freedom of the air," meaning freedom for the Pan American monopoly to outrace 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.

GROUNDWORK 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 routes 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

one of its officials declared belligerently — will build planes that will be able to fly past them to their destined goals.

MONOPOLY ROOTS

Pan American is not an orphan unable to make its way in the world alone. It has become an integral part of the vast structure of American capital which is bent on world domination. It is a leading instrument of this policy. The stockholders' list of Pan American has included such names as Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, William H. Vanderbilt, W. Averell Harriman, John Hamilton, Robert Lehman, Edward Stettinius.

Its place in the family of American capitalism is depicted as follows by Matthew Josephson: "A man who was for many years a vice-president and foreign representative of the company has described the impression produced upon him by attendance at one of the first directors' meetings. He had been called to New York to give a report on problems of foreign promotion in various Latin American countries with whose commerce and politics he had had long experience. He relates: 'The company began in a small way; its paid-up capital at the time I joined it was about \$600,000. But when I looked around that boardroom there were seventeen directors at the table, and it amazed me to see who they were. The men in that room represented a combined wealth of about \$50,000,000!'"

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 skulduggery, this clash of air imperialisms, 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 order to allay opposition to the "Work-or-Fight" bill, as well as to the equally vicious Austin-Wadsworth national service act, Warren Austin, co-author of the equally vicious Austin-Wadsworth national service act has proposed that spokesmen for labor, management and Government agencies be summoned to a conference to work out a compromise measure that would be acceptable to all. The proposal to conscript labor is a dagger aimed at the heart of the labor movement. The fight against labor conscription is the fight for the preservation of the organizations and institutions of the working class.

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."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 2, 1934

TOLEDO—The famous Auto-Lite strike which won the first stronghold 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 workers. The militant Unemployed League joined the strikers 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 world-wide 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 a daily strike paper; above all, the importance of bringing to the economic struggles of the trade unions, the political experience and understanding of the revolutionists.

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.

Having already become less 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.

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 aide to testify on behalf of the Work-or-Fight bill was Donald Nelson, head of the

BRITISH SOLDIER IMPRISONED FOR HIS TROTSKYIST VIEWS

(Continued from page 1)

against the British Trotskyists which culminated in the arrest of four leading members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International. A full report on the case appeared in the mid-April issue of the Socialist Appeal, official organ of the RCP.

Stanton refused to retreat from his principled position as a revolutionary socialist, although he was offered leniency in view of his good army record. He courageously affirmed his Marxist views on the war and his sympathy with the Trotskyist program, but explained that he had discontinued his membership in the Trotskyist organization when he joined the army.

Socialist Appeal describes Stanton's court-martial amid the "trapings of ceremony with which these courts dress themselves up," surrounded entirely by polished buttons and fancy braid of officers in full-dress and "not a single soldier present from the regiment itself." The trial judges were a major and two lieutenants, representing the reactionary officers caste.

The evidence used to convict Stanton was trumped-up testimony about statements he was alleged to have made in private conversations.

"It appears that in the beginning of March two soldiers were called before the C. O. and asked about Stanton," *Socialist Appeal* reports. "As a result of this interview these two soldiers testified that on Dec. 29, 1943 they heard Private Stanton say that:

"If the soldiers laid down their arms there would be no more war." Under cross-examination the witnesses (who at the trial numbered three) were at variance on every other point. They could not even agree on the number of the hut in which they had lived for weeks. But they were positive on only one point, and that was the alleged statement. Two months after the statement was made, these soldiers testified to having heard it after having seen the C. O. in private."

Stanton denied the statement attributed to him as being at variance with his own views as a Marxist. He explained his real views, which he admitted putting forward in discussions on every possible occasion, "that a workers government alone could end the present imperialist war. He sought to win over others to his viewpoint, and consistently warned against isolated adventures by small minorities. As a Marxist socialist he was opposed to pacifism which calls on the soldiers simply to lay down their arms. In France and Italy the soldiers had laid down their arms but they were not out of the war. It was necessary for the soldiers, together with the workers, to overthrow the capitalist class and the present government in order to end imperialism which alone causes war, and which caused this war in the struggle for markets."

