

# Stalin's New Crop Of Scapegoats

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# THE MILITANT

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# ROOSEVELT REFUSES TO LIST WAR AIMS

## Far East Crisis Flares Up Again

Joint Anglo-U.S. Moves Seek To Checkmate  
Japan; "Bluff" May Be Called Very Soon

By GEORGE STERN

The United States and Great Britain last week launched a maneuver on the grand scale in the Far East with the aim of checkmating in advance any fresh Japanese southward moves.

Amid a flood of inspired reports that the Japanese fleet was moving southward toward Singapore and the Indies, the British suddenly announced the arrival at that base of a large, fully-equipped Australian army.

Gen. Marshall, U. S. chief of staff, told a Congressional committee that the army's best and newest fighting planes were being turned over to the navy and moved out over the Pacific

to the United States fleet. This information was permitted to "leak" to the newspapers and a day later Roosevelt rebuked the papers for publishing it. The matter was made to look thoroughly serious. And it is serious. Army bombers are flying westward over the ocean from California, taking the route via Hawaii, Midway, and Guam to the scene of probable hostilities. Behind this "bluff" lies the real threat of war.

The Anglo-American moves brought a rash of protestations from Tokyo. Matsuoka, the Japanese foreign minister, deplored the "provocative" movements of planes and men and insisted upon Japan's peaceful intentions. The Japanese press accused the British and the U. S. of trying to encircle the Japanese.

### JAPAN'S MOVE NOW

At the same time, however, Japanese forces moved into new bases in Southern Indo-China. The peace conference between Indo-China and Thailand, sponsored by the Japanese, hit a snag which obviously bore a Made-in-Britain label. The Australian forces landed at Singapore were moved up into Malaya to wait for any further Japanese move.

So far that move has not been forthcoming. For the Japanese have been told in the plain language of men, ships, planes, and guns, that further moves southward at this time means war with Britain and the U. S.

The sudden anti-Japanese truce

culence in London is undoubtedly based upon a definite understanding with the U. S., for the main element in a Pacific war would have to be the U. S. fleet. The British know it. The Japanese know it. And so, of course, does Washington.

### U. S. COMMITTEE

Citing the sudden change in the British attitude, a New York Times dispatch from London on Feb. 22 said that "it is perhaps a reasonable deduction that 'parallel action'—that diplomatic euphemism for joint action—is functioning better than ever before. It is not believed that the British would present so strong a front against Japan unless they had good reason to believe the United States was behind them."

This "reasonable deduction" is amply supported by the developments of the past week—the Marshall testimony and the ferrying of army planes across the Pacific. The same deduction has evidently been made in Tokyo. The bluff is not to be called—not, at least, until Hitler actually unleashes his Spring offensive against Britain. If at that time, Japan edges closer toward the jealously guarded wealth of the Indies, it will be time for all bluffs to be called. First American participation in actual hostilities in the present war may take place in the Southern Pacific—and it may take place soon.

## Harvester Strikers Are Still Out

6,500 Men  
Stand Firm  
On Demands

Haymarket Martyr's  
Widow, 82, Speaks  
To Strike Pickets

CHICAGO, Feb. 23.—Assembled in the biting wind before the gates of the strike-bound International Harvester Company here, CIO members and sympathizers today heard Mrs. Lucy Parsons, 82 year old widow of Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs of 1886, urge on the striking workers to a finish fight with the giant International Harvester trust.

Mrs. Parsons reminded the strikers, who have kept the IHC tractor plant shut down tight for three weeks, that her own husband was framed-up and sent to the gallows along with four other working class leaders by interests close to the McCormicks, who still are linked with the International Harvester Company and the McCormick plant here.

The 1886 Haymarket meeting into whose ranks provocateurs threw a bomb which killed a number of people, and for which Albert Parsons was framed-up and hung, was a peaceable meeting called to find a remedy for the bad working conditions of that day, particularly at the McCormick Reaper Plant, Mrs. Parsons reminded the strikers. The crimes of the McCormicks against the workers have carried on for over 50 years, during which time the McCormick company and the International Harvester interests have never ceased their war on labor.

The rally at which Mrs. Parsons spoke was called in support of the strike of 6,500 IHC tractor plant workers, organized by the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO).

### PICKETS IN FORCE

Strong picket lines have prevented the plant from operating since the strike started. All gates are covered. Only five maintenance men are permitted to enter the plant, and the superintendent must report once each hour to the pickets.

As a precaution against an attempted back-to-work maneuver of the company, the strikers are now doing six-hour picket shift duty instead of the former three-hour stretch. Directly in front of each plant gate are heated shacks where the pickets can take shelter.

Other union speakers at today's rally described the status of the strike thus far. Clarence Stoeker, president of the striking local, reported on developments in the McCormick plant of the IHC, where the workers have just voted 3,057 to 418 to join the strike.

The union has had to fight a vicious company union set-up in this plant for the past two years. Two weeks ago the NLRB ordered the company to disband this fake outfit.

Stoeker informed the mass meeting that the union has presented the McCormick management with demands for union recognition, elimination of piece work, and a 75 cent hourly minimum wage. He urged all McCormick workers to stand by ready for strike if the company does not accept the union's terms.

Bill Mooney, Packinghouse Workers Union representative, spoke and told of the negotiations now in progress at the Armour Company. He brought the greetings of the Armour workers and said "your victory will help us."



Wives of International Harvester Company workers on strike in Chicago are shown unloading a bread truck at the strike kitchen. The walk-out was called by the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO).

## Strike Vote Carries At Bethlehem Steel Plant

Lackawanna Plant Men Vote Six To One For Strike After Over  
A Thousand Men Are Suspended Or Discharge By Company

BUFFALO, N. Y., Feb. 24.—After 60 hours of secret balloting, the workers of the Bethlehem Steel Company's Lackawanna plant here voted in favor of a strike. Lorne H. Nelles, SWOC-CIO international representative, announced that strike action has been authorized by a vote of 6,411 to 1,001.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Feb. 23.—13,000 members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee employed in the huge Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company here are balloting in a strike vote. The voting began last Friday noon.

The decision to take the strike vote came after over 600 workers in the coke-oven and blast furnace departments were given an "indefinite suspension" by the company for participating in recent short work stoppages in an effort to get the company to meet with the workers' committees and negotiate grievances. 400 more men have since been dropped.

On February 9, the workers of the Coke-oven department laid down their tools after the management had refused to meet with their committee and discuss settlement of 122 grievances from this department alone. The committee was told that the company did not intend to change the rules under which it had been operating for over 50 years.

This short stoppage was followed by several others in the course of the next ten days. Other departments began to line up behind the militant coke-oven workers.

### SOLIDARITY SHOWN

When workers from the yard department were fooled by the management into entering the coke-oven department under the pretext that they were supposed to do some repair work, and they learned that they were supposed to replace the coke-oven men, these workers, including a large percentage of Negro workers, refused to do any work.

The action of the coke-oven workers forced the management to receive a committee of 32 men on February 13. The conference was held with Chauncey L. Baker, company personnel director. After hearing the list of grievances, including a demand for a 25 per cent pay raise for the coke-oven department, Baker gave the committee a complete turn-down.

When the 150 workers of the 7 A. M. shift of the coke-oven department started to enter the plant on last Wednesday about 50

materials for use in the national defense program.

The "respective employment agreements" referred to in this notice is news to the workers, but it means that the company claims an individual yellow-dog contract with every unorganized worker was implied when he was hired. The "contracts for materials" are over \$1,200,000,000 in war orders given to Bethlehem Steel despite the fact that it has been repeatedly ruled a labor law violator by the NLRB.

CIO director Cowan answered this company threat by demanding the reinstatement of the 150 fired men, and warning that the union would take action if this demand were not fulfilled.

The company answered the SWOC demand by proceeding to lock out a total of 500 men from the coke-oven department and an additional 100 men from the blast furnace division.

### UNION DEMANDS

The union demands a straight 25 per cent increase in wages, establishment of seniority rights and no discrimination on job ratings.

This last demand applies particularly on behalf of the many Negro workers employed in the Lackawanna plant. They are given the worst and heaviest jobs and lowest pay.

### NEGRO MILITANTS

The Negro workers have joined the union in large numbers and have displayed great militancy. During the stoppages preceding the lock-out, the influence of the Negro workers was felt in the songs sung by the striking workers of the coke-oven department. The bosses tried to pull a red-herring across the stoppage by yelling that the workers were singing "communist" songs—meaning hymns and Negro spirituals, including "That Old Time Religion," "The Walls of Jericho Fell" and "We Shall Not be Moved!"

No less than 13,000 of the 14,000 Lackawanna workers support the union.

## Lines Up With British Tories

His Stand Helps Extreme Right Wing in  
England Against the Widespread Demand  
For A Concrete Statement of War Aims.

President Roosevelt openly aligned himself Tuesday with the most reactionary wing of Britain's war machine, when he brushed aside all discussion of war aims.

What are the worker-soldiers fighting and dying for? What kind of world-order will the victorious Anglo-U.S. war lords establish? What do they propose to do to avert another repetition of world war as the aftermath of their "peace," as happened with the Versailles "peace"? The people cannot be satisfied this time with vague promises of "war to end war," "war for democracy,"—they got all that talk in 1914-18 and won't be put off now with a repetition of these empty formulas. They want to know precisely what the war aims of the "democracies" are.

But Roosevelt refuses to answer. Asked at his Tuesday press conference whether John G. Winant, Ambassador to Great Britain, would take over proposals regarding lasting peace after the war, "Mr. Roosevelt replied that the first thing was to win the war, making clear that peace proposals and an outline of the basis of peace must come after victory." (New York Times, Feb. 26.)

### ISSUE IN BRITAIN

In Britain, after eighteen months of war, nobody except the Colonel Blimps and the most bull-headed Tories dare to use the language employed by Roosevelt in opposition to formulation of war aims. There the question of stating war aims is well-nigh the major issue of the political arena. Not only the scattered anti-war forces, but also big sections of the officials of the Labor Party have come out for a statement of war aims by the government, so great is the mass pressure on them for this.

Among others, The Tribune, pro-war organ of the group of Labor Members of Parliament associated with Aneurin Bevan, insists that victory is impossible without a specific formulation of war aims.

So great has the pressure for formulation of war aims become that even the most powerful organ of the British ruling class, The Times of London, has had to give lip-service to the proposal.

In its leading editorial, January 9, 1941, The Times of London declared:

"It is a dangerous illusion that Hitler's propaganda can be adequately countered with the old-time slogans of freedom and independence. Only a positive and constructive programme can rally the European peoples by convincing them that there is a living alternative to Hitler and despair."

### FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM

Labor Party Members of Parliament have often pointed out in parliamentary discussion that, without a statement of war aims which gives freedom to the 375 million people of India and to the other colonies subjugated by Britain, it is impossible to counteract Hitler's influence.

But it is precisely to avoid any commitments, no matter how mild, to the colonial peoples, to the British people, or to the peoples of Europe, that Britain's rulers resist to the death the rising tide of demands for a statement of war aims.

In this situation, Roosevelt's Tuesday statement is a deliberate blow struck against the British and colonial masses and the most powerful support that the most reactionary elements in Britain could have hoped for.

### WHAT THIS MEANS

"Never mind about war aims. It's none of your business. Just go on fighting and dying—that's your task." This is what Roosevelt is saying to the armed forces

### Home Guards Used For First Time— Against Strikers

Call it the Home Guard or the National Guard, it's still the same old armed force of strike-breakers which the employers and government have always maintained to smash organized labor struggles.

The first reported active use of a Home Guard force occurred on February 24, at Anniston, Alabama, against a strike at the Utica Knitting Company.

An AFL picket line was dispersed by Home Guardsmen, ordered out by Governor Frank Dixon, with tear gas bombs.

The Home Guards have been ballyhooed as an armed body of trained civilians intended to aid in the repulsion of "invaders." The first "invaders," of course, turn out to be union pickets.

es of the British Empire—and to the millions of American workers who will shortly be sent into actual warfare.

You want to know why you're fighting and dying? "We'll tell you after the war is over," says Roosevelt.

You want to be sure you're not being used to lay the basis for another Versailles peace? "We'll think about that after the war," says Roosevelt.

What about the freedom of the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of colonial slaves? "That's got nothing to do with the war," say the Tories—and Roosevelt backs them up.

Roosevelt, in other words, is demanding that the American working class and farmers go through this war as unthinking robots, as silent tools of the American and British plutocracy.

Roosevelt's stand on this fundamental question should serve to open the eyes of many who hitherto were inclined to let him have his way. It is clear that he cannot be trusted with the lives of the armed forces of the United States—neither he, nor the Republicans, nor any of the capitalists and their political agents.

### OUR PROGRAM

That is why our party has put forward from the first a program for putting control of the armed forces of the country into the hands of those who must do the fighting and dying—the workers.

That is why we demand:

Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions!

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

An end to secret diplomacy!  
A people's referendum on any and all wars!

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

The time draws close to Spring—that season when people used to talk about young men's fancies and the things they turned to. This time an entire planet awaits the coming season of rebirth with fear and foreboding. It is to be the season of titanic battles and great decisions. Hitler boasts openly of his coming offensive against Britain, by sea, by air, and on the land of the British Isles themselves. Mussolini, reduced to a ridiculous tenor accompaniment, tells the strangled people of Italy that Hitler is strong and that "Spring will come."

