

C.I.O. STARTS COUNTER-OFFENSIVE AGAINST ROOSEVELT STRIKEBREAKING

Call A Halt To Government Strikebreaking

An Editorial

Everywhere the active trade unionists are evidencing their resolve to halt the government's strikebreaking moves. So much so, indeed, that it is wise to remind the militant workers that a fundamental part of their program against government strikebreaking must be the task of patiently explaining to every single worker the meaning of Roosevelt's actions last week. Patiently explain—that must be kept in mind as the workers are being mobilized to defend their rights.

If any further proof were needed that the troops were used solely against the workers at the North American Aviation plant, that proof is provided by Roosevelt's latest reassurances that the plant will quickly be returned to the bosses. Everything then will be as before—except that the strike was broken and the bosses came out victorious. That is what Roosevelt's "property seizure" boils down to—a method of government strikebreaking. Fortunately this is becoming very clear. Only the most reactionary forces in the country are still supporting Roosevelt's use of troops.

Not even the "Communist" issue, which Roosevelt was astute enough to exploit, has been sufficient to deceive the workers as to the significance of the government's moves against the unions. Philip Murray's statement repudiating a "red purge" in the unions is a step facilitating unity of all the workers against the main enemy—the bosses and their government agents.

Unity of the workers could have prevented Roosevelt from using troops. The task now is to make the unity of the workers so unbreakable as to prevent Roosevelt from repeating his moves of last week.

The immediate slogans of the labor movement are clear enough:

1. Against the use of the army to break strikes.
2. Against the "work or fight" draft order.

In making these slogans effective, a sharp struggle must be carried on against any labor leaders who directly or indirectly support Roosevelt's use of the army and the draft. Traitors like Frankenstein must be stigmatized and isolated so they can never repeat their infamies.

The fundamental error made when trade union leaders accepted appointment to the National Defense Mediation Board must be reversed. No more union fig-leaves on government strikebreaking! Demand the resignation of every trade union official from the Mediation Board, the OPM and other appointive posts in the government!

These are the necessary immediate steps in the struggle against government strikebreaking. They are important. They must be carried out.

Nevertheless, as the workers carry them out, they will come to realize that more than these immediate steps are required. A positive solution is needed to put an end altogether to government strikebreaking.

Such a positive solution requires the mobilization of the working class on the political field. It is time to end the contradiction between real unionism on the economic field and company unionism on the political field, as practiced by the bulk of the union leaders. Labor must end all ties with the boss parties. For Labor must set as its goal the leadership of the nation. Either the bosses or the workers will lead the nation—there is no third alternative. And boss-leadership—that means use of troops and the draft against the workers, as Roosevelt has just demonstrated.

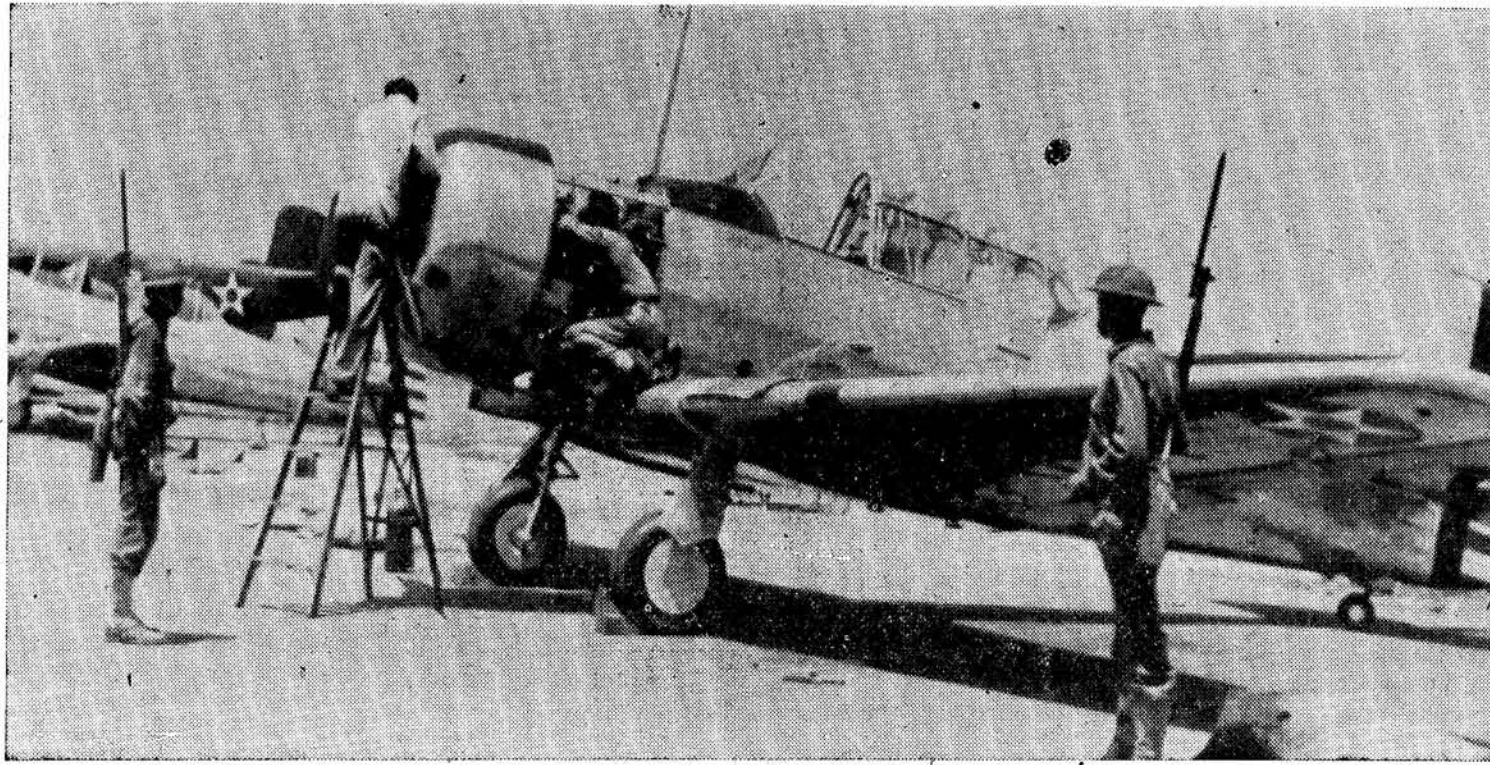
Let's put an end to boss-leadership of the nation. Build the Independent Labor Party!

An end to boss-leadership of the nation is not merely a matter of casting ballots and winning political posts in elections. Even more important is the question of control of production. The workers must boldly give a positive answer to the demand for uninterrupted production in the "national defense" industries. So long as the bosses control the factories, the workers must inevitably resist exploitation, whether the top union leaders approve or not. The employers will not and cannot keep on peaceful terms with the workers. So long as the bosses control the factories, production will be inevitably interrupted. The workers can guarantee uninterrupted production only when the bosses are removed from control of the factories.

Do you want uninterrupted production? Then let the government expropriate the factories but let the workers control production!

By all means let us carry out the immediate tasks necessary to halt government strikebreaking. Let us at the same time understand that government strikebreaking can be permanently ended only when the working class becomes the leader of the nation.

Army Intimidating Aviation Workers



This is how workers at the North American Aviation Corporation plant, Inglewood, California, are working under the bayonets of troops, after President Roosevelt smashed a CIO strike of 10,000 aircraft men last week with a force of 3500

regular army soldiers armed with all the weapons of modern warfare. Scenes like this are duplicated in the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe, but there they call it fascism and not democracy.

Minneapolis Teamsters Inspire CIO Midwest Organizing Drive

MINNEAPOLIS, June 17—The movement of the Teamsters out of the AFL and into the CIO, launched by Minneapolis General Drivers Union Local 544, when it voted by overwhelming majority on June 9th to quit Daniel J. Tobin's antiquated craft setup and join the CIO, was given tremendous impetus by the announcement at Chicago on Sunday by A. D. Lewis, National Chairman of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, that his organization plans "a streamlined CIO organizing campaign among the motor transport and allied workers of the entire midwest area," to bring them "into a modern, progressive industrial union."

Lewis said the offices from which the campaign will be directed will be established in Minneapolis this week. Present at the Chicago meeting, in addition

to A. D. Lewis, were Frank Branhart, Regional Director of the UCWOC; Lee Pressman, General Counsel for the CIO; a Committee from Local 544-CIO; Representatives of several AFL teamsters councils and local unions in the midwest area; and a group of CIO field organizers. Plans were laid at this conference for a series of meetings in Minneapolis to promote the organizational efforts of the new CIO motor transport movement, at which leading CIO officials are expected to speak.

This CIO call synchronized with the swing of new Teamsters locals away from the AFL and into the CIO following the lead of 544. Last Tuesday the Day Labor Section of the Ice Drivers Union, Local 221, unanimously voted to join Local 544-CIO and become part of the industrial union setup for Minneapolis motor transport workers. On Sunday, Local 778 of Austin, Minn., announced that its members had likewise voted unanimously to break with the AFL and apply for a CIO charter. The Austin local declared that its action was taken "because of the dictatorial attitude of Daniel J. Tobin against Local 544 of Minneapolis and other unions in this territory and because of lack of assistance from the International in time of trouble in the Austin area."

These moves have brought numerous requests from AFL Teamsters bodies throughout the country for information about the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union and the affiliation to the new movement of other important teamsters locals in the midwest area is expected this coming week.

ROOSEVELT AIDS TOBIN

In his desperate attempt to head off the growing revolt of the teamsters against his dictatorial regime, Tobin last week telegraphed the White House complaining that the CIO was raiding his organization and that "subversive organizations" were "working to destroy loyal trade-

unions."

Tobin concentrated his blast against the Socialist Workers Party which he accused of using the Teamsters Union to further the Trotskyist movement in this country, and "to mobilize the American masses for the struggle against American capitalists."