He further told the court that after the workers and soldiers took power "we would not lay down our arms, but would defend the workers' state from all attacks from inside and out. But

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."

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

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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 company 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-Adde- 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!

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, lumberman, 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 struggles in Minnesota. Because of his militant 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 tire 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 within 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 Cannery 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;

Florida has reduced the minimum age in some occupations to 14, and even 12 for work outside of school hours. Utah has passed one of the most vicious provisions known in many years, permitting girls over 16 to work "in smelters and in mines at other than underground work"—both categories of labor so dangerous to health that previously they were prohibited for all female workers.

In 1943, the Children's Bureau—granted \$c. per employed child, to investigate violations of existing laws—uncovered 4,567 cases of illegal employment, 800 of them involving youngsters under 14. In a 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 reported 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.

International Notes

USSR

A recent issue of the *Information Bulletin* issued by the Soviet Embassy in Washington reports steps that have been taken to establish in Moscow a theological institute as a branch of the Russian Orthodox Church which, with the benevolent aid of the Stalinist ruling caste, is beginning to flourish on Soviet soil as it once did in the empire of the Czars.

Tuition in the institute, says the *Bulletin*, will be free of charge. Free secular education, the right of every child to attend school up to and including the university, was established by the October Revolution and was counted among its greatest social gains. Stalin wiped this out some time ago, decreeing that only "deserving" children should enjoy the advantages of free high school and university schooling.

Thus the only free "higher" learning in the USSR will be the reactionary theological mysticism dispensed by the church, for even the Suvorov military schools, supposedly free, are in reality open only to the children of the ruling bureaucratic caste.

Lacking any solid social base among the Soviet workers and peasants, the Stalin regime leans more and more heavily on the

resurrected caste of military officers and upon the Holy Church, which Stalin now supports and sustains in order that it, in turn may serve as a support for his reactionary regime. In line with this policy, the Soviet Embassy's *Information Bulletin* slobbered—like the Moscow press—over the Patriarch Sergius, who died last month, declaring that he "embodied the finest traits of the great Russian churchmen and patriots."

For Sergius' successor, the acting Patriarch Alexei, there is more fulsome praise. And Alexei, rendering tribute to the sinister dictator in the Kremlin as his predecessors had done to the Czars, wrote a letter to Stalin in which he described the latter as the "God-appointed leader of the peoples of our great union."

A hundred years ago Marx attacked religious mysticism as the "opium of the people." The Soviet government which arose from the October revolution rigorously separated the church from the state and opened a campaign to free the minds of the masses from the evil influences of all forms of obscurantism.

The revival of organized religion under Stalin's patronage gives the measure of the corrup-

tion and degeneration of the Soviet regime under the rule of the bureaucracy and indicates the distance it has traveled from the concepts and practices of its great revolutionary founders, Lenin and Trotsky.

IRELAND

A smashing victory for 40,000 striking workers in Belfast, Northern Ireland, is reported in the April 22 issue of the *New Leader*, organ of the British Independent Labor Party. Shipyard workers to the number of some 20,000 struck in February to press their demand for a new time rate of three shillings an hour. Weeks later, five shop stewards were arrested and sentenced to three months' hard labor for their part in the strike.

Fighting this policy of victimization, the shipyard workers demanded immediate release of the five and went out on strike again when the demand was rejected by the government. Twenty thousand additional workers in various industries downed tools in solidarity, making a total of 40,000 on strike.

This splendid demonstration of working class militancy forced the government to release the five stewards on April 7.

Trying to Halt Cartel Menace With Mere Words

Proposed federal legislation to halt monopoly practices, particularly the international cartel connections of Big Business, resembles an attempt to sweep back the ocean tide with a broom.

Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, who has been making a big hullabaloo about the evils of cartels, is now holding hearings through the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, which he heads, on a bill requiring corporations to list with the Justice Department any foreign contracts they hold that may be in restraint of trade.