The Balkans await in total uncertainty the coming explosion. The Turks have denied that their new pact with Bulgaria means Turkish consent to German occupation of Bulgarian soil. Anthony Eden and Sir John Dill, the British chief of staff, flew out to the Near East. London put in circulation reports that the Army of the Nile was being readied for a dash across the Eastern Mediterranean to Salonika.

The British appear determined to open a Balkan front of sufficient width and depth to engage large German forces, diverting them thereby from the forces already gathered for the assault on Britain. What the Turks will do nobody now seems to know. The chances are that in Ankara itself there is indecision.

Only the Nazis appear to be

moving with that cold certainty that characterizes their offensive action. The familiar advance guard in mufti has already "infiltrated" into Bulgaria. The Bulgars themselves expect a full-sized army of occupation within a few days or weeks. Berlin continues to predict with confidence that the Greeks will soon be compelled to sue their defeated Italian adversary for peace. Berlin appears equally confident that the Turks have been neutralized, at least for the projected actions of the coming months.

London dispatches appear to indicate that the British will chance even a small-scale offensive action of their own to prevent any such "bloodless" blitzkrieg. The British advance toward Tripoli has ceased for the moment and British North African forces seem to be available if a Balkan front is to be opened.

Meanwhile the "third front"—the Far East—produces signs of becoming no less active in the period immediately ahead. Japan awaits Hitler's moves. Britain and the U.S., working closely together, have made an advance effort to call the Japanese bluff. The Japanese, in their turn, are marking time. This front is discussed in more detail elsewhere in this issue.

It may be a beautiful spring in this 1941—but more violets than ever will bloom this year unseen.

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## First Open Attack On Hillman in A UAW Paper

The enclosed article on Hillman is from the Chrysler Local 7 supplement to the UAW Worker. This is very significant, it being the first open criticism written in a UAW paper against Hillman. Also, the censor of this paper is a Hillman man, which means there must be a strong pressure on him for him to allow such an article to go through. Detroit, Mich.

The article on Hillman is titled, "What Role is Hillman Playing?" It says: "Hillman as a Defense Commission member has left a lot to be desired from one described as a labor leader." It reviews his record and concludes: "No worker expects that labor people, when placed in important posts in government, will start giving all the breaks to labor. What labor does not expect is that labor leaders should favor the enemies of labor when given such posts."

## Women Should Get Same Wage as Men For the Same Work

As a reader of your newspaper, I have generally found that your analysis of the labor situation is cogent. It was, therefore, surprising to find that the article on the Phelps Dodge strike (February 8 issue of THE MILITANT) allowed the union demand for a lower wage rate for women to pass without comment. The implication was that this lower rate for women was to be for work equal to that of the men. Women workers are going to play an ever increasing role in American industry during the next period. The question of lower wages for equal work, therefore, has become more pertinent than ever. A lower wage scale for any group of workers will tend to lower the standards of the rest of the working class. The majority of unions have shamefully ignored the issue—a policy which leads to the defeat of their own ends, as lower living standards are accompanied by a decrease in union membership. A

great deal of the so-called class sluggishness on the part of women workers can be attributed to the inertia of the unions. THE MILITANT, which is putting up an excellent struggle on behalf of the Negroes in the political-economic field, should extend its activities to include all substandard workers. Such a policy would rally many women to the banner of socialism! Bronx, N. Y.

THE MILITANT is, of course, in full agreement with the principle of equal pay for equal work. And it is an important question in many unions. By and large, however, the union involved in the Phelps Dodge strike—the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO) accepts this principle. It must be kept in mind, however, that no union, no matter how ably and militantly led, can wipe out all reactionary aspects of the situation in a given plant in a single struggle. Where a situation has existed for years, in which women have received lower wages than men, it may not be possible to wipe out the differential completely in the first strike. This was the first struggle, the very beginning of unionization at the Phelps Dodge plant. The union didn't win all its demands, nevertheless it made considerable headway.—EDITORS.

Friends, Branches  
Keep This Date Open

### Anti-War Election Rally

Closing the Campaign in the 17th District

**Thursday, March 6  
8:30 P.M.**

TRANSPORT WORKERS HALL  
153 West 64th Street  
New York City

# North American Aviation Co. Men Vote Six-To-One For Unionism

## But AFL Is Close Behind CIO In Vote

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 22—Unionism won the day in the February 20th NLRB election at the important North American Aviation Corp. Inglewood plant. Of the 7652 workers eligible to vote, 2,739 cast their ballots for the CIO, 2,693 for the AFL and only 986 voted for no union.

The election was originally demanded by the CIO. The strong showing of the AFL came as a surprise to the CIO leaders. The failure of the CIO to gain an outright majority means a further run-off election between the CIO and AFL. This election is a vital one, not only because of the size and importance of the North American Company, but because this is the first test of strength between the CIO and AFL in a major Southern California aircraft plant.

The CIO represents the most militant and progressive sector of the workers in the plant. The tremendous pressure of the company to defeat unionism, particularly of the militant industrial type, accounts in part for the failure of the CIO to win a majority.

The company used the "national defense" ballyhoo to the limit in an effort to persuade the workers that unions of their own choosing are "unpatriotic." The workers in aircraft are subjected to this kind of pressure more than in any other industry. And because the workers are young and new to the industry, by and large they are not well prepared to resist this onslaught.

The effort to supply Britain with planes is reflected in terrific speed-up, lengthening hours and heightened tension in all the plants. In the North American plant, as throughout the industry, the workers are confronted with grim warnings on the penalties for sabotage or "interfering with production."

On the eve of the NLRB election, the company distributed printed excerpts from Federal and State anti-sabotage laws to all the workers, together with questionnaires on their draft standing. This was a way of telling the workers that union action and sabotage are synonymous, as well as threatening the workers with draft deferments.

In addition to the company's vicious campaign, the AFL played up to the most reactionary pre-



Part of a CIO rally before the North American Aviation Corporation plant, Inglewood, Cal., prior to the NLRB election. The workers voted 6 to 1 for unionism, but gave the CIO only a plurality, requiring a run-off election against the AFL.

judges of the workers. The AFL ran a mud-slinging, red-baiting campaign against the CIO, drawing their arguments straight from the bosses' arsenal.

The overwhelming vote in favor of unionism is, therefore, a real testimony to the deep-rooted desires of the workers for organization. And the AFL votes represented to a certain extent many who were confused and timid, but who would have supported the CIO if the issues had been made clearer.

### CIO'S POOR TACTICS

However, the failure of the CIO to gain an outright majority was due in part to its own organizational methods in this drive. The shock of failing to win an outright majority has spurred the CIO leaders to call special meetings of the membership for the purpose of analyzing the vote and getting "rank and file criticism."

The CIO leaders counted too much on winning the workers by the publicity the CIO aircraft drive has received from the Vulture and Ryan strikes. They did not carry out an effective organization campaign inside the plant. Above all, the CIO conducted primarily an NLRB vote-getting campaign, instead of doing a steady, substantial union-organizing job.

The NLRB election was viewed as the beginning of the CIO union drive, rather than as one of its culminating points. While the outside campaign of the CIO organizers was good, not enough work was done in the departments to get functioning union organization under way.

It is precisely from those departments where the CIO had functioning department organization, with active job stewards who were handling the day-to-day grievances of the men, that the CIO received an overwhelming vote. But in those departments where organization was lacking, or where there was no effective job steward activity, the workers voted AFL or no union.

### A DANGER SIGN

While the AFL offers no program of effective action, and serves to divide the aircraft workers from the rest of the industrial workers organized by the CIO in auto and aircraft, it has succeeded in gaining contracts in at least three of the largest

plants in the industry—Boeing, Lockheed and Consolidated.

It is all to the interests of the aircraft workers to be in the industrial unions of the CIO. But outside publicity alone cannot win the North American or other aircraft workers to the CIO.

### JOB STEWARDS ARE KEY

Confronting the CIO aircraft leaders is the task of building up effective departmental organization, which can start to fight for the workers on the job. The job stewards and workers must be taught the advantages of industrial unionism, and of militant and democratic policies, over the conservative, business-agent ridden craft unionism prevailing in the AFL Machineists. In addition, the CIO leaders must not dodge any issue raised, or any criticism, but must answer the rank and

file openly on the red-baiting charges of the AFL and must honestly explain, for instance, why they accepted a low minimum wage in the Ryan contract.

Of extreme importance for the CIO job of winning the run-off election is the drawing up of a program of wage and working condition demands which the CIO can point to as representing what the CIO will fight for after the election.

This election is no incidental one, which the CIO can afford to miff. North American is the key to future success in the CIO aircraft drive. A CIO contract with North American is the next big step toward the chief goal, organizing the largest plant in the industry—Douglas, the Ford of the aircraft industry.

## Youngstown Public Utility Union Wins First Contract

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Feb. 20.—A strike ultimatum issued by over 600 workers of the Ohio-Edison Company, organized into Local 118, Utility Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), has forced the power company to accept the union's demands for sole collective bargaining rights, increased wages, settlement of all pending grievances and a signed full contract within 60 days.

The threat of a shut down of all electric service in this steel center and its industrial surrounding area had the local bosses and their paper, the Youngstown Vindicator, in a panic. The Vindicator, only daily in town, hurled a barrage of articles and editorials at the workers, claiming they were in "public service" and therefore had "no right to strike."

But the workers stuck to their guns. When the company realized that unless it yielded nothing would prevent the workers from striking, it caved in and accepted the union's major demands.

### INSPIRES OTHERS

This victory will be a tremendous spur to the Youngstown labor

movement, and especially to the steel workers, who have become increasingly anxious for militant action in recent weeks. A number of "quickie" strikes in Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Republic Steel have occurred in the past few weeks.

The Ohio-Edison is one of the far-flung chain of Morgan utilities, with which Wendell Willkie was connected. It has an extremely unsavory labor record, and was exposed by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee as having expended large sums on labor spies, company unions and anti-labor advertising. This is the first time this company has been forced to recognize a genuine union and accept the workers' demands.

The present settlement, which was approved by a union membership meeting last night, is considered just temporary. While it provides for wage increases of from 5 to 8 per cent for all categories of workers, starting from February 16, the members let it be known that they are going to demand more than that in the final contract.

## Thompson Food Chain Negotiations Going On

The workers of Local 302, New York's Cafeteria Workers Union (AFL) are anxiously watching the negotiations for a new contract between the Thompson chain and the newly-elected United Union administration.

The John R. Thompson chain is wailing. It can't stomach the two dollar wage increase demand of the workers. Although the year 1939 saw a total income of \$351,631 for the company (an increase of \$66,954 over the previous year) it spared merely a twenty-five cents per week increase for the last contract. With the figures for 1940 unavailable but with a certainty that the figures will show a still greater income the Thompson bosses nevertheless refuse to hear of an increase.

Of course, it must not be imagined that the Thompson coupon clippers treat all their help badly. There are some employees who receive decent wages. For example, President Paul Moore gets \$30,000 per year and 5% of any net profit. Also Moore has an option till Mar. 31, 1942 from the company to purchase if he so

chooses 5,000 shares at five dollars. Should we demand a two dollar increase for Moore also? many workers are asking.

Just in case some workers believe that the above-mentioned brother is an exception it must be noted that there are other workers who received more than \$16 a week. For example, J. A. Thompson Jr., advising counsel—\$20,000 per year. J. A. Kelly Jr., Vice President—\$10,000 per year, 12 Directors—\$62,603.31. 8 Officers who are not directors—\$42,569.19.

All in all, the Thompson bosses can prove to any worker's satisfaction that there are 23 "brothers" receiving a total of more than \$165,000 per year. Now what are all you union men and women kicking about?

Of course, any Local 302 member could prove that 600 workers receiving a two dollar a week increase would still leave these 23 bench warmers 100,000 dollars to split up between them. But do you honestly believe that's enough money for them to live on?

## HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS

BY CARL O'SHEA

The appointment of John Winant as ambassador to Great Britain is interpreted by Paul Porter of Kenosha LABOR to mean "that this government approves the pro-labor trend in the last European bulwark against Hitler and wants it to continue. The appointment will be so understood in England."

Winant is a sort of millionaire social worker, a banker and former Republican governor of New Hampshire. He is about as representative of organized labor as Paul Porter is of socialism.

One of the many ways in which the wealthy distort and suppress democracy is in the method by which they apportion legislative districts. Through gerrymandering and through a failure to revise districts, the rich and their political machines seek to prevent the masses in the cities from having a voice in state government.

The Cleveland Federation of Labor is initiating a drive for reapportionment. According to its weekly the Citizen, labor will probably work through labor's Joint Committee for Political Action (representing AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods) to this end. The legislative committee of the Cleveland Federation has also denounced the move on foot to enlarge the state police force to replace the National Guard.

Following a strike vote at the Seiberling Rubber plant in Barberton, Ohio, the international officers of the United Rubber Workers have approved strike action. Seiberling employees are asking an 8 1/2% pay raise to meet the rising cost of living.

The UNITED AUTO WORKER reports this CIO union is launching a drive to win decent homes for its members and their families. According to union officials "low-rent houses have suffered increases in rent of from 14 to 40% during the past year. . . . As things are going now we may have tent colonies in Detroit within the year. We already have families living in trailers."

According to the Toledo UNION LEADER, the Central Labor Union in that city unanimously voted down a request by a representative of Herbert Hoover's committee to support a movement to force Britain to permit shipment of food and medical supplies to the starving people of those nations conquered by Hitler. CLU members charged such a move was an attempt to "run the picket line of democracy."

