Introducing the 6-Page 'MILITANT'

(Read our editorial, page 6, to learn why we've changed the name of the

TO OUR READERS: With this issue, we begin publication as a six-pager. Much important class-struggle news which we were unable to find room for in the four-pager will now be yours each week. In addition, we shall have room now to print more analytical articles on the war and the labor movement. And last, but at least as important as anything else, we shall now be able to print many more letters and articles from our worker-readers.

Help us get THE MILITANT into the hands of the many workers who haven't had a chance to see our paper as yet. To introduce THE MILITANT to new readers, we have made a special arrangement to get it to them at a very nominal price. Clip the coupon on page 2 and send THE MILITANT to a friend for a trial period.

It's your paper! Help spread its weekly message!

THE MILITANT

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NO WORKERS ARE HEARD ON WAR BILL

Negro Worker Lynched In Government Camp

Mob Murders Him At Camp Blanding; Tragedy Was Possible Only Because of Government-Approved "White Supremacy" System

consciousness of the Negro.

I heard an eye-witness account

of the murder at Camp Blanding

When he found out I was from

a white man kills a colored man,

I suggested that a day will come

e's just another dead nigger,'

The unpunished lynching of a Negro worker on an army con- | around here. They go by numbers struction project is reported for the first time by THE MILITANT. on the job. The story, sent to THE MILITANT by a trusted associate who is now at the scene, has been made available to all Negro and labor ers are kept divided as a matter newspapers for publication this week. The story follows:

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Jan. 21-A Negro worker employed on a government project at Camp Blanding was murdered in cold blood by a gang of Georgia crackers on Wednesday, social ladder, January 8. It happened as follows:

A white laborer lost his shovel. Each laborer is charged \$5.00 if he loses a shovel. The white "replaced" his lost shovel istered by the federal government by taking one away from a Negro.

When the Negro laborer asked to have it back, pointing to the markings on the shovel proving that it belonged to him, the white assaulted him and was immediately joined by a gang of Georgia whites with hatchets, "unclassical" kind are committed?

hammers and pinchbars. The Negro did not have a chance. He died that same day at the hospital. He was mutilated beyond recognition and his skull was fractured.

It should be pointed out that that same day. The following day regreat number of these white I approached a Negro laborer to workers at the camp are really find out from him the name of farmers who have recently been the murdered man and to probe recruited into the workers' ranks | his feelings in the matter.

by the lure of war construction It goes without saying that there was no mention of this cold- was going to do about it.

blooded murder anywhere in the press, nor was there any sort of investigation by the authorities. with pride to the diminishing

How many lynchings of this resident. Nobody knows names

The white and the Negro laborof policy. The whites are given the easier jobs and all the dirty work is done by the Negroes. This gives the white laborer the feeling that he is one step higher on the

Mind you, all this occurs at a camp which is owned and adminto train our youth to "defend democracy." The minute I saw the camp I was impressed by the total absence of Negroes among the soldiers. Only later I found out that there is a separate section No one knows. They are not re- under construction for the Necorded anywhere, except in the groes.

What will Negroes be told after they are stationed in their Jim Crow section? What will be the definition of the democracy they are supposed to defend?

BILL AIMED AT "COMMUNISTS" the North and a friend, he spoke frankly. I asked him what he "Sir," he said, "down here when

An American Legion-sponsored paign to fight the passage of this bill," Comrade Weiss stated.

"It is our duty, as a party ers' organization which dares to dares to voice any opposition to the a rising flood of grievances. the war-aims of the ruling class."

WHY WE FIGHT IT

any belief in the Communist Par- the management. ty as being either a revolutionary or truly anti-war party, Comrade Weiss declared that "nevertheless" we defend any workers' organization, regardless of how violently we disagree with its program and leadership, against the attacks of the boss class and its government."

"The job of exposing and destroying the Stalinist influence in the labor movement belongs only to the workers themselves. It is not a job we can entrust to the the Communist Party is only a pretext for striking blows at the genuine working-class militants and trade unionists."

The proposed measure for banning the Communist Party has been described by Edward N. the Legion's legislative program.

Comrade Weiss concluded his What we see in Rumania today announcement by stating: "A for- brought in to forcibly eject the Point near Baltimore and at the days of Louis Napoleon in is the spawn of twentieth cen- mal call is being sent to every workers. Howard T. Curtiss, Johnstown, Pa. France ninety years ago, when tury "democratic" capitalism. In branch of our New York local to Steel Workers Organizing Comthe criminal dregs of the coun- the Rumanian mirror we see place at the top of their agendas try-organized into the "Society what awaits the whole world un- the fight against this vicious bill, ported that one union man re- 45 minutes or an hour. The comof December the Tenth"-were less the workers lead the peoples and to take immediate organizaout of these dark depths into the tional steps to carry out the cam- being rough-housed by the com- downs." Usually, the workers ex-Capitalist "order" is based in | new horizon of a new kind of or- paign plan of action which we pany cops.

One Militant To Another!



number of lynchings in the South to show that democracy in these United States does work. This may be true if the definition of lynching is confined to the classical method of stringing the man up on a rope by his neck. But most lynchings now are not "classical." How many lynchings of this when the Negro people will find their revenge. He brightened up and said, "Yes, sir, every dog has their revenge. He brightened up and said, "Yes, sir, every dog has his day." Party in New York State, introduced into the state legislature last week, will be vigorously combatted by the Socialist Workers Party, it is announced by Murry Weiss, New York Local organizer. "We are preparing an all-out cambairm and lout cambairm and lout cambairm and lout president." Bethlehem Steel U.S. STEEL AT WARTIME LEVEL BETHLEHEM BE

The workers in the billet yard,

Several weeks ago there was a

stoppage in all three shifts of the

active in the union. This action

forced the company to reinstate

On the night of January 25 the

SWOC held a mass meeting in

the biggest hall in Bethlehem, the

forts of the union to secure the

use of the school auditorium was

met by refusal of the school board.

tions" have occurred with increas-

ing frequency at other Bethlehem

Usually, these "stoppage demon-

Similar "stoppage demonstra-

UNION MASS MEET

BETHLEHEM, Pa., Jan. 26- | ments and shifts refused to enter which defends the interests of the The workers in the Bethlehem the plant when they discovered working class, to muster all our Steel plant here are getting steam- that the company was attempting forces against passage of this anti- ed up for union action. The first a lock-out of the protesting worklabor bill. Although the bill is serious stoppage in the plant here, ers. ostensibly aimed at the Commun- which employs 18,000, ended to- Bethlehem city police were ist Party, it really paves the way day, after 5000 Bethlehem workers massed outside the plant and pafor the suppression of any work- went on a two-day "protest de- trolled each shift. The company monstration" because of failure of quicly brought in 200 extra comoppose the schemes of the reac- the plant management to meet pany cops. tionaries, and, in particular, which with the union committee to set-

The halt began January 24, at reputation for militancy. Includ-1 P. M., when the workers in the ed among their unsatisfied grievbillet yard decided to stage a one ances was the fact that for two Making clear that our opposi- hour "protest" while their repres- months they have been subjected tion to this bill is not based on entatives sought a meeting with to poisonous smoke-fumes from

Word of the stoppage spread nightfall six departments were in- are working for the removal of they have defeated all attempts shops, tool steel, structural steel have been sickened by these profits. and the power house in the Le- fumes. high and Saucon plants.

The men agreed to return to work today after company offi-billet department when a foreman cials promised to meet with the was demoted because his son was union representatives to discuss the grievances.

News of the stoppage spread the foreman to his original posilike wild-fire through Bethlehem. tion. bosses, because their opposition to It has been on the lips of everyone here, and is all one hears.

Company officials labeled the stoppages as "sit-down" strikes. merely limited "protests." When Beth-Allen Casino. Previous efbut the men asserted they were the men insisted, during the initial stoppage in the billet yard, Scheiberling, chairman of the N. that they were not attempting to Y. Legion's executive committee, occupy the plant, the management as "the most important bill" on gave them 15 minutes to leave the plant.

A squad of company police were plants, most recently at Sparrows mittee (CIO) organizer, has re-strations" have a fixed time limit, quired medical treatment after pany officials call them all "sit-

Workers from other depart-time out to "see the boss."

1940 were announced Tuesday by the United Steel Corporation.

If to this is added an additional seven millions of profits, ear- a majority of the people for the at the hands of their members, marked for a newly-created "pen- | bill. sion fund,"—not to mention a THE ELECTION FRAUD dozen other items similarly earmarked and thus withdrawn from the net profits column where they belong-the 1940 profits are matched only by figures during where the trouble started, have a the last war. The last quarter's profits, it was announced, are the best since the World War.

The 1940 profits are a gain of scarfing ball-bearing steel, because of 1939!

no provision has been made in quickly through the plant. By the new addition in which they added pleasure of knowing that bill.

GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

NEW YORK: Saturday Feb. 1, 8 p.m. at the farewell banquet tendered her by the New York local of the S.W.P. Germania Hall, 160 Third Avenue, N.Y.C. (Telephone reservations, Gr 7-9317.)

NEWARK: Sunday, Feb. 2 8 p.m., at Educational Club Hall, 255 Court Street, near Springfield Avenue. Subject: "The Right to Life."

TRENTON, N. J.: Tuesday Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at the Hotel Jersey, 200 S. Broad Street. Subject: "The Right to Life." ALLENTOWN, Pa.: Thursday, Feb. 6, 8 p.m., at the Labor Temple. Subject: "The

Right to Life." QUAKERTOWN, Pa.: Saturday. Feb. 8, 8p.m., at Union Hall. Subject: "The Right to plain that they are just taking

All Who Testify Are Handpicked

House Foreign Affairs Committee Ignores Request of S.W.P. Spokesman To Be Heard; AFL, CIO Leaders Avoid Chance To Testify

The Roosevelt Administration fears any real discussion or debate on the "Lease-Lend" War Powers Bill. That became thoroughly obvious when the "hearings" conducted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee were concluded without permitting any except hand-picked witnesses to be heard on the bill, and the parallel committee in the Senate opened "hearings" of the same fraudulent kind.

Numerous labor and other organizations vainly served notice on Chairman Sol Bloom, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, requesting to be heard. A telegram from the Socialist Workers Party to Bloom, naming Grace Carlson as our spokesman at the hearings, was 9-

simply ignored. The results of a Gallup poll, released Monday, indicate why. All that the Gallup poll could claim for the bill was a 54% majority. Even that, in a properly-conducted poll, would have been cut down considerably, for the report ad-

"Many of those voters who favor the bill attach important qualifications to their answers: in fact, about one person in every six approving the bill wants some sort of amendment made to it. The chief qualifications are that a time limit should be set on the bill, and that the measure should specifically PROHIBIT THE PRE-SIDENT FROM SEND-ING AMERICAN TROOPS ABROAD, OR ANY PART OF THE NAVY ABROAD."

In plain English, the "some Net profits of \$102,000,000 for reality, to be a basic opposition evelt's plans. Hence these union to the contents of the bill!

It is clear, then, that the government does not have behind it ers Bill. They fear retribution

And no wonder! A few short into action. months ago, when Roosevelt sought re-election, and when he certainly already had in mind this War Powers Bill, he did not permit a hint of his plans to appear in his campaign speeches. He and Willkie joined in assuring the people of their agreement 148½ per cent over the profits on a "peace policy." What they The steel barons have the vealed to the people by this war

> bill. War and dictatorship, they erous conduct. now realize, are Roosevelt's plans for the United States. And, despite the fact that they have gone this far down the road with Roosevelt, accepting the arms program and conscription, now they halt at the brink of the precipice. That is the meaning, despite the attempted distortion, of lup poll.

OPPOSITION LEADERLESS

The mass opposition to the War Powers Bill is practically clap-trap of Norman Thomas. Not leaderless. The ultra-reactionaries, like Hanford MacNider and struggle is there in it. Hamilton Fish, who call themselves "isolationists", do not represent that opposition. Nor does Norman Thomas, who was invited by Hamilton Fish to speak leadership, its opposition, to this at the House hearings; what he or anything else, will avail little. said was in no way differentiat-

mentary duty-represent this op- and freedom.

position, first of all, are the lead-Why this fear of permitting ers of the AFL and CIO, for unopponents of the bill a hearing? doubtedly the bulk of the opponents of the bill are the workers. Nothing, however, is further from the minds of the AFL and CIO leadership. They have studiously avoided any appearance at either

the House or Senate hearings,

either for or against the bill. Why? The answer is simple. These trade union "leaders" know that the government and the capitalist class is dead-set to adopt the bill and plunge the country into all its consequences. To come out in opposition to the powerful rulers means a kind of gigantic and irreconcilable struggle which is foreign to the minds and the backbones of the AFL and CIO

On the other hand, they know, even better than we or the Gallup poll, the sentiments of the trade union membership. They know that the workers are disturbed sort of amendment" turns out, in about the full implication of Roos-"leaders" fear to stand out publicly as sponsor of the War Powwhen the full realization of the reactionary character of this war galvanizes the American workers

> So these union "leaders" demonstrate their utter bankruptcy in this, the most important issue that has ever confronted the American working class. They "lead" by laying low.

STALINIST FRAUD

The fraudulence of the Stalinreally had in mind is first re- ist activities against the War Powers Bill is indicated by the silence of the Stalinist press on the bevolved, the billet yard, bridge smoke and dust. Many workers so far to establish a tax on war tion of what Roosevelt's "all-out Still hanging on desperately to aid" policy really means has their bloc with John L. Lewis, come to most people with this the Stalinists cover up his treach-

Nor is there an ounce of proletarian consciousness in the Stalinist propaganda against the bill. All their activities are centered in the American Peace Mobilization, studded with sentimental preachers and college boys.

The A.P.M. program differs in the figures released by the Gal- nothing essential (except the call for "friendship with the Soviet Union"-i. e., a pact along the lines of the Stalin-Hitler agreement) from the "isolationist" a breath of internationalist class-

> Let us, then, record the truth: great though the opposition is to the War Powers Bill, it has no

The building of 'the Socialist ed from the arguments of Mac- | Workers Party and the winning Nider, who spoke at the same of the trade unions to a classstruggle leadership, these are the Those who should—as an ele- first steps on the road to peace

ON THE WAR FRONTS

= by GEORGE STERN =

Last week's explosion in Rumania mirrors the state of affairs into which capitalist society is so swiftly descending. Total war has led in Rumania to almost total anarchy. In that country we get a glimpse of what lies not very far below the surface in the other warring nations where the external controls are still held by the governments in

Insofar as the internal conflict in Rumania can be said to have a comprehensible pattern, it would appear to be a conflict between rival claimants to Hitler's favor.

