

# Workers! Fight For Your Right To Strike!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# ARMY BREAKS STRIKE--BUT WORKERS' MORALE IS HIGH

## Draft Order Is Aimed Against Every Strike

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No one realizes this more than Roosevelt.

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

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

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

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

all draft deferments of striking workers.

Roosevelt believes, as Wilson did, that the "Work or Fight" formula will be a decisive weapon in driving workers back into strike—(Continued on Page 3)

## They're Still Picketing



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

## Minneapolis Truckdrivers Vote Affiliation To CIO

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

MINNEAPOLIS, June 10, 1941—The union-busting combination of Teamsters' President Daniel J. Tobin, reactionary Republican Governor Harold E. Stassen and the Minneapolis bosses was jolted by the mighty fist of Drivers Union Local 544 when its members voted by overwhelming majority at their meeting last night to quit the AFL and join the CIO.

Tobin had proposed to the Local 544 delegation at the Washington meeting of his International Executive Board, June 3, that a dictator-receiver

be appointed over Local 544 with absolute power to remove the lawfully elected leadership and run the affairs of the union.

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

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

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

There is no possibility of appeasement with Tobin or any of his agents. Local 544 is through with the AFL and has gone over to the CIO, lock, stock and barrel.

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

"We visualize this move on the part of the truck-drivers of Minneapolis and our organization as the first step towards the complete organization of all truck-drivers in the United States in the CIO."

The Executive Board of Local 544 announced that it had accepted Lewis' invitation "in order to liberate itself from the dead hand of a reactionary dictator and to align itself with a more progressive section of the American labor movement. Its CIO charter will permit it to move forward at a faster pace and on a wider scale to protect and promote the interests of its membership, to secure new wage gains to offset the swiftly rising wartime cost of living, and to find for itself and its members a place in the American labor movement where liberalism, militancy and progress will be rewarded rather than punished."

OVER 4,000 AT MEETING

The membership meeting which took these momentous actions was one of the greatest outpourings of labor Minneapolis has seen in recent years.

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## Bitter And Fighting Mad, They Vote To Go To Work

By BILL MORGAN

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

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

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

### WORKERS ARE BITTER

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

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

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

### WHEN THE TROOPS CAME

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

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

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

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

The troops moved ruthlessly. (Continued on page 3)

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

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

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

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

## Dobbs' Speech to the Truckdrivers

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

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

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

### OUR FOUR CRIMES

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

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

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

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

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

Local 544's second crime in Tobin's eyes is that the delegates from this union to the last convention of the IBT — Tobin permits a convention once every five years — voted against his proposal that he be given dictatorial powers to force arbitration upon any affiliated local. One of the delegates to take the floor, against this reactionary program was Miles

Dunne, who made such an effective speech it took Tobin half an hour to get the convention to order. Brother Dunne was not the only unionist at the convention to blast Tobin's program; delegates from the East and West Coasts spoke against it. By agreement with other progressive delegates, Miles Dunne made his talk; together, the convention was able to deal Tobin a stiff defeat, something unheard of at IBT conventions.

Local 544's third crime, according to Tobin, is that representatives of this union took the lead in organizing the over-the-road drivers and achieving the 11-state area contract. In this drive, about two hundred thousand new members were brought into the IBT. Tobin fought against this successful campaign from the start. He tried to disrupt our drivers' council that launched the over-the-road campaign. Once the successful fight was over, Tobin immediately clamped down and began to expel or push aside all those whom he couldn't absolutely control and integrate into his machine.

Our fourth crime is that the

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

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

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

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





# Roosevelt's "Property Seizure" Bill

**Left  
Jabs**

By CORT

## It Boiled Down To A Strikebreaking Method Within Four Days

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

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

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

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

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

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

safely undertake military measures against the foreign opponents.

Secretary of War Stimson pointed out on June 5, in an interview with the United Press:

"We have only Section 9 of the Selective Service Act to help us (in taking over property). This permits us to take over an entire plant only if the manufacturer refuses to produce."