To help his political poodle-dog in the labor movement, Roosevelt issued a statement requesting trade-unions to refrain from "raiding" each others' territory and jurisdiction on the ground that it might affect the "national defense" program. A. D. Lewis declared that the CIO organizing drive would continue despite the President's warning and that the CIO would welcome new members whether they were former AFL teamsters or unorganized. One CIO official asked why the President didn't intervene against actual "raiding" when the AFL was trying to raid the CIO union at the Ford plant.

Local 544's Executive Board issued the following statement in reply to Tobin's charges and his appeal to Roosevelt:

"Mr. Tobin's appeal to President Roosevelt is only an admission of his own inability to cope with the growing rank and file revolt against his dictatorial rule and his hopes for governmental coercion against free men. He would probably

like President Roosevelt to call out federal troops to herd the 6,000 members of Local 544 back into the AFL. This 'labor leader' believes in forced union membership as well as forced labor. But the rank and file of Local 544 are fully aware of their legal right to belong to a union of their own choosing. They have made their choice democratically in a free and open meeting, and their choice is CIO.

"Tobin would like to represent the revolt of 544's membership as an isolated local movement engineered by a handful of 'radicals'—that is, people who don't agree with his bootlicking support of the Roosevelt administration in its repressive actions against the workers. The truth of the matter is that the great mass of the rank

and file of 544's membership as an isolated local movement engineered by a handful of 'radicals'—that is, people who don't agree with his bootlicking support of the Roosevelt administration in its repressive actions against the workers. The truth of the matter is that the great mass of the rank

(Continued on page 3)

C.I.O. Affiliates Notified To Act

Murray's Letter To CIO Unions Is Followed By Labor's Non-Partisan League Statement; Murray Repudiates "Purge" Of CIO Unions

The CIO has taken the first steps in a counter-offensive against Roosevelt's government strikebreaking and his use of federal troops against striking workers.

In response to the rising storm of protest against government strikebreaking from the ranks of the CIO local unions throughout the country, CIO President Philip Murray last week sent a letter to all CIO unions urging them to take action against the anti-labor bills being pushed by the Administration, the use of troops against strikers, the "work or fight" draft order, and the usurpation of the workers' rights by the National Mediation Board. (Text of Murray's letter appears on page 3.)

Murray followed this with another circular letter, Monday, repudiating the boss-inspired stories that "splits, purges, red-hunts" would take place in the CIO.

Murray struck out at the government's national "work or be drafted" order as extending "enforced labor to practically every major industrial plant."

Reflecting the growing awareness and pressure of the CIO membership against the strikebreaking function of the Mediation Board, Murray for the first time since he joined the Board warned against its dangers.

AIMED AT HILLMAN
In denying the story of a contemplated witch-hunt in the CIO, Murray was striking at Sidney Hillman, who is responsible for the newspaper rumor-campaign along this line.

Murray said that "a great many speculative and often highly fantastic stories have been printed in the public press about splits, purges, red-hunts, etc., taking place in the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

"...The CIO has never engaged in witch-hunting nor lent any credence or support to the efforts of labor's enemies to divide our ranks by malicious slanders of duly elected officers; and to create factional dissension by appeals to intolerant prejudice regarding differences among our membership."

The CIO letters and the LNPL bulletin will give little comfort to Roosevelt and the boss class, who had not counted on the tremendous pressure from the CIO ranks to move the CIO leaders.

Perhaps the most significant portion of Murray's first letter was his condemnation of the government's use of troops against strikers.

Murray's silence during the days when troops were smashing the aviation strike had previously made it appear that he was taking the same position as Richard Frankenstein, UAW-CIO International representative who ap-

Big Flint Auto Locals Condemn Frankenstein

FLINT, Mich., June 17—Two powerful locals of the UAW here replied this week to the strikebreaking of Richard Frankenstein, and to the red-baiting campaign of the Thomas-Reuther Frankenstein-Hillman clique in the CIO, by passing militant resolutions condemning the violation of democratic union principles by Frankenstein and attacking any attempts to kick out progressive unionists by bureaucratic purges.

The locals were Buick Local 599, representing 12,000 workers, the largest local in General Motors, and the Fisher Body Local 581, with 7,000 members.

They followed up their condemnation of Frankenstein's strikebreaking on the West Coast by making preparations for a huge mass meeting at the IMA auditorium in Flint in order to counteract the red-baiting and union-splitting campaign of Reuther-Thomas and Company and to demonstrate the militancy and unity of the fighting Flint workers.

The Buick resolution reads in part: "The Buick Local 599 con-

demns the flagrant violation of democratic rights by Frankenstein in ousting West Coast officers of the UAW without proper trial and hearing and in open violation of the constitutional rights of our union... and we go on record against any such dictatorial acts purging International Board members, CIO Council officers or local union officers, a-la-Homer Martin, under the pretense of red-baiting, since all officers are elected by the rank and

file in democratic vote and should be subject to removal only by the rank and file. Such purges, coming before the Buffalo convention, serve only the interests of the ambitious factionalists at the top."

REAL MILITANTS ACTIVE

In Detroit the Reuther crowd has been running rampant. The Stalinists by their vacillation, fear and lack of program, have left the militants in the lurch. But in Flint, the militant elements, free of Stalinist influence, have taken the bull by the horns and are giving Reuther not only a fitting answer but are launching a counter-offensive against the red-baiting, union splitting and strikebreaking of the Frankenstein type.

In Flint, as in Detroit, the Stal-

inists seem to have their tails between their legs. Fortunately, the militant unionists are not dependent on them for leadership, and there are thinking union men able and willing to defend the principles of democratic and militant unionism who have taken up the fight.

Many militants here, although they have no truck with the vacillations and treachery of the Stalinists, are firmly defending the right of anyone to union membership and the right to serve as officers no matter what their political belief.

FLINT PURGE EXPECTED

It is expected that the Reuther-Frankenstein combine will attempt to step in and oust local union officers in Flint, because of their long record of militancy and their strong stand in the Flint strike against General Motors which won the ten cent wage increase.

In preparation for such an eventuality, the local unions are preparing to publicize all the issues and conduct a real fight.

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.

Worker Shows How He Is Robbed By Bedaux System

EDITOR:

For many years I have been a white collar worker but, as you brought out in THE MILITANT a couple of weeks ago, many of us are going into the factories around here, I among them.

Since I've been in the plant I've learned a lot, but one thing I've learned which really burns me up—and that is how the Bedaux system of piece work operates to gyp the workers.

Under the Bedaux system, each operation on a piece of work is timed, and you get that many credits, or "B's." For example, if a certain operation on a piece of work is timed so that you get two minutes credit (or 2 B's) for it, and you do 240 pieces during your 8 hours of work you would get 480 minutes credits, or 480 B's. If your base rate is 60c. an hour, you would get 60c. an hour for that days work, or \$4.80.

But suppose I work harder and faster on those 240 pieces, so that I finish them in 6 hours, i. e., instead of going the regular speed of 30 pieces an hour, I do 40 pieces an hour, so that in 8 hours, I put out not 240 pieces, but 320 pieces, i. e. 1 1/3 as much production in the same 8 hours.

You would assume, as I did, that I should get 1 1/3 times as much pay or 80c. an hour for

those 8 hours, making \$6.40 for that day.

But, no — I discovered that for the B's I make over the 480 (for which I get my base rate, 60c. an hour), I actually am paid less, much less than my base rate. For the B's over 480, I learned that the company pays 75c. per 100 B's!

For 160 B's extra that I produced, I earned not \$1.60, but \$1.20, i. e. 25% less. In other words, for the extra production we put out, we work at a 25% wage cut! Put most simply, here's the way it looks:

Regular and base rate pay: 60c. for 60 B's, i. e. 1c. for 1 B.
Pay for B's over 480: 75c. for 100 B's, i. e. 3/4c for 1 B.

If that isn't robbery, I don't know what is!

Most of the men in the plant are not aware of the wage cut they take on the extra production they put out. When I pointed this out to one of the men (who has been there over 10 years!) he said: "You're right, but what can we do?"

The answer was simple: Let's get some union talk going here and get a union contract which will eliminate this 25% cut which we take on extra production.

The bosses are always screaming: "More production, more production!" Sure they want more production, especially when they pay us 25% less for it.

A machine operator
New Haven, Conn.

Detroit Auto Unions Make New Gains

Michigan Governor Apes LaGuardia In Strikebreaking Move

DETROIT—Settlement of many controversies between the UAW-CIO and the corporations took place this week, and in every instance the union won wage increases and other concessions.

The Budd Wheel company was forced to grant an 8 cent wage increase, with a provision that should the Department of Labor price index rise 5% in the next 6 months, negotiations on wages would be reopened.

The Bohn Aluminum strike was called off pending negotiations with the National Demos-Mediation Board, following a terrific campaign of intimidation in the press and implied threats of calling in troops.

The Tool and Die situation seemed to be reaching a settlement, with probable wage increase, and other improvements to be the result. A proposed agreement is being voted on shortly.

WAGGONER'S STRIKEBREAKING

The strike last week of the State Liquor Dispensary workers, saw a repetition by the so-called friend of labor, Democratic Governor Murray D. Van Waggoner, of the strikebreaking dictatorship of Mayor LaGuardia in New York. Just as LaGuardia told the Transport Workers that they could not strike against the government, and has made every effort to smash the union, Van Waggoner issued a proclamation, when the state liquor employees went on strike, telling the workers they could not strike against the government and that they were all forfeiting their jobs if they stayed away from work for two days.

The State County and Municipal Employees Union (CIO) was forced to send the workers back to work pending negotiations of their demands for wage increases.

WAGE-FREEZING FOUGHT

Meanwhile the Chrysler and Plymouth workers, who accepted a new contract with wage increases, launched a strong protest movement against the freezing of wages, as their new contracts provide for one year stationary wage. At a large mass meeting of Chrysler workers at Highland Park, the workers protested against the frozen wage provisions and condemned the International officers for forcing such a provision on the membership.