In essence, however, the war stirred the uneasy brew of Rumanian social and political relations and has brought to the surface the foul and scummy matter now forming a scabby crust on the body politic. The peasants, the workers, the Jews of Rumania, are at the mercy of predatory animals in power or in search of it.

It is not a new phenomenon. We saw it before in Italy, in Germany, and in Spain, where the Fascist gangs took over the power on behalf of a diseased and failing capitalist class no longer able to wield the power for itself. Nor were these the first instances. Modern capitalist society had a glimpse of its future evolution as far back as

elevated to the seats of power.

rule of naked force. When this force can no longer be wielded in an "orderly" manner (army, courts, police) it is transmitted to the "disorderly" tools of the regime (Fascist gangs, vigilantes, the Iron Guard). The elements in particular countries or situations can vary. All the links cannot always be clearly followed—as is certainly the case in Rumania now-but the identical essence is there. Declining capitalist society is extruding the vile sores of its fatal disease.

It is interesting, therefore, to add the footnote that this was the regime fostered and nourished and held up for twenty years by French "democracy." Rumania was the keystone in the French imperialist system of alliances and ententes in Central Europe. The Rumanian army was armed and equipped by the French. The Rumanian regime was fed and supported by French money. In those dim days that ended only a little more than a year ago, Rumania was the firm friend and ally of "democratic" France, its obedient minion at Geneva, its faithful retainer at all the conference

all cases ultimately upon the der, a socialist order.

tables of that forgotten era.

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

What Big Business Thinks About the Labor Situation

Referring to the new "super defense board," so ably analyzed in the last Appeal, here is what a widely-used business information service has to sav of it. "The President is giving this new super defense set-up the production and priority power to go ahead and act-rather than advise. This is the last ditch stand before full emergency."

In the same report, it is said: "The campaign to repeal the Walsh-Healey Act and at least suspend the Wage-and-Hour Law in its application to defense industry is already well under way. But don't indulge in premature | He thinks that the Smith Bill has | there is "too much labor trouble." expectations. The counter-attack by labor has not yet begun; it is being formulated now. Also under consideration now is a move by organized labor to reveal the extent of inefficiency in management itself. Labor intends to publicize not only the number of men still unemployed, but also the fact that lay-offs have occurred even in aircraft plants working on military orders. If the move to limit Labor's powers is successful and if labor legislation is suspended in defense industries, business should be prepared to expect a major campaign by labor for the actual conscription of wealth and a complete commandeering of defense industries.'

A conflict is gleefully noted within the defense machine as to labor policies. Procurement Circular No. 43 of the War Department specifies that defense contracts are governed by the existing body of labor legislation, state and national, and indicates land." that a statement to that effect by This refers to a picture of a approval. But this fact did not side dividing the passengers in tion of Manufacturers that: other part for non-Jews. "Congress has not directed that it did not make these other laws and the home of the brave. applicable to government con- What difference does it make Detroit, Mich. tracts means that it did not intend where, who, or when a person is

them to apply to defense orders

Knudsen's analogy is phony, of course, for the simple reason that the Walsh Healey Act applies to NOTHING BUT government contracts, and for the additional reason that this Act purports to enforce compliance with labor legislation. on government contractors.

The big-business commentator goes on to say that compulsory mediation of labor disputes affecting defense orders is not a | \$\$\$ PAYTRIOTISM probability, but that attempts will be made to secure from labor a promise not to strike in defense propriations, you find that they industries. (Looks like a job for immediately break down all fig-Hillman.) He also anticipates ures to find out what's in it for uniform or constant wage plans the South and especially for Florin the "critical" industries, ida, and by and large they feel whereby wages will be keyed to amply compensated. Here and the cost of living. (Of course the there they have some criticism of rub is: Who makes the key and to much money being spent, for how well does it fit the lock?) example, in Los Angeles, where only a long shot chance of pas-

may take them seriously as in- rate of one dollar per day. The dicating the present thoughts of only concern the union officials big business.

Nazis Make Ghettoes In Poland; And In the South

Editor:

The Detroit Free Press on its Middle Ages in War Ravished Po-

the NDAC has the President's street-car with a placard on the perished from the earth, and prevent Knudsen from telling his two sections. The sign indicates what they deserve and deserve brothers of the National Associa- one section for Jews and the what they get regardless of race,

all or any part of these other acts | Dixon line the same street cars | ate enough to be born during this | union. When the situation in (Sherman Act, Clayton Act, Na- worded likewise. Waiting rooms, dark age. I will fight to prepare a tional Labor Relations Act, and busses, trains, stores and what better place for my children's arly unbearable, they resort to di-Wage-and-Hour Law) be have you. I laugh at the irony children and they might say, into government con- of it. Not with glee, but with bit-Knudsen argues that, ter resentment. We have our un- world shall never know the hardwhereas Congress made the walled ghettos not of the Middle ships confronted by our fore-Walsh-Healey Act apply to gov- Ages but of today in the land of fathers during the dark ages of ernment contracts, the fact that liberty. In the land of the free America in 1619, 1865, 1918 and

ORKERS' Worker Pictures Conditions On Highlights In FORUM Army Camp Construction Jobs The Labor Press

Old Union Men Have To Struggle Against Rotten Conditions Without The Help of the Unions; But They Do Find Way

By A Construction Worker

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Jan. 20—"The American Spirit in one plumbers' foreman made him-Action" is the title of a very exuberant editorial in praise of the self particularly obnoxious to the AFL Building Trades Department in the leading Jacksonville men. He was driven out of the daily, The Florida Times Union.

The Building Trades Department has decided to ban all strikes on war projects. This suits fine the labor-hating newspaper representing the opinions of the open-shop bosses of the

It goes without saying that these unions, which until vesterday according to such newspapers were nothing but "rackets", are now praised as "setting a fine example of patriotism and

I observe that this patriotism is of a peculiarly pragmatic character, weighed strangely have with conditions on the job nough by no more lofty ideals is with their right to the rake-off. were provided to convoy the workthan dollars and cents.

WAR "UNIONISM"

ment for hundreds.

fairs of the union.

tal workers local in Jacksonville.

Until two years ago there weren't

a charter. The boom in connec-

tion with the three war projects

near and around Jacksonville (na-

nineteen members and employ-

workers came to join up in order

to get jobs on the projects. None

of them, however, although pay-

ing heavily for the privilege to

work, have any say in the af-

This example can be multiplied

many times. The Plumbers Un-

ion here has about 100 members.

Camp Blanding alone employs be-

tween 700-800 plumbers, All must

pay 3% of their wage to the local

union for the right to work. Is

there any wonder that the cause

of trade unionism, instead of be-

ing advanced, is retarded? The

workers, and not the most back-

There was a rumor last week at

of the Plumbers local were going

more was heard of this assess-

The contractors and union of

ficials work hand in glove, and

to take their grievances to the

some instances becomes particul

Jan. 23 New York

Newa:k

Trenton

Allentown

New York

to Feb 1

Feb. 2

Feb. 3

Feb. 4

Feb. 5

Feb. 6

officials as racketeers.

When you read the local papers here in connection with the ap-When the heads of the AFL

sage at present. He looks for a Building Trades Department wave mediation board without compul- the flag and prohibit strikes on sory powers. It is possible, how- defense work, they too, like the ever, he says, that the adminis- bosses, feel they are amply comtration may outlaw strikes, com- pensated. Most of the Building pensating labor by compulsory Trades unions collect from the union membership in all defense workers in the camps two to three per cent of their weekly wage and As these things are said in a innumerable permits are given private information service, one out to non-union workers at the

> estracized, Jim Crowed or segregated? Call it medieval or ancient, it is modern to the American Negro who was the first to ward of them, speak of the union shed a drop of blood on American soil for American independence.

The American Negro has felled the forests, cultivated the earth, Camp Blanding that the officials built the roads and melted the pictorial page today, January 6, ore and laid the tracks for in- to levy a new assessment of \$17. 1941, has in big headlines, "Nazi dustry. So I have at last found estensibly for the building of a Conquerors Revive Ghettos of the the age I am living in is still the union hall. There was open talk Middle Ages. Would that I could among the workers, mostly old have been born at a later date union men, of a strike against the when cruel rich men shall have union—a refusal to pay. Nothing workers in the vineyard shall get creed or color! No, I shall not the workers do not even bother We have below the Mason and give up because I was unfortun-

SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Thurs.

Tues.

day was established for the plumbers, electricians and sheet metal workers on January 13 it became impossible for these workers to meet the train to Jacksonvillespecial Blanding train leaves at 5:15 P. M., while the workers had to stay at their job till 6:30. The first few days, special trucks

rect action. This happened when

camp by the concerted action of

Another instance occurred last

Wednesday. When the ten hou

the workers.

Take for example the sheet me- SPONTANEOUS PROTEST

ers to Jacksonville.

Wednesday night, however, without any previous notice, the enough members here to maintain trucks took the workers to the Administration area of the camp where they were told that the convoy system would be discontinued val base, naval air base, Camp and that they would have to travel Blanding) found this local with by bus. The bus fare is sixty cents, and besides, there were only bree broken down old buses Men came from various parts available that could not possibly of the country. Many non-union accommodate the several hundred men. A spontaneous protest demonstration broke out and within a few minutes the place was surrounded by the Military Police riot squad with drawn pistols. Whoever could, proceeded to Jacksonville by bus. All three of them broke down under way. The rest of the workers were convoyed by trucks. Since that night, the train schedule has been rearranged to take care of these

> But it certainly was not the roice of the unions that was heard in this instance. The union officials have two full-time tasks which exclude any other: Cashing in on Roosevelt's war program and making in return for it no strike declarations and patriotic speechs.

This is the "American Spirit in Action," the American spirit of 1941. Uncounted millions of dol- PROGRESSIVE POLICY lars into the coffers of the muni tion makers, a rake off into the pockets of many trade union bu reaucrats as hush money, the workers often left to their own initiative to carry on the struggle or maintenance of conditions on

It's True About New York! Says

By GRACE CARLSON

comrades here are workers now of January 18th as follows: and their contacts whom they

vention in New York last April at membership. the outrageous behavior of the undisciplined petty-bourgeois Minorwas completely different. Everyone sat quietly in his place and in the U. E. membership." listened to the speakers! Revolu-

over \$130 in response to Comrade

Approximately 150 attended and was held in the hall of an Italian to save and build their union. workers' group, with the cooper ation of a number of the youth

of this group.

& Main St.

The Boston branch too reflects the great change in the character of the party since the loss of the petty-bourgeois Minority. This loss was our gain.

In Los Angeles Buy the MILITANT

Lazerus Candy Store 2109 Brooklyn Ave. Book Store E. 1st St. & Rowan Ave.

Sam Smit's Newsstand 5th

U. E. ELECTION Key New York Local **Re-Elects Previous** Administration

HILLMANITES

DEFEATED IN

fered a defeat on January 24, when the membership of the important New York Local 475—the ment local-voted to keep in office the present administration.

The local has contracts with key war-industries plants such as Bliss, Mergenthaler Linotype, International Projector, etc.

The opposition represented coalition of former supporters of program of supporting the Roosevelt war machine. While at tempting to hide their real program from a militant membership racy." through the ruse of progressive sounding leaflets, these reactionaries were easily recognized by the membership for what they are when they repeatedly refused to answer as a group what their attitude was toward Sidney Hillman and his reactionary policy. Individual leaders of this group have not hesitated to indicate that they stood completely for Hillman's

It is interesting to note that in the period previous to the war. when the Stalinist-dominated ad-Hillman's today, most of the present opposition supported the local administration.

The real progressives in the lo-

cal indicated their desire for a militant class struggle union by su porting all those in the administration who declared their op position to the sell-out line of Sid

The Stalinist bureaucrats, due o their present temporary position, were forced to accept this program of working class struggle. The real defense of the program remains, however, with the rank and file of the union and those militants who have consist ently fought for it.

CAREY TURNS TAIL The danger from the reaction-

aries, both in local 475 and the NEW YORK, Jan. 25.—(Note to U. E. as a whole, is far from Minnesota comrades. It's true over. James B. Carey, President Minnesota comrades. It's true over James B. Carey, free and ER for January 14 carries an ediwar tax subsidies are about ended, The general character and tone secretary of the CIO, has indicated of the New York party has changed in his columns in the U. E. News Council as a hetroyel of the in Hemisphere economy and ed completely in the past eight that now he too is prepared to months since the departure of the fight the "Communists." He writes members of the Minority. The in his column in the U. E. News

"Abuses do take place, and I bring to meetings are also work- believe it a healthy sign and quite proper for sincere members to ex-(Remember the indignation of press concern of domination by our delegates to the Party con a group not comprising the whole

"I have been charged with indifference on this question of doity members —whispering, shuff- mination, especially in regard to ling around, laughing, etc., etc. members of the Communist Party, Last night's mass meeting here but actually my apparent unex cited state is due to my confidence

So after years of collaboration BO (Futhermore, the 250 members with this same group, Carey sudand friends in attendance, who denly turns. Rank and filers can Di came to the meeting despite the very well question his motivation LC heavy snow storm, contributed and perhaps inquire whether his Q Morrow's masterly collection sudden "discovery" has anything BI to do with his support of the war My second meeting in Boston machine. Reactionaries throughheld on January 20 in East Bos- out the union will rally behind TO con, was also a very inspiring one. Carey. The rank and file, on the hese were chiefly Italian and other hand, must rally behind Spanish workers. The meeting their program of militant struggle

Picket Jim Crow FDR Inaugural Concert

WASHINGTON, D.C. Jan. 24-Protesting against the Jim Crow program set up for Negroes by the Inauguration Committee for President Roosevelt's third inaugural, representatives of 26 organizations picketed the government auditorium where a "special"-i.e., Jim Crowmusical concert for Negro visitors was being held Monday evening.