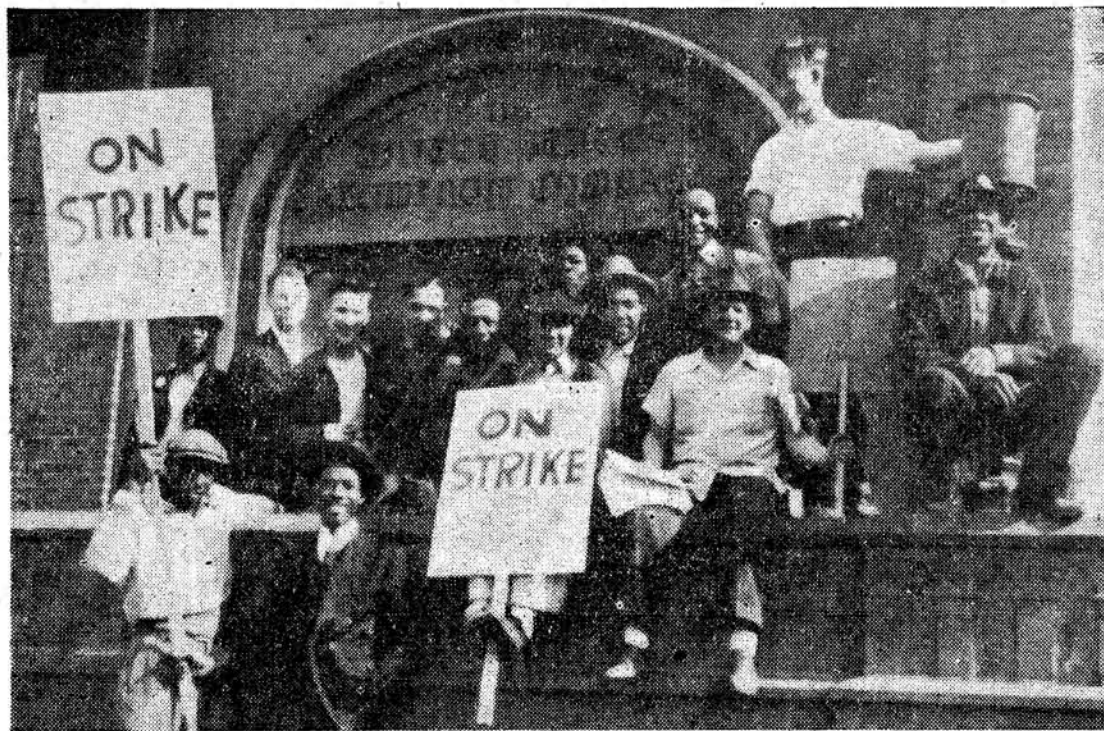
The implication of Stimson's statement is clear. The "property seizure" bill was not designed to deal with uncooperative employers. It was designed only for instances when labor "refuses to produce"—that is, when workers are on strike.

Roosevelt himself indicated this as the real intent of the "draft property" plan, in his press interview of June 3.

Reporting the President's views on why he considers this bill necessary, the New York Times, June 4, writes:

"Section 3 of the Selective Service Act, the president explained, gave the government power to take over industrial plants if the owners refused to cooperate on defense contracts. Then came the

## Aluminum Strikers



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That was on Tuesday. And by

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

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

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

### WHY MANY CAPITALISTS DISLIKED THE BILL

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

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

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

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

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

are we going with this defense?"

A more thoughtful and more influential sector of the employers objected to the bill on deeper grounds.

They feared that, if the government established the principles of taking over private property in time of war, the workers may learn to extend the principle to cover times of peace.

When the post-war depression sets in, and the workers are confronted with tremendous unemployment and insecurity, they may demand that the President keep the factories open by commandeering them as he did during the war.

This group of employers feared, too, that an example of any plant being operated in war time without the owners might impress the workers with the fact that the bosses are inessential to production at all times. The bosses are particularly frightened at affording the workers the opportunity to observe this fact.

### THE MAIN OBJECTION WAS A TACTICAL ONE

3. The most important sector of the employers who objected to the bill consider the mechanism of "plant seizure" too cumbersome a strikebreaking device.

The attitude of this group of employers was expressed editorially by the New York Times, June 8.

"It cannot be pointed out too often," says the Times, "that such a course in itself is not a solution of the strike problem at all. For when the Government has seized the plant, it is left with precisely the problem that it had to begin with. With the men out on strike, the Government would have to order them back to work at terms it fixed. It would have to decide whether these should be the former private company's terms, the terms demanded by the men, or something in between. But if the Government is to take so drastic a step as to fix the terms of employment, it could do it just as well by compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, without seizing plants at all. The only difference is that in the case of seizure the Government would become the employer, with a probable loss of both time and efficiency."

Thus these employers counterpose to the President's strikebreaking method what they consider to be the easiest and most efficient strikebreaking scheme—compulsory arbitration. Their method would be simply to declare strikes illegal, and to throw strikers into jail.

### WHY ROOSEVELT CHOSE HIS STRIKEBREAKING

As against these objections what has finally determined Roosevelt's acceptance of the "draft property" method of strikebreaking is his clearer perception of the relationship of class forces and his understanding of the limits to which he can go in open, exercising universal compulsion against the workers.

Roosevelt is keenly aware that his foreign policy can be successful only with the support of the working class. He can not risk jeopardizing that support by moves which would appear as hostile acts against labor as a whole, such as compulsory arbitration.