The Plymouth local printed a special supplement to the *Auto Worker*, condemning the freezing of wages and also protested the actions of the International officers in forcing this down the workers' throats.

FLINT LOCAL'S PROPOSAL

The best answer to this problem has come from the strong Buick Local No. 599 in Flint which, on June 14 at a membership meeting passed a resolution to be forwarded to the Buffalo convention demanding that the International be instructed to include in every contract the following clause:

"Wages in this agreement shall be automatically raised 5% when the U.S. Department of Labor price index raises 5% and shall thereafter be raised 5% for every 5% price rise as shown by the Department of Labor index."

Cafeteria Workers Still Negotiating With N. Y. Bosses

Local 302 Cafeteria Employees Union of New York, held its strike weapon in abeyance as negotiations with the Affiliated Restaurateurs Inc., proceeded in an atmosphere favorable toward the union demands. Negotiations had been resumed at just about the strike deadline date during the middle of last week.

The major union demands included a minimum two dollar general wage increase for all workers, the seven hour day for women, and the elimination of wage differentials, the same pay for the same work in all cafeterias, chains and independents alike.

"Peace" in Marseilles



Conditions in France, under the rule of the former "democrats" of the Vichy regime who have made their peace with Hitler, are shown in this scene of Marseilles housewives standing in line waiting for food outside a store in the French seaport, in unoccupied France. Thousands of similar scenes may be witnessed today throughout France.

Negro March On Capital Upheld Against Critics

Albert Parker Answers the Pittsburgh Courier's Editorial; Stalinists Change Their Line, Now Concede March's Value

By ALBERT PARKER

The July 1 March on Washington to demand the abolition of discrimination against the Negro people in employment and the armed forces is a project worthy of the support of every Negro and white worker. It is worthy of support in spite of the fact that its organizers (A. Philip Randolph and his friends) have not done too well a job of arousing and mobilizing the Negro masses behind it, and in spite of the fact that its demands are not formulated very well.

The March is worthy of support because essentially it is an ACTION against the system of Jim Crowism that segregates and discriminates against Negroes wherever they go.

The Negro masses themselves have had no difficulty in seeing this. Everywhere, the local March-on-Washington Committees report the workers, whenever they have been reached, have dug into their pockets and donated and volunteered for the march — and the questions they have asked have not been: "Should we support the March?" but "How can we make this March more successful?"

ANSWERING THE COURIER. A parade will not tell the Washington Administration anything they do not already know about the evil effects of Jim Crowism on the Negro people. If all the parade were intended for was to make the Congressmen "aware of the evil," it would indeed be a waste of time. But this line of argument, as the *Courier* editors know well enough, doesn't really touch the point of the March.

A successful and gigantic demonstration in Washington that presented a militant set of demands on the administration, a demonstration that showed that the Negro people are ready to do more than send telegrams, that showed they are ready to fight Jim Crow—that would certainly tell Washington something it doesn't already know!

The *Courier* editorial writer describes "the most effective way of influencing Congress and the Administration." What has come of this "most effective way"?

THE COURIER'S ALIBI

In order to justify this language, which is an exact language that will be used by the Negro-hating poll tax Democratic legislators in Washington on July 1, the *Courier* editorial writer continues: "Led by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, which has spent thousands of dollars during the past four years in enlightening public opinion about color discrimination in national defense, colored people have so flooded their Congressmen, Senators and the President with protests that not a single official in Washington is unaware of the evil. "Can a parade tell them anything they do not already know? "Randolph's group is loudly claiming that they will have between 50,000 and 100,000 Negroes parading in Washington on July 1, 1941."

"This will be a great boon to the railroad companies and to the oil and gas stations in Washington and vicinity, but it will certainly be a hardship on the marchers. "The most effective way of influencing Congress and the Administration is by personal letters and telegrams from individuals, societies, church congregations, clubs and fraternities; by memorials and resolutions sent to both Houses and by intelligent personal representations."

And the rest of the editorial is devoted to the fact that even 1,000 Negroes would swamp the

Cleveland Negroes Force Telephone Co To Hire Negroes

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The Future Outlook League, Cleveland's militant Negro organization under the leadership of John O. Holly, won another victory when it forced the Ohio Bell Telephone Company to agree to the hiring of 25 Negro men and women in semi-skilled jobs.

The FOL maintained a strong picket line for weeks before the company's downtown offices and the company was bombarded with telephone calls. One of the banners read: "We want to work with democracy before we have to die for it."

The company at first refused to negotiate with the FOL while they were being picketed, bombarded with phone calls and the company alleged, suffering from wire cutting by "unknown" parties. Finally, after the NAACP and Urban League had lined up solidly with the FOL, the company capitulated to the united Negro forces.

IER'S editorial writer, and calls on all workers to join and to build the March on Washington into a powerful manifestation of the Negroes' intention to fight to the death against all forms of Jim Crow.

The same day that the *Courier* broke its silence on the March to come out against it, the *Daily Worker* and the Communist Party broke their silence to come out in critical support of the March.

WHY STALINISTS CHANGED

The long silence of the Stalinists on the question indicated that they would have been glad to duck it altogether. That this was so was shown by the hands-off attitude of the local Stalinists where ever the March was being organized.

However, their failure to find a reason to justify non-support of the march, and the pressure they must have felt from those Negro workers with whom they are in contact, must have driven them at the last moment to a declaration of qualified support. Just what else they will do besides this remains yet to be seen.

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WHERE WE STAND
The Socialist Workers Party rejects the defeatist, non-struggle policies of the COUR-

War Chest Hits Quarter-Mark, Behind Schedule

During this, the third week of the War Chest campaign, \$524 came in, bringing the total to nearly one-fourth of the \$10,000.

But the passage of three weeks means one-third of the time of the campaign, which ends on August 1. And that means that money is coming in behind schedule—which is an old tradition in campaigns, with branches rushing the last weeks to come in under the wire. It is time, however, that we junked this tradition. These are blitzkrieg times.

St. Paul leads the field. In second place is Reading, whose methods might very well be duplicated by the other small branches: it may be only a dollar bill at a time, but Reading makes a practice of sending something in, two or three times a week.

The other branches which are on schedule time are Buffalo, Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston.

One reason why the War Chest is behind schedule is that over a third of the branches are still in the goose-egg list. If each of these branches had sent in whatever it has at hand, we'd be on schedule. Let's hear from these twelve offenders.

Six more weeks to go! Speed it up!

\$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
St. Paul	\$300.00	\$165.00	55%
Reading	25.00	13.30	53
Buffalo	60.00	25.00	41
Cleveland	150.00	60.00	40
St. Louis	25.00	10.00	40
Boston	350.00	93.00	30
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	292.33	26
Flint	200.00	50.00	25
Chicago	1200.00	289.62	24
Quakertown	25.00	6.00	24
Philadelphia	125.00	29.00	23
Newark	500.00	112.00	22
New York City	2500.00	546.28	22
Allentown	25.00	5.00	20
Detroit	500.00	85.00	17
Minneapolis	1200.00	200.50	17
Portland	30.00	5.00	17
San Diego	100.00	5.00	5
New Haven	50.00	1.50	3
Los Angeles	500.00	0.00	0
Youngstown	150.00	0.00	0
Akron	50.00	0.00	0
Fresno	50.00	0.00	0
Rochester	50.00	0.00	0
Toledo	50.00	0.00	0
Pittsburgh	40.00	0.00	0
Louisiana	25.00	0.00	0
Seattle	25.00	0.00	0
Texas	20.00	0.00	0
Baltimore	10.00	0.00	0
Milwaukee	10.00	0.00	0
Members-at-Large	555.00	417.00	75
TOTALS	10,000.00	\$2411.03	24%



SUBS ARE COMING IN A LITTLE TOO SLOWLY

We were hoping for a minimum of one hundred regular subscriptions to THE MILITANT this month of June, but seem to be lagging behind the proportion we should be able to record in the middle of the month. There is still time, however, for our hard-working branches to catch up and we urge them to grab hold and see what can be done in the next two weeks.

The business of getting subscriptions is not the forbidding job we used to consider it. The fact that each day subscriptions come to the New York office accompanied by the blank clipped from THE MILITANT which advertises the rates indicates that the paper itself is sufficient to arouse in its readers a desire to become permanent readers. We are confident that a serious application of the branches to the job of visiting people whose subscriptions have expired would result in a pretty high proportion of renewals these days.

The record for subscriptions thus far this month is:

Minneapolis	5
New York	4
Detroit	3
New Castle	3
Youngstown	3
Chicago	2
Los Angeles	2
Baltimore	1
Cleveland	1
Frisco	1
Kansas City	1
Louisiana	1
Montana	1
North Dakota	1
Philadelphia	1
Reading	1
St. Paul	1
Venice, Cal.	1
Miscellaneous	1

MILITANT SALESMAN REPORTS HIS EXPERIENCES

One of our correspondents writes us the following story:

"At a trade union meeting we had a little fun. Three of us were selling the paper and I suppose too many people were taking it to please the Stalinist leaders, so one of the C. P.'ers collected the papers from the people inside the door. The others, however, put the papers in their pockets. We made one good contact regardless. Incidentally, when we hawk, we shout out our identity; so far no physical bangups. We sent the Y. C. L. issue of THE MILITANT to our Stalinist contacts."

"At the Metal Polishers and Buffers Union I got a swell response. One fellow-worker gave me a dime; another went into the meeting of strikers and we had a story on their strike. Incidentally, the strikers were well pleased with the article. In fact, the boys invited me to picket with them. The party is really going to contact the boys on strike."

"The quality of THE MILITANT and the fact that we have had local strikes written up in its columns convinces me that the paper can be used as a real organizer. The strikers are just as anxious to read their story in THE MILITANT as we are."