ion. Cleo Spivey and several of the soldiers here went to the post theatre. They were denied seats ary 2 hails the release of the five because all of the 50 seats for the Du Quoin boys from the peniten-250 Negroes were filled. There were plenty of empty seats in he theatre. It seems kind of hard to believe that in the Army there would be segregation. Here at Ford Knox we witness it every day. I wonder why these things exist in the Army . . . Here in The pro-Hillman forces in the the camp we have the worst ac-United Electrical, Radio and Ma-commodations that the Fort has to chine Workers Union (CIO) suf offer. We live in old dilapidated barracks. Our recreation facili- ment, has made 850% profits in ties are nil. We have a barn-like structure which houses our barber ment of \$6,300,000 has been re-Amalgamated Machine and Instru-shop, recreation room and canteen. paid in dividends over three Here if you are eating, you are times . . . The corporation has liable to have eaten a mouthful paid at least 350% in cash to of hair before you leave. Even on stockowners." The union reports the railway station doors of the that Todd pays "miserable wages." post they have signs 'Colored Waiting Room,' and 'White Waiting Room' all around you. You are made to feel conscious of the fact lest you forget you are black. the local's administration and ex- Most of the soldiers here are from Britain an outstanding represenprogressives, united today on a Ohio and Indiana and if they have tative of labor such as William to live under such conditions for a year, they won't feel much like will "tactfully signalize the Britfighting for this myth, 'Democ-

> tor of the Newspaper GUILD RE- tain. PORTER, has been appointed edi tor and administrative secretary of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

Under provisions of the "storm rooper" bill proposed by Senator Sheppard of Texas, employers would be allowed to enlist five per cent of their personnel into what would be known as the "National Industrial Defense Corps." Critic- week, with a victory for the workministration had a pro-war pol- izing this bill, the United Mine icy and a labor policy similar to Workers Journal says: "The pro- of the unions to win their many posed bill would confer wide powers on the President and Secretary of War and make 'storm roopers' available to big industrialists in each of the states of

> eports on some interesting statis-fireside 'chat'—came as a shock tics issued by the Bureau of the to those millions of people who Census, showing that more than half of the people in the United determined to keep this country States over 14 years of age are out of the European war. Last workers. "In the 14-year-and-over fall, as a candidate for reelection, age group there are 100,972,000 the President was cheered to the persons, of whom 52,840,000 are echo when he said: 'This country placed in the 'labor force' . . . The wants no war with any nation.' census returned 5,111,000 workers who were totally idle and about work. The proportion of male to MER, organ of the best organized female workers is about three to state Farmers Union, states (Janone, but they are running neck uary 6) that "The National Farmand neck among 'new workers.'" ers Union . . . is the only national

> torial condemning the no-strike that we must work out a West-Council as a betrayal of the intrade with South America, and trests of the shipbuilding workers that farmers and workers must

> CATE carries a picture of the unity is not to be imposed from new Negro "Mayor of Brownville" above by a few profit-seeking capand his cabinet, and announces italists as dangerous to the Amerthat two union members Leyton ican way as Hitlerism itself."

> The Cleveland CALL-POST, Ne- | Weston of the Dining Car Emgro paper, publishes a letter from ployes Union and E. J. Bradley Private John Cole stationed at of the Sleeping Car Porters-are in the cabinet of "Mayor" Rev. "Today, Christmas, we again W. A. Cooper. The election was witness something that happens sponsored by the St. Louis CALL, to us every day here. Segrega- Negro paper.

> > The Progressive Miner for Janua tiary, and points out "the number of members of the Progressive Union who remain in prison drops to eight, five in federal institutions and three in state."

The Shipyard Worker says Todd Shipyards Corp., which has just received contracts for 60 tankers from the British govern-24 years. "The original invest-

The KENOSHA LABOR, AFL advocating that Roosevelt name "as our next ambassador to Great Green." Such a move, it is said, ish people that we approve labor's rising influence and wish to see it continue." That's exactly why Clyde Beals, pro-Stal nist ex-edi- Roosevelt sends Willkie to Bri-

> LABOR, railroad unions' organ, acclaims in its Jan. 7 issue the record of the National Mediation Board for 1940. "In an industry (railroads) employing a million persons and spanning the country, only one minor walkout occurred during the year-on a small switching road owned by a steel corporation—and it lasted only a demands? The paper is mum on

LaFollette's PROGRESSIVE in its January 4 issue complains editorially that "President Roosevelt's incendiary oratory the other LABOR, railroad union paper, night-it could hardly be called a supported him in the belief he was

farm organization that frankly THE CIO SHIPYARD WORKunite to protect and extend Amer-The St. Louis UNION ADTO ican democracy if a fake national

TROTSKY MEMORIAL

The Fund campaign closes on February 1st. The following is the standing of the branches on Monday, January 27, with four more days to go. Next week we will publish the final score!

		and the second s	
ranch	Quota	Amount paid	%
OSTON ,	\$ 100.00	\$ 150.00	150
EW HAVEN	20.00	26.00	130
ETROIT	200.00	235.00	118
OS ANGELES	150.00	162.45	108
UAKERTOWN	7.00	7.50	107
UFFALO	25.00	26.15	105
ORTLAND	10.00	10.50	105
ÝNN	100.00	103.00	103
OLEDO	50.00	51.00	102
linneapolis & St.	Paul 1000.00	1001.00	100.1
ew York	1000.00	1000.00	100
hicago & Indiana 1	Harbor 200.00	200.07	100
ittsburgh	10.00	10.00	100
llentown	15.00	15.00	100
lilwaukee	5.10	5.10	100
eading	5.00	5.00	100
altimore	10.00	10.00	100
an Diego	8.50	8.50	100
cockville	7.00	7.00	100
exas	5.00	5.00	100
lewark	150.00	150.00	100
lutchinson	10.00	10.00	100
t. Louis	5.00	5.00	100
kron	10.00	10.00	100
hiladelphia	30.00	30.00	100
lochester	15.00	15.00	100
an Francisco	100.00	100.00	100
Villiston	10.00	10.00	100
lint	150.00	138.00	92
oungstown	50.00	20.00	40
leveland	70.00	18.00	26
ndividual Contribu	tions	4.30	
	The state of the s	The second secon	New Con-

100%

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March 29 Portland March 30 Seattle April 1 April 2 April 3 April 4

Plentywood Williston Fargo Twin Cities

Negro Struggle

Jim Crow Air Pilots

One section of Public Law No. 18 of the last Congress, adopted almost two years ago, directed the War Department to train Negro air pilots. The War Department, undoubtedly with a wink of the eye from the White House, ignored this section of the bill completely.

Last week, however, it announced that qualified Negroes would be accepted into the Army Air Corps with the formation of a squadron that will begin training this month.

This announcement has been a long time coming, and it undoubtedly would have been longer if it hadn't been that a long series of Negro protests developed. Then Yancey Williams, engineering student at Howard University, filed suit in the United States District Court, against the Secretary of War and four major-generals, for their rejection of his application to enlist in the Air Corps. Only then did the War Department

But anyone who concludes from this that the generals in the Army or the bureaucrats in Washington have in any way changed their basic policies toward the Negro people, because of a little law suit, is quite wrong.

For the bone that has been thrown the Negro people to shut them up is Jim Crow through and through.

The new unit, a pursuit squadron, which will receive its flying instruction at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, is for colored only, and will be the only unit for colored. This means that the policy of segregation, which has been praised as "satisfactory" by Roosevelt, remains untouched.

Creation of the new unit, said Undersecretary of War Patterson, "is in keeping with a policy of including colored persons in every branch of the Army."

To which Marjorie McKenzie, Pittsburgh Courier columnist, has aptly replied:

"According to our interpretation, this is in line with a policy of excluding colored persons from every branch of the Army, except a few Jim Crow set-ups..."

There isn't much to the bone. When the squadron is finally organized it will include only 33 pilots and 27 planes, with a ground force of about 400 enlisted men.

Immediately after the plan was announced, the National Airmen's Association, made up of Negro flyers throughout the country, passed a strong resolution condemning the plan and reaffirming its determination to win complete equality in the Air Corps. "Both the army and navy have stressed tradition in arguing against the abolition of segregated units," said C. R. Coffey, national president. "In the air corps there is no tradition, either favorable or unfavorable to complete racial integration. If we permit the establishment of a Negro unit, it will be establishing a precedent which will be hard to break down. We'd rather be excluded than to be segregated...'

The whole incident is striking proof of our contention that regardless of what Congressional or legal action is taken or decision made, the officer clique, as long as they are in control of things, will disregard them or find some way of getting around them and maintaining their segregation-discrimination policies. The way out is to take that control away from them. That is why we call for trade union control of military train-

War Industries Jim Crow

The recent report by the National Urban League, the organization most closely in touch with statistics dealing with hiring and barring of Negroes from the war industries, shows that very little progress has been made in breaking down the discriminatory practices employed by the bosses and their employment managers.

According to the report, those employers who were questioned were "practically unanimous" in claiming that they barred Negroes not because they themselves personally were opposed to them, but because they were afraid that the white workers in their plants would resent it, and "it might lead to serious labor trouble, or at least sufficient ill will to interfere with efficient production".

In this way, the bosses who are guilty of Jim Crowing the Negro try to palm off the responsibility on the white workers-who were never consulted in a single case by the bosses about what they thought about hiring Negroes. Thus the bosses accomplish two things: they bar the Negro, and then they build up antagonism among the Negroes toward the white workers. "Divide and rule" is the motto of the bosses.

A sardonic British comment on the ballyhoo about the "heroic" General Wavell, who was in official command of the British troops operating against the Italians in Africa, is the following, which appeared in the NEW LEADER (London) December 28, 1940:

One day, a week or so ago, some tens of thousands of soldiers were battling fiercely in the desert to decide the mastery of Sidi Barani. In oppressive heat, a dust storm threatening, men fought in a bath of perspiration, while Hell blazed around them. When, in the end, the British recaptured the town, the whole Press in this country gave their applause-

in the proportion of about nine parts to General Wavell for every one part to the

It is interesting, therefore, to read that General Wavell spent one afternoon during the campaign at a race meeting at Cairo, where-we are told—he was enthusiastically cheered.

Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. The battle for Sidi Barani, we pre-

sume, was won on the racecourse of Cairo! (P.S.—Cairo is about 400 miles from Sidi

The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A BLACK WITH A WHITE SKIN OF CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF LABOR WITH A BLACK WITH A

The Communist Party Will Be 'Demoted' at the Forthcoming Conference

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Mr. Walter Duranty has returned to his old occupation of ("Admittedly"!!! Where admit party has been constantly and under the party's supervision. scooping the Daily Worker. His very first dispatch, dated Mos- ted? When?) cow, January 21, contains very important, even sentational news. He is able to announce to the world what the tasks of the Eighteenth Party Conference really are: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is no longer to hold its former position in the coun- adds, "I never thought that twelve anti-labor laws, the turning of Stalin who has ruled all these try. It is being re-organized along new and different lines.

Duranty's cautious formulation reads: 'There is a new, more flexible and more practicable conception of the position and duties of the Communist Party... in relation to the nation in general and the national effort in particular." (N. Y. Times, January 22, 1941).

cluded: "A major surgical opera-

tion is now in progress." (Social-

("the national effort").

The call for the Eighteenth Party Conference issued by Stalin on December 20 did not breathe a single word about reorganizing the party along new, "in relation to the nation in gencular." This is the first inkling accurately. It goes beyond a that such unprecedented and drastic measures were contemthe so-called pre-Conference period when only discussion is supposedly in order. Yet, more than three weeks before the Conference itself convenes, Duranty was per- DURANTY, AGENT OF mitted to refer to it as an ac- STALIN'S GPU complished fact, as a "conception"

vote—unanimously, of course. industry—and therefore the party course!)—every sphere of Soviet the GPU seal of approval.

ing the reorganization of the arthe reorganization of the party.

As for Duranty himself, his role was completely exposed several less rigid and more practical lines ist Appeal, December 28, 1940). It years ago during the infamous is now possible to appraise Stal- Moscow Trials. At that time, aleral and national effort in parti- in's major operation much more though no longer the Moscow correspondent of the New York large-scale purge, so serviceable in | Times, he happened, as is well the past, but manifestly not ade-known, to be fortuitously present plated and even applied during quate in the existing conditions. at each trial; and together with Directly involved is a blow at the the Englishman, Pritt; the Gerparty's position in the country man, Feuchtwangler and all the and its dominant role in economy other literary scavengers, Duranty crawled out of his skin to demonstrate that no assignment in the service of the GPU paymasters One may anticipate at this point was too filthy for him. If Duralready realized in life. Appar- a possible objection that it is, anty is now in the Soviet Union. ently the only thing left for the after all, impermissible to attach it is by order of his real employ-Eighteenth Party Conference so much importance to a single, er in the Kremlin, and not of the scheduled for February 15 is to and somewhat vague sentence in New York Times, or the latter's a dispatch by Duranty. It is not news syndicate, the North Ameri-When the December 20th call at all, however, a casual passage can Newspaper Alliance. Durfor the Conference was released, but a central point to which Dur anty's job was and is to secure we ventured the following prog- anty elaborately and carefully for the Kremlin favorable publicnosis: "The second point on the leads up. The entire stress in this ity in the American press, and to agenda, The Organizational Ques- dispatch is placed by Duranty on prepare public opinion for Soviet tion, implies that there are short- the profound, well-nigh incredible domestic developments. Whatever special local committees would the background of acute social concomings in the existing organiza- changes which have transformed Duranty writes is passed by the henceforth supervise industries tional set-up which obstruct the beyond recognition and have vast- censors because it is composed party's work in transport and in ly improved (of course! of under GPU supervision and bears

ever more harshly criticized in WHY SHOULD STALIN "Russia has changed enormous- the press for its shortcomings and ly in the last year," announces failures in the general "reorgan-Duranty, and with an assumed air ization" of the country, that is, of discovery and astonishment in the fulfillment of the June 26 months could make such a dif- Soviet factories into virtual prisference of atmosphere, tone, and ons, the introduction of child laletely bureaucratized party seek bor, the abolition of free educato undermine what appears to be tion, the extension of the June my, navy, and air force, of indus- 26 laws to the technical staff, etc., try, trade, transport, finance and etc.; the purge of the trade un- Doesn't Stalin weaken himself by education, he tops it all off with ions, of the Komsomols, of directors and engineers, of authors and dramatists. etc. etc. "The Soviet foreign correspondents." (He piously refrains from mentioning matic and therefore superficial apthat with the departure of Gedye last summer the only foreign correspondents remaining in Moscow were the Nazis and the skeleton crews of the major news services; that only the dispatches of the

tions were admittedly difficult." Duranty's scoop is available. The the country is in effect no longer

news was released by Moscow that patterns and doubly require a susa vital section of Soviet industry, stained theoretical attention." namely, the defense industry had been placed under the supervision of the Army. A week ago came a TASS dispatch to the effect that nation of developments against

T.A.S.S.—Stalin's official news

agency-could be transmitted to

easily be guessed, refrains from

criticism.)

producing consumer's goods. These local committees are "nonparty" i. e. handpicked and conmust be most certainly 'renovated' life since 1940—when, as Duranty | But most important of all, sup- trolled directly by the GPU it-

WEAKEN HIS PARTY?