This item is a measure of the extent to which organized labor is being taken in by the lie that the present British government is fighting a war for democracy.

One union official rightly pointed out that the Hooverites who now profess such great sympathy for Europeans were not interested "when the children of our own workers here in Toledo were starving."



### FULL STEAM AHEAD IN DRIVE!!

The subs come rushing in so fast that our biggest problem is to keep count of them! The third week of the February-March sub drive brought in nearly 150% of the total amount for the previous two weeks. 32 the first week, 64 the second, and 131 the third! The total number of subs to date is 227, and the total number of points (figuring one point for each 50c of sub money) is 398, as the score board to date shows:

PLACE	This Week	Total
Minn.	71 114	97 173
New York	5 10	21 39
Detroit	9 20	16 35
Chicago	5 10	16 27
L.A.	4 8	10 23
Boston	11 17	14 20
Youngstown	11 15	11 15
Cleveland	7 13	8 15
Newark	2 3	10 14
New Haven	0 0	6 7
Allentown	0 0	4 7
Paterson	1 2	2 4
Milwaukee	1 4	1 4
Flint	0 0	3 3
Pittsburgh	2 2	2 2
Toledo	2 2	2 2
Phila.	0 0	1 2
Albany	0 0	1 2
Plentywood	0 0	1 2
Kansas	0 0	1 2
	131 220	227 398

### HOW THEY'RE DOING IT

The comrades are mobilized now for real action, and the

The Hoover plan indeed deserves no support from the workers. In the last war Hoover used his control of food to starve the working-class revolutions and to feed reaction. Hoover aims at the same reactionary objective in this war. The innocent victims of German fascism should be aided all right—but they can be aided only

AGAINST the wishes of Hitler, of Churchill, of Roosevelt and Hoover. They can be aided by a victorious working-class movement in the United States, which would furnish them not only with food—but more important—with inspiration, to rise against their oppressors and strike out on their own behalf for a Socialist United States of Europe.

The West Coast SAILOR reports "a new low in strike-breaking"—the CIO International Woodworkers, controlled by the Stalinists, has signed a pact with the labor hating Weyerhaeuser Timber company, against which the AFL Lumber & Sawmill Workers Union has been striking for three months.

How Not To Strengthen Unionism and Make Gains for Workers might be the title for the drivel that George Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks, handed out at a meeting of 2,000 union members in Chicago recently (see LABOR, February 18th). Harrison told the unionists that they can win their demand for paid vacations without a strike. "He predicted that through the intervention of President Roosevelt . . . a strike will be averted and an agreement reached by summer providing for annual vacations, effective next year."

Depend on the president, don't depend upon your own organized strength, is the line Harrison follows. It may just be possible that Roosevelt and the railroad barons have decided to throw a bone to the Railway Clerks in the form of paid vacations "effective next year." But the surest way for the Railway Clerks NOT to get their demands, and not to build their union, is to place their trust and confidence in Roosevelt.

A Canadian newspaperman writes a story from Canada to the Guild REPORTER, telling how 70 Canadian unionists have been imprisoned without trial for duration of the war, "the right to strike and picket have been virtually abolished by law, and by an 'order in council' wages have been effectively frozen at or below the 1926-29 level of \$600 for 65 per cent of all workers."

According to the NEWSPAPER GUILD REPORTER, the Chicago Cubs baseball players have banded together to hold out against wages offered, and it is said a baseball union is in the making. Players are irked because the Cubs General Manager, Jim Gallagher, acted as a strikebreaker by writing sports for Hearst during the Guild strike.

## A MILITANT START FOR THE MILITANT

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### SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Fri.	March 14	Los Angeles
Sat.	March 15	and vicinity
Sun.	March 16	"
Mon.	March 17	"
Tues.	March 18	"
Wed.	March 19	"
Thurs.	March 20	"
Fri.	March 21	"
Sat.	March 22	San Francisco
Sun.	March 23	"
Mon.	March 24	"
Tues.	March 25	"
Wed.	March 26	"
Thurs.	March 27	"
Fri.	March 28	"
Sat.	March 29	"
Sun.	March 30	Portland
Mon.	March 31	"
Tues.	April 1	Seattle
Wed.	April 2	"
Thurs.	April 3	"
Fri.	April 4	Plentywood
Sat.	April 5	Williston
Sund.	April 6	"
Mon.	April 7	Fargo
Tues.	April 8	"
Wed.	April 9	Twin Cities

# Newark SWP Names Breitman As City Election Candidate

**Calls Upon Unions To Run Independent Labor Party Ticket For City Commission**

NEWARK, N. J.—Calling for unity of the labor movement to counter the growing unity of the big business forces in the coming city elections, the Newark District Committee of the Socialist Workers Party announced this week the candidacy of George Breitman for City Commission. The elections, to be held May 13, provide for election of a Commission of five, which in turn elects the mayor.

"A Labor Party is needed in this city, and the trade unions must form it quickly," said the statement of the District Committee.

"The important factions of big business in this city have already gotten together on a common ticket, which will stress economy at the expense of the social needs of the workers by cutting taxes for the corporations and appropriations for relief, WPA, housing, schools, hospitals, etc.

**BOSSSES UNITED**

"Byrne, the Hague Democrat, and Clee, the Clean Government Republican minister who almost became Governor by denouncing Haguism, will jointly head this reactionary ticket, which will represent the Chamber of Commerce, the Newark Citizens' Union, the Broad Street Association, the Fusion group, and the other big business groups.

"Opposition to this ticket cannot come on any progressive basis from the leaders of the present City Hall machines of Mayor Ellenstein and Pearce Franklin, because they themselves don't have any basically different platform, as is shown by the cuts they have made in the past years in relief standards, etc., and because they are so discredited gen-

**LABOR MUST UNITE**

"If Byrne and Clee are to be defeated, it will have to be done by the organized trade union movement. If they are to be defeated decisively, these trade unions must run their own full slate of candidates on a platform that can win the support of the unemployed, the Negro people, and the small homeowners whose homes are being taken from them as the result of the high tax rate."

It was announced that Breitman would run on an eight point platform dealing with formation of a labor party, housing, relief, WPA, a progressive tax platform, Negro rights, municipal ownership of the great Public Service utilities under workers



George Breitman

control, and unionization of Newark's unorganized industries.

George Breitman is well known among Newark's unemployed and Negro groups as a result of the active role he has played in these fields over many years, the numerous pamphlets dealing with workers' problems he has written, and the newspapers, The Hunger Fighter, and Workers' Voice, which he edited.

As a state leader of the Workers Alliance before the Stalinists ruined that organization, Breitman played a leading role

in the Trenton Siege of 1936, when the unemployed took over the State House for nine days. A few months later he was arrested for leading one of the nation's few successful WPA strikes, which completely tied up the projects in Burlington county.

Breitman was instrumental in the formation of a joint AFL-CIO Trade Union Committee on Unemployment which united Newark's trade unions in action on behalf of the unemployed in 1937-38. In his capacity of unemployed grievance chairman, he helped thousands of workers in trade unions get relief from the city administration when they went out on strike, and was leader of successful efforts to get supplementary relief for WPA workers.

He is co-author of a state bill to stop deportations to the South of colored workers who ask for relief. He was the first figure in the labor movement of this state to protest against the expulsion of 15 Negro sailors from the Navy recently, and as state committee member of the Workers Defense League he played an active part in mobilizing support for the colored potato picker victims of the brutal Cranbury flogging of 1939.

Plans of his campaign committee indicate a full dress, fighting, agitational campaign that will surpass any ever carried on by the Newark organization.

Beginning in this issue of THE MILITANT, on page 2, is a series of articles on the issues of the Newark elections written by Breitman.

# Grace Carlson In Memphis On Her Tour

By GRACE CARLSON

MEMPHIS, Tennessee, Feb. 22—I suppose that every white radical who visits the South for the first time is shocked and enraged by the open cruelties of the Jim Crow system of the Southern Bourbons. That all the colored citizens of the South are herded into Jim Crow restaurants, street cars, waiting rooms, etc., should call forth apologies from Southern Senators rather than their present frenzied demands—they are louder than all others—for support of a war to save this system of "democracy."

There are encouraging signs of change, however. The CIO has penetrated into the South among the steel and rubber workers, the agricultural and cannery workers and others, and has brought Negro and white workers together into a joint struggle for the betterment of their conditions. There is no doubt that this is uphill work. Coupled with the terror against unions, Southern white workers, burdened with the prejudices of generations, do not readily accept a program for joint action with colored workers.

The meeting of white and colored workers held under our party's auspices in Memphis last night was, therefore, all the more encouraging. A courageous Negro woman gave us the use of her home for the meeting. It takes real courage in Memphis to have a meeting of white and colored people in your home. Members of both AFL and CIO unions were there—longshoremen, building laborers, textile workers, steel workers and others.

This audience understood readily that Roosevelt and the Southern Democrats would not solve their problems. The need for a revolutionary program was easily seen by them. I am very hopeful that some Negro working class leaders will emerge from this group.

In St. Louis on Feb. 19, there was a good working class audience at the open meeting. Twenty-four people attended, many of them UAW militants.

Other charges against Local 5 are: "That publicity resulting from political and other activities of Local 5 has resulted in loss of membership throughout the AFT and tends to bring the AFT into disrepute. This charge is not at all a real criticism of the policies of Local 5, but an expression of the fear of conservatives against any militant action which might smear their respectability. It is at best a bow to the prejudices of the most backward teachers and, as such, reactionary."

That political and other activities of Local 5 and factions thereof caused an investigation by a committee of the AFL in 1935-6 which resulted in recommendation for revocation of the charter of Local 5. This charge proves the weakness of the Executive Council's case. When Linville and Lefkowitz felt themselves losing control of Local 5 in 1935, they tried with the help of the AFL leaders to have the charter of the local lifted rather than submit to the decision of the majority of the local's members. Fortunately, the AFT convention refused to oust the local and the Linville-Lefkowitz group walked out of the union and set up a dual organization known as the Teachers Guild. All these old discredited charges are now dug up again and used as reasons for lifting the charter in 1941!

This review of the charges makes clear the fact that they were drawn up after the decision to expel was already reached, and are being used as a blind to cover the real reason—obedience to the order of William Green to kick out all "communists" or suspected communists from the AFT. And the expulsion of the three locals will not end the drive. Should a new local be set up, the members of the Local 5 opposition will find that the same spirit of intolerance and conservatism will then be directed at them. The net result of the expulsion drive will be to strengthen the hands of the enemies of teachers unionism and educational advancement.

The duty of progressive teachers is clear. Local 5 must be defended against the undemocratic attacks within the Federation as well as against the anti-union attacks of the Rapp-Coudert investigation and the inevitable witch-hunting in the schools.

This much is true about Shachtman's alibi. He never does think things through to the end. This isn't the first time that, after the damage is done, he claims he didn't know the gun was loaded.

That doesn't make him any the less responsible for conniving at the destruction of Local 5. The least Shachtman might now have done would have been to call upon the teachers of the opposition group to rescind their resignations and to return to Local 5. But Shachtman didn't do that.

Any of the teachers who resigned from Local 5 who have a spark of class consciousness left will now repudiate "advisors" like Shachtman and return to the firing line in Local 5.

# SWP Is Campaigning For Connolly, ALP Candidate

**Asks United Labor Support For Congressional Candidate In 17th New York District; Criticises His Pacifist Program**

After an intensive campaign of gathering signatures to place Arthur Burch on the ballot as the Trotskyist anti-war candidate in the 17th Congressional district election, Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party decided last Saturday to withdraw Burch when Eugene P. Connolly was announced as the candidate of the New York County (left wing) American Labor Party. Up until the announcement of Connolly's candidacy, the SWP was the only working class party in the district campaigning for a place on the ballot.

The decision to withdraw was taken in order to unite the workers in the district behind one independent labor candidate in opposition to the war-mongering Democratic and Republican candidates.

Two conferences have been held between representatives of the SWP and Eugene Connolly and Sam Blinken of the ALP, over ways and means to help the American Labor Party in the campaign.

While supporting the candidacy of Connolly, the SWP criticises the purely pacifist and utopian character of the ALP anti-war program.

**ALP PACIFIST PROGRAM**

In his statements to the press Eugene Connolly has declared himself opposed to the lease-lend bill as an "anti-war candidate."

So far, so good. But there is not a single word by Connolly or any of his associates proposing an alternative to the war plans of the Sixty Families. Not a single word!

How should the workers meet the arguments of the Sixty Families that armed forces must be trained to defend the country? The ALP has nothing to say.

How can the workers end the crises and wars of capitalism for ever? The ALP has nothing to say.

The left wing leaders of the ALP confine themselves simply to shouting against the entry of the United States into the war, an entry which all class-conscious workers can see is inevitable.

The ALP in brief offers the workers nothing except pacifist phrases.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, offers a real program, a real alternative to the war plans of the Sixty Families. This is our military program, which advocates trade union control of military training and the establishment of officers' training camps for workers.

The Sixty Families say that it

tions and congratulating the SWP on its program for ending capitalist war. The following letter is typical:

"I am pleased to know that your group has decided to contest politically the bourgeois party hacks of the 17th Congressional district. I work in your Congressional district and was elated to have been approached by a canvasser for signatures. Unfortunately I cannot cast my vote for your candidate—I live outside the district—but at least I can contribute something material to your, I may say our, struggle against a mutually repressive social system. I offer my sincerest wishes for success in your venture." This letter, enclosing a contribution, was signed R. M.