Furthermore, Roosevelt's aims can best be realized with the aid and support of the trade union bureaucrats. Whatever he does against labor must preserve at least the appearance of class "impartiality." The Army is ostensibly being used against some "irresponsible" strikers. The Army marches with the support of Hillman and Murray.

By breaking one or two "isolated" strikes with armed force Roosevelt hopes to discourage other strikes. And by this method the majority of workers elsewhere are less apt to feel the immediate weight of government compulsion. A compulsory arbitration law, or the other hand, would bear with equal weight on all the workers at once. It would demonstrate that Roosevelt's hostility is not directed just at a few "irresponsible" elements, but at the entire organized labor movement.

Every move that Roosevelt makes with respect to labor has this two-fold purpose: to strip labor of its power of organized resistance and to maintain, at the same time, the support of labor for his war efforts.

We predict that those employers who disagree with him on this tactical question will end by conceding the superior efficacy of Roosevelt's strikebreaking tactic.

### HE'S TRYING, ANYWAY

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

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

Al Smith, speaking on the radio:

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

### THEY MUSTN'T THINK

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

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

### WARTIME BLESSINGS

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

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

"The war increases the number of unwise marriages," according to Dr. James H. S. Brossard of the University of Pennsylvania. "Marriages in New York during the summer of 1940 doubled those of the same months in 1937."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# AFL Leaders Are Scared By Roosevelt's Plan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The AFL's "Alternative"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### There Is A Positive Alternative!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Know what's going on . . .  
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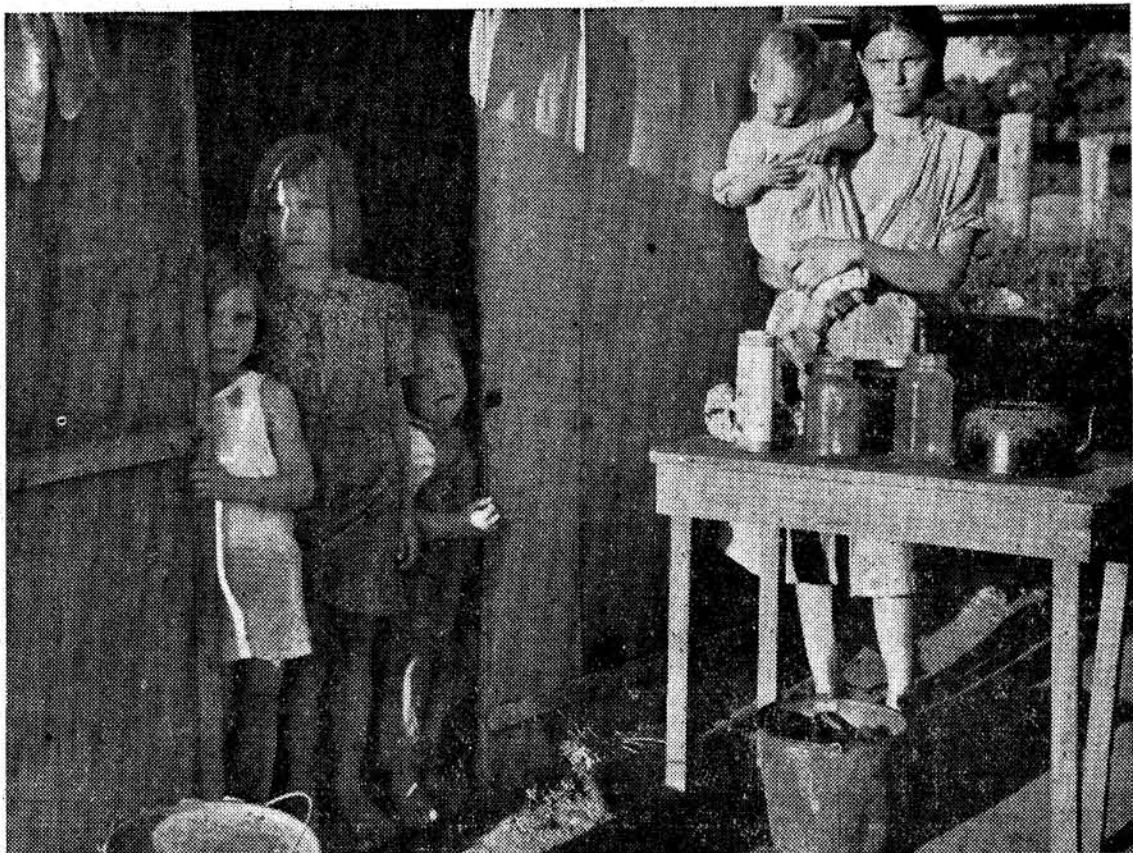
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## Shrunken Bellies



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