At first glance such a develop ment seems not only unexpected to undermine what appears to be one of the basic and most indis pensable props of his rule? weakening the position of the par ty? The party embraces the most privileged sections of the bureau press," Duranty casually remarks, cracy. Isn't this likewise a blow is far more prodigal of complaints and criticisms than might in the bureaucracy itself? And so be guessed from the messages of forth and so on. The situation is indeed complex. A formal, scheproach cannot possibly provide a correct answer.

In 1934, comrade Trotsky wrote: 'The vast practical importance of a correct theoretical orientation is most strikingly manifested in a period of acute social conflict, of America and the T.A.S.S., as may rapid political shifts, of abrupt changes in the situation . . . It is broadcasting any complaints or in just such periods that all sorts of transitional, intermediate situations arise, as a matter of neces-Moreover, on December 20 the sity, which upset the customary What we are now witnessing in

the Soviet Union is precisely a transitional, intermediate combiflict, rapid political shifts and abrupt changes in the situation. We define the Stalinist regime as Bonapartist, that is, a government which raises itself above a social organizationally." And we con-acknowledges in passing, "condi-plementary data corroborating self. Thus the economic life of system—in this case, a degenerated workers' state. This government, however, is not suspended in mid-air. At all times, a Bonapartist regime rests on a buttress, or axis which becomes more and more narrow as the contradictions between the political superstructure and the economic foundation

As the true axis of the regime constricts, power becomes perchallenged dictator of the party Stalin's regime today passes

Even the formality of ruling geneous)-not only becomes cumbersome but actually turns into a grave obstacle to stability be-In the meantime, however, the cause of the very danger of a conditions, that the Bonapartist rule may be challenged within Divid- the ranks of the party itself. But end % this does not mean that the party must be completely and immediately eliminated, far from it. This means that the party must be relegated to such a position as slaves in India, Africa and the flows the constant need of apply-West Indies. Theirs is truly a ing preventive measures to guard life of blood and tears and toil precisely against such a contingency. Hitherto purges sufficed. Just think of it! Millions of Today a "reorganization" is rehuman beings toiling day and quired. This dangerous and by night, year in and year out, on no means simple operation wil a bowl of rice or mealie in order not and cannot be effectively acthat a handful of whites may en- complished with a single stroke, but requires a series of wellcalculated steps, well-timed, well-And these plutocrats have the prepared—in point of assault as well as possible retreat-of which

> Apparently only the lower ranks, the local party units are today being shorn of their dominant position, especially in relation to industry; the status of the tops will be left unimpaired for the time being. Should it prove, however, that both the tops and the lower ranks are affected by the "reorganization," this will mean that the crisis of the regime has reached a stage far more acute than the one estimated above. It will mean that the bureaucracy is so ravaged by the crisis and so hopelessly divided that the only possible means of stabilization lies in the open assumption of power by a single individual who rules as an absolute dictator by virtue of the control of the Army and the GPU

We have, of course, assumed throughout that the party as a whole is so completely degenerated, so drained of all power of resistance as to render it incapable of waging a defensive battle in self-protection. The next few weeks will bring a verification. January 25, 1940

alone.

London Workers Form Committees In Raid 'Shelters'

Reports of organized protests by the London workers, who are provided no other shelter from air raids except the subways, have been explained away by British apologists as purely Stalinist propaganda.

The following report demonstrates that there is a genuine organized movement by the workers who are compelled to use these makeshift shelters. It is republished from the December 28th NEW LEADER, organ of the pacifist Independent Labor Party. The I.L.P., once close to the Stalinists, has now adopted a rabidly anti-Stalinist attitude, refusing to collaborate with the Communist Party even where their two lines are identical. Its testimony in this instance is, therefore, an important verification of the strength of this movement of the London workers.

LONDON-An All-London Committee of Station and Shelter Committees has been formed at a conference attended by 79 delegates representing 30 stations and shelters.

The report of the provisional committee recalled the struggle the people had to wage against the authorities to win the opening of the stations as shelters.

In many places the people broke through cordons of police and L.P.T.B. officials to get in.

In many stations there were fights between the workers during the first few days. Now, instead of fighting each other, the workers and their families are united behind their committees.

A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding official recognition of the Station and Shelter Committees.

Delegates told how the authorities had attempted to appoint shelter marshals from above, but in many stations the committees had forced the acceptance of marshals selected by the committees.

At Elephant and Castle, the Station Committee had declared "no confidence" in the local A.R.P. authority and had decided that the marshals should take instructions from the com-

The conference opposed any policy which would result in the people being turned out of the tubes. It demanded that tickets should be issued and bunks put up under the supervision

At some stations attempts had been made to turn people out under the pretext of "clearing the passages and stairs," but this has been resisted EN MASSE by the shelt-

The resolution demanded the building of bomb-proof shelters for all as the only means of relieving congestion in the tubes, the stopping of all admission charges by the L.P.T.B., adequate sanitary equipment, the staffing of F.A.P.'s from 4 p.m. to 7 a.m., special sick bays for T.B. and other infectious cases, free inoculation, and free or cheap milk for children and expectant mothers.

A recommendation was made that each Station Committee should invite the workers employed by the L.P.T.B. to appoint a representa-

A deputation is being sent from the conference to Mr. Herbert Morrison to present its de-

Green Does It Better

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is a notoriously reactionary institution. Nevertheless, its Committee on Manufacture has just submitted for concurrence to members of the chamber a recommendation that the businessmen's organization strongly oppose all attempts at anti-strike legislation.

Before the reader rubs his eyes and concludes that Big Business has become senile and gone liberal, it is well to examine the text of the recommendation. Here are its arguments against such legislation.

1. "The chamber believes that anti-strike laws will prove ineffective ... "

2. The best results will "be served by voluntary cooperation." "To this end the chamber enlists the support of its member organizations in urging all employers to develop plans with their employes designed to promote the amicable and prompt adjustment of labor distutes which may

3. "According to recent estimate, such voluntary methods will probably prove effective in 99 per cent of the defense industries."

In a word, the Chamber of Commerce thinks that William Green and his kind make better policemen than those that the state could provide.

They remember the last war, when President Wilson's "Work or Fight" edict failed to keep the workers from demanding their rights. Far more efficacious was Samuel Gompers' "voluntary" method.

But we'll wager that the Chamber of Commerce will change its mind and come out for anti-strike legislation. Bill Green isn't Samuel Gompers, and the trade union movement today isn't the AFL of 1918. The gigantic industrial unions of today did not exist then.

The employers prefer to do it the "nice way." But when that won't work, you'll see their teeth!

Minister of Labor Ernest Bevin of Great Britain declared "President Roosevelt's great idea of paying for goods by goods will not only help win the war but will take us out of the hands of the speculators at the end of the war." How will it be done after the war if it can't be done

A Typical British Colony

(The following article on | from organizing, while the white | ping, 1 | 41b. salt, 7 pints cocoa, | press it, as it did the West Indies | grow more and more acute. conditions in the British colony of Northern Rhodesia was written at the beginning of December, when George Padmore learned that a Royal Commission report on the colony was not being permitted to see the light of day. Comrade Padmore, a native of the West Indies, is in England.)

By GEORGE PADMORE

Last April a strike took place among the miners in the Copperand the wounding of 73. This BETRAYING SOCIALISM

desia. They alone enjoy the right are rigidly excluded from their Trade Union. This is in keeping day these chauvinists will realize to break the strike. with the policy of the industrial that "labor with the white skin

much as possible conflicts between they work underground or above.

bar system could not function.

workers close the doors of their 420zs. bread. organizations against their black

whites to dominate the blacks.

ized labor, and out of their super-

was the second labor disturbance. The great tragedy is that these were shot down like dogs for dar- have done more to discredit Sopoll tax without a corresponding Man among the colonial peoples were given bullets for demanding and his Fascist tribesmen. In this the cost of living, due to the war. ship to the natives than the mis-There are about 27,000 African sionaries. And nobody could ac- ever near of such a thing; Only backward" Africans could be so miners and a few hundred Euro- cuse me of being a missionary's naive! peans. The whites come from disciple. But it is necessary to South Africa and Southern Rho-Speak the truth even if it hurts. this offer the blacks asked to be To these European workers the desia. They alone enjoy the right slogan, "Workers of the World the companies refused to permit Unite!" means nothing, but one and began to organize blacklegs

It was the white workers who Now to the role of the black other amenities. Being white and treatment. The average African suffering heavy casualties. organized, the mining companies wage was about 226 per month mmediately granted their de- of 30 working days. Many receivmands. For it is the policy of Cole ed only 12 6 per month, as the

Without the closest co-operation their families with them, the com- mission to investigate. between European-officials, empanies supply rations at the fol-

ter the South African and South- asked for a minimum of 5|- per the common people, sick to death more with Stalin not as the unern Rhodesian Labor Parties as day and wished to feed themselves. of capitalists and the bloody wars, for a few Jews to join the Nazi They were told that the matter will force not only the Hitlers, who rules behind the scenes but In other words, the Color-bar is directors of the companies which British old-school-tie fraternity to State itself. The true axis of a tacit United-Front among the own the mines-Roan Antelope, give account of their crimes. This process enables the capi- the Mufulira Copper Mines, with had the illusion that Commissions cratic tops, the newly constituted talists to exploit cheap, unorgan- headquarters in the City of Lon- Royal or otherwise—are going military officers' caste and the

and could not be granted! to occur in that colony within European workers, many of them withdraw their demands if the are shareholders in Rhodesian was a monolithic bureaucratic companies would sell their cop- Railway companies and African entity but remains very heteroing to protest against increased cialism and the Brotherhood of ernment at pre-war rates. But per to the British Imperial Gov- mines! increase in wages. This time they than all the ravings of Hitler The directors evidently thought higher wages to meet the rise in respect they show less comrade What? War without profits? Whoever heard of such a thing? Only

> On the companies' rejection of paid and allowed to go home. That

These and other provocative Color-bar—widespread in South-cannot emancipate itself while la-means led to clashes between the of hundreds of millions of colored challenging Stalin's power. Hence bor in a black skin is branded." strikers and strike-breakers. Finally, local police and troops from took the initiative in demanding workers in connection with the Southern Rhodesia were called in more pay. At the time they were strike. As soon as they heard that to restore "law and order." Beatreceiving between £40 and the white workers had got an in- en into submission at the point of £70 per month, including provi- crease on their handsome wages, the bayonet, the natives were sion of a house free of charge and they too appealed for similar forced back into the mines after

The government, having discharged its obligations to Big Business, resorted to the traditional ease! onial Administrations to avoid as rates vary according to whether and time-honored custom of facesaving. Mr. MacDonald, then Sec-Europeans-workers and capital- Unlike the whites, the blacks retary of State for the Colonies, ists, so as to maintain white pres- live in compounds, and, since faced with criticism in the House tige among colored populations. they are not allowed to bring of Commons, appointed a Com-

Despite efforts to whitewash ployers and employees—the Color-lowing weekly rates: 14lb. of the crimes of British Imperialism, mealie, 280z. dry beans, 120z. cook- the Commissioners' report makes The officials and politicians ing nuts, 1 lb. rice, 1 lb. vegetables, such shocking disclosures that the make laws which obstruct natives 1 lb. fruit, 4 lb. meat, 1 4 lb. drip- Colonial Office is striving to sup-

Royal Commission's document The natives, who expressed early this year. great dissatisfaction with the Let Lord Lloyd sit on the re- sonalized more and more openly It is as easy for a Negro to en- quantity and quality of the food, port. The time will come when it becomes associated more and

would have to be referred to the the Mussolinis and Lavals, but the as the undisputed dictator of the Ltd.; Rhokana Corporation; and The colonial peoples have long through the police, the bureau-

don. After several days the local to improve their lot. For those GPU. profits bribe and corrupt the white management told the men that who claim to be the trustees of belt of Northern Rhodesia. It reculted in the biling of 20 natives colonial workers with high wages. their demands were exorbitant the subject races of the Empire

THE PARTY IS NOW are themselves interested in per- AN OBSTACLE TO STALIN The Strike Committee then petuating exploitation. For exammade the alternative offer to ple, Lord Lloyd and Mr. Amery

HUGE PROFITS

colonial slave-drivers are reaping rift between its upper and the vast profits. The latest reports lower tiers, because of the very just announced show the following threat, especially in war-time increases over the previous year and the current dividend paid.

Antelope £1,865,643 Rhokana £2,726,668 Mufulira £1,761,002

These Imperialists continue to fatten upon the flesh and blood and sweat.

joy a parasitic life of luxury and

impudence to say they are fighting for Democracy and to pre- the first is the Eighteenth Party vent Hitler from enslaving the | Conference. natives! Hitler is too late. Cecil Rhodes did this long ago.

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GERMANIA HALL

CUBA:-Some time ago we reported the steps taken by the forces of the Fourth International of Cuba to transform their propaganda groups into a fighting party of the revolutionary

BOLIVIA:-The Revolutionary Workers Party, section of the

Fourth International, informs us that it now has over 100 mem-

bers, and a particularly important branch, with a large follow-

ing, in the mining region of Potosi. This mining branch is now

trying to establish others in the mining territory. Several stud-

ents' organizations, formerly quite conservative, now play under

only to consolidate its forces, but to gain new valuable comrades.