This bill does not envisage halting such "practices," but merely, in the words of O'Mahoney, would endeavor to "remove the veil of secrecy from international contracts for the restriction of production, the fixing of prices, the allocation of trade territory, or the manipulation of patents, trade marks, and corporate agreements, the existence of which in world trade has long been known."

The worthy Senator must himself undoubtedly appreciate the fantasy of a proposal to fight the all-powerful cartels by asking them to publicize practices which have "long been known."

O'Mahoney himself admits his bill "does not prohibit the organization of cartels, as many students of this problem might suggest. This is a very modest proposal... on the theory... that a requirement for the disclosure of commercial contracts which call for monopolistic practices would be an effective deterrent to the making of such contracts."

What a "deterrent" it would be is indicated by the fact that the first witness who will speak in favor of the bill is Ralph Gallagher of Standard Oil of New Jersey. This corporate giant has maintained for decades some of the most far-reaching cartel agreements ever devised, and is merely waiting for an end of military operations to resume in full its connections with the German, Japanese and British oil and chemical cartels.

Since the government has made a farce of enforcement of existing anti-trust laws, the monopolies have no fear that the proposed "very modest" bill would be any more effectively enforced.

Why Workers Cannot Buy Needed Cheap Clothing

Workers of the Dodge forge plant in Detroit were only narrowly prevented from striking when they were compelled to handle five-ton hammers with bare hands and flimsy improvised gloves. In the Delco battery plant at Muncie, Ind., a 30-minute shut down occurred recently when the workers were unable to secure the clothes necessary to protect them from battery acids.

These recent incidents highlight the scarcity of cheap work clothes resulting from the policies of the textile manufacturers aided by the War Production Board, who refuse to make low-cost consumers items in order to realize greater profits.

The Labor Policy Committee of the Office of Price Administration only recently complained that "deliberate curtailment of low-cost goods is the manufacturers equivalent of strikes. In every case the pattern is the same. Manufacturers of low-cost textiles that go into these garments reduce production and demand that price ceilings be raised. WPA obligingly submits to the holdup, in spite of the fact that textile manufacturers are making ten times their peacetime profits."

But! "In every case, however, the WPA has proceeded to release manufacturers one by one from this production requirement after the price increase has been granted."

International Bankers Never Skip A Dividend

While millions of workers and peasants in uniform are slaughtering each other, no clouds of war darkened the chambers where the chairman of the Board of Directors and the executive officers of the Bank of International Settlement at Basle, Switzerland, on May 22 engaged in the pleasant chore of counting up the proxy votes from the leading banking corporations of America, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Italy, France, Holland, Belgium, and Sweden and cut themselves another dividend melon.

What harmony reigns amidst the international financial vultures of capitalism as they divvy up their blood-soaked profits drawn with icy impartiality from the wounded and dead of all the warring countries! As the United Press dispatch noted: "With last year's business closed, the American, French, German, Italian and Dutch executives of the bank now face another year of daily meetings. All the executives... have a tacit agreement that politics and war will never be discussed while they carry on the bank activities. General Manager and President of the BIS is the American representative, Thomas H. McKittrick. His colleagues include a German, a Frenchman, an Italian and a Dutchman... Since the outbreak of the war in 1939, these men have been sitting side by side each morning, with discussions limited strictly to financial problems."

"Financial problems" make all capitalists kin! And what reassurances could come from Basle more pleasant to the men dying in the mud-holes, to the women and children of Europe as the bombs shriek down, to the workers draining out their lives over the pounding machines, than the news that this amity which takes no note of battle lines or national boundaries will continue!

"It naturally needs a considerable amount of tact on behalf of every one of us, but up to now we've been getting along nicely and expect to do so in the future," McKittrick told the press. "The bank's annual meeting has dwindled during the past five years," McKittrick sadly observed, but "we keep the machine ticking, however, because when the armistice comes the formerly hostile powers will need an efficient instrument such as the BIS."

Above all, international capitalism must have an "efficient instrument" at all times, in war and in peace, so that profits unending will continue to pour into the coffers of the benevolent plutocratic fraternity whose representatives sit together in Switzerland,