The following letter was signed by L. B.:

"Enclosed please find two hard-earned and sorely-needed dollars which it nevertheless gives me the greatest pleasure to contribute specifically to the Burch campaign fund. The decision of the SWP to enter a candidate in the 17th district Congressional election is an excellent step and extremely timely. Now with the imminent passage of the Roosevelt war and dictatorship bill and the simultaneous disappearance of all significant difference between the outspoken war-mongers and the phoney 'isolationists,' it is particularly urgent to awaken the working people and arouse them to the real alternative against the 'national defense unity' of the war-making class—in fact the only alternative—the program of militant, revolutionary socialist anti-war action.

"Let us see the name and program of the SWP carried into every nook and cranny of the 17th district with such vigor, determination and publicity as to startle the prostitute press into taking angry notice of Trotskyist activity. The results of such efforts should be the spread of knowledge of the SWP and its militant program throughout the length and breadth of the city, and the campaign can serve as an excellent preliminary skirmish for the coming mayoralty battle."

\*\*\*  
(See editorial, page 6.)

# Move To Lift New York Teachers Union Charter Comes From Green

By CARA SUTTON

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers on February 17, voted 15 to 1 to recommend the revocation of the charters of the New York Teachers Union, Local 5, the New York College Teachers Union, Local 537, and the Philadelphia Teachers Union, Local 192 on the ground that their existence is "detrimental to the development of democracy in education." This recommendation is to be submitted to a vote of the members of the American Federation of Teachers in a referendum within the next two weeks.

As a preliminary to this action, the council adopted a report which is to be promulgated as the official stand of the federation on education, democracy and defense, and which, says the Council, will clarify the issues underlying the council's action against Locals 5, 537 and 192.

**ANTI-CLASS STRUGGLE AND ANTI-SOVIET**

This report explicitly repudiates the class struggle in toto. It declares that "the psychology, the strategy and the tactics of irreconcilable conflict between class groups must be replaced by the methods of democracy." Why have unions—class organizations, certainly—at all, then? The council reports, of course, evades this fundamental question.

This repudiation of class-struggle methods is followed, in the council statement to the locals recommending revocation of the three charters, with the following: "These issues, to be understood, must be placed in the context not only of America but also of the bitter struggle of democracy with 'totalitarianism in its several forms' throughout the world." Note that "totalitarianism is its several forms"—the council is thus lumping the Soviet Union into one category with the fascist countries.

By these two statements the American Federation of Teachers is committed by its leadership, not only to support of the "war for democracy" (against the Soviet Union, too) but to denial of the right of labor to strike or fight militantly for better conditions—that is, to use class struggle methods. With this declaration the Executive Council of the teachers serves notice to all teachers and the rest of the labor movement that it will tolerate no opposition to the Roosevelt war program and its labor lieutenants, the A. F. L. bureaucracy.

**GREEN, WOLL & CO. BEHIND THIS MOVE**

The recommended revocation of the charters is the direct result, not of any specific actions of the locals, nor of the charges dug up, many of them from the dead past, but of the direct pressure of the AFL top bureaucracy to oust all "communists" or suspected communists from the AFT.

Up to the last convention, the AFT had successfully resisted this pressure, realizing its undemocratic and dangerous implications for the entire labor movement. However, the impact of the drive toward war "for democracy" brought about a rallying of the conservative elements, behind the "liberal" leadership of Dr. Counts, which on a program which was essentially anti-red swept out of

office all the representatives of the New York-Philadelphia faction. As a matter of fact the lifting of the New York and Philadelphia charters was, for all intents and purposes, decided at the convention last August.

The latest action of the teachers' Executive Council clears the way for the anti-union Rapp-Coudert Committee, investigating "subversive" activities among teachers in New York, to continue its wrecking of teachers unionism and lowering of educational standards with the full blessings of the AFT.

The referendum vote on this recommendation of the council is a violation of the constitution of the AFT. The constitution reads as follows on charter revocation: Article LV, Section 6. "No such charter shall be revoked if appealed, nor shall any local be suspended or expelled unless for non-payment of dues, except by a two thirds vote of the national convention." The illegal referendum now proposed requires only a majority vote to expel the locals. The "democratic way" is being used with a vengeance.

**PRETEXTS FOR REVOCATION EXAMINED AND DISPROVED**

The charges on which the council ostensibly based its recommendation for revocation of the charter of Local 5—the main local involved—are as follows:

"That Local 5 promoted dual unionism by assisting in the organizing of a CIO local of Custodial Engineers. This charge is based upon the fact that an officer of the local spoke at an organization meeting of the Custodial Engineers—at a time when the declared policy of the AFT was unity of the AFL and CIO!

"That Local 5 has been engaged in dual unionism by violating the jurisdiction of Local 21 which has a charter for vocational teachers. The jurisdictional dispute between Local 24 and Local 5 dates back almost 20 years. For years the National Office has tried at various times to bring Local 24 to life so that it might organize the vocational teachers in the schools, without results. In the meantime it was tacitly agreed that Local 5 continue to organize all teachers in the schools, pending the outcome of negotiations which the National Office was to effect between the two locals. The National Office was completely unsuccessful, and now uses its own ineffective-

ness as a charge against Local 5. That the internal affairs of Local 5 have been so conducted as to bring disharmony and factionalism and to result in loss of membership, and make it unlikely that said local can effect a satisfactory organization of the teachers of New York. This charge refers to the long struggle within the local between an opposition and the leadership which slavishly follows Stalinist policies.

However, the only healthy solution to this difference within the local is the eventual ousting of this leadership by the members themselves through the democratic processes of the local itself. The dictatorial expulsion by the Executive Council has the opposite effect of strengthening the influence of the Local 5 leaders upon their followers, while at the same time dealing unionism itself a deadly blow.

**THE FATAL ERROR OF THE OPPOSITION**

The opposition groups within the union have made the fatal mistake of allying themselves in this present crisis with the Executive Council in its drive to wreck Local 5 rather than expend the necessary effort to win the membership away from its present leadership. This is the result of the dominating influence in the opposition groups of the fired liberals, impatient of the de-

mocratic processes which are slow, succumbing to the bureaucratic short-cuts of expulsions. Needless to add, these fired liberals are now supporters of "war for democracy."

Other charges against Local 5 are: "That publicity resulting from political and other activities of Local 5 has resulted in loss of membership throughout the AFT and tends to bring the AFT into disrepute. This charge is not at all a real criticism of the policies of Local 5, but an expression of the fear of conservatives against any militant action which might smear their respectability. It is at best a bow to the prejudices of the most backward teachers and, as such, reactionary."

That political and other activities of Local 5 and factions thereof caused an investigation by a committee of the AFL in 1935-6 which resulted in recommendation for revocation of the charter of Local 5. This charge proves the weakness of the Executive Council's case. When Linville and Lefkowitz felt themselves losing control of Local 5 in 1935, they tried with the help of the AFL leaders to have the charter of the local lifted rather than submit to the decision of the majority of the local's members. Fortunately, the AFT convention refused to oust the local and the Linville-Lefkowitz group walked out of the un-

ion and set up a dual organization known as the Teachers Guild. All these old discredited charges are now dug up again and used as reasons for lifting the charter in 1941!

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# Shachtman Says He Didn't Know The Gun Was Loaded

By prearrangement with the pro-war Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, the opposition group in Local 5 resigned from the local recently in order to facilitate the council's plan to revoke the local's charter.

At the tail of this opposition stood those who follow the line of the "Workers' Party of Max Shachtman. They went along with this anti-union scheme, with Shachtman's blessing. Now Shachtman explains in an editorial (Labor Action, Feb. 24):

"A few weeks ago we reported the resignation of a group of progressive and liberal teachers from the New York Teachers Union, Local 5, because they could not stomach the Stalinist Policy and bureaucracy."

"However, this dissident group did not question the right of Local 5's several thousand members to have a union of their own, served by leaders of their own choosing and shaped according to their own policies. The group did not propose that the charter of Local 5 be lifted. Instead, faced with

this particular situation, the group called upon the executive council to charter a second local in New York which would be able to organize the teachers expelled by Stalinism."

Shachtman didn't know the gun was loaded. "All" he wanted was a dual local set up in the same jurisdiction as Local 5. What effect would that have on the Rapp-Coudert Committee's witch-hunt against Local 5? Shachtman doesn't say. What effect would that have on the struggle of Local 5 to secure reinstatement in the Central Trades Labor Council? Shachtman doesn't say. What effect could that have on the prestige of Local 5 in representing its 6,000 members in collective bargaining with the city? Shachtman doesn't say. He doesn't dare say, it's so clear what the answer is.

"All" he wanted was to have the pro-war Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers brand Local 5 and its 6,000 members as a quarantined reservation limited to Stalinists, while all other teachers should belong to another local.

That to leave Local 5 meant

# UAW-CIO Gets A Taste Of Wartime Unionism

**Three-fold Pressure of Corporations, Government Agencies And Top Union Leadership Bears Down; But The Ranks Are Learning**

FLINT, Mich. Feb. 22—The United Automobile Workers of America, CIO, was confronted this week with the full consequences of war unionism—the unionism which faces terrific governmental repression, arrogant employers, and a crumbling, cowardly top leadership of the union.

In Flint, the Fisher Body 1 management discharged today not less than 81 union militants who were involved last week in a dispute on the trim line. The dispute occurred when a union man was suspended as punishment for allegedly "shooting spitballs around the plant." When this man was not returned to work the following day, several hundred men on the trim line where he worked refused to start production. They were all sent home by the company. The next day the dispute was settled by all men returning to work at the union's request.

The company however, taking as a precedent the case of the 17 men suspended several months ago, in which Reuther-Thomas and Co. took the side of the company against the union men, followed the case and today discharged the 81 men, feeling confident that the international leadership would take a similar company position on the cases.

The Fisher Local No. 581, Henry Wilson, President, announced, was discussing today what action to take in this situation.

Meanwhile, the UAW-CIO was faced with increasing national and state governmental pressure in all and any disputes.

Governor Murray D. Van Waggoner of Michigan, elected by the support of the CIO, made a statement last week in connection with the Motor Wheel strike in Lansing, that the full strength of the State Police would be used to give protection in "defense" strikes to scabs.

Every strike notice filed by almost any union in Michigan, now is met with the infamous 30-day waiting period which is invoked by the state labor mediation board.

them the meaning of the Office for Production Management and Hillman's anti-union role.

There is no doubt that as a result of the three-way barrage against militancy—from the big guns of the employers, their government and the union bureaucrats—a certain amount of fear has permeated many of the auto workers. This is also inevitable and understandable under present conditions.

**MEN ARE LEARNING**

But this fear is tempered with a growing understanding of the problems now confronting the union, a disillusionment with the conservative leadership, and an increasing determination to protect and defend their union under any and all conditions.

The dozens of walkouts, slow-downs, strikes and plant struggles in recent weeks and months, only prove that the auto workers are not licked by any means. They are still the courageous fighters who battered down the greatest anti-union corporations in 1937. Above all, they now need leadership, guidance in the ever more complicated and serious struggle. This leadership will rise, and can today be seen developing from deep down among the ranks.

And these new leaders will challenge all who are cowards among the union leadership, will lock horns with the employers and will, in their greatest realization of strength and power, challenge the reactionary governmental machine which threatens their unions and their conditions. These are the men who will lead the auto workers tomorrow, and who will be the leaders of the tremendous fight against the imperialist war which is the direct cause of the dangerous current threat to the existence of unionism.

# Stalin's New List Of Scapegoats

## Heads Roll For His Bankruptcy

### List Of Purged Is, In Reality, A List Of Industries Which Are In Dire Crisis

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Maxim Litvinov has been expelled from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Public notice has been served on Premier and Commissar of Foreign Affairs Molotov (by the purge of his wife) and to Commissar of Railways and former brother-in-law of Stalin, L. Kaganovich (by the censure of his brother, former Defense Industries Commissar M. Kaganovich), that the ascan is ready for them. Six out of 72 members of the Central Committee and 15 out of 68 alternates have been purged, and nine members expelled from the Central Auditing Commission. On this the 18th Party Conference has, of course, set its "unanimous" seal of approval.

In Stalin's system, all failures are "accounted" for by scapegoats. Each of those purged or censured symbolizes a major catastrophe of the Kremlin regime.

With the sole exception of Litvinov, the various dignitaries involved in the purge held high posts not only in the party but in the key Peoples' Commissariats. The crisis convulsing the economy controlled by these Commissariats is indicated by the purge of these scapegoats.

### COMPARE STALIN'S BOASTS WITH THOSE PURGED!

All the Stalinist boasts of successes in agriculture, for example, are exposed as lies by the single fact that I. A. Benedictov, the Peoples' Commissar of Agriculture, was one of those expelled from the Central Committee. Was that expulsion Benedictov's reward for the bumper crop allegedly harvested in 1940?

I. A. Likhachov, another deposed member of the Central Committee, was the Peoples' Commissar of Medium Machine Building. He was removed from the Commissariat last October, which testifies eloquently to the catastrophic conditions in this important branch of industry.

N. M. Antselovich, another expelled C. C. member, was at the same time removed from his post as Peoples' Commissar of Timber Industry. He is Stalin's scapegoat for "shortcomings" in this particular field.