It publishes "La Battalla". The GOR, which Shachtman calls the

"Uruguayan Section", was originally composed of two persons

(M. and L.) who, like Shachtman, deserted the ranks of the

Fourth International; but, the so-called GOR has now been re-

effort to give wide circulation to the Manifesto of the Fourth

International on the War. The Grupo Obrero Revolucionario of

Argentina publishes this Manifesto in a pamphlet splendidly set

up. The comrades of the Liga Obrera Socialista have published

the manifesto in a special issue of the paper "Inicial," issued in

6000 copies. In Mexico as well a pamphlet containing the Mani-

festo is being prepared. Comrade Q of Argentina has just ar-

ranged for the publication of two pamphlets by Trotsky which

will contain some of his writings dealing with the problems of

The reaction of some of the Latin-American workers against

the GPU assassination of Trotsky is indicated by the following

facts: The Fifteenth Congress of the street car workers of Buenos

Aires, upon motion of Garcia Fuentes, rose for a minute of silent

homage to the martyred revolutionary and expressed their in-

dignation against Stalinism. The wood workers' union and allied

trades also protested in resolutions against the assassination,

"CONTINENTAL DEFENDERS"

ment of American armed angels for the "defense of democracy"

on the American continents, it is worth while mentioning a few

instances of the behavior of these angels in those places where

they have been able to enforce their authority, namely in Porto

Rico and Cuba. These "defenders of continental democracy" have

reached such a point of brutality that the native population of

Porto Rico, as a means of self-defense and in indignant protest. put pressure on the owners of public places to prohibit the ad-

mittance of men in U. S. army uniform. Three American Navy

men, stationed at the Guantanamo Station killed a Cuban native,

as a result of which the whole population became so indignant

that, for fear of riots against these "saviors" and "defenders",

taining and keeping Porto Rico oppressed and suppressed as a

U. S. colony; anyone who dares to fight for the national liberation of this island finds his place in the penitentiaries of the U.S. In

ers of Porto Rico, such as Albizu Campos, Soto Velez, Corretjar, etc., have been thrown into the jails of the U.S. for the "crime"

of having fought for the liberation of their country from Wall

Street domination. A good picture of the state of terror imposed

by these "guardians" of "democracy" and "national respect" is

found in the following case, which was reported in Bulletin No. 5, published by the Cuban Committee for the liberty of Porto Rican

Patriots: Francisco Lopez Quinones, editor of the weekly Pro

General Jorge Ubico, so-called President of Guatemala, has

executed 13 conspirators who attempted to overthrow him. This

member of Mr. Roosevelt's "democratic bloc" of the "new world"

rules that little country as a feudal lord. Stalin and Hitler can

learn from him when it comes to the suppression and oppression

of any opposition group; anyone who dares to express a view

against him simply disappears without trace or trial, executed

The "old deal" and "New Deal" of Wall Street are main-

the authorities were forced to close even the local post office.

In this period when we hear so much about the establish-

overruling the objections of the Stalinite agents in the union.

building the F.I. and the war question.

The Latin-American forces of the F.I. are making a special

duced to one person, M., L. having retired to private life.

URUGUAY:-The Bolshevik-Leninist League was able not

masses. As a result of these steps, according to the latest information we have received, new contacts were established in many parts of the country where there had never been any before; among these is a new branch in one of the most important railway centers of the island. Serious efforts are also being made

to stabilize the issuance of the paper, "Cuba Obrera".

new leadership a progressive role in Bolivia.

Trotskyists Are Arrested In Britain Notes From

Protest Is Sent To Lord Halifax

Letter to Halifax Proves Our British Comrades Are Victims of Crude Frameup

A protest against the arrest of four members of the Fourth International in London was sent to the new British ambassador, Lord Halifax, by the Socialist Workers Party this week.

No direct word has been received from those arrested, or from their organization in Britain. The first word of their arrest was learned from a small item in the London News Chronicle of December 17, which has just arrived here.

The Socialist Workers Party's letter to Lord Halifax points out that the charge made against the four men is plainly a frameup.

Under the heading, "Members of Fourth International Put on Trial," the News Chronicle story reads:

"Four men, stated to be members of the Fourth International. were charged with conspiracy at Leeds Assizes yesterday.

"They were also charged, under the Defense Rgulations, with 'doing an act likely to assist an enemy.'

"This referred to the alleged removal of medical cards and other stationary from the Ministry of Labour office in Sheffield to London so that men liable for military service might secure unlawful exemp-

"Two of the prisoners worked in an engineering factory, the third was a Ministry of Labour medical orderly, and the fourth was a crane driver.

"The hearing was adjourned till today." A CRUDE LIE

In branding this story as an obvious lie, the Socialist Workers Party called upon Lord Hali- confirmed in Britain. fax to provide it with the names of the arrested men, and to arrange that an attorney, to be designated by the Socialist Workers Party, shall confer directly

with those imprisoned. The letter of the S.W.P. to Lord Halifax stated:

"If these men are accurately

ourselves, disdain to conceal our true views. They, like ourselves, are not pacifists, but Marxist revolutionists, who believe that only a Workers' Government can put an end to this war. They recognize the necessity of the revolutionists to go wherever the working class goes-to the army, as well as to the factory. Hence, although they struggle for workers' control of military training and accept no political responsibility for any other system of military training, they share the fate of their fellow-workers and go with them into the army.

"That is why the May, 1940, conference of the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Section of the Fourth International, adopted a resolution on the war which declares that attempts to seek exemption from military service are incompatible with membership in the organization.

"These facts can readily be-

"The fact that our British cothinkers have not communicated the news of these arrests to us makes us fear that the British authorities have made it impossible for them to communicate with their arrested comrades.

"We therefore call upon you identified as members of the to provide us with the names of British section of the Fourth In the arrested men, their place of ternational, it is plain to any imprisonment, and to secure perpolitically literate person that mission from the appropriate. they could not have sought 'un- authorities that an attorney deslawful exemption' from military | ignated by us confer with the men and represent them in fur-"Our British co-thinkers, like ther judicial proceedings."

Trotskyist Papers Before The Six-Page MILITANT



The Militant was born on Nov. 15, 1928 (reproduced at bottom of photograph) as the organ of the Left Opposition of the Communist Party. In 1933 the Left Opposition became the Communist League of America; in 1934 it united with the American Workers Party to establish the Workers Party, and the paper was

Workers Party with the left wing of the Socialist Party brought forward the Socialist Appeal, which with this issue returns to the name of The Militant. Each change has recorded a new stage of growth of the revolutionary forces of the American working named The New Militant. The fusion of the membership of the class! (See editorial, "Why The Militant", page 6 of this issue.)

The Militant Our Teacher In China

By LO SEN

On China's war fronts today, tionists who will feel a thrill of pride and recognition when they see this newspaper once more under its old masthead, The Mili-

For it was in the days of the the young Chinese adherents of compatible with the theory of dethe Fourth International were aid. mocracy. ed by this paper in unifying their ization in China.

ed at meetings.

year, Trotsky's letters on the Chi- regret! nese question were first published. His letters and articles on the Spanish revolution came in 1931, Morrison: Seven in all were originally and then the long and illuminat-

weeks of the Stalinist capitula- to win the war. tion in Germany and the victory of Hitlerism, The Militant carried across ten thousand miles the rallying spirit needed to help them our masthead be the Socialist Apovercome the effects of that terri- peal, the New Militant, or The

ways had a sound and profound ent writer, who like so many tion and had by every device of they have observed it more in the munist party of Great Britain not the permanent crisis of a whole concern with international events others was led out of the Stalinist distortion and misrepresentation breach than in the observance. in the working class movement morass by the old Militant, feels sought to make out that our peo- Finally, Supreme Court Justices present danger" to the British and American "deand The Militant helped educate a thrill and a pride in the con- ple have nothing to gain from Holmes and Brandeis, seeking a this concern, direct it, enlighten tinuity and the integrity of our victory and that the hardships rational basis on which to accept it, in the days when our young program symbolized by our return and sufferings of warfare are un- Voltaire's principle and yet at Chinese organization was still try- to the original name. Our com- necessary and imposed by a cal- the same time guarantee the con- British capitalism can no longer ing to fight its way clear of the rades on the figthing front ten lous government carrying on a tinuation of the bourgeois state, afford the luxury of "democracy." deadening effects of the revolu- thousand miles across the sea will selfish conflict in the interests of limited Voltaire's doctrine as fol- It does not fear the feeble British tionary defeat in China of 1927.

Democracy And Churchill's Ban On the Daily Worker peal "good neighbor" policy, quite a few of the nationalist lead-

"The policy of the government

war effort and thus help the en-

"Mr. Morrison said freedom of

even when abused. But he stress-

ed that a wide difference exists

between taking occasional risks

nose of which are to weaken the

reports further:

will of our people.'

We characterize the British government's suppression of the not for the purpose of defending Daily Worker as a blow aimed in reality at the entire working | freedom and democracy but merclass, and we denounce the complicity of the British Labor Party ely for the purpose of profiteerleaders in the suppression as an act of treachery against the ing from every extension of the working class.

"But you come to these conclusions," someone may perhaps there are young militant revolu- say, "through your theory of the class struggle. The rest of us, proceeding from the theory of democracy, have a right to conclude that this suppression may be justified if it preserves democracy.'

Let us see! We ourselves do not for a moment leave the ful regret and its formal obeisance solid ground of the class struggle. It is child's play to demon- to the abstraction "democracy," old Militant most especially that strate, however, that the suppression of the Daily Worker is in-

Let us begin by quoting the ar- provisions of the defense regula- same purpose. ideas and coming together to form guments given by Herbert Morri- tions and the hope was expressed the basis of the present-day organ- son, Minister of Home Security, that the paper would be so conin his speech in Parliament justi- ducted as to prevent the neces-Only a few of our Chinese com- fying the suppression. He begins sity of action. That hope was it spoke against the war and the rades, naturally, could read Engl- with a hypocritical sigh: "Any not realized and after careful con- government. Suppression is justiish. This was not permitted to step which has even the appear-sideration the government has defined of "those forces . . . which act as a definitive handicap, how- ance of a departure from our tra- cided it would not be justifiable to would consciously or unconsci-The order for Benson's release that he wanted to wipe out "the ever. Material published in The ditional policy of allowing free allow these newspapers to conti-Militant, including all the wealth dom of expression for minority nue any longer. that came from Trotsky's pen, was opinions must be a matter for re-In freeing Benson, he took a translated and issued in Chinese, gret." The British ruling class is to make minimum use even in It was read, digested, and explain- has always been skilled at sur- war time of methods of repression rounding its most brutal acts of and to confine such action to In 1929, The Militant's first oppression with an aura of pained those forces—all of them agents or allies of reaction-which would

The justification for this "de- consciously or unconsciously place parture" has stated as follows by impediments in the way of our

"It was not for any isolated emy." convicted on essentially the same ing series dealing with Germany transgression that these publicafaked evidence. Through the ef- in 1931 and 1932. These and the tions were suspended but because ed a profound influence upon the people and thereby were sorely education of our Chinese cadres. trying the patience of the govern-And in 1933, in the fateful ment which was doing its utmost

"Last July the attention of the

Militant. Our program is the same, omitted from its columns anything dom against feudalism, they pro-Our Chinese comrades have all our fight the same. But the prest calculated to encourage cooperation nounced it sincerely. Since then

HITLER COULD HAVE SAID THE SAME THINGS!

We have quoted all this a length so that thoughtful workers can study it carefully. Observe that, apart from its tone of wis there is not one reason given by Morrison which might not have Daily Worker was called to the been employed by Hitler for the

> Through the entire explanation runs the single substantial thread the paper was suppressed because words, any systematic criticism

THE PRINCIPLES OF

The British government's alibi plainly violated the avowed prin-

Voltaire formulated most precisely the democratic concept which was the flaming banner of the the press was worth protecting capitalist class in its bloody conflicts with the feudal rulers.

"I abhor everything you say and allowing the publication of but I will defend to the death newspapers 'the deliberate pur- your right to say it."

mocrats pronounced this prin-"He said the Daily Worker had ciple. At first, fighting for free-

States assisting the Allied cause or utterance unless the govern-sors and petty-bourgeois pacifists mocracy."

Republica, was sentenced to a year in jail for "insulting" Franklin Delano Roosevelt publicly. Senator Smothers of New Jersey, who feels so indignant about aggression against "small" nations that he is willing to send American troops to Europe, introduced a resolution in the U. S. Senate asking the annexation of Cuba as a state of the

ously place impediments in the way of our war effort." In other of the government or its conduc of the war, whether or not it is made with defeatist intent, should, the government contends, be suppressed.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

ciples of bourgeois democracy. The New York Times (Jan. 23)

Voltaire said:

For centuries, the bourgeois de

ment was in "clear and present | who made up the bulk of the Staldanger" of being immediately des-inist Peoples Convention recently troyed by the group against whom | held in London, What it fears is measures of suppression are taken. the British working class. Short of such an extreme and im-The Daily Worker was banned.

mediate blow at the existing state, not because it was a "clear and

behind closed doors in strict secrecy.

BY THESE PRINCIPLES THE

Within the framework of the sections of the labor movement bourgeois democratic principles which it would hesitate to strike laid down by Voltaire, Holmes at without first creating the preand Brandeis, can the "democratic" | cedent of the Daily Worker. British government justify the suppression of the Daily Worker? Worker is symptomatic not of the Obviously not. The small Com- "temporary" crisis of war, but of only constitutes no "clear and social system in its death agony. state, it is scarcely even a poten-mocrats" are hurling death-blows tial menace.

This act illumines the fact that

in which the life of the state is present danger," but precisely beclearly in the balance, the govern- cause the government struck at ment cannot abridge the rights of the weakest link in the working free speech and press of any class. The Stalinists, smeared by group. Otherwise democracy can- the Stalin-Hitler pact, could not not be said to exist. Such in brief, muster great mass support in deis the famous Holmes-Brandeis fense of the Daily Worker. There-"clear and present danger" doc- fore the government could chance this suppression with relative safety-and thereby establish a precedent for proceeding likewise in BRITISH ACTION IS DAMNED the coming months against other

> The suppression of the Daily at their own state-form, long before Hitler can get within reach-

That is why the struggle of the working class for freedom has feel that same thrill. We of The the privileged classes. The Daily lows: that the government had Communist party, or the aggrega- nothing in common with the Of course there is no essential Militant send them our militant Worker represented the United no power to suppress any group tion of parsons, students, profes- Roosevelt-Churchill war for "de-

Freed at Last

lan County union miners serving mobiles; and that the prosecution life on murder charges in the Ev- used faked photographs to indiarts battle cases of 1931, was un- cate a false line of fire to the conditionally pardoned Jan. 22 by Benson jury. Surveys established Acting Governor Rodes K. Myers that the building from which Benof Kentucky on the ground that son was alleged to have fired a he was innocent. Sentences of the rifle was not visible from the batother three-W. B. Jones, Chester tle scene, 1,900 feet away, because Poore, and Jim Reynolds-were of tall and wide trees between. commuted to 21 years, making | Studying the trial records and them eligible for immediate par- the new evidence carefully, the

Mr. Myers, who is Lieutenant- convinced of Benson's innocence, Governor, took this step under the And he found the testimony conauthority which was his in the cerning the others "so conflicting" absence of Governor Keen John-that he reduced the charge against son, who had not yet returned them to involuntarily manfrom President Roosevelt's inau-slaughter, and cut their sentences

was carried to the penitentiary at only unsettled affair of past strife LaGrange by Edward H. Weyler, in the Harlan coalfields." secretary of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, and Herbert Mahler of New York, secretary of Johnson had declined to assumethe Kentucky Miners Defense. "the responsibility of determining They took Benson to Louisville, whether or not the courts made where he planned to wait until his family come from Harlan County to join him.