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HIGHLIGHTS IN THE LABOR PRESS BY CARL O'SHEA

Because the U.S. government pays draftees a scabby wage, the Cleveland Carpenters Union Local 182 has voted to supplement the wages of its members drafted into the army. Working members of Local 182 will make quarterly contributions to the fund for enlisted members.

The whole labor movement should initiate a campaign demanding that the government raise the grossly inadequate wages paid draftees.

The Burlington LABOR NEWS juxtaposes two front-page headlines which tell a whole of a story. The first is "AFL PUTS TEETH INTO NO-STRIKE DEFENSE POLICY." The second is "DEFINITE APPROACH TO SLAVERY SEEN IN ANTI-STRIKE BILLS."

The AFL executive council wants us to agree peacefully to enslavement. That is the major difference today between a Green and a Vinson.

The SOCIALIST CALL publishes an article purportedly attacking Max Eastman's renegacy from socialism. The CALL writer shows what a staunch fighter for socialism HE is by stating that "It is recognized that orthodox Marxism is a hopelessly inadequate basis for scientific social engineering." Eastman finds another convert.

The St. Louis UNION LABOR ADVOCATE regards with completely justifiable suspicion a new boss anti-labor outfit organized in that city, the "Citizens Committee for Industrial Americanism." Main aim of this outfit is to paint every union, every strike and every picket line as communist-controlled. Ralph Toensfeldt, city electrical engineer under former Mayor Miller, is president of the "Citizens Committee" which he boasts "has the moral support of a number of manufacturers."

The LABOR ADVOCATE sees in this Citizens Committee the fore-runner of the Open Shop "American Plan" union-smashing outfits organized by the bosses and encouraged by the government after the First World War.

Green thinks by talking such

Frankenstein's Alibi For Roosevelt

Frankenstein's Story Won't Get Very Far At The UAW Buffalo Convention

The most grotesque figure in American public life today is Richard T. Frankenstein. In collaboration with his colleagues of the International executive board of the UAW-CIO, Frankenstein flew to Los Angeles to break the North American Aviation strike. He also had the considerable aid of a telegram from Philip Murray, siding with him in condemning the strike. Frankenstein was approvingly on the scene as the troops marched in. That was Monday, June 9th. Two more days went by and apparently the whole business had been completed smoothly. Whereupon on the afternoon of June 11th, Frankenstein made a formal statement to the press approving and defending the use of the troops. Frankenstein woke up the next day to discover that he had been left holding the bag.

He had been too preoccupied in conferring with the Army officers, perhaps, to notice what was happening. But a ground swell had risen in Detroit and Flint, in the steel mills and the coal mines, and wherever there are CIO workers; they knew which side of the class line they are on; the torrent of red-baiting propaganda of press and radio rolled over them and left no mark. Local unions everywhere began to voice their feelings. Now a new torrent raged—the angry torrent of proletarian resentment against the Army strikebreaking in Inglewood, California. That torrent found its way into CIO headquarters. The morning after Frankenstein had approved the use of the troops, the national CIO office was mailing a letter to all CIO affiliates condemning the use of the troops. A day later came the even sharper condemnation of Roosevelt's use of troops issued from John L. Lewis' office as Chairman of Labor's Non Partisan League.

Every cowardly trade union bureaucrat in the CIO who on Monday was perfectly ready to approve Roosevelt's use of troops was running for cover by Thursday. Frankenstein, however, is in no position to run for cover; neither is R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW-CIO, nor, at the least, a majority of the UAW-CIO International executive board who worked closely with Frankenstein throughout this foul business. Frankenstein is not likely to permit any of his accomplices to get out from under. Frankenstein will want as much company as he can muster when he faces the delegates to the UAW-CIO convention in Buffalo in a few weeks.

Among the employers, of course, and the top AFL bureaucracy and the Hillman gang, Frankenstein and his associates will have defenders. You can also be sure that a Gallup poll will find "prevailing" sentiment, "even in lower income groups," for the use of troops. But, we predict with confidence, Frankenstein will find defenders few and far between among the auto workers at the Buffalo convention.

Frankenstein's Approval of the Army's Action

Presumably in defending his approval of the use of troops, Frankenstein will repeat at the convention the case he made for it to the press. Here, then, is his argument, quoted verbatim from an Associated Press dispatch, dated Los Angeles, June 11 (we found it in the early editions of the June 12th New York Herald Tribune; it was cut out of the later editions when, perhaps, it was already known that CIO President Murray was officially condemning the use of the troops):

"I take this opportunity," Mr. Frankenstein said, "to publicly recognize the action of the United States government and Army which was taken in this situation in the national interest. The action of the Army under Col. Branshaw has been completely fair. There has been no abuse of power and no violation of individual rights."

Text Of Murray's Letter To CIO Units, On Roosevelt's Strikebreaking Moves

WASHINGTON, June 12—President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations today sent the following letter to all CIO national and international unions and organizing committees, regional directors and industrial union councils:

Dear Sir and Brother:

Within the last week a number of events have occurred which are of far-reaching importance to every working man and woman in this nation. These events have contributed greatly to aggravating the national hysteria which has prevailed for some time and in the face of which the future existence and well-being of labor unions and millions of their members are being gravely threatened.

In Congress there are pending several bills which aim toward the repression and extinction of labor unions and the rights of workers. In the House of Representatives there is the Vinson bill, H. R. 1439, which is to come up for consideration within a week or so. This bill would freeze the existing wage standards and employment conditions in American industry and would impose compulsory arbitration in industrial relations.

VICIOUS BILLS

In addition, the House of Representatives only a few days ago approved two riders to a military appropriation measure, pursuant to which the National Defense Mediation Board will be made an instrument for the imposition of compulsory arbitration on all labor. Those who would remain on strike in violation of the Mediation Board's award could not be reemployed at any plant producing material under government contract.

These bills are vicious and have but a single intent—to de-

stroy organized labor. They must be fought and defeated.

In the Senate, the Connally amendment has been added to the conscription law. Under this amendment all plants and mills in which there is any strike or stoppage may be taken over by the United States government. This amendment does not purport to afford any protection to the rights of labor when such plants are taken over by the government. In other words, the amendment is intended solely to inject the government into every industrial dispute, with the threat that if the workers engage in a strike the plant will be seized by the United States government, the strike broken and the rights of the workers destroyed, following which the plant would be returned to the management.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

This measure is the most flagrant attempt to wipe out all rights and benefits which the workers of the nation and labor unions have obtained down through the years through bitter struggles. This measure must also be vigorously fought and defeated.

PERVERTED DRAFT LAW

Secretary of War Stimson and General Hersey, the Acting Director of the conscription law, recently issued a national order under which all local draft boards were directed to re-examine and cancel deferments of strikers. This order extends enforced labor to practically every major industrial plant without regard for labor's rights or the merits of any industrial dispute. It constitutes a flagrant abuse of the conscription law and an open breach of faith with labor.

The perversion of the conscription law to the establishment of

"I disapprove of use of troops which are legitimately called as a last resort. This position is shared by and practiced by the President of the United States. As Governor of New York State, he never saw fit to use troops against labor. In his eight years as Chief Executive of our nation, he has never used troops against labor."

"But no honorable citizen, be he union member or not, can disapprove of the President's position in refusing to tolerate the wildcat strike precipitated by the enemies of our nation."

Let us analyze this argument of Frankenstein's, for the answer to him is also the answer to Roosevelt, the capitalists and their kept press, the William Greens and Hillmans.

Frankenstein Is A Traitor To His Class

1. Frankenstein deliberately sows confusion by lumping together two fundamentally different questions: (a) the question as to whether or not the North American Aviation strike was justifiable and good union strategy; (b) the use of troops by Roosevelt against the strike. On this deliberate confusion of two very different questions, Frankenstein in all likelihood will depend in the main at the Buffalo convention. Every trade unionist must understand that these are two different questions.

That these are two very different questions is clear enough from Philip Murray's position. Murray condemned the strike as unjustified and demanded that the strikers return to work; but he condemns the use of troops to break the strike.

The basic point is very clear. Had Frankenstein confined himself to denouncing the strike as unjustified, calling upon the strikers to go back to work, etc., the ground he would have been standing on is that of a difference on policy between him and the strikers. He would have remained within the limits of the labor movement. When, however, he went on to approve the use of troops to break the strike, he became a traitor to the working class.

2. Frankenstein's argument that Roosevelt's record proves that this was a very special case of using troops falls to the ground as soon as one realizes that the National Guard is now part of the Regular Army. Sure, Roosevelt never before officially used troops against labor. He didn't have to. At a nod from him the governors of the states where the strikes were, would call out the National Guard. This happened—to mention the two most important examples—in the national textile strike of 1934 and the Little Steel strike of 1937. Would Frankenstein dare claim, for example, that the New Dealer, Governor Davey of Ohio, used National Guard troops against the steel workers, without a prior understanding with Roosevelt? Now, however, with the National Guard incorporated into the Army and no longer available to the governors, Roosevelt had to take openly upon himself the responsibility for calling out the troops.

What Frankenstein Deliberately Conceals

3. Frankenstein covers up the fact that, far from being a special case, the use of troops at Inglewood has set a precedent for future strikes—including "strikes which are legitimately called as a last resort." The text of the President's order dispatching the troops gives three reasons for so doing: (1) the "national emergency" (2) government contracts and government-owned materials in the plant (3) the refusal of the striking union to continue agreeing not to strike throughout an indefinite period of negotiations and mediation. There is nothing peculiar about these three conditions at the North American Aviation plant; any or all these conditions will be true in every other important plant. A strike "legitimately called as a last resort"—which Frankenstein pretends would not be touched by Roosevelt—could be smashed by the Army with perfect logic, if one granted the three conditions laid down by Roosevelt. All this Frankenstein deliberately obscures.

enforced labor in the United States is deeply repugnant to the American way of doing things. This action is intended to break strikes regardless of the full merits of labor's demands in the particular dispute. The order is in violation of the basic principles of the conscription law and projects against its continuation must be made.