E. A. Schadenko, who was "demoted" to the position of alternate, was Vice-Commissar of Defense. This speaks volumes about the collapse of the defense industry, which was militarized last December. If we refrain from listing the others it is only in order to avoid repetition.

The Daily Worker itself published the news that, in addition to the expulsions, seven Peoples' Commissars were warned to "improve" the functioning of their Commissariats, namely:

- 1) The Peoples' Commissariat of Aircraft.
- 2) The Peoples' Commissariat of Munitions.
- 3) The Peoples' Commissariat of Electrical Industry.
- 4) The Peoples' Commissariat of Chemical Industry.
- 5) The Peoples' Commissariat of Marine Transport.
- 6) The Peoples' Commissariat of River Transport.
- 7) The Peoples' Commissariat of Fishing Industry.

To this list must be added the following partial table of those Commissariats which were purged last October and November, i.e., four months prior to the Conference:

The Peoples' Commissariat of Ferrous Metallurgy.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Coal.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Light Industries.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Defense Industries.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Ship Building.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Transport.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Building Industry.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Communications.

The Peoples' Commissariat of State Planning.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Domestic Trade.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Trade.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Health.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Justice.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Cinema.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Art.

And so forth and so on.

### SHORT LIFE FOR GPU AND ARMY HEADS

Many of these Commissariats were purged not once but several times in the period since the Finnish invasion.

For instance in June, 1940, Stalin completely reorganized the Commissariat of War. Shaposhnikov the then Chief of the Red Army's General Staff was replaced by one E. A. Meretskov, reportedly the hero of the break through the Mannerheim line. Meretskov was feted, decorated and raised to the rank of General. After a tenure of less than eight months, he was removed from office. On February 13, 1941 two days before the Conference convened, he was replaced by one G. K. Zhukov, who was hastily elevated at the Conference to the post of alternate on the Central Committee. Meretskov's name wasn't even mentioned during the proceedings!

Stalin apparently finds it most difficult to stabilize the GPU.

This main pillar of his regime was reorganized on January 31, 1941, when one Merkulov was appointed in place of Beria, as Peoples' Commissar of State Security, i.e., the GPU. Merkulov lasted less than a month, to be exact some 21 days, to be still more exact he was officially removed on February 22, 1941. His successor is as yet unknown.

### A CRUDE ATTEMPT TO COVER UP THE DEBACLE

Immediately after the adjournment of the Conference—at which the main reporter, Malenkov, refrained from summarizing, in emulation, no doubt, of Stalin himself who kept his mouth shut

PURGED



MOLOTOV'S wife

WARNED



V. M. MOLOTOV

PURGED



MAXIM LITVINOV

together shut—a plenary session of the "reorganized" Central Committee was held. To cover up the bankruptcy involuntarily revealed at the five-day Conference, the plenum hastened to "project a 15 Year Plan."

If the Third Five Year Plan has collapsed, then the thing to do is to cover up the debacle with a Fifteen Year Plan!

"Speaking of sensational news," shrieked the Daily Worker "word has just arrived that the Soviet

Union is now embarking on a FIFTEEN YEAR PLAN. What capitalist statesman," continued this brazen mouthpiece of Stalin, "can even look that far ahead—no less plan for it?" (February 23, emphasis in the original).

Stalin is once again applying Hitler's motto: The more monstrous the lie, the more readily will people believe it.

Here is the plan Stalin projects for the Soviet workers for the current year. "The 1941 plan,"

declared Voznessensky, one of those who took the floor at the Conference, "provides for an increase in labor productivity by 12 per cent with the average wage increase per worker of 6.5 percent." This means that for every "12 per cent" of his 1941 output, every worker receives not 12 per cent in terms of his 1940 wages but 5.5 percent less. In other words, still another wage cut for the Soviet workers! "This relation," continued Voznessen-

sky, "between the increase in labor productivity and the average wage is the source of the lowering cost of production." (Daily Worker, February 23).

The parasites in the Kremlin know of no other way to lower the costs of production than to drive ever lower the living standards of the masses. On the other hand, the administrators, engineers and foremen will receive special bonuses, rewards, etc., as an incentive to speed up the workers and child laborers.

### THE MASSES WILL NOT ENDURE IT

Stalin and his flunkies welcome such a perspective—for 15 more years!—but they are obviously reckoning without the Soviet masses. Stalin's bid for an additional decade and a half will meet the same fate at the hands of the Soviet workers as will Hitler's plan to establish Fascist rule for one thousand years in Germany at the hands of the German workers.

As if to further underscore their contempt for the American workers, Browder-Minor and Co. editorially advertised Voznessensky's report as a "Special Treat" for the readers of the Daily Worker. (Feb. 22).

Stalin undoubtedly has other "special treats" to dish up during the sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

# Duranty Silent Since Jan. 29

On January 24, the Daily Worker publicly certified Walter Duranty as one of those rare correspondents "interested in news and not fabrications." Browder-Minor and Co. loudly invited their readers to keep both eyes peeled for Duranty's dispatches. The editorial was entitled "There's News in the USSR for Those Who Want It." In short, even if the Daily Worker itself carried no news about the Soviet Union at the time, there was at least Duranty to point to with pride.

On January 29, Duranty told the world that the Eighteenth Party Conference would "rank in importance with any such previous meeting." And as we recall, Duranty never before failed to report on Stalin's Conference-Purges-Frameup Trials. Yet, mysteriously enough, after leading up to this all-important Conference, Duranty suddenly stopped writing.

According to the Daily Worker all the news carried by the big metropolitan dailies in relation to the Conference was sadly inadequate. Although all the dispatches were as usual rigidly censored by Moscow, "the capitalist press," insisted the Daily Worker, (Feb. 22) "is either suppressing or willfully distorting the news."

Would not a Duranty have remedied such a sad state of affairs? Yet there was no Duranty.

Why not? Were Duranty's dis-

patches perhaps suppressed? If so, by whom?

Only Duranty's real paymasters, the G.P.U., could answer the question for obviously Duranty's boosters, Minor-Browder and Co., are not in a position to explain anything.

From January 29 until February 25 not a word by Duranty appeared. Only on Tuesday—i. e., after that embarrassing 18th Party Conference was over—did Duranty again send a dispatch to the New York Times and the North American Newspaper Alliance.

## Boy Flogger Good Enough for Army He's Colonel Now

Colonel Raymond W. Combs was dismissed as superintendent of the Colorado Industrial School last week by the State Civil Service Commission. Combs had ordered several boys between 11 and 15 years old chained together, flogged, and held in solitary confinement.

Colonel Combs will now resume active duty with the army.

# The Negro And The U. S. Army

## Negroes Were Discriminated Against In Draft Of 1917; Then Jim Crowed In Army

By EUGENE VARLIN

The Negroes were barred almost entirely from any part in the administration of the conscription laws. The Draft Boards were made up almost exclusively of upper-class whites. The Negroes were assigned a special corner on the draft registration card. This facilitated the practice of discrimination against them.

The proportion of Negroes inducted into the military service of the United States was far greater than the proportion of Negroes in the population as a whole. The Negro race formed 10.7 percent of the total population of the country; they provided 13.08 per cent of the enlisted forces. Crowder, the Provost Marshal General, reported that of 9,562,515 whites registered, 1,916,750 or 20.04% were selected for full military services; of 1,078,331 colored registrants, 342,247 or 31.74% were selected. 32.53% of the whites who registered were placed in Class A, as compared with 51.65% of the Negroes.

The South, especially, thus discriminated against Negroes. L. T. Long's findings on the Negroes of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia, are a typical instance of the general rule. From June, 1917 through September, 1918, 2,465 Clarke County whites had registered as against 2,012 Negroes. Less Negroes than whites registered; nevertheless, 360 blacks or over 17% were conscripted as against only 262 whites or about 10 1/2%.

Scott, Negro Assistant to the War Department, received a great number of complaints against the operation of the draft, mainly from the South. Physically unfit Negroes had been railroaded into military service where able whites had been exempted. Where single whites escaped scotfree, Negroes had been "conscripted into service . . . without considering their family relations or obligations." The Provost Marshal said conscription had been determined fairly. C. H. Williams, who had been in close contact with the Negro soldiers dur-

ing the war, disputed this. Negro farm-owners, he said, had been sent to camp when there were livestock and growing crops to tend to. A father of five children, of whom the oldest was seven, had been arbitrarily transferred from Class 4 to Class I-A. "All told," Williams concluded, ". . . many Negroes who had sufficient claims for exemption were drafted and sent away to camp."

Mrs. A. W. Hunton and Miss K. M. Johnson, sent by the Y.M.C.A. to do work among the colored soldiers in France, told a story that reveals this situation better than any statistics. "One man from Texas," they reported, "upon delivering a company of men to a lieutenant whom he thought to be white, remarked that he had brought him a good bunch of Negroes, and had plenty more down there if he wanted them. At first, he said, they took all the men who had just purchased little farms, so that the property would soon return to the original owners, and then they just went through the country and gathered them up everywhere, so that they could get their full quota without sending their white boys. Of course, he said, the Negroes didn't know any better and thought they just had to come."

In only three cases did the Secretary of War remove unfair Boards from office. The Fulton County, Georgia, Board, for example, was dismissed for "unwarranted exemptions and discharges." Of 815 white men, the Board had exempted 526 (62%) on grounds of physical disability. The same board exempted only six of the 202 Negroes called!

### White Officers Over Black Troops

It was the policy of the Wilson government to subordinate the Negro troops to white officers. The very Official Order that created the 92nd Division, comprising the majority of the Negro combat troops, established the color line in the officers' staff—with the white officers on top. Adjutant-General McCain instructed the division's commanding general: "Following officers of Division will be white: All officers of general and field rank, such medical officers and veterinarians as the Surgeon-General may designate, all officers attached to Division Headquarters except the Lieutenants of the Headquarters troops . . ."

These white officers were not chosen because of their technical ability but because they came from the white ruling class. They were to dominate in the army just as they dominated in civil society. Very often the white officers showed themselves to be ignorant of the art of war, inferior to the Negroes as soldiers, cowardly in battle. "The 92nd Division particularly," reports the noted scholar W. E. B. Du Bois, "was made a dumping ground for poor and inexperienced officers seeking promotion." Mason and Furr, two Negro officers, pointed out in their book on the Negro combat troops, that the Colonel of the 372nd National Guard unit had selected for his field officers mostly white lawyers "disqualified by the (National Guard) units they were formerly with." "A very singular situation was created," remark Mason and Furr, "when it was found that the colonel was also in the same category."

Dr. Du Bois spoke to Negro troops on the field of battle and was able to acquaint himself with the real character of these white officers. Here are two of the cases which he reports:

The 368th Regiment went into battle on the Argonne on September 24th, 1918. Major Elser, a white, got jittery on the 26th. He withdrew part of his troops without informing the rest, leaving them to face the music alone as best they

could. He was sent to a hospital for "psycho-neurosis," "which," Du Bois commented, "often covers a multitude of sins." As a reward for valor, he was later promoted to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel and transferred to a Labor Battalion where it was a little safer.

Major B. F. Norris, a white New York lawyer, a Plattsburg graduate, and with no previous experience, was placed in command of the 368th Regiment on September 27th. He gave the troops contradictory orders and a number of casualties resulted. On September 28th at 6:30 P. M., "Major Norris withdrew, leaving a platoon under Lieutenant Dent on line ignorant of the command to withdraw. They escaped finally unaided during the night." Norris left his unit on some slight pretext and thus avoided action. Later, he had the gall to describe the Negroes as "rank cowards."

Dr. Du Bois cites several other instances of a similar nature. The white officers attempted to shift the burden of guilt for the failure of the first Argonne drive to the shoulder of their subordinate Negro officers. In fact, many of the latter were court-martialed for cowardice.

A common practice was to place southern white officers in command of the Negro troops. The Colonel of the 371st Infantry was "a southern gentleman with the well-known proclivities of the 'South-in-the-Saddle' in his veins." Ninety per cent of the officers of the 371st were from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, graduates of the First Officers Training Camps. Allan Greer, Chief of Staff of the 92nd Division, sent a letter to a United States Senator in which he slandered his Negro officers and men. Greer said he wrote "not only from the military point of view but from the point of view which all Southerners have . . ."

These uniformed slave-drivers brought their habits into the army. Even the Secretary of War's assistant, Scott, writing in the cautious vein of an official historian, noted that "It was alleged in numerous cases that white officers and white 'non-coms' required of them (the Negro troops) unusually hard tasks under the most trying circumstances and frequently cursed them, beat them, domineered over them as if they were 'slaves,' and applied to them all manner of epithets . . . such as 'nigger,' 'darkey,' 'coon,' and other objectionable terms." In the summer of 1918, the War Department received a "flood of complaints" against this treatment from the various Negro camps. Scott must record that Negroes faced "long periods of imprisonment in guard-houses and stockades if they dared to resent any indignity or failed to perform 'impossible' tasks."

The Negro soldier had no legal protection against the indignities of the officers. For army rules require all complaints to be made by a soldier through his immediate commanding officer. A vicious circle! The white officer was both defendant and judge. The Negro had no legal means to break the vicious circle. As is usual where legal means do not exist there were desperate resorts to illegal means. Many of the southern officers of the 371st Regiment "were arrogant and overbearing. . . . It is rumored . . .", Dr. Du Bois reports, "that after the first battle (in the Argonne) the number of casualties among the meanest of their officers led to some sort of mutual understandings."

(A third article in this series will appear next week.)