Word of the Acting Governor's action was telephoned to the Kentucky Miners Defense headquarworked unceasingly in behalf of forts of the Kentucky Miners De. accompanying material provided they deliberately sought to foster the Evarts men ever since their fense, three of these were set free by The Militant's editors exercis- a spirit of defeatism among the

meet next week," Mahler explain- lips, and William Hudson. ed. "Meanwhile we will endeavor to meet the board's requirements so there will be no hitch in getting Jones, Poore, and Reynolds out of prison. The main requirement is that jobs be found for them."

Benson and the others were accused of conspiring to murder three deputized coal-company gunmen who were killed in the Evarts battle May 5, 1931. But the defense had presented a mass of new evidences to show that they were framed up by anti-union forces: that there was no conspiracy; that the battle was provoked when the "deputies" and others attacked a picket-line with ma- salute.

Al Benson, one of the four Har- | chine-guns hiden in their auto-

Acting Governor said he was fully accordingly. Mr. Myers declared

responsibility which Governor

Benson is 44 years old; Jones 58; Poore 36; Reynolds 50.

by retiring Governor Ruby Laffoon in 1935. They were William "The state parole board will Hightower, then 80; Elzie Phil-

In NEWARK, N. J. Buy the MILITANT Newsstand, Broad & Wm. Sts. Cohen's Confectionary,

11 SPRINGFIELD AVE

near Court House.

1200 Detroit Girls Win Neisner Strike

DETROIT, Jan. 26—1200 fighting girl strikers, employed in the Babcock-Wilcox 34 five-and-dime stores of Neisners Bros. here, today won the first union contract ever secured from a chain store outfit in Michigan.

After weeks of picketing in sub-zero weather and in blinding snow-storms, the girl strikers, members of the United Revacations, six paid sick-leave and improved working conditions days a year, and seven paid holidays yearly.

clerks had been paid \$12 for a January 3, after the company 54 hour week.

a mass meeting of the strikers

The strike received the support of the entire organized labor movement in this area. Thous- ing the minimum pay from 55 ands of workers joined the picket lines in sympathy with the

which almost every local union donated to the strike, a unique did not include the latter two de feature of the strike was that mands, however. The company many union locals "adopted" in- agrees to take up these questions dividual strikers and maintained with the union in July. them with regular weekly sums during the strike.

very youthful, averaging between | Saturdays and Sundays. 16 to 20 years of age, they handled themselves like union completely with mass picket lines veterans. This victory gives a on a 24-hour a day vigil. The boest to the organization of all strike was well supported by the the store clerks in this vicinity, local unions, including several estimated at over 100,000.

Strike Is Won, Get Wage Raise

BAYONNE, N. J., Jan. 26,-Following an agreement reached tail and Wholesale Employes between union and company of union, CIO, forced the bosses to ficials yesterday in Washington terms. The contract calls for a a meeting of the 450 striking \$3 a week raise, a 48 hour week, workers of the Babcock-Wilcox Co union recognition, time and a today ratified the terms of a new half for over-time, seniority, paid contract granting wage increases

The strike was called by Local 439, United Electrical, Radio and Before the strike, the girl Machine Workers Union, CIO, en which has a virtual monopoly on the U.S. Navy, had refused all major demands.

The settlement included an in crease of five cents an hour, rais cents to 60 cents hourly.

Original demands of the union were for a 10 cents minimum in Apart from the sizable sums crease, paid vacations and 8 paid

Also included in the contract is the 40 hour week, with time Although the strikers were and a half for over-time and for

The strikers kept the plant shut AFL locals.

UAW Opens Chicago Drive

Two Hundred Thousand Chicago Members Is Slogan At First UAW Mass Meeting

CHICAGO, Jan. 26-With the ernment on the awarding of war slogan "200,000 Workers in the orders to the labor-law violator, UAW-CIO in Chicago", the Unit- | Henry Ford, had secured "no re ed Automobile Workers today sults." held its first UAW mass meeting in the Windy City.

of them Negroes, braved the contracts in the Chicago area. rigors of a typical Great Lakes | The Electro-Matine Corp., at La blizzard to attend the meeting at Grange, a G.M. subsidiary with the Amalgamated Center, which 3000 workers, signed the first was addressed by George Addes, | contract. At Clearing, an importinternational UAW secretary- ant industrial suburb with a notreasurer, R. J. Thomas, interna- torious open-shop tradition, the tional president, and Ed Hall, first contract in its history was sub-regional director for the

Addes stated: "This country finds itself in what is termed a Iron Co. in Chicago, which was 'defense emergency.' We know unionized in seven weeks. from history and experience that certain interests regard it as a God-given opportunity to crack was the singing of the "Ford down on organized labor. We also know that in such a time the union must be more ready to pro- plause where they stand on the tect its members and the public Ford drive. from these profiteers than in any other period.'

"FULL PAY FOR DRAFTEES" Addes pointed out that the General Motors corporation averages \$500,000 net profit every day, and that it realizes 50 cents clear profit on every \$1 paid out in wages to its workers. The speaker condemned the G.M. policy of offering only 80 hours pay to draftees, and declared that draftees should be paid the entire difference between their civilian pay and army pay by the company from a fund set up out of the huge profits made on war

Above all, the speaker concluded, the workers must not give up their strongest weapon, their right to strike.

THOMAS LAYS DOWN

The speech of R. J. Thomas was the weakest note of the even- neath the sun, they'll watch the ing. His words reflected his complete capitulation to the pro-war forces and the Roosevelt administration. He urged the workers to join the union with the statement, "Union organization is a vital part of national defense. instead of pointing out that the workers need the union precisely because the employers are chiseling on the workers rights under the pretext of "national defense."

To show where the sentiments of the workers really stood on the war question, when Thomas stated, without any connection with the rest of his talk, "We want no involvement in the European conflict," he was greeted with a salvo of applause. When he followed this by "We must be prepared by falling in line with the defense program" he was met

by stony silence. In reference to the Ford union drive, Thomas was compelled to admit that his protest to the gov-

A stimulating report was given by Ed Hall, who announced the Over 800 workers, 20 percent signing of the first three UAW won at the plant of the A. C. Spark Plug Co. The third victory was at the Illinois Malleable

> One of the most inspiring and rousing portions of the program Song" by a girl trio. The workers showed by their cheers and ap-

The first and last verses of the song, which should be sung in every union hall in America are:

"In River Rouge the hammers ring, the wheels go round, the motors sing.

And white-haired Henry rules as King. He counts his countless mil-

lions there, and through the smoky, filthy air, He watches the Fords go by, by, by, by.

"The workers there are getting wise, they won't be licked by Henry's spies.

They know they've got to organize To seize the opportunity and ioin in working unity.

They won't let this chance go

by, by, by, by." If the Ford workers do this, the song ends: "On every highway Fords go by, by, by, by-WITH A UNION LABEL!"

Strike Deadline At Whelan Drug

Whelan's big New York drug store chain is to be struck at midnight Friday, unless the company met the demands of Local 1199 of the Retail Clerks (CIO).

Backed by an overwhelming strike vote of the membership, the union demands a 15 per cent increase in the present low wage scale, and a fourhour cut in the hours worked.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

The Record of the War Labor Board of 1918

The Price That Labor Paid Even After the War For Gompers' Support of the War

By MICHAEL CORT

When the workers were dragooned into the earnage of 1917-18, they were promised many things by the bosses. In return for their help in "making the world safe for Democracy," in return for working long hours at little pay or crossing the ocean to kill the German workers, they were to receive from the bosses a land fit for heroes to live in." When the war ended, the posses promised, Democracy was to bear its full

Upon the signing of the armistice a great cry went up from labor for the dissolution of the National War Labor Board. The bosses refused this demand, however, for the ending of the Board would have technically ended the "no strike" pact between Wilson and AFL President Gompers. The boss strategy was to prolong ant. labor war measures into peacetime. For the next The agreement was ratified at the manufacture of boilers for year and a half the NWLB continued to act as a strike-breaking agency in the name of "national emergency" despite the coming of peace. The only concession made by the bosses came in December, 1919 when the Board declared that it would only accept cases submitted by both parties to any dispute. However, the Board still kept in force all its wartime decisions. Not until June 25, 1920 did the Board adjourn subject to the holidays yearly. The agreement President's call. On August 12, 1920 the bosses finally allowed the Board to dissolve.

The bosses were careful not to let the Board die until anti-strike legislation was well on its way through the Congressional mill. The AFL leadership, which had been the staunchest supporters and defenders of the repressive machinery of the NWLB during the war, was about to reap what it had sown.

The last six months of 1919 saw a rapid succession of strikes as the workers attempted to collect on the bosses' wartime promises. The most notable struggles were conducted by the railroad workers in California, the steel and mine workers in Pennsylvania, the firemen in Chicago and the

Gompers-Wilson Honeymoon Ends

Gompers discovered that the right to strike which he had voluntarily surrendered to the bosses in 1917, was not being returned to him in 1920. All the "patriots" who had wined and dined and toasted him for three long years sudleally turned against him. The five industrialists on the NWLB, with whom Gompers had enjoyed such unanimity of purpose during the war, led a nation-wide campaign for repressive labor legislation. L. F. Loree, a member of the Board, stumped the country in behalf of a program which em-

braced the following planks: the enactment of anti-picketing laws; organization of open-shop associations in every community; the suspension of credit in any community where a strike occurred and the placing of the entire population on a cash basis (i. e., no credit to strikers); the pledging of all business houses to boycott any publication which editorially supported "the forces of

Gompers found his wartime friends denouncing him as a menace second only to the "Huns." Moorfield Story, American Bar Association president, embarked on a propaganda tour in which he said:

"Reason (no strikes) must apply now as during the war. This association will soon try to frame a law to make strikes a criminal offense. These men who control the labor organizations threaten us with calamities hardly second to those which happened through the acts of Germany.

Charles, Evans Hughes, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, also launched a speaking tour to impress the bosses with the necessity of extendind wartime anti-labor measures into peacetime. In Pittsburgh on Nov. 15, 1919, he said:

"We need a permanent solution to these problems (strikes). War legislation is not permanent and war remedies merely attest a need which may survive them. The time is at hand when we must establish suitable machinery for industrial justice... to be followed by the refusal to allow the workers to hold a club over the head of the com-

The Fruit of Compers' Policy

Yet Gompers continued to place trust in the "great humanitarian in the White House." In November, 1919 the United Mine Workers issued a strike call, only to have the bosses obtain a court injunction against them. The miners threatened to go through with the strike in spite of the injunction, whereupon Wilson's notorious Attorney General, Palmer, moved on the scene to crack down with the full weight of the Federal government. Palmer gave the workers a deadline to rescind the strike call, upon threat of use of troops. Gompers was "shocked." Plaintively he whined: "We believe that because of conditions prevailing in this country and by reason of the fact that the President of our beloved republic suffered from a severe stroke, the full measure of American labor's concept of freedom has not reached him."

There is little doubt that "labor's concept of freedom" did reach Wilson, for he immediately supported Palmer in the controversy. Gompers and John L. Lewis then cancelled the strike call just before the government's deadline expired.

The bosses' first piece of anti-strike legislation was contained in the Cummins Railroad Bill, introduced in Congress about the time the NWLR was allowed to die. This bill, which provided for the return of the railroads to their private owners and guaranteed the stockholders 51/2 percent return on their investment, included a clause that outlawed any strike on the railroads. In introducing the bill, Senator Albert Cummins said:

"... when we advance to the point where the Government undertakes to fix his (worker's,) wages in event of a dispute, when we advance to the point where we authorize a Governmental tribunal to enter a decree with regard to the justice of a particular matter, there is no longer room for a strike."

Compers Offers Anti-Strike Services

Gompers took the stump against this bill. He campaigned not so much as champion of labor's right to strike, but rather as a "reasonable man" pointing out to the bosses the best method of preventing strikes. In a speech before the National Lecturers Association in Washington, D. C.,

"... the aim of the American workers is to continue work without interruption except as rest and recuperation may be necessary. Thus far we have done wonderfully well. Thus far the good influences of the representative men and women in the labor move-"ment... have been effective, but once take away the voluntary influence which ... we exert . . . and you have taken away every instrument which we have been able to employ in order to gain the good will and voluntary continued service of the workers of Ame-

In spite of Gompers' plea that he would be a better strike-breaker than the government, the bosses rallied to the Cummins bill and it passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority. The bill experienced difficulties in the House, however, and after several months a compromise bill was passed which did not contain the anti-strike clause. And what was substituted? Why an arbitration board, of course; a board composed of ten members, five appointed by the bosses and five by labor. If this board failed to agree, there was an appeal board of five appointed by the President. Shades of 1917- By now the pattern was familiar to the workers. Gompers protested, but it was the parent disowning the child. The Frankenstein was largely of his own creation.

Not the least of the crimes committed by the

AFL leaders during the war had been their complete refusal to defend the interests of the soidiers. Compers made no move to improve conditions of the workers within the army. This criminal negligence returned to plague the AFL when the soldiers were demobilized. The end of war production had plunged the country into a depression, and the demobilized soldiers glutted the labor market. These returning men were disillusioned, unorganized, hungry and embittered. They needed jobs and they needed them quick, and to get them many of them scabbed. Mob violence against union and workingclass political parties found no little support among these returning soldiers. The labor movement had done nothing for the soldiers during the war and the soldiers, therefore, felt no ties of loyalty to organized labor.

Will It Happen Augain?

This, then, is the history of the National War Labor Board which served the bosses so well during the last imperialist conflict. And what of today? The voices have changed but the tune is the same. Green, Hillman, Murray, are the "reasonable men," the "patriots" in place of Gompers. The stage is set for another NWLB.

And yet, there is a difference. Capitalism is 24 years older today and its death paroxysms are more violent. Starvation in a land of plenty spawned after 1933 the great industrial unions which did not exist in 1918, and these unions have taught the workers how to fight.

Green, Hillman, Murray, will certainly try to do what Gompers did. But they do not and cannot control the labor movement of today as Gompers controlled the AFL of 1918. Then the trade unions were primarily craft organizations of the aristocrats of labor. Today the great industrial unions of the masses are predominant. Symbolic of the new situation is the worker's' organization in the key war industry-the United Auto Workers. Desperately as they have tried, Murray and John L. Lewis have failed to curb this mettlesome steed! Still less can that be done by the bosses and their government.