Democracy, with its basic and fundamental institutions, is under serious attack. The CIO, its affiliated unions and its millions of members are determined to defeat any attempt to undermine or diminish the protection afforded to Americans in the exercise of their basic constitutional and democratic rights under our American way of life. Those who lend themselves to repress the rights and privileges of Americans are the enemies of democracy. Those who commit acts which add to the current hysteria are merely furnishing aid to the enemies of democracy.

USE OF ARMY

The injection of armed forces of the nation into a private industrial dispute must also be condemned. Such action can only serve to create a status of enforced labor in this nation, and enforced labor can only create bitterness on the part of working people. Repression and the use of force are not the methods that can be or will be countenanced by the American people for the establishment of wholesome and sound industrial relations. This is not the American way, or consistent with democracy.

The CIO and its affiliated organizations are dedicated to a single objective—to obtain a better life for the working men and women of this nation through increased wages and improved working conditions. The CIO unions must and shall continue to work for the fulfillment of this objective. At the present time the rising corporate profits and the increasing cost of living of the working people amply justify the demands of the workers for increased wages and improved working conditions.

In seeking this goal the workers must continue to enjoy their fundamental right to strike. This right cannot and must not be impaired by government officials or legislative action. No mediation board, which has as its function

to mediate labor disputes, should usurp or be given the authority to impose compulsory arbitration or to interfere in any way with the basic rights of labor. There should not and cannot be any justification for governmental action or legislative enactment which would interfere with or diminish the basic rights of labor.

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CALL TO ACTION

It is now our joint task to take immediate action through our national organizations, our local unions and our individual members in communicating with our representatives in Congress and public officials and advising them of our attitude and our views in these important situations. Only in this manner can your rights and interests be protected and the survival of democracy assured.

This action must be taken at once. It is only with your full support and cooperation that the past successes of the Congress of Industrial Organizations can be protected and our future expansion assured.

Fraternally yours,
PHILIP MURRAY, President
Congress of Industrial Organizations

Land-Going Admirals



Land-going officers of the U. S. Navy shown leading a few hundred scabs into one of the 11 struck San Francisco shipyards in an unsuccessful attempt to break the strike of 1900 AFL and CIO machinists. The strikers have resisted the combined strikebreaking intervention of the National Mediation Board, the OPM, the Navy Department and top AFL officials. The walkout began on May 8.

4. "The action of the Army under Col. Branshaw has been completely fair," says Frankenstein. By this he defends the dismissal or suspension of all the leading strikers and their being called up for reclassification by the draft board as no longer subject to deferment. Here, too, Frankenstein deliberately confuses two very different questions: (a) disciplinary action taken by a union against members found guilty of offenses against the union; and (b) the beheading of the local union by summary action of the employer and the Army.

The constitution of the UAW-CIO lays down procedure for disciplining a member. Written charges must be filed, a trial committee set up, the accused provided with adequate opportunity to defend himself, etc. etc. Nothing of the sort happened at Inglewood. It was not the union but the employer and the Army which acted against these men. It was not a union's disciplinary action, but a boss' beheading of a union. A man who dares to confuse the fundamental distinction between union discipline and boss-army discipline certainly isn't fit to be a union official.

Frankenstein's Framup of the Strikers

5. The above analysis of the anti-labor meaning of Frankenstein's argument can be accepted both by those union men who consider the North American Aviation strike justifiable and those who do not. Even if the strike was poorly conceived, stupidly executed, conducted under conditions which a more intelligent leadership would have avoided, Frankenstein stands condemned as a traitor to his class. But the whole story damns Frankenstein even more.

He dares to call this strike, a strike waged against an employer who has never granted a union contract, a strike voted by the overwhelming majority of the local union's membership, by secret ballot in accordance with the UAW-CIO constitution—he dares to call this a "wildcat strike"! The UAW International executive board might, with some show of plausibility, term "wildcat" a strike waged against an employer who has signed a contract which has not yet expired—although such strikes often are justified when the employer is not living up to the contract. Or "wildcat" could be applied where a minority has precipitated a strike. But by what logic can this strike be called wildcat?

Frankenstein forgets that this word smells in the nostrils of the auto workers! They remember its use by the notorious Dillon, William Green's appointee to the head of the UAW. They remember Homer Martin's similar strikebreaking practices. Frankenstein will have to take Col. Branshaw and his troops into the Buffalo convention to get away with that one!

6. Finally, Frankenstein asserts, in frameup terms identical with the vilest capitalist sheet, that the strike was "precipitated by the enemies of our nation." By this he means, as he made clear in other statements, the Communist Party. And his animus against the Communist Party, it is plain to see, is not that of a militant unionist who objects to Stalinist policy because it doesn't help the working class, but the animus of a capitalist-minded scissorbill. It is "our nation"—the "our" includes him and J. H. Kindelberger, the anti-union president of the company, but it doesn't include the young militants who led the strike—that he is worried about, and not the American working class.

Let Frankenstein explain, then, why so many thousands of upstanding young American workers insisted on following these "enemies of our nation" through thick and thin, despite all the fiendish pressure exerted by Roosevelt, all the capitalist agencies of propaganda, and last but not least, the trade union bureaucrats.

The truth is very simple: these workers wanted a union contract, including a raise from the miserable wages they were getting, negotiations had been dragging on since April 16, the young workers had a healthy suspicion that continuance of mediation would get them nowhere, and they proceeded to use labor's only real weapon, the strike.

When workers have thus democratically decided to strike, only police-minds attribute their strike to "agitators"—and that, precisely, is the kind of mind displayed by Frankenstein. Wherever policemen may conceivably belong, they don't belong in the leadership of unions. At the Buffalo convention, let us hope, the auto workers will release Frankenstein for a calling more suitable to his mentality—and with him all those who were his accomplices in aiding Roosevelt to smash the North American Aviation strike.

Left Jobs

By CORT

The New South Wales Parliament met last month to consider the question of building civilian air-raid shelters and, according to the N. Y. Times, was upset at the cost of such projects. In the midst of the deliberations, a member from North Sydney spoke up with the suggestion that the sewers be used for this purpose. The sewers were plenty large enough to hold the men and women and children of South Wales, he assured the Parliament, and more important, they were already built. Think of the money saved!

It looked like the gentleman from North Sydney had saved the day and there was enthusiasm and congratulations on all sides. Suddenly, however, somebody asked, "What will we do with the sewage?"

As yet we have received no report on who won shelter from the bombers—the people or the sewage.

Al Smith has made up with FDR. Not only has he been thumping the war drums and calling for national unity behind the President, but last week he even made a social visit to his erstwhile enemy. The newspapers have been wondering if the two of them "buried the hatchet."

Sure they did—right in the workers' backs.

Workers in nine New York bottling plants of the Cola-Cola company have gone on strike and the bosses are trying to figure out how they can assert that "national defense" is being sabotaged.

CIO Teamsters Launch Drive

(Continued from page 1)

and file truck drivers throughout the nation hate the name of dictator Tobin. They welcome the revolt against him and the beginning of reorganization in a modern, progressive industrial union—the CIO.

Local 544 was mainly instrumental in organizing 200,000 of these workers in the Central States area. That was a crime in the eyes of Tobin because he fears expanding organization can't be controlled by his antiquated, horse-and-buggy conceptions of unionism. At the Washington convention of the Teamsters International we fought and defeated Tobin's monstrous proposal to give him power to impose compulsory arbitration on all locals in their disputes with employers. We also voted against his wholly undeserved \$10,000 increase of yearly salary. Local 544 rejected the demand of Tobin that he be allowed to appoint a dictator-receiver over the union with arbitrary power to remove its elected officials and regulate all its affairs. We consistently refused to support or have any part in Tobin's raids on the Brewery Workers Union. These are the real crimes of Local 544.

Tobin's red-baiting charges are the same old red-herring which Minneapolis employers have been dragging across the trail for the past seven years as Tobin and everybody else knows.

"Local 544 is asserting the democratic right of a local union to elect its own officers and affiliate with a national organization of its own choosing. Thousands upon thousands of other truck-drivers throughout the country will follow them. They know, as well as we, that the CIO is today the great progressive banner of labor, beneath which the mass of workers can really go forward to a better day."

TOBIN'S HENCHMEN ARRIVE

The teamsters of Minneapolis and the Northwest have been especially incensed by a Tobin statement that "we have \$6,000,000 in our defense fund, and if we have to spend it all to keep our locals in the AFL, we are going to do it. We're going to shoot the works."

Although Tobin has consistently refused for years to give a cent of financial assistance to teamsters locals in their strike struggles against the bosses, he is now willing to spend six million dollars to fight against the teamsters themselves.

BOSSSES BACK TOBIN

The Minneapolis bosses, who are working hand-in-glove with

Tobin and Republican Governor Stassen, climaxed their month-and-a-half refusal to sign new contracts with 544 by getting a court injunction forbidding 544 to take any strike action without giving the 10 days notice required by the Stassen slave-labor law. This move came after a conference of the officials of the Associated Industries with Dave Beck. Negotiations of 544-CIO with certain sections of the bosses, however, are in active progress.

STALINISTS HELP TOBIN

Bringing up the rear in this reactionary combination against 544 were the Stalinist leaders of the weak local and state CIO council. Both the Hennepin County Industrial Union Council, dominated by the Stalinists, and Leonard Lageman, State Secretary of the CIO, publicly attacked the leadership of 544. Louverne Noon, Local CIO Council Secretary, declared "it becomes reasonably evident that this is not a battle between CIO and AFL, but is rather a showdown fight between the Beck-Tobin forces and those of the Dunne Brothers of 544." Lageman asserted that "the leadership of 544 will have to carry out the policies of the CIO or they will have to be removed. Our unions are run democratically."