# Litvinov's Fate: Molotov's Future

Stalin prepared for the shift from the policy of "People's Front" and alliances with "democracies" to an alliance with Hitler by purging Litvinov's wife long before he deposed Litvinov himself as Foreign Commissar in 1939.

The question arises: Is Stalin preparing the ground for possible future shifts in foreign policy by the demonstrative purge of the wife of Premier and Commissar of Foreign Affairs V. M. Molotov?

Furthermore, what is the significance of the total elimination of Litvinov himself? Such moves are not undertaken casually or accidentally by the Kremlin. Litvinov was purged for failure "to fulfill his obligations." What "obligations"? Litvinov has held no public office since 1939. If he was nevertheless dragged from obscur-

ity into the limelight to be purged, it was not with an eye to domestic consumption alone.

In addition, the present ambassador to Hitler, one V. G. Dekanozov, has taken Litvinov's place on the Central Committee. At the same time, Maisky, the Ambassador to England, was rather conspicuously elevated to the position of alternate. A "pledge" to Hitler is thus supplemented by a gesture toward the "democracies."

Stalin is thus preparing for the future in his customary hand-to-mouth, temporizing and evasive manner. In the event that Hitler suffers a major reverse in the Blitz against Britain, Stalin has everything prepared for a shift to an alignment with London and Washington. If not, then Molotov will keep his job (and head) a while longer.

# The MARXIST SCHOOL

## SPRING TERM 1941

Classes Begin Monday, March 24 Irving Plaza Irving Place & 15 St., N. Y. C.

I. Permanent Revolution in American History—By William F. Warde.

A study of the development of American history in the light of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution; sketching the main causes and characteristics; consequences of revolutionary movements; their internal inter-connections, international roots and meaning; their rise and fall.

1. American and World History.
2. The Colonial Revolt and the Constitution.
3. The Degeneration of the First American Revolution. The Autocracy of the Slave Power; the New Revolutionary Forces.
4. The Second American Revolution: The Role of the Industrial Workers during the Civil War.
5. The Democratic Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie.
6. The Coming American Revolution.

Mondays—7:10 to 8:40 P.M.—6 Sessions \$1.00

II. American Labor Movements—By Lydia Beidel.

A study of the principles, composition, function, and history of the various labor organizations.

1. Early Stages of Trade Unionism in the U.S.
2. Knights of Labor and the Molly Maguires.
3. Western Federation of Miners and the I.W.W.
4. The American Federation of Labor.
5. The A.F.L.—C.I.O. Split and the C.I.O.
6. General Trade Union Principles.

Mondays—8:50 to 10:20 P.M.—6 Sessions \$1.00

Each session will be followed by a question and discussion period where the students may contribute and raise problems in which they are especially interested.

### REGISTRATION

Registration may be made at the school office, 116 University Place, every day (except Sunday) between 12 noon and 7 P.M., or by mail.

### ATTENDANCE

Those who do not wish to register for a full course may attend single lectures. The charge for single lectures will be twenty-five cents.

**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

**Fate of France's Negro Troops**

The most interesting story of the week was undoubtedly the banner story in *The Pittsburgh Courier*, under the title "Half Million Black Men Killed To Save Honor of France," by R. Walter Merguson, the *Courier's* war correspondent, who has just returned from Europe.

In this, the first of a series, Merguson tells a story which has never before been printed, the account of what happened to at least a million Negro soldiers who were drawn out of the African colonies and into the French army as shock troops to stop the oncoming Nazi war machine. No one has written about it before only because both the French and the Germans don't want the truth to come out, says Merguson. "That truth is that these Negro soldiers were mowed down in cold blood! No prisoners were taken. These colored soldiers are not in Germany, they are not in any part of France, occupied or unoccupied, they were never sent back to Africa."

Since the article is copyrighted, and "reproduction in whole or in part expressly forbidden," we are unable to say much more about it. Our advice: don't fail to get a copy of the Feb. 22nd *Courier*!

**The Poll Tax Fight**

Action is being undertaken this week to petition the House of Representatives to bring H. R. Bill 1024, the anti-poll tax measure, out of committee, so that open discussion and a vote may be held in Congress.

This bill provides that failure to pay poll taxes shall not be used to prevent anyone from voting for candidates for federal office. Although, consequently, it provides for only a very partial reform, it is certain that it will be fought tooth and nail by the poll tax politicians who smothered the anti-lynch bill to death after a petition had brought that measure to the floor in last year's session of Congress.

**Judas Goats (Colored)**

A frank and honest statement this week by Dr. Raymond W. Logan, chairman of the National Committee on the Participation of the Negro in National Defense, did much this week to advance the cause of abolishing Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

Logan stated that the three colored men holding administrative assistant posts (Hastie of the Department of War, Johnson of selective service, and Weaver of the National Defense Advisory Committee) had been appointed only to serve as "barriers" against Negro "pressure groups" and were being used to give them "a grand run-around."

Anyone who tried to deny this would be a fool. These men are the salesmen of the Jim Crow policies of the administration. Their mere presence is supposed to refute the well-known "white supremacy" theories of the war and navy departments. Jim Crow announcements, coming from the lips of colored men, are supposed to sound better.

**Jim Crow in "Defense" Jobs**

A classical example of the endless circle of the runaround being given Negro labor by both the government and the bosses can be observed in the story of the Nashville, Tennessee branch of the N.A.A.C.P., which has been carrying on an active campaign to attempt to get Negroes into industry.

First the branch tried to get a defense training course from the government and the local school board so that Negroes would be able to get some training and qualify for skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the Nashville plant of the Vultee Aircraft Company.

But the local school board replied that there was little chance of such a course being opened to Negro workers, because the Vultee management would not employ Negroes "in skilled capacities, even if properly trained persons were available."

The branch then turned to the management of Vultee. The reply of the industrial relations manager was that they "do not now believe it advisable to include colored people with our regular working force. We may, at a later date, be in a position to add some colored people in minor capacities such as porters and cleaners."

"From this distance," says an *Afro-American* editorial entitled "Why We Are For Henry Ford," "it doesn't seem to us half so important whether or not the Ford plants are organized, as whether the Ford principle of equal opportunities for all workers shall survive and flourish." (The "Ford principle of equal opportunity" referred to is the policy of hiring Negroes as "strike insurance" and threatening to fire them if they join the CIO union trying to organize the Ford Empire.)

"From this distance," that is, from Baltimore, it may not seem so important to an editorial writer but to the Ford Negro workers who have to work at a pay 10c an hour lower than the national average for auto workers and who have to endure an inhuman speed-up which leaves them limp and almost lifeless after work, it seems a good deal more important.

Warning was served on the AFL Executive Council by the NAACP that if certain AFL unions, such as the machinists, do not cease discrimination against Negro workers, they would "have no other resource" than to seek legislation amending the National Labor Relations Act to deny such unions the right of collective bargaining.

**The New Fourth Army's Fate**

**Stalinists Now Admit That Chiang Kai-shek Himself Slaughtered It**

By LI FU-JEN

Tardily and cautiously the Stalinists have been compelled to admit that which Earl Browder at first sought to conceal—namely, that the recent attack upon the New Fourth Army in China was conceived, prepared and executed by Chiang Kai-shek.

Without a single glance back at the statement by Earl Browder in the *Sunday Worker* of Feb. 2, in which he asserted that "it is utter nonsense to speak as if this break originated in China, or with Chiang," the *Daily Worker* last week printed reports from Hongkong in which Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang regime are clearly made responsible for the military action in which several thousand peasant fighters of the New Fourth Army were slaughtered for alleged insubordination.

A Stalinist report on Feb. 19 referred to the action as "a brutal and murderous massacre . . . by overwhelming numbers of well-armed Government troops," that is, by troops of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek. A second report, appearing Feb. 22 informed the world that the Chinese Communist Party had submitted "a forthright demand that the Chungking government of Chiang Kai-shek rescind its order disbanding the New Fourth Army and at once set Gen. Yeh Ting free and restore him to his position as head of that army."

**TWELVE DEMANDS**

The Chinese Communist Party, it was revealed, has submitted a series of twelve demands to Chiang Kai-shek which are designed to remove "friction in the united front" with the Central Government, "insisting on their immediate and full acceptance as the only basis for further co-operation." The demands are as follows:

1. Cessation of provocative steps leading toward an anti-Communist civil war.
2. Annulment of the government orders of Jan. 17 disbanding the New Fourth Army and providing for court-martial of Yeh Ting, commander of the New Fourth Army. An apology in the name of the government.
3. Punishment of Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War; Ku Chung-tung, Commander of the Third War Zone, and Gen. Shankuan Yun-hsiang, under whose general command 80,000 government troops attacked 10,000 members of the New Fourth Army.
4. Restoration of Yeh Ting's freedom and his reappointment as commander of the New Fourth Army.
5. Return of the ammunition and prisoners taken by the government in southern Anhwei.

6. Compensation for the wounded and dead of the New Fourth Army in southern Anhwei.
7. Immediate steps to stop anti-New Fourth Army operations in central China.
8. Immediate destruction of the blockade along the border regions.
9. Release of political prisoners, including Chiang Hsueh-liang and Yank Hu-chin, Commanders of the Manchurian Army responsible for the detention of Chiang Kai-shek in Sian in December, 1936.
10. Abolition of one-party dictatorship and the improvement of the administrative structure based on democratic principles.
11. Realization of the will and principles of Sun Yat-sen.
12. Purging of pro-Japanese groups, arrest and court-martial of their leaders.

**SAME FALSE POLICY**

These demands, taken together, reveal a continuation of the fatal class-collaborationist policy of the Chinese Stalinists which, more than anything else, facilitated Chiang Kai-shek's attack on the New Fourth Army. Instead of indicting Chiang and his reactionary regime as assassins of the people and saboteurs of the war against Japan; instead of revealing the true character of Chiang's regime and mobilizing the broadest mass action against it, the Stalinists submit a series of demands which Chiang, as the representative of the reactionary ruling classes, is totally unable to fulfill. By this means they continue to deceive the Chinese masses and render surer the destruction of their own forces.

Can one imagine Chiang voluntarily ending his ("one-party") dictatorship when this dictatorship, and nothing less, is essential to the preservation of the power and privileges of the ruling class? And why demand "realization of the will and principles of Sun Yat-sen"? Was it not Sun Yat-sen himself who, having no faith in the masses, prescribed a period of "political tutelage" for China, meaning thereby the dictatorship of the Kuomintang which he founded?



Left: One of the soldiers who are fighting in the Chinese lines against Japanese imperialism. Right: A cave is "home" to a Chinese family on the Northwest Road, an important supply line for China from the outside.

More ludicrous is the demand for punishment of War Minister Ho Ying-ching and the generals who directed the action against the New Fourth Army under Chiang's orders; likewise the demand for purgation of pro-Japanese groups in the government. Ho Ying-ching himself is one of the top leaders of the pro-Japanese faction in the Chungking government. Another is H. H. Kung, Finance Minister and brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek.

Browder's effort to portray the action against the New Fourth Army as something in the nature of a momentary aberration, a temporary straying by Chiang Kai-shek from the straight path of "united front" rectitude under the baleful influence of foreign powers, breaks down completely in the light of the eighth demand submitted to Chiang by the Chinese Stalinists.

**A NEW REVELATION**

In demanding that the blockade "along the border regions" be destroyed, the Stalinists reveal for the first time that Chiang, having destroyed the New Fourth Army, is preparing for action against the Eighth Route Army in the Northwest.

geoisic and landlords who have fattened on the very life-blood of the Chinese masses while sabotaging China's war struggle.

This comes first. The fiction of the "united front" with Chiang must be consigned to the political garbage pail. In its place must come a real united front of the exploited masses, directed against Chiang Kai-shek and his regime, against the landlords and capitalists, against Japanese imperialism.

The Stalinists face a choice of alternatives from which there is no escape:

1. They may continue their efforts to patch things up with the hangman of the Chinese revolution. If this line is pursued to the very end, it can only mean a fresh capitulation to Chiang, who will then prepare to strike at the Eighth Route Army at a time and under circumstances he will himself choose.
2. They can end their "united front" with Chiang, assume their independence on the China scene, appeal to the masses, build a mighty movement of support for their armed forces.

**ONE OR THE OTHER**

These alternatives are mutually exclusive. It is one or the other. Probably it is too much to expect that the Chinese Stalinist leaders, politically poisoned in the Moscow school of class-collaboration and treachery to the masses, will be capable of taking even one step along the revolutionary road. Chiang, however, seems determined to disengage himself from the embrace of his Stalinist "allies." The attack on the New Fourth Army was only the beginning. Chiang himself may terminate the spurious "united front." In that case the Eighth Route Army will be obliged to fight for its very life.

Despite the false policies of the Stalinist leaders, we stand wholeheartedly with the peasant fighters under their command—against the foul hangman of the Chinese revolution, against the bourgeois-landlord class whose interests he upholds. As always, we stand ready to collaborate with the Chinese Communist Party in a united front of struggle in defense of the Eighth Route and New Fourth armies against the Kuomintang regime, against Japanese imperialism, for the national and social liberation of China.

**New Publications That Belong In A Worker's Library**

**'Fourth International'**  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. A Monthly Magazine. February 1941. 32 pages (large size format).

This is another outstanding issue of the only Marxist monthly journal in the United States.

The table of contents begins with an editorial on the murder of Walter Krivitsky in which this sensational execution by the GPU killers is reviewed.