That is why we await the future with confidence in the American workers. The terrible story of the hamstringing of the labor movement during the last war will not be repeated in this war. The obvious lessons of Gompers' betrayal in 1917-1918 will not be lost upon the workers

(This is the final article in a series of four, telling the history of the National War Labor Board during the last war).

JAMAICA NEGRO GROUP STARTS ON RIGHT TRACK

JAMAICA, New York City .-At an inaugural meeting of the Jamaica Council of the National Negro Congress, Jan. 10, a call was issued to all "sympathetic or ganizations" to help protest dis crimination against Negroes in

the "defense" program, Stalinist peripheral organizations attended in the main, including the American Peace Conoress a Stalinist controlled union local, the Brooklyn section of the National Negro Congress, and sev eral church groups.

One of the local issues was a 'cultural" exhibit on the Negro people displayed prominently in Grants' Department store on Ja maica Avenue. A delegation conrinced the owner that the display should be removed. The theme of he display was the life of the colored people in the South. The management apparently had no idea there had been a Civil Wa in the United States which ender with legal emancipation of the Negro people. The delegation intends to continue its work and press the management to hire some Negroes.

ploy Negro sales girls although there is a large Negro population in Jamaica. Other speakers at the inaugural meeting outlined how the Negroes found it impossible to obtain jobs in the war industries of Queens such as the Ford Instrument Com pany, subsidiary of The Sperry Gyroscope Co. Which manufactures bomb sights and other air plane instruments; the Brewster Aircraft Co.; the Fairchild Instru

None of the department stores em-

STALINISTS TRYING COMEBACK

It is obvious that the Stalinists, support of the Roosevelt Jim Crow administration in the days before the Hitler-Stalin pact, are now making an attempt to stage a the Negro people.

word for those desiring to enter will do so again.

AFL Food Workers **Convention Plans** Include Jim Crow!

The AFL Hotel & Restauscheduled to hold its national in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The convention was ally planned for Toledo, but was moved because Toledo hotels were insufficiently unionized to merit the patron-

you will be hit by this:

MANSE HOTEL

for 150 delegates," etc. In plain English, this is the hotel assigned to Negro delegates, while white delegates are assigned to their choice of seven other hotels. In plainer English, the Negro delegates are to be Jim Crowed!

Food workers! Let your international office hear in no uncertain terms that the progressive food workers won't stand for Jim Crow practices in their union!

trictions of the local draft boards. ment Co.: the Republic Aircraft etc. Brooklyn, of which Jamaica is a part, has a large share of

done before.

rant Workers International is convention from April 21 to 26

age of a union convention

But there's something also wrong with Cincinnati. You can see what's wrong by turning to page 18 in the current issue of "The Catering Industry Employee", organ of the international union, and reading the list and description of the hotels reserved for the delegates. If you read carefully,

"At 1004 Chapel Street (Colored delegates). They have available accomodations

DANGERS CONFRONTING the armed forces who face the res- BIRTH CONTROL ADVOCATES Bitrh Control Committee. It is But this was at the discretion very gratifying to note that a Not once d'd they utter a word of the courts which at that workers' organization displayed about the exclusion of Negroes period chose thus to interpret the independence of action and an in-

the Communist Party was proved as it is today in Massachusetts by their silence on these sorely and Connecticut, without any pro- fact that even the Catholic Church pressing problems. As in the past, the Stalinists prescribe birth control methods While it vigorously opposes the merely wish to use the Negro peo- even for the protection of health scientific method accepted by phyple as a pawn in furthering Stal- (except in the above mentioned sicians, it approves a form of in's foreign policy. Once they have eight states). In 24 states where iscredited by their wholehearted gained their ends, they will let there is no law applicable to birth Latz's book "Rhythm." The phythe Negroes down as they have control, among which are Illinois,

gro Congress is starting out along bill can be utilized. comeback bid for the support of the right path. Its fight locally Many attempts to exclude birth and nationally for jobs and the control from the anti-obscenity The Stalinists at the meeting right of Negroes to enter all de- law were made. In 1924 two sen- to all forms of birth control. Cath- expressed himself strongly against evaded discussion on a policy to partments of the Army and Navy ators were found progressive olic women are demanding the birth control but in actuality ar- ents still want children even fight discrimination against Ne must be supported. All those who enough to introduce such a bill right to birth control informa- gued against the Neo-Malthusiar groes in the armed forces, for the join in this struggle must unite but it met with defeat. In 1934 tion. Stalinists have no policy on this ranks against the government's a bill exempting physicians, hos- The Ladies' Home Journal, in In Soviet Russia (1926) my in key problem. Not once did they Jim Crow policy, and at the same pitals and licensed clinics from a poll in 1938 on birth control, terest in their birth control work when society will have everything advocate equal rights for those time continue unrelenting oppositive provisions of the Comstock reported 51% of Catholic women Negroes now in the Navy and Ar- tion to the Stalinists who have law was heard by both Senate voting for it. 83% of them exmy. Not once did they say one betrayed this struggle before and and House and actually passed by plained that they favor it because long discussions with leading peo- elop into happy, useful people.

Birth Control Is No Panacea, But It Deserves Labor's Aid Against Reaction

By ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW, M. D.

The achievements of the birth control movement in this dictates of their church, there trol meant Malthusianism. country are scarcely secure. The movement in the past has been must be many more in agreement What is the main significance cessful in almost all states. The first clinic was opened in 1923 who dare not express themselves. of birth control for the work in New York. Today there are reported to be 529 clinics in the United States. But birth control has been declared illegal in two never officially taken a stand on planned parenthood and spacing states—Massachussetts and Connecticut—and can be under- the question of birth control. The of their family, which permits the mined elsewhere as well.

A brief history of the legal status of birth control in this country may be helpful. The Comstock law of 1873 which prohibited the trade and circulation of obscene literature and articles many of whom are still followers possible a slightly better standard

reconsidered and killed.

Massachusetts and Connecticut

may well signify the beginning

One of the strongest opponents

meeting was held, nevertheless,

because the CIO Textile Workers

offered their headquarters to the

of immoral use specifically in-9 cludes birth control with abortion the session, only to be hurriedly and obscene literature and articles. This is a federal law still in operation. 24 states passed York, Ohio, Colorado, Indiana, Jowa Minnesota Nevada and exempt from prosecution by this law physicians using, applying or prescribing an instrument or of birth control is the Catholic states the need for birth control 41% of the population is cathinformation was so apparent olic. In Holyoke, Mass., a lecture everywhere and public opinion so by Margaret Sanger was arranged much in its favor that the laws to be held in the First Congregaagainst it have not been enforced. tional Church. Catholic influence In several instances where ar- prevailed upon the church comrests were made of lecturers on mittee to withdraw permission to birth control (myself, for ex- hold the meeting. Upon trans-

by the defendant.

from the air corps, tank corps, state or federal laws. At any time, terest in birth control. signal corps. The bankruptcy of however, the law may be enforced vision allowing physicians to had to accept a compromise. The Jamaica Council of the Ne- Hampshire, the Federal Comstock

Working class parties have Malthus.

Malthus, a prominent economist of the 18th century in England, similar laws. Eight states—New of a reactionary wave which may claimed that poverty was due to attempt to destroy progress made the fact that the increase in popin this field all over the country, ulation was more rapid than the Wyoming added provisions which CATHOLIC OPPOSITION AND production of foodstuffs. He ITS INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES preached abstinence to the poverty stricken workers of England (capitalism had just begun to develop) article for the cure of prevention Church, which wields considerable as a means of improving their conditions. His followers, the of disease. However, in other influence in Massachusets where Neo-Malthusians (New Malthus ians) substituted birth control for developed workers, should abstinence. Like Malthus, however, they consider overpopulation the source of all evil in the world-poverty, war, etc. Seemingly their theories received much support because the practice ample) or authors of books dealing with sex problems the cases were quashed and some even won were quashed and some even won were guashed and some even won working was held nevertheless.

This, however, does not denote an mostly and the birth rate has declined in all industrially advanced countries. of birth control spread rapidly acceptance of Neo-Malthusian theories but is the result of pressure of economic forces in woman's life.

Industrialism or capitalism put professions. Women had to com bine work with child-bearing. The strong trend in favor of Birth control was woman's pro birth control is evidenced by the test against suffering under capi talism. Working men and womer seek birth control information not for fear of future world overpopu lation, but to prevent it in their from their own doors.

It is important to isolate birth siological theory upon which this Michigan, Rhode Island and New system is based has been proven control from its stepfather Malthfalse by qualified research work, usianism. Many revolutionists It is obvious, however, that the identify this escape theory of the Catholic church has been forced middle class with the support of to abandon its austere opposition | birth control by the masses. Lenin

usually inspired the remark, "Oh! to offer children-health, educayou are a Malthusian." I had tion and the opportunity to dev-

dared to vote in opposition to the that subject. To them birth con-

and their families? It provides for main reason is, no doubt, that working woman to combine work the leadership of the birth control and the joy of motherhood withmovement has been entirely in the out exhausting her health or the hands of middle class elements, well-being of her child. It makes of the almost extinct theory of of living for the average family. The working woman has more leisure to develop politically and participate in labor organizations. The worker, not overburdened with family responsibilities and worries, can participate more fully in his union or party.

> a panacea for the evils of capitalism, but does offer some restife to workers during the period of bondage under capitalism. Workers, and particularly politically on slought of reactionaries. whatever progress has been made toward permitting the spread of birth control information. Unions with health centers should provide for birth control clinics administered by efficient physicians. Birth control often serves as a means of introducing into working women's organizations the basic ideas of class. struggle. I have recruited numbers of women to the cause of socialism by approaching them first with lectures on this prob-

No doubt under socialism there will be an increase of population, for the fear of insecurity will have disappeared. However, women will not agree to be merely child-bearing machines. The family will be limited for reasons of health or to provide more time for the attainment of education and culture. Under socialism. great strides will be made in the scientific research on this subject and the education and instruction of all on planned parenthood. There need be no fear that population will decrease for if, even under conditions today, parthough it means extra privation and suffering, how much more will that desire be manifested the Senate in the closing days of of limited family income. If 51% ple, among them Clara Zetkin, on What parent would ask for more?

THE MILITANT

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

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

AT HOME:

For:

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

Why 'The Militant'

With this first edition of our enlarged paper, the banner on our masthead is changed from the Socialist Appeal to THE MILITANT.

This "new" name is, in reality, old and dear to us. It was the name of the first publication issued by our movement, almost thirteen years ago.

By returning to this name, we symbolize before the workers of America and the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world that our party proclaims today that program of uncompromising international class struggle which we inscribed on our banner from the first moment of our existence.

The Socialist Workers Party has been compelled by a reactionary federal law, the Voorhis Act, to discontinue its organizational affiliation with the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.

But by this banner, THE MILITANT, we make known to the revolutionary vanguard everywhere that we remain loyal to our common goal and principles.

Our original name was never more appropriate than now. "Militant" implies proletarian activists in the very midst of the class struggle. Our party is today made up of such proletarian activists, and every sign testifies to a new stage of the class struggle in America, of far greater intensity and significance than anything that the American working class has ever known.

Thirteen years ago the name of our paper seemed to many to be a misnomer. Our movement began its separate existence in 1928 as the Communist Left Opposition, defending our program of international socialist revolution against Stalin's reactionary doctrine of "socialism in one country." The question of "socialism in one country" seemed then, to most workers, even to most revolutionists, the height of abstraction. We appeared to be concerned with issues far removed from the fields of militant class combat.

The name which we chose thirteen years ago proved only too well justified. The "abstruse" issue over which we first unfurled our banner has determined the fate of the world during these momentous years.

The strangulation of the October revolution by Stalinism; the slaughter in the GPU execution chambers of the entire generation that made the. October revolution; the revolutionary upsurge of the workers in Germany, Spain, France, China, smothered by the traitorous embrace of Stalinism; the parties of the Third International, once flourishing on the European continent and now ground into dust; Stalin's support, first of the "holy" war of the bourgeois "democracies" and, then, of the invasions of the Axis powers—all this has come to pass. Cain-Stalin has slaughtered our militants, not by the tens or hundreds, but by the tens of thousands.

Yet the counter-revolutionary services rendered by the Stalinist bureaucracy to the capitalist world has not availed either Stalin or the capitalists. Through all the horrors of this epoch, our program has made its way. Stalin could murder Trotsky, but not the party of Trotskyism. Our party has grown, for only our program illumines what has happened and shows the road out of this epoch of the death agony of capitalism.

That is why we have survived and grown, while others who seemed far stronger thirteen years ago have disappeared. The Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 by the Lovestone leadership; for years the favorite slur of the Lovestoneites was that we were "Three generals without an army." When the Lovestone group first found itself outside the Communist Party, it could still call itself "Communist Party (Majority Group)." Now it has disappeared without a trace. The Socialist Party used to refer to us contemptuously as a "splinter group." It has since splintered unrecognizably, and both its right-splinter, the Social Democratic Federation, and its pacifistsplinter, Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, (now just split in twain again) are fading from the

The working class political arena is clearing! The revolutionary worker is contested for by only two parties now: ours, and that of the Stalinists.

We welcome the combat. Unwavering in our course for thirteen years, we enter this struggle for the leadership of the American working class with boundless confidence in our final victory. Then shall come the gigantic struggle between proletarian and oppressor to determine the fate of mankind! As the herald of our future triumph, the triumph of the socialist future of mankind, we unfurl the banner of our first battles, THE MILITANT.

A Touchstone

Ask any man how he feels about the Churchill government's decision that workers may be forced to labor wherever the government so decrees, may not leave their places of employment, etc. Examine any man's answer to that question very carefully; for his answer tells you what he will do when similar anti-labor proposals are made in this country.

Examine, for instance, William Green's few words on this subject (reported in the New York Times, January 22). Green is quoted as saying:

"We cannot consider such a thing here because there is a different situation in this country. There is plenty of man-power available here and we have not yet reached the desperate state of Great Britain." Green's words mean:

1. He is not against such forced labor in principle. He is for it in Britain because of its des-

2. That "desperate state" is determined to exist on the say-so of Britain's rulers. In other words, Green is only for slave labor when the ruling class says it "needs" it.

So much for Green and the AFL leadership. And the CIO chieftains? Not a murmur out of them so far.

Yet it should be as plain as Philip Murray's brogue or John L. Lewis' paunch that this antilabor move in Britain is the direct consequence of Roosevelt's "all-out" aid program. The powerful backing of Washington produces reactionary fruits everywhere. The forced labor decree and the suppression of the Daily Worker in London are the latest British examples. Washington's loan to Chiang-Kai-Shek has been followed by new blows against the Chinese labor movement. The Latin-American dictators in Roosevelt's "democratic bloc" are now more arrogant and cruel to the peoples they oppress than ever before.