The Northwest Organizer, 544 weekly advised these self-appointed dictators that they get in touch with Tobin and ask him how he is feeling after his ill-starred attempt to "remove" the duly elected officials of Local 544.

"Unions that are run democratically are unions which select their own leaders and permit no one else to interfere," the Organizer said. "Local 544 is such a union; if it wouldn't stand for the threats and orders of a real dictator like Tobin, what chance has a pint-sized imitation in Minneapolis to push in his nose without getting it caught in a wringer?"

BATTLE LINES FORMING

Formidable forces have been lined up against 544-CIO.

544 on its side has the allegiance of the bulk of the Minneapolis teamsters, the confidence of the most militant progressives in the Northwest, a tested and trusted leadership, its great traditions of victorious struggle, and the material and moral support of the great modern progressive CIO movement to pit against Tobin and the bosses' coalition. These are mighty forces and there is every reason to believe that with them 544 can beat back all attacks and go forward to build a great new motor transport workers organization from coast to coast under the banner of the CIO.

Lundeberg Violated Union Policy By Being Anti-Bridges Witness

Sailors Union Of The Pacific Is Clearly On Record Against Aiding In Deportation

By JOHN FREIS

SAN FRANCISCO, June 13—Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, made an unpardonable mistake this week when he informed the prosecutors for the Department of Justice that Harry Bridges had solicited his (Lundeberg's) membership in the Communist Party and that Bridges admitted membership himself.

True or false, Lundeberg's testimony will weigh heavily in the decision on the deportation of Harry Bridges from the United States. The fact that Lundeberg appeared at the Bridges hearing as an unwilling witness who had made every effort to avoid appearing, the fact that Lundeberg despite repeated efforts of both defense and prosecution to put him on the stand in this and the previous hearings had deliberately resisted all such efforts—all combines to lend undue importance to Lundeberg's statements at the close of the current hearing.

Lundeberg's testimony delivers a double blow at the militant Sailors Union of the Pacific, whose interests Lundeberg was, in such mistaken fashion, trying to protect:

To bear witness against another labor leader (even an opponent) before a boss court violates the entire spirit and tradition of the SUP. It has long been a fundamental, if unwritten principle, of the SUP, that conflicts in the labor movement should be settled in and by the labor movement and not by capitalist courts.

No better weapon of attack could be given the Stalinists against the SUP, which they are determined to destroy, than Lundeberg's testimony against Bridges. The Stalinists will utilize Lundeberg's testimony to back up their thoroughly false claim that Lundeberg has "sold out" to the shipowners. They will cover their own treachery on the waterfront by pointing to Lundeberg's testimony as an "obstacle" to militant policies. They will use these statements of Lundeberg to confuse and cover up the real issues on the west coast waterfront. If Bridges is deported, the Stalinists will seek to cover up their own internal corruption which produced the renegades from the C.P. who were the main witnesses against Bridges, by pointing to the testimony of Harry Lundeberg.

HOW IT HAPPENED

What can Lundeberg say in his own defense?

First: that the Sailors Union up and down the Pacific Coast had granted him authorization to testify in the trial and had given him a vote of confidence the night before his appearance at the Bridges hearing.

This is a half-truth. The membership of the Sailors Union voted confidence in Lundeberg, in this instance, only on the basis of the policy adopted at the first Bridges deportation hearing, a policy which has not been changed up to now.

THE REAL SUP POLICY

That policy, adopted Monday July 17, 1939, in SUP headquarters meeting and printed in the

Protesting Transfer Of Ships



Members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) shown picketing on the New York pier of the Morgan Lines after 500 ILA workers struck in protest against the sale of the Line's entire fleet of 10 ships to the government. The transfer has netted the company \$2,300,000, but left the workers jobless.

strike a blow against the unions themselves.

A VICIOUS PRECEDENT

Now that Lundeberg himself has helped to establish this precedent of using the courts to settle internal labor disputes, what will he say when a Stalinist or a phony patriot informs on him or some other militant in the SUP in a boss court? What will he say when the government tries to enact into law a procedure that persecutes in the courts union members for militant activity? And these men will not be Stalinist henchmen but genuine union mil-

itants whose only crime will be fighting for the interests of the workers against the attacks of the bosses and their government.

THERE IS NO EXCUSE

Third: Lundeberg was obliged to appear in court or face prosecution and possibly a jail sentence for contempt of court. That is true. But that in no way excuses him from relating the anecdote (which may or may not be true) about Bridges' attempt to recruit him for the Communist Party and thereby facilitate the deportation of Bridges. This became doubly clear on the following day of the

hearing when Frankenstein, fresh from his strikebreaking exploits at the North American plant in Ingleside, could call that heroic strike a "communist plot"—and still read a prepared statement from the stand condemning the hearing and the deportation of Bridges.

There can be no excuse, no defense for Harry Lundeberg's action against Harry Bridges in a boss court. Such action must be strenuously condemned, if the labor movement is to avoid destruction by capitalist court intervention.

What Harry Lundeberg Of 1939 Said About The Harry Lundeberg Of 1941

When Harry Lundeberg testified against Harry Bridges at the deportation trial, he was violating his own words of two years ago. In 1939 a Stalinist introduced a resolution at the headquarters branch meeting of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, calling for "suspending any official of the SUP that shall testify against Harry Bridges at his forthcoming hearing on deportation charges." Here is what Harry Lundeberg said then; what follows is the verbatim story from WEST COAST SAILORS, union weekly, July 13, 1939:

Brother Lundeberg, who stated he had anticipated some such thing being attempted, then requested reading the following statement for the official records of the Sailors Union. After the statement was read, the membership voted to print it in full in the WEST COAST SAILORS. Here it is:

"The introduction of this proposed resolution is an insult both

to the membership and the officials of the SUP. It is an attempt on the part of the author to continue against the SUP officials the slimy slander campaign waged by the C. P. hangers-on for the past two years in connection with the deportation proceedings against Bridges.

To my certain knowledge no official of the SUP has ever been connected in any way, shape or form with the deportation case of Bridges. . . .

For the past two years attempts have been made not only by the C. P. but by Bridges himself, to insinuate that I myself, and other officials of the SUP, and also including the woman who has done stenographic work since 1935, were linked in an effort to deport Bridges. Approximately a year ago the WESTERN WORKER, official organ of the C. P., before it became the PEOPLES WORLD, came out with headlines branding me a "stoop-pigeon" and stated that I had given evidence against Bridges to deportation authorities. They were promptly

served by me with a notice of a libel suit, and within 24 hours had retraced their statements. . . . but this did not stop the slimy campaign against myself and the people who work with me.

For the information of the SUP membership, I never was and never intend to become involved in the Bridges deportation mess—nor to my knowledge do any of the people I work with in the union field.

I also want to state for the record that so far as deporting Bridges is concerned I am opposed to it—in my opinion a man who cannot show a clear strike record in 1921, so far as the seamen's strikes are concerned, and a man who has been a known and bold enemy of the SUP to the extent of walking through SUP picket lines, is a rat—but Union Labor should take care of these kind of birds—and will—and they should not attempt to make a phony "labor martyr" of him by holding pink-tea government inquiries regarding deporting him.

Subway Workers Battle Is Nearing Its Climax

10,000 TWU-CIO Members To Picket N.Y. Transportation Board; Court Frame-up Being Attempted Against Seven Union Leaders

"Maritime" Federation Closes Shop

By C. THOMAS

SAN FRANCISCO, June 8, 1941—The Stalinist wrecking crew wrote finis to the once proud Maritime Federation of the Pacific, in a convention here last week. The degeneration and final liquidation of the Maritime Federation followed a pattern made familiar by the Stalinists in the labor movement of the world.

The Maritime Federation of the Pacific was established after the great 1934 strike as a united front of all Pacific Coast unions engaged in the marine transport industry. As such it functioned, in its early period, in the militant tradition of '34 and presented a solid front in all disputes with the shipowners. Its first president was Harry Lundeberg, now secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and the sailors were among the most ardent advocates and supporters of the Federation.

It wasn't very long, however, before the Stalinists began packing the Federation with various and sundry organizations only remotely connected with the marine transport industry, but under the domination of the C.P. This process continued until the convention of 1938 found the Stalinists in control and exercising their control to drive out the militant Sailors Union of the Pacific, the equally militant branches of the Marine Firemen Union and the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

From that time on the Stalinists traded on the waning prestige of the Federation and converted it into a mouthpiece for the latest zig-zag in the party line. Having exhausted its usefulness in that direction the Federation is now tossed aside like a squeezed lemon. Thanks to the unity howlers of the Communist Party, the maritime workers of the Pacific Coast find themselves more divided now than at any time in their history.

Every such "victory" registered by the Stalinist wrecking crew paves the way for working class defeat. The maritime workers will learn by bitter experience that it is necessary to rid themselves of the poison of Stalinism before they can unite their ranks against the blows now being prepared by the bosses and the bosses' government.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

10,000 members of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) will form a mass picket line before the offices of the New York City Board of Transportation, 250 Hudson Street, at 5:30 P.M. Friday, June 20.

The picket line demonstration, which will be followed by an open-air meeting, is part of the campaign of the TWU to force the LaGuardia city administration to enter negotiations for renewal of the union contracts on the city-owned subways. The present contracts expire June 30.

This week LaGuardia's campaign to smash the subway workers' union struck a new low.

A phony three-year old indictment for alleged assault was unearthed by the District Attorney and General Sessions Judge Wallace ordered Austin Hogan, president of the York local, and six other union members and organizers to stand trial next Monday. This indictment alleges that the seven defendants assaulted a former union member back in May, 1938.

Judge Wallace refused the plea of the union defendants for a six week's postponement. This trial is an obvious attempt to intimidate the union before the showdown comes on the question of the renewal of the union contracts covering 22,000 workers on the city-owned subways.