The second article, "American Labor and the War" outlines the present position and perspectives facing the trade unions and the labor political parties during the coming period of World War II.

Of great importance is the unfinished article by Leon Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay." Trotsky often commented in conversations on certain first hand observations he had been able to make since living in Mexico on the nature of the governments in the Western Hemisphere and the role played by the bureaucratic heads of the trade unions in maintaining the status quo. This article, although unfinished, is a summary of Trotsky's views on this subject.

"Lessons and Perspectives of the Sino-Japanese War" draws a balance sheet of the war imposed on China by the Japanese imperialists. The author, Li Fu-jen, writes from direct experience as a militant in the ranks of the Chinese section of the Fourth International.

A new writer in the pages of the *Fourth International* is Eugene Varlin, who presents a careful study of the military methods of the imperialist powers in the colonies. He shows that the contradictions inherent in capitalism lead to the arming of the colonial slaves and thereby lays the basis for the successful revolt of the colonies.

The Dean of Canterbury's "Soviet Power" is reviewed at length by John G. Wright, who confronts the Dean's myths with the texts of the actual ukases issued by Stalin.

The latest position of Max Shachtman, who now contends a new ruling class has come, to power in the Soviet Union, is analyzed by Joseph Hansen in an article entitled, "Burnham's Attorney Carries On."

As this sketchy review indicates, the February *Fourth International* is chock-full of important reading—a must for every literate worker.

**Goldman's Pamphlet**  
The ASSASSINATION OF LEON TROTSKY: The Proofs of Stalin's Guilt. By Albert Goldman. 74 pages. 15 cents per copy. Pioneer Publishing, 116 University Place, New York, N.Y.

A clear and brilliant analytical work appears in this pamphlet. The examination of the circumstances surrounding the murder of Leon Trotsky in Mexico on August 21, 1940 and the cross-examination of the assassin, Frank Jacon, are presented with conciseness and beautiful clarity.

The author builds his powerful case for proof of the guilt of Stalin and his criminal agency, the GPU, upon several sources of incontrovertible evidence submitted by circumstance, by the murderer himself and by close associates both of Jacon and of Trotsky. Important among these is the "letter of confession" carried upon the person of the murderer during the perpetration of the crime. This document, fully acknowledged by Jacon, is minutely analyzed by the author of the booklet, and the implications of its statements illuminated.

Albert Goldman places under an analytical lens the substantiating statement of confession made to the Mexican court by the assassin, as well as the transcript of statements made by Jacon during cross-examination by the author. The evidence submitted by Sylvia Ageloff (used as a tool by the murderer), by various secretaries and guards associated with the Trotsky household and by numerous visitors to the Trotsky residence is entered into the record and made part of the mosaic of evidence against the force behind the pick-axe wielded by Jacon.

A powerfully convincing method is used by the writer. He begins by submitting every item of evidence and then in the main section of the book proceeds to a repeated re-orientation of the facts involved, approaching the problem from various angles and demonstrating each time the ineluctable conclusion that the actual killer is Stalin's murder-machine.

The nationality of Jacon, his passport, the circumstances of his appearance in Mexico, his business claims, the motives he professes and those which really influenced his act—all are subjected to a quiet but powerfully persistent examination.

Since the author is himself prominently identified with the revolutionary socialist movement of this country, he is not moved in the slightest degree by a desire for revenge against any individual or group of individuals for the wanton destruction of the greatest revolutionary mind of the last two decades. He sees rather the inevitable triumph of socialism as the historical revenge awaiting not only Stalin and his police-agency regime but all of the oppressors of the working masses whose doom is spelled by the revolutionary uprising of the world proletariat.

The pamphlet sells for fifteen cents the copy and can be secured by writing Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City.

**Judge Frankfurter Answered By His Book**

By RUTH JEFFREY

The right of labor to picket was sharply limited, thanks to a Supreme Court decision handed down a fortnight ago by Justice Felix Frankfurter. Heading a five to three majority, he held that State courts were constitutionally entitled to issue injunctions "to enjoin acts of picketing in themselves peaceful when they are enmeshed with contemporaneously violent conduct . . ."

In the case before the high court the Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers Union, appealing against an Illinois court injunction, charged infringement of its constitutional right of freedom of speech, guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. "But," Mr. Justice Frankfurter ruled, "utterance in a context of violence can lose its significance as an appeal to reason and become part of an instrument of force. Such utterance was not meant to be sheltered by the Constitution." The broad, general phrases of the Frankfurter ruling thus on the one hand constitute a threat to newspapers against printing any word of sympathy with the strikers whose picketing has been enjoined, and on the other hand constitute an open invitation to capital to obtain injunctions calling into any strike its Pinkerton thugs and provocateurs.

Capital need not hesitate to foment violence. For, according to the Justice Frankfurter, " . . . A union may be responsible for acts which it has not expressly authorized or which might not be attributable to it in strict application of the law."

**ANTI- LABOR CONSEQUENCES OF FRANKFURTER VERDICT**

And on having found a union's picketing peaceful but "enmeshed with" contemporaneously violent conduct "a state may then, Mr. Frankfurter says, step in with an injunction and break a strike by putting an end to subsequent picketing. "It could justifiably be concluded," Frankfurter ends up, "that the momentum of fear generated by past violence would survive even though picketing might be wholly peaceful."

The most liberal of all Roosevelt's reputedly liberal appointees to the Supreme Court thus goes down the line with Roosevelt in the union-smashing war preparations.

Some of the vicious implications of the decision are brought out in the dissenting minority

"I am of the opinion that the court's injunction strikes directly at the heart of our government, and that deprivation of these essential liberties cannot be reconciled with the rights guaranteed to the people of this nation by their Constitution."

But even Justice Black does not feel the full implications of this decision insofar as it affects the rights of labor. For a more complete understanding we have to go to Felix Frankfurter himself—to Professor Felix Frankfurter of a dozen years ago, who at that time wrote a book entitled, of all things, "The Labor Injunction." We quote at length from that work of Professor Frankfurter: "Before an injunction is issued, proof is made by affidavits from both sides. Before final disposition, the testimony of witnesses is rarely invoked. At all hearings, preliminary and final, the judge determines the facts without a jury; the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury does not extend to (these) suits. . . . "Few of the traditional safeguards against erroneous conviction that surround criminal law are available in the chancellor's court. . . . Moreover, there is the professional affidavit-maker—the privately subsidized policeman, the private detective, the 'industrial spy' . . . thus characterized by one of our wisest judges: 'As a class they are overzealous. . . they have introduced into American industrial relations the most insidious and powerful forces of ill-will. . . . 'Common knowledge that one charged with the commission of a crime is not prone to admit his guilt' is sometimes made to serve as a touchstone of truth. 'Usual experience in such matters' resolves the antimony of affidavits with sharply conflicting affidavits as to violence in the course of a picketing demonstration deduces truth from his own conception of labor tactics: 'Picketing unaccompanied by threats and intimidation is a useless weapon. . . . If done necessarily it would be futile. It follows then that the fear, if not the terror that the picketing

carries with it, is the keystone to the arch. . . to the success of the cause.' Therefore an admission of picketing admits violence.

"For the solution of the other important issue of fact—responsibility for acts of disorders—'presumptions' are invoked. . . The union and its officers may repudiate the violent deeds. . . and yet may be held. 'Authorization' has been found a fact where the unlawful acts 'have been on a large scale' . . . where the union has failed to discipline the wrongdoer; where the union has granted strike benefits. Other courts, contrariwise, have insisted that the affidavits prove the union to be chargeable with acts complained of, as a condition precedent to the inclusion of the union within the restraint of the injunction. As one New York judge rhetorically asks: 'Is it the law that a presumption of guilt attaches to a labor union association?'"

**A COMPLETE INDICTMENT OF HIS PRESENT VERDICT**

"Characteristic of the labor injunction throughout its wide employment by the federal courts is the use of restraining clauses of vague and harassing significance. . . . If by the term 'persuasion' duress is intended, duress and not persuasion should be restrained; IF UNDER COVER OF PICKETING VIOLENCE IS USED, VIOLENCE, NOT PICKETING SHOULD BE ENJOINED. . . . "How much of the life of a state dealing with contentious social issues is determined by the general outlook with which judges view such legislation lies on the very surface of (for example) the *Duplex Case*. Thirteen federal judges were called upon to apply the Clayton Act to the particular facts of this case. Six found that the law called for a hands off policy in the conflict between the Duplex Printing Company and the Machinists; seven found that the law called for interference against the Machinists. The decision of the majority of the Supreme Court is, of course, the authoritative ruling. But informal professional opinion would find it difficult to attribute great

er intrinsic sanction for the views of the seven judges, White, McKenna, Day, Van Devanter, Pitney, McReynolds and Rogers than for the opposing interpretation of the six judges, Holmes, Brandeis, Clarke, Hough, Learned, Hand, and Manton.

"The legislation summarized (Clayton Act) had, as its essential impulse, the conviction that labor unions 'were organized' in the language of the Chief Justice, 'out of the necessities of the situation.' That the concrete remedies by which the justification was to be realized encountered feelings of unreasonableness on the part of the courts, is a conclusion not easy to escape. The decisions would not have been otherwise if the courts had applied as a conscious guide the belief that though there may be unions they must not be strong.

"Once we recognize that the right of combination by workers is in itself a corollary to the dogma of free competition, as a means of equalizing the factors that determine bargaining power, the consequences of making the power of union effective will be seen in a truer perspective. Undoubtedly hardships and even cruelties are invoked in this phase as in other aspects of our competitive system. To determine limits is primarily the task of legislatures. . . . Only within very narrow limits is it the function of the courts to apply their own notions of policy. . . . by curtailing in the name of the law the most effective union tactics."

The present repudiation by Justice Frankfurter of what he knew very well as the liberal professor at Harvard is a profoundly significant example of the sheer hypocrisy of capitalist politics. Justice Frankfurter knows better. But the class he serves requires his present verdict. That in giving the ruling class what it wants, he must cover himself with dung, does not halt Professor-Justice Frankfurter. In this he is representative of his class. It will cover itself, not only with dung, but with the last drop of blood of the workers, before it will surrender its death-grip on our lives.

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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

### ON THE WAR FRONT:

#### For:

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

### AT HOME:

#### For:

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

## We're In The War. . .

"We're in the war. At least we're nearly in the war; we're preparing for it. . ."

Thus spoke Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce and one of the most powerful figures in the inner councils of the Roosevelt administration, last week before the House Banking and Currency Committee.

The committee members passed over his words in deliberate silence. No committee member, Republican or Democratic, referred to the statement or questioned Jones on its meaning. Nor did the press make much of it.

Jones, after the remark, ordered his words struck out of the official records of the committee. Roosevelt, in turn, brushed the incident aside in a brief press comment, saying only the minimum required for the record. Just a lot of words which didn't mean anything, he assured blandly.

Jones' admission is merely an affirmation of what every succeeding action of the government has made plain. The United States government has already entered the war.

Who can honestly deny the truth of Jones' words? The whole productive force of this greatest industrial nation on earth is being directed toward one end: pouring into the British and American war machines. The Navy is patrolling the sear lanes of the western Atlantic, informing the British of German ship movements, and working in complete coordination with the British blockade. American destroyers—"mysterious" ships of "unknown" nationality—have halted Nazi boats and forced them back into Mexican harbors. American troops are already in active service on belligerent foreign territory: U. S. military forces are now occupying bases in British possessions.

The latest evidence of the fact that this country is already in a state of war is that Army and Navy planes of the latest type have been dispatched to the Far East—most of the Navy is already there—to the aid of the British in Singapore and Hong-Kong.

Yet Jesse Jones' blunt words are the rare exception. The general rule of government is denial of the extent of our participation in the war.

There is a likelihood that there will be no formal declaration of war until after this nation's Army and Navy have gone into full-fledged battle—if then. Everything is being done so that no too boldly-labelled move will shock the masses from their passivity.

We do not deny that such passivity exists. As yet, there is no organized force in this country suf-

ficient to halt the war, or even give Roosevelt pause in his war drive.

Why, then, if the anti-war opposition is so weak, does the ruling class deem it necessary to move in such a fog of secrecy, to hide the very fact of war from the people?

The reason is that the bourgeoisie understand the masses far more than do those cynical "socialists" who deny the masses any ability to smash the war system. The ruling class sees the workers not merely as they are at this moment, but in all their potentialities of organized revolutionary might.

That is why Roosevelt moves with caution and subterfuge. That is why he tries to keep from the people every actuality which might jolt and awaken them. In this very policy, Roosevelt and the bourgeoisie confirm the tremendous revolutionary potentialities of the American working masses, and acknowledge the existence of that power which will destroy the war system forever. That is why Jesse Jones' words were treated by the government, the Congressmen, the press, as an unimportant slip of the tongue.

## Support The A. L. P.

The support by the Trotskyists of the candidate of the American Labor Party in the 17th Congressional district in New York has two aspects.

On one hand, it assures one independent labor candidate as opposed to the two war-mongering boss candidates. Labor's uniting at the polls as a single bloc in favor of Eugene Connolly will constitute a blow against the war plans of the Sixty Families and a step forward in the task of building a nation-wide independent labor party.

Separate and apart from the specific program which Connolly stands upon, the fact that he has been presented by the American Labor Party as an anti-war candidate makes it possible for the worker-voters who oppose the imperialist war to register that opposition by voting for him at the polls. Every vote for Connolly will be weighed by the capitalist class as a labor vote against Roosevelt's war plans.