We repeat: The British events are a touchstone. One's stand on those events indicate one's program for labor in this country. Trade unionists: find out where your officials stand on this key

McReynolds Retires

If Justice McReynolds had announced his retirement two years ago, great clamor would have shaken the land. Dire portents and prophecies would have flooded forth from Republican headquarters. The news and editorial columns of the press would have pealed forth like the trumpets of the Last Judgment. Usually strong, silent men in silk hats and cutaways would have halted perfect strangers on the corners of Wall and Nassau Streets to blubber on their shoulders, "This is the end, the very end."

Those were the days when the court-packing issue had the Sir Galahads of the press sharpening their editorial lances to tilt at the fire-breathing dragon of "Dictatorship", and "Bolshevism." The idea of a Roosevelt majority on the Supreme Court brought the flag on the Stock Exchange Building to half-mast.

Today the retirement of McReynolds and the fact that Roosevelt now commands an undisputed majority of 5-3 on the highest judicial body—soon to be 6-3—evokes not the slightest stirrings of wrath.

Why do the spokesmen of Wall Street remain silent?

Today there is a difference. The petty and artificial strife of yesterday has vanished. Today all capitalists are rallying around the flag, are merging their differences for the common good of their class. Today American imperialism girds for a life and death struggle with its imperialist rivals. And the Roosevelt of social reform, of the New Deal and the "radical" Brain Trust is already gathering cob-webs in the attic of ancient history. Wall Street knows its man.

Today if a stranger should accost any strong, silent man in silk hat and cutaway on the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets and cry, "McReynolds has quit!", he would be met with a cold stare and the words, "McReynolds? Never heard of the gentleman. Who's his broker?"

Teachers Union's Fight To Protect Its Members

All Unions Should Have Supported Its Struggle To Keep Its Membership Lists Away From the Rapp-Coudert Committee

One of the most dangerous anti-labor precedents created by admit that Local 544 was absolved judge-made law was established when the New York State Court on all the basic charges. of Appeals last week ordered the New York Teachers Union (Local 5) to hand over its membership lists to the red-baiting Rapp-Coudert Committee.

That committee, set up by the state legislature ostensibly to investigate subversive activity in the schools—actually its aim the entire labor movement to supis to pave the way for slashing the school budget—had been port its fight to protect the unbalked previously by the union in numerous attempts to seize ion's membership lists and rethe union's membership lists. The Court of Appeals was acting cords. on an appeal by the union from Teachers Guild who split from in similar struggles, the Minnea-

Perhaps the foulest aspect of this situation was the refusal of AFL officials to come to the aid of Local 5 in this important

struggle.

Local 5's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers. the property of the labor movement. But, while the decision of the Court of Appeals was still pending, the executive board of the Teachers Federation instituted proceedings to lift the charter of Local 5. The list of charges are a thinly-veiled attack on the "comra-reactionary leadership of the Central Trades & Labor Council suspended the local from mem-

These opening moves to lift the hey did, were a treacherous blow to the moral authority of the local in its fight to protect its membership lists.

COWARDS DESERT

A similar treacherous blow was dealt by the withdrawal from Local 5, in the midst of the fight with the Rapp-Coudert Committee, of a group of so-called progressives, including Norman Thomas Socialists, Lovestoneites and "Workers Party" elements. Blinded by their vulgar anti-Stalbe differentiated from the anti-Communism of the reactionary war-mongers, these pseudo-progressives deserted the union while it was under fire.

They, together with the rightwing group which calls itself the tried, the court was compelled to played such a progressive role.

the union several years ago, have polis Teamsters Joint Council has a secret understanding to receive the lifted Local 5 charter after the parent body concludes its

"trial" of the present union. treacherously, it is easy to ima- polis, Minnesota. gine how the city, state and naadopted a perfunctory resolution tional AFL leadership behaved. supporting the local's contention The net result is a terrible precethat union membership lists are dent, which will undoubtedly the courtroom. The failure of Lobership lists to prying capitalist backing must be analysed by the politicians and employers.

MINNEAPOLIS CASE

trast with the recent outcome of But after that, one must place a similar struggle which the fa- due responsibility upon the Local munism" of Local 5's leadership. mous General Drivers Union, Lo- 5 leadership for the false policies One charge, for example, blames cal 544 of Minneapolis, conducted it pursued which made it imposthe local for the fact that the ul- for nearly three years to protect sible to secure widespread supits membership lists and other port. records against a court order re- PRICE OF FACTIONALISM quiring the union to surrender them to examination by attorneys and accountants for a group of Local 5 charter, coming when employers' agents masquerading as injured union members. Local 544 was able to defy the original court order, thanks to the fact that the union had the backing, not only of its own entire membership, but of the whole Minneapolis and Minnesota trade union

In the course of the three-year tle down the original court order rectly similar, to that of the to the point where the union had at the end to present for inspec- example could have been a powertion only certain financial records inism, which cannot in practice immediately relevant to the case; line up AFL unions to support Loand even those records could be and accountant only in the courtof the union.

court. The judge merely recorded, as it were, the victory already won by the Local 544 leadership when it succeeded in mobilizing

published a huge edition of a pamphlet telling the whole story of the fight. It can be obtained by writing to the Council, at 257 If these teachers behaved so Plymouth Avenue North, Minnea-

Just as 544's victory was won outside the courtroom, so Teachers Local 5 lost its battle outside serve to open other union mem- cal 5 to secure widespread labor Local 5 membership. Those treacherous elements who refused to defend Local 5 must be con-This outcome is in marked con- demned as disloyal to their class

Arrogant, factional, utterly unscrupulous in the vicious methods it employed to destroy honest dissenters in the union, the Local 5 leadership has never itself oper ated in terms of loyalty to the broader interests of the labor

Typical of its narrow factionalism is the very fact that not once has it referred to the inspiring example of Minneapolis Drivers Local 544, although that example battle, Local 544 was able to whit- is the most recent, and most di-Teachers Union. The Minneapolis ful weapon in the campaign to cal 5's fight. But Charles Hendinspected by the finks' attorney ley and the other Local 5 leaders preferred to give up that weapon. house and under close supervision rather than admit that the militant, and anti-Stalinist Minnea And when the case was finally polis drivers union leaders had

The Split In The Socialist Party On Aid To Britain

By ART PREIS

A deep split in the ranks of the Socialist Party became public in connection with the appearance of Norman Thomas last week before the House committee hearings on the Lease-Lend bill.

Coincident with Thomas' testimony, a group of leading figures in the Socialist Party issued a statement to the press, repudiating Thomas' opinions on the bill and declaring that he did not represent the true sentiments of the majority of the Socialist Party

The press statement accompanied a petition to Representative Bloom, chairman of the House Commitee on Foreign Affairs, requesting that a spokesman of the petitioning group be afforded an opportunity to speak at the hearing in full support of the bill granting unlimited war powers to the president.

Thomas Loses His Chief Lieutenants

The extent of the cleavage in the Socialist Party and the strength of the opposition to the Thomas faction is indicated by the fact that the petition signers included Thomas' chief lieutenants. Among them were Jack Altman, former secretary of the New York local; Professor Reinhold Neibuhr of Union Theological Seminary; Frank Crosswaith, general organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Alfred Baker Lewis, former Massachusetts party secretary; Murray Gross, former chairman of the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party; Lazar Becker, of the New York state committee; and Gus Tyler, former editor of the Call.

Those of us who were in the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1937 may be forgiven if we laugh in glee at the sight of this roster of denouncers of Thomas. For these were the gentlemen who upheld Thomas' right arm as he smote the left wing of the party in 1937. With their backing Thomas resorted to the desperate venture of expelling the left wing, without daring to wait for the verdict of an honestlyelected party convention. The interested readerparticularly any worker of revolutionary spirit who may have wandered by accident into the Socialist Party since 1937-should read the story of the 1937 split in the issues of the Socialist Appeal (now The Militant) of that period. He will find that we predicted the degeneration of the Socialist Party into a chauvinistic sect like the Social Democratic Federation, once the left wing was not there to prevent it. The left wing is now in the Socialist Workers Party.

Jack Altman, next to Thomas the most important figure in engineering the split in 1937, predicted in a press statement last week that the Norman Thomas group will be repudiated at the S. P. national commitee meeting next month. Altman claimed-and the next issue of Thomas' Call has not denied it-that the two largest units of the party, Illinois and Wisconsin, support the Altman group.

Although his name was not attached to this statement, Daniel Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee, has already gone completely over to the pro-war Roosevelt camp. He is now a member of one of Roosevelt's "national defense" boards.

What the Split Is About

The Altman group has adopted a completely proar position, indistinguishable from that of evelt administration, whose policies it now accords full support.

The split in the Socialist Party ranks is not a fight between an anti-war proletarian wing and pettybourgeois capitulators. It merely mirrors faithfully the differences that exist within the capitalist camp, the "isolationists" versus the interventionists. At no point does the conflict in the Socialist Party take on the aspect of a struggle between two opposing class

The basis of Thomas' opposition to the Lease-Lend bill was identical with that of Hanford MacNider, former national commander of the American Legion, who spoke at the same session of the hearings as Thomas and represented that section of the Republican party and Wall Street who disagree with the admnistration only on the tactics to be pursued leading

Thomas, like MacNider, based his principal objection to the bill as it now stands solely on the fact that it is "undemocratic" and gives the President too much individual power.

In the same breath that he condemned Churchill as "an imperialist to the core," Thomas declared that he was for aid to Britain and a British victory. Even in his opposition to the powers given Roosevelt in the bill, he hastened to make clear that he recognized the "excellence" of Roosevelt's "normal intentions," It is true that Thomas qualified his support of aid

to imperialist Britain by stating that he is for only such aid as will help "to repel the Nazi invasion" but will not assist Churchill in his plans for a "reconquest of Europe.'

At what point aid to Britain ceases to be for the purpose of repulsing a Nazi invasion and become an aid to British imperialist ambitions, Thomas failed to make clear.

How little principled difference there is between the two Socialist Party factions is indicated by Thomas' recent endorsement of Mathew Woll's committee to aid Britain. The program and sponsors of this committee are completely pro-war and in entire accord with Roosevelt's foreign policies.

During a battle in the War, a soldier was beating a retreat to the rear as fast as his legs would carry him, when he was halted by an officer.

"Don't delay me," said the soldier, "I'm on my "Don't you know who I am?" the officer replied.

"I'm a general." "Go on, you ain't no general."

"I certainly am," insisted the officer.

"Oh, my lord," exclaimed the soldier, as he took a good look at the officer. "You are. I knew I'd traveled back a long way, but I didn't think it was

Conscientious Objectors Cannot Stop Jim Crow army. Not until their complete of their enemies. Whoever says

By ALBERT PARKER

military service because he is a won. in the Army.

ple? Should they declare that they still have the power to Jim Crow are against being trained how to Negroes and treat them as secondfight, and refuse military train- class citizens. ing? Can such a course of action have a decisive effect on the shameful treatment of the Negro soldiers by the officer clique in charge of conscription?

There can be no doubt here, of course, of our attitude toward the attacks that the draft officials are going to make on Calloway. Already his local board has turned down his request for exemption, and although he is appealing their decision with the aid of the N.A. A.C.P., it is pretty certain that they will prosecute and attempt to jail him if he persists in his determination not to be drafted. When the draft officials and the army bureaucrats launch their atack against him, they will do it because he has opposed their draft and has given publicity to the Jim Crow regime in the Army. All workers must defend Calloway against such attacks even if they don't agree with Calloway's method.

But it is one thing to oppose Jim Crowism in the army and another thing to oppose it correctly and successfully.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH CALLOWAY'S METHOD

We are certain that actions such as Calloway's will not have any decisive effect on the fight for equal rights in the armed forces. It can't, because it leaves untouched the power of the officer caste to do exactly what it pleases. As long as the laborhating, Negro-hating officers have the power to do what they want with the rank-and-file soldiers. there will be Jim Crowism in the

conscientious objector against the What is wrong with Calloway's the Negro people. Jim Crow treatment of the Ne- method, even if it were followed groes in the armed forces, he op- by ten other men, or 1000, or 10, ened up a very important ques- 000, is that it does not touch this tion for all those who are serious main problem at all. Whether about the fight for equal rights Calloway is sent to jail or whether he will be set free will not in That question is: Should other any way affect or diminish the Negroes follow Calloway's exam- powers of the officer caste. They'll

> The second major weakness in Calloways's method (which was conceived of and proposed by a Chicago organization known as "Conscientious Objectors Against control of military training and Jim Crow," headed by St. Clair the necessity for such training, Drake, who is also executive sec- they cannot be accepted as a proretary of the local branch of the gram for Negro workers. Stalinist-controlled National Negro Congress) is that it does not Party program for trade union take into consideration at all the control of military training has

the military arts. volution today. Every important | cal solution of discrimination and question is being decided by mili- segregation in the armed forces tary means. The Negro people arming the Negroes in the face realization.

When Ernest Calloway told a and all-powerful control over mili- that the Negro people in this coun Chicago draft board last month tary training is taken from them try will win their freedom in any that he wants exemption from can the fight for equal rights be way other than by fighting for it is miseducating and confusing

NEGROES MUST JOIN FIGHT. FOR MILITARY TRAINING

It is correct and necessary to maintain our opposition to cons cription by the boss class, but it is useless to do so unless at the same time we present some other proposal which, while it will elim inate military Jim Crowism and anti-labor practices, will also provide for training the workers in the military arts.

Since the Calloway-Drake pro posals ignore both the question of

need of the Negro people to learn the answer to both these questions, it must be pushed by Ne This is a world of war and re- groes as the only real and practi-

To push this program requires too will be able to solve their not an arms-folded policy of in problems only by struggle against dividual abstention, which by it their armed and trained enemies. self can never win anything, but Whoever denies that the Negro militant activity to mobilize the people must master the other mili- Negroes and the trade unions to tary arts is misleading and dis-struggle against the bosses for its

Chicago Readers! ALBERT GOLDMAN

has just returned from Mexico, where he represented Natalia Trotsky in establishing the guilt of the GPU murder-machine. His first public appearance on his return will be a speech on

"Proofs That Stalin Killed Trotsky"

Friday, February 7 8 p.m.

PLACE: MIDLAND HOTEL 172 W. Adams St. Chicago, III.