VAST STRIKEBREAKING MOVES

The New York capitalist press has been screaming its head off because the subway workers have dared to demand the continuation of their collective bargaining rights and union wages and conditions. LaGuardia has been demonstratively mobilizing every strikebreaking resource at his command in an effort to intimidate and terrorize the subway workers into capitulating to his open-shop terms.

Among the strikebreaking measures which the Little Flower has announced he is contemplating are severe limitations upon the right to picket and a vast mobilization of police force to escort strikebreakers, who will be used in an attempt to operate the subway systems if a strike is called.

Strikebreakers, it is announced, will be housed in the yards and property of the Board of Transportation; cars of city employees will be drafted and a canvass is being made of the personnel of the War Department's troop movement office here to determine the number of cars available to transport scabs.

Electrical technicians of the police and other city departments will be called in to man the power houses and switch towers. LaGuardia, in the event of a strike intends to operate the subways with men who have no experience in the complicated coordination and operations of the systems even at the risk of the lives of hundreds of thousands of subway goers.

CITY VIOLATES PROMISE

A Board of Transportation resolution, passed in April, 1940 stated the union's contracts would be honored by the board, and that the board would hold in abeyance any controversial decision it might make on any provisions of the

contracts, pending a final judicial ruling. LaGuardia stated that "the provisions of the contract affected will be performed in the meantime."

Although there have been no judicial rulings abrogating any terms of the contracts, the Board of Transportation, backed by LaGuardia, has systematically violated the contracts.

Union men have been fired; seniority provisions have been flaunted wholesale; hours have been lengthened; wages have been cut; the seven-day week has been reinstated for many workers; union grievance committees are not recognized; wage-differentials are being maintained for the same type of work; women and Negro workers are discriminated against in pay and opportunity for advancement to better jobs.

LAGUARDIA'S PRETEXT EXPOSED

LaGuardia has attempted to give his union-busting drive a legal cover by trying to coax the New York public into thinking that the city has no right to make a contract with a union. He is obviously concerned not, however, with any given feature of the present contracts, but with destroying any form of collective bargaining between the city and the transit workers.

A demand by the Transportation Board for an immediate blanket ruling to the effect that it cannot enter into a union contract was turned down by State Supreme Court Justice Church, who declared on June 6 that the city's motion was denied, because no such ruling could be made without a full hearing, in which the union could present its case.

LaGuardia has been unable to cite a single law or judicial decision denying the right of municipal workers under civil service to collective rights through a union of their own choosing.

BEFORE THE UNION

LaGuardia's real aim is to drive the transit workers back to the conditions before 1934, when they had no union. In 1934, the subway workers worked a 72 hour week. The union has been able to reduce hours down to 48 a week.

Weekly wages, for a 72 hour week, used to run as low as \$14. Under the union, wages in many instances have been more than doubled—and for a 48 hour week.

The subway workers know what conditions are in store for them if LaGuardia has his way. But they do not intend to go back to the wages and hours of 1934.

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Labor League Condemns Roosevelt Administration

WASHINGTON, June 16 — Labor's Non-Partisan League, of which John L. Lewis is the chairman, issued the following statement in its news letter, "Between the Lines," dated today, condemning the Roosevelt Administration:

Fifty years of painfully developed federal labor policy was placed on the chopping block here in a series of actions that marked the week of June 9 as the blackest in American labor history.

Responsibility for the wholesale sacrifice of fundamental principles of government labor policy must be pinned squarely on the Roosevelt administration which overnight abandoned not only what earlier administration had accomplished, but its own repeated pledges and often-stated aims.

TOTALITARIAN PATH

In a virtual tidal wave of reaction the administration sponsored legislation that advances far along the totalitarian path of forced labor. It embraced compulsory arbitration, perverted the conscription act into a strike-breaking weapon, deserted the unemployed, accepted a blanket condemnation of strikes, and, finally, ordered federal troops with drawn bayonets on strikebreaking duty.

And the week ended in a witch-

hunting free-for-all with administration sources outdoing the Dies Committee in slandering elected labor-representatives.

ROOSEVELT'S HYPOCRACY

To add a fitting touch of grim humor to the ugly picture, all these incredible things were done amidst assurance that it was for labor's good. Lip service was still being paid in Washington to collective bargaining in the midst of the ruins of everything that has made collective bargaining a reality in this country.

However, bad as is the swift pattern of ominous developments here for labor, there was one beacon light in a fighting statement from CIO President Philip Murray, who issued a call to action for all CIO unions to resist the march toward an American labor front on the Hitler model.

Warning that the future existence of organized labor is at stake, Murray exposed the administration-sponsored moves in Congress as aimed at destruction of labor unions. He singled out the compulsory arbitration rider to the War Department appropriation bill and the Connally plant seizure bill for special condemnation.

The forthright Murray statement came as the one heartening development and gave courage to

labor's ranks everywhere and to those men in Congress who still retain some of the principles of American democracy.

What makes the situation especially grave is the unquestioned fact that none of these sweeping assaults on labor could have succeeded without administration sanction. In the House, for instance, liberals had beat back several vicious anti-labor amendments and were about to defeat a series of Howard Smith (D., Va.) straight-jacketing proposals, when Majority Leader John McCormack (D., Mass.) astounded the House by taking the floor to support a compulsory arbitration amendment.

ADMINISTRATION'S FAULT

But for McCormack's last-minute intervention there was every prospect that not only the Starnes-Smith amendments but also the Case amendment would have been defeated. Instead the House adopted the Case amendment which outlaws strikes and establishes compulsory arbitration by the National Defense Mediation Board. It does this by setting up a government blacklist against all workers who take part in strikes or aid on the picket line in defense plants. All that the Board has to do to make these penalties

effective is to declare that a strike would impede defense production and it may do that before making any findings as to the justice of the worker's grievances.

The companion proposal to this was enacted in the Senate when it adopted the Connally amendment to the Selective Service Act which, in the words of President Murray, "is intended solely to inject the government into every industrial dispute, with the threat that if the workers engage in a strike the plant will be seized by the government, the strike broken and the rights of the workers destroyed, following which the plant would be returned to the management."

Thus, these two amendments would make Uncle Sam strikebreaker No. 1. It is superfluous to add that they also wreck the National Labor Relations Act. If these amendments should finally prevail and become law collective bargaining would become as thin as soup boiled from the ribs of a pigeon that had starved to death. It is axiomatic there can be no genuine collective bargaining where the right to strike is destroyed.

One other infamous act of the week must be recorded to fill in the picture of Congressional axing of labor. The appropriation

for WPA was slashed 35 per cent, which means the dropping of 700,000 unemployed from its rolls. This was on administration recommendation and over the protests of many democratic house members.

DENOUNCES HILLMAN

Here again an administration figure was trotted out to jam through the betrayal of the unemployed. Sidney Hillman, Associate Director of OPM, was quoted by House reactionaries as saying the jobless numbered only 4,500,000 and that a further sharp drop is in prospect. This is in the face of all official and unofficial estimates indicating at least 7,000,000 are unemployed. The WPA itself told Congress there were 6,500,000 unemployed, but careful CIO figures show 9,000,000 without jobs.

These Congressional actions, plus the work-or-fight and Army strike-breaking orders of the administration, all add up to the most severe crisis in the history of the modern American labor movement. Unless the events of this terrible week can be reversed it is clear that American democracy will soon become just another museum piece to be set on a shelf aside the former democracies of the Old World.

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

Many of the same people who are today asking Roosevelt to please, please, issue an executive order abolishing racial discrimination in all governmental spheres, are the same people who were appealing to him only a few months ago to please, please, not appoint Senator James F. Byrnes, South Carolina Democrat and open enemy of the Negro people, to the Supreme Court. Please, please, doesn't get very far.

The Aviation Strike

J. H. Kindelberger, president and general manager of North American Aviation, Inc., who last week said of the strikers in his plant, "I don't have to pay anymore to my workers because most of them are young kids who spend their money on a flivver and a gal," is the same man who recently stated about the North American plant being built in Kansas City:

"Under no circumstances will Negroes be employed as aircraft workers or mechanics"—and that they would be hired only as janitors "regardless of their training as aircraft workers."

This is also the man of whom Secretary of War Stimson declared last week: "There are not enough like him. We do not want to do injury to such a man."

There were no Negroes employed by North American Aviation before the strike, when Kindelberger and the bosses were running the place. Now, when the government's army is running it, there are still no Negroes there and there is little likelihood that Roosevelt's army will permit Negroes to get jobs there during the period that they remain in control. It won't be until the workers themselves control the plants through democratically elected committees from the ranks of labor that Negroes will be able to secure employment in industry on a truly equal basis!

In last week's Pittsburgh Courier, columnist Marjorie McKenzie complains that the present Administration has sidestepped the question of the Negro, and "we have been beguiled by some beautiful words and phrases" from Roosevelt. She also points out that under his present "emergency" powers Roosevelt could issue an executive order banning discrimination.

Then follow many sentences such as these: "Our President is a man in whom the imagination leaps and dares beyond the puny dreams of those who follow his star. There is a course open to him as the Defender of Democracy which would commit him safely to the immortal company of men like Jefferson and Lincoln. . . . What surging, thrilling feeling would come to his heart and mind, should he pause to realize that with a simple, everyday gesture like signing an executive order, he could free thirteen million American men and women from slavery. Lincoln freed only three and a half million!" etc. etc.

Evidently Miss McKenzie thinks that she can "beguile" Roosevelt "by some beautiful words and phrases."

William Pickens on His New Job

William Pickens is on the job! He is determined to keep that \$500 a month job he has with the Treasury Department selling "Defense Bonds" to Negroes. From his first broadside, one would think that he has now solved all the problems of the Negro people. For he promises them everything—if only they will buy his bonds.

Why, if they spend the few dollars Jim Crow permits them to get, they will not only eat their cake, but they can have it too, he promises.