On the other hand, the sharpest criticism must be made of the pacifist character of the ALP program. It does not breathe a word of militant struggle against the war plans of the administration. It does not make the slightest attempt to present a real alternative to these war plans of the bosses.

As the real alternative to the war plans of the bosses the SWP proposes our military program: military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions; the establishment of special officers' training camps financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.

In giving their support to Connolly in the 17th district the workers must not forget for one moment that Connolly's platform is completely inadequate and that our military program must replace the present pacifist program of the American Labor Party.

## Roosevelt's Ethics

Roosevelt has not denied the truth of the published report that American fighting planes of the latest type have been sent to the Far East. He has merely questioned the "ethics" and "morals" involved in the publication of this information.

Since Roosevelt has raised the question of morals, we would like to delve a little deeper into the subject than he has done.

By what manner of morals does Roosevelt justify the fraud he has perpetrated in promising the American people prior to the last election that he would keep this nation out of war—and then immediately upon his election promoting the Lease-Lend bill, which means waging war?

What morals are involved in Roosevelt's colossal war program, undertaken with the deliberate intent of establishing the hegemony of American imperialism over the entire world at the expense of the lives and liberties of the American masses?

Roosevelt speaks for the defense of "democracy." And yet he has withheld from the American people every bit of official information regarding the commitments he has made to Churchill. He has withheld the reports of Kennedy, Bullitt and Hopkins on the state of affairs in England and France. He has made one major move after another, like his destroyer deal, involving tremendous consequences to the American people, without the knowledge or consent either of the people or Congress. What kind of ethics does this reveal?

This week nine publications were officially barred from the government-operated post exchanges at the army stations, (including even the respectable liberal weekly, the New Republic). This is an example of that freedom of the press which is among the principles for which Roosevelt wants American workers to fight and die.

Yes, Roosevelt is deeply concerned over ethics, his ethics—bourgeois ethics. He is concerned over the ethics of hypocrisy, lies and fraud; the ethics of imperialism, boss war and plunder.

The one thing Roosevelt finds especially unethical is telling the masses the truth about his war aims and the extent of this nation's present involvement in the war.

Roosevelt's ethics are nothing new. They are merely the "ethics" and "morals" of every ruling and exploiting class throughout history. They are the "ethics" and "morals" which the revolutionary working class is destined to drain from the social system, along with every other boss class poison, in the creation of the warless socialist world order.

# How To Get War Orders: Become Gov't 'Advisor'

A Stench Is Rising Over Washington, As The Fat Cats Fight  
Around the Gravy Bowl; Those Frozen Out Spill The Story

By DON DORE

The scramble for juicy war contracts has resulted in such openly thievish practices that Congressional and administrative leaders are making strenuous efforts to head off a major scandal.

A number of the lesser "dollar-a-year-men" are being put under wraps and quietly hustled out of Washington before a blow-up takes place which might expose not merely the "small fry" but representatives of the major corporations and the real big-shots in the government's contracting agencies.

Sufficient facts have already come to light to indicate that the corrupt practices of the "dollar-a-year-men," in collaboration with officials of the federal contract letting bodies, are considerably more widespread than the administration dares admit.

Among the chief practices of the corporation "dollar-a-year-men" have been to use their positions on government advisory agencies for steering contracts to firms with which they are connected; passing on to their friends confidential advance information; and securing preferential treatment for contractors in return for a "consideration."

Some Congressmen began raising questions before the House Military Affairs Committee hearings as to why their friends were being left out in the cold on the profitable war pickings. They began complaining about this and that contract which their friends should have received, but didn't. And, as Frank Ryhlick, *New York Post* Washington correspondent, put it on February 21, "Almost in spite of themselves, the members have turned up a few revealing facts."

For instance, costs on the huge cantonment construction projects are turning out to be 50 per cent higher than originally estimated. Roosevelt has already requested an additional \$338,000,000 appropriation to complete the work started. Although the administration has attempted up to now to pin the responsibility for this huge cost increase on union labor, it

is a well established fact that labor costs represent only approximately 20 percent of the total costs of construction. Even if present wages were doubled, this could not account for more than a 20 percent increase in total construction costs, which have soared 50 percent.

HOW TO GET BIG CONTRACTS  
Two outstanding cases have already been revealed which indicate where the real grab is being made. Two members on the three-man civilian advisory board to the Quartermasters Corps, which has charge of cantonment construction contract letting, have been exposed as having connections with firms which "incidentally" secured substantial contracts.

The job of the advisory board is to give the Quartermasters Corps three names of contracting firms "qualified" to fulfill a construction award. Francis Blossom, senior partner in the New York engineering firm of Sanderson and Porter is serving on this board. Shortly after Blossom took up his board duties at \$6500 a year, his firm received an \$11,000,000 contract, including a guaranteed profit of \$1,118,000.

The chairman of this same board is Major Forrest S. Harvey, "formerly" connected with the firm of Leed, Hill, Barnard and Jewett of Los Angeles. Harvey participated in recommending three firms for the large San Luis Obispo, Cal., project. The contract was awarded to—Leed, Hill, Barnard and Jewett.

As soon as these first facts became public, the House Committee on Military Affairs adjourned into secret session and emerged with a statement that it was making plans for an investigation into the whole business of contract letting. Shortly after, on February

21, the Senate Military Affairs Committee approved a resolution for an investigation of "discriminatory" practices.

INVESTIGATION SEEMS NOT TOO SERIOUS

It seems apparent, however, that these investigations are intended as a face-saving measure for the administration and to prevent the scandals from getting out of hand. The whole business will be shunted into the hands of a committee until the situation cools down. This will also permit the administration to shut off criticism by showing it is "doing something" about the war contracts corruption. At most, there will be a few scapegoats.

The Senate Military Affairs Committee has shown how far it intends to press its investigation, by requesting the paltry fund of \$25,000 for this purpose. This sum could scarcely keep the committee even in stationery and supplies.

So many fat cats are trying to crowd around the gravy bowl in Washington that the resultant squabbling for advantageous position is kicking up a public row. The biggest cats, the huge monopoly corporations which have the real "in" with the administration, are anxious to have the weaker cats pushed out of the way because their shoving and howling is creating too much attention.

The *New York Post* of February 21 confirms this fact as well as the fact that the administration does not intend to halt the war profiteering, when it states:

"The steps now contemplated do not mean there will be any fundamental change in general policies. Contracts undoubtedly will continue to be generous and contractors will go on making large profits via fees, escalator clauses and legal loopholes with embarrassing consequence."

In effect, the administration intends not the elimination of war profiteering, but the cruder forms of penny-ante thievery which might lead to exposure of the entire war profits racket.

# Eleanor Roosevelt Gets Us Ready To Sacrifice

Eleanor Roosevelt, in a press interview on February 17, joined in the growing clamor of the bosses and government to get the workers to accept "sacrifices" of essential consumer goods in order to permit the war machine to get a greater share of production.

Among other things which Mrs. Roosevelt declared the American people should learn to do without are automobiles — and aluminum ware.

The stress on aluminum ware, such as kitchen utensils, is due to the fact that the government is discovering a shortage of aluminum and magnesium, an aluminum substitute, for plane production. This shortage is due to the fact that the Mellons' Aluminum Company of America has a complete monopoly on both products, has not permitted any other company to enter the field, and has arbitrarily limited production and production facilities.

As for Mrs. Roosevelt's advice to prepare to sacrifice on food. Representatives of the Department of Agriculture announced on February 22 that meat prices have risen 35 to 50 per cent over prices a year ago, and warned that pork, beef and lamb will take a larger share of the family food budgets this year.

Spokesmen for the meat trust have said that this rise is "due to scarcity due to heavy army buying. The War Department recently issued a statement denying that the army was buying so much meat as to cause any appreciable shortage or price rise.

The *New York Times*, February 23, reports that the 501 leading industrial corporations which have thus far reported their profits for 1940 show an average increase in profits of 25.4 per cent over their huge 1939 "earnings." The total profits of the reporting corporations are \$1,203,354,199 for 1940, an increase of \$243,685,519 over 1939.

While the average industrialist was getting this 25.4 per cent raise out of the war boom, what was the average worker getting? Average hourly earnings for workers in manufacturing indus-

tries rose to 68.3 cents in December, 1940, an increase of about 2 cents an hour, or 3.9 per cent since December, 1939, according to a report issued February 22 by Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

The same report shows that average weekly earnings of wage workers in industry were \$27.89 in December, 1940, against \$26.26 in December, 1939. This constitutes only a 6.1 per cent average increase in weekly wages. And meat prices alone have soared 35 to 50 per cent!

But this is not the whole picture. In order to get that \$1.63 more a week, over sixty per cent of the workers in industry had to put in average overtime of 9.1 hours per week, according to a Bureau of Labor Statistics report of February 18.

The increase of 3.9 per cent in average hourly wages was arrived at by including the wages paid at time-and-a-half for overtime. The volume of overtime work has increased tremendously in the last year.

Let Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt read these figures off before any union meeting, and then let her have the nerve to tell the workers to prepare for "sacrifices." They'd make it clear to her where she might better spill this line of palaver — among the big banker and industrialist pals of her husband in Washington.

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## Negro Press Comment On British Failure To State War Aims

The silence of the British government on its war aims is simply—and correctly—explained by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Negro weekly, in the following editorial in its February 22nd issue:

The British Government has been asked time and again, both by His Majesty's Opposition and by realistic Americans to define its war aims.

Neither Prime Minister Winston Churchill nor any member of the British Cabinet has yet defined those war aims, and yet this is a matter of prime importance to the vast majority of the white and colored people who make up the Empire.

The reason for the silence of Messrs. Churchill, Eden, et al, is obvious.

The war aims of the British Empire are the war aims of the wealthy minority which owns the Empire and controls Parliament; that is to say, the perpetuation of the status quo which has enabled them to siphon the wealth of distant lands into the Bank of England.

The Axis threatens this position of wealth, power and prestige, so the aim of the British ruling class is to destroy the Axis and so maintain the status quo.

To the 350,000,000 poverty-stricken, half-starved residents of India, Britain's war aims are the continuation of the system which has impoverished them.

To the 50,000,000 poverty-stricken and malnourished residents of British Africa and the West Indies, Britain's war aim is similar.

It would be too shocking to brutally reveal this war aim, so the browns, blacks and yellows are told that the struggle is one for democracy. It's as simple as that.

The February issue of the *Crisis*, monthly magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has some revealing sidelights on British democracy. Its editorial tells this story: "Persistently has Great Britain refrained from stating officially her war aims. She has preferred to say simply that she is fighting to rid the world of Hitlerism. This is not enough. British officialdom knows it is not enough, but they do not intend to say more."

"The important question in the minds of millions of British subjects, white and colored, within and without the British Isles is: are we fighting for a continuation of the status quo, or are we to set up, in truth, a new and better world? Millions of people in America who are being whipped into a frenzy to support Britain have the same question in their mind."

"A revealing sidelight on this momentous question was reported in January from London. A member of parliament made several recommendations for improvement in air raid shelters and observed that he thought 'separate shelters for white and colored' would be beneficial."

"If this is all Britain is fighting for: the status quo, a world in which poor men will still be poor and rich men rich, a world in which color will determine status, then to ask American Negroes to fight and die for Britain will seem like asking them to fight and die for Mississippi."

And from a recent editorial in the *Pittsburgh Courier* come this significant story: "King George's loyal black subjects in Jamaica are getting a new taste of democracy. Governor A. F. Richards who is virtual dictator, has had his stooge legislature (controlled by his appointees) pass new regulations 'for defense' which come close to wiping out what little democracy is left in the island."

"Any assemblage for whatever purpose can be dispersed by the police."

"Any person who fails to move on when told or incites others to reassemble can be arrested without warrant."

"All persons are forbidden to fly any banner, flag or emblem except that of the British plutocracy, or to have in their possession any firearms, knife, cutlass, stick, club, bludgeon, iron bar, stone or weapon or missile of any description."

"An assembly consists of three or more persons, moving or stationary."

"A public place is defined as any highway, street, public park or garden, sea beach, alley, passage or open space, whether or not the people have rented the space."

"The new statutes are designed, of course, to halt the development of a labor movement and to keep down protest against the sorry economic and political conditions under which the people labor."

"Ironically enough," concludes the *Courier*, "the British government says it is fighting for democracy! . . ."

## Willkie's Real Views in November

The *Detroit Free Press* prints the following story, as coming from its Washington Bureau. Willkie has denied it.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10 — A story of a New York dinner party at which Wendell L. Willkie is said to have expressed the belief that the United States should send the United States Navy and the Army to the aid of Britain—three weeks before the Philadelphia convention which nominated him for president—was told in congressional circles tonight.

This party was arranged by Thomas P. Lamont, partner of J. P. Morgan, and was attended by Senator Robert A. Taft, Ohio Republican, who at the time was a candidate for the nomination. Taft was the lone dissenter. Fearful that silence might indicate consent, Taft announced that he could not agree to all-out aid to Britain, it was said.

The story of the party was told by men usually very reliable. Senator Taft was in New York tonight, but his secretary said that he had "heard about the party." A high-ranking member of the House said that the story had been confirmed to him by Senator Taft.

The dinner party "sealed Taft's doom," according to Republican leaders. Lamont arrived in Philadelphia on the Wednesday of the convention and inquired of Willkie workers, "What's the delay; can't we nominate him today and get it over with?"

Willkie was nominated 48 hours later.