"Say, you are of small means, and you want to buy a \$25 Bond. You have not the \$25 to spare, you only earn \$25 in a third of a month or half a month. But, you can always spare a dime, maybe a quarter. Therefore you begin by Saving Stamps for 10c or 25c. When you have bought enough to total \$18.75, you buy a U.S. Government security worth \$25 in a few years—and you don't have to keep it any longer than 60 days, in case you come to need the money badly. But every year you keep that \$18.75 investment, the bigger it becomes."

Thus, here is the economic answer to the Negroes. Why get all excited about jobs and equality in industry? Why hold picket-lines and demonstrations against Jim Crowism? Just buy Pickens' "defense bonds," and live off the fat of the land.

Pickens goes on: "And that is not all: You are helping to defend your money and your OTHER property, and all your precious liberties, when you put that money into the U. S. Treasury. You, as a colored citizen, strike a blow at Hitler, who says that you are but a half ape. . . . You would be helping to give Mussolini the final kick out of Ethiopia, and to restore that country to its own black people. You would be strengthening the position of your race in American citizenship. . . ."

Giving money to the Jim Crow government that treats you as though you are a half-ape, is that fighting Hitler? Fight Mussolini by giving money to a Jim Crow government that suppresses the American Negroes? Strengthen the position of your race in American citizenship by supporting the bosses' government that treats you as a second-class citizen? Pickens knows better. But that's his job.

Dean Gordon Hancock, author of the column *Between The Lines* in the Chicago Sunday Bee, has a faculty for standing things on their head. In one of his latest outbursts, he says:

"Hitler has already served notice to the world what the Negro need expect. In the persecution of the Jews the Negro has been given a pattern of his estate under Hitlerism."

But Hitler only applied to the Jews of Europe the treatment he observed applied in this democracy to the several million Negroes in the South.

Judge Jim Crow On The Bench

Byrnes, FDR's Supreme Court Choice, Hates Negroes And Labor

Senator James F. Byrnes, poll-tax Democrat of South Carolina and Roosevelt's majority floor leader in the Senate, was named as an associate justice to the Supreme Court on June 12. The appointment of Byrnes marks one further move to the right by Roosevelt as he gears his administration to the needs of his totalitarian war machine.

Anticipating strong pressure from the Negro people and white progressives against Byrnes' appointment, the Senate acted in unholy haste to confirm the appointment.

Eleven minutes after word arrived in the Senate that Byrnes had been named, and even before Vice President Wallace had put the nomination formally before

"carefully selected class" of immigrants which had been brought to Charleston to work in the cotton mills and on the plantations of the "Swamp State" had found conditions of life and labor so unattractive that they had all decamped to better environments after a few years.

In attacking the foreign-born workers, Byrnes linked his attack with his most vicious phobia, hatred of the Negroes. He declared:

"They (foreign-born workers) have no capacity for assimilation with our white people. They must have some society, and we fear they would turn to the Negro race, mingle with them, and so aggravate our race problem as to make it hopeless."

FEARED LABOR UNITY

Here was expressed the ruling class fear that white and black workers might unite and fight back against their common oppressors.

As Louis L. Redding writes in his article, "Byrnes of South Carolina," in the Negro monthly magazine, *The Crisis* (April, 1941):

"Certainly it could not be said that Jimmy Byrnes had not assimilated the basic policy of the ruling class in the state his immigrant forebears had adopted: Nothing must be allowed to spoil our Negroes; our semi-literate white labor supply must be kept cheap, contented and docile."

ANTI-NEGRO PHOBIA

Byrnes, throughout his long legislative career, has never yielded once from the position toward the oppressed Negro people that he expressed in a Congressional Speech on August 25, 1919:

"If the two races are to live together in this country, it may as well be understood that the War has in no way changed the attitude of the white man toward the social and political equality of the Negro. If, as a result of his experiences in the War, he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any country he wishes, and his departure will be facilitated by the white people of this country who desire no disturbing factor in their midst."

Almost 20 years later, in January, 1938, during a filibuster against the anti-lynching bill Byrnes worked himself into a frenzy against the passage of the bill.

FOUGHT ANTI-LYNCH BILL

The entire speech is larded through with those base slanders against the Negro people which every lynch mob employs to justify its murderous lust against Negroes; lynching is caused by the "crime of rape which degrades the reason of man," and lynchings could not be ended by law but by Negro publications creating "a sentiment among their own people against the crime of rape."

So frantic did Byrnes become at the thought that the anti-lynching bill might pass, that he ended up with the cry:

"The Negro has not only come into the Democratic Party, but the Negro has come into control of the Democratic Party."

Eager to prove that the Negro had not come into control of the Democratic Party, Byrnes' senatorial colleagues buried the anti-lynching bill.

DURING LAST WAR

When the Draft Act of 1940 was being debated, Byrnes used all his influence to effect its passage, although it included a clause formally stating "there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color." Byrnes knew the clause meant nothing, that it was just a hollow mockery. But he had not always understood this.

Byrnes bitterly opposed the conscription law of 1917 — not because of pacifism or fear that it violated democratic principles — but, as he stated, because:

"Under the War Department's conscription bill they would have the right to assign a (white) boy from South Carolina to serve in Company 'A', Regiment 'B', by the side of a Negro from Indiana. If they did this they would not have to go to Europe for war. It is true that the Secretary of War states that in the past they have endeavored to segregate the races, and he states he presumes that in the future it will be done, but yet there is in the bill nothing that would present it."

Byrnes made, in effect, a threat

of civil war if Negroes were accorded equal rights with whites in the army that was to fight for "democracy."

On another occasion, Byrnes was moved to assert, ". . . There are in this country 90,000,000 white people determined not to extend political and social equality to the 10,000,000 Negroes."

FOR POLL-TAX 'DEMOCRACY'

Whether there are that many whites actually opposed to equal rights for Negroes, Byrnes would never really know. At least in his own state, South Carolina, the poor whites as well as the Negroes have never expressed themselves on this or any other subject. In 1940, the poll tax prevented all but 5.2 per cent of the voting-age population of South Carolina from voting in the presidential election.

Byrnes always knew how to play both sides of the fence, whenever political expediency demanded it. Thus, during the heyday of the New Deal, he quickly put on the liberal garb of the Roosevelt regime. In 1935, he made speeches in which he inveighed against "sweat shops," "child labor," etc., Byrnes had himself helped to block the passage of a federal child labor law by an appeal to "states rights."

FIGHTS WAGE-HOUR BILL

But, in the summer of 1937, when the Wage and Hour bill was introduced in the Senate, Byrnes' "liberalism" disappeared in accordance with the needs of the labor-sweating textile manufacturers of the South. Byrnes fought the Wage and Hour bill with exceptional bitterness, arguing that it was harmful to "small industries" and the "little man." He did not state whether the "little men" included those slaves of the cotton mill owners of South Carolina who were making ten cents an hour working 12 hours a day.

During this same summer, the CIO, emboldened by its successful strikes in Northern industries, began an intensified drive to organize the Southern textile workers.

Byrnes, anxious to secure legislation which could be employed to block the CIO textile drive, suddenly introduced a rider to bar "sit-down" strikes in all industries on the second Guffey coal bill. This rider was completely unrelated to the Guffey bill or its issues, and was voted down.

Like his virulent anti-Negro, anti-minorities and anti-labor hatreds, Byrnes has fought all measures to safeguard civil liberties in general.

HATES CIVIL LIBERTIES

A year after the last war, Byrnes attempted to get the Attorney General to prosecute Negro editors of the *Crisis* and *Messenger* under the espionage act. So baseless were Byrnes' charges, that

the Attorney General, a rank reactionary himself, could find no legal basis for the action.

In 1935, 20 years later, Byrnes introduced a Senate resolution to halve the appropriations for the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee.

POLITICAL CAREERIST

Byrnes is a political careerist of the rank and sort. Coming himself from antecedents which the Southern Bourbon class would term "shanty Irish," Byrnes has sought to pass himself off as one of the true sons of the Southern "aristocracy."

He affects the "courtly" manners, mode of conduct and address that is considered to be in the Southern "cavalier" tradition — except, of course, when he speaks of Negroes, foreigners and union labor.

An example of the extent to which Byrnes was willing to go to advance his career was his quick abandonment of the Catholic religion, in which he had been brought up. As soon as he entered politics, the former altar boy quit the faith of his fathers. Catholics are held next to Negroes by the Southern Bourbons. Byrnes joined a more "respectable" church, and it is the mark of his ambition that he elected to join the Episcopal — the "High Church."

WHY ROOSEVELT LIKES HIM

This is the bigoted, ignorant and viciously reactionary man whom Roosevelt and the Senate have placed on the Supreme Court bench to interpret "impartially" the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th Amendments.

Byrnes opposed much of Roosevelt's New Deal legislation on domestic policies. But that is not what has guided Roosevelt's choice of him now for the Supreme Court.

Byrnes has been Roosevelt's right hand man in putting over Roosevelt's primary program — his foreign policy.

The *New York Times*, June 13, states:

"Mr. Byrnes gave the President great assistance in the drives for the reorganization of the government departments, revision of the neutrality law, selective service, aid to Britain . . ."

"He is believed to have been the President's choice for a justiceship ever since the retirement of Justice McReynolds. The President's desire to have Mr. Byrnes stay in the Senate until after the passage of such important legislation as the lend-lease bill is said to have been all that delayed his appointment."

The character of Roosevelt's war for "democracy" is measured in part by the character of the man, Byrnes, whom Roosevelt has placed upon the highest court in the land.

War Department Holds Lid Down On House Inquiry

Now and again an unsavory stench-manages to seep out from the hearings of the House Committee Investigating War Department Construction.

Last week the hearings uncovered a further sample of the all-out thievery taking place in connection with government contracts for cantonment and other construction work.

The government shelled out over \$1,000,000 just for the architectural and engineering costs of two Louisiana cantonments, Camps Livingston and Polk. In addition, William L. Benham, head of the architect-engineering firm which handled the jobs, raked in a flat \$70,000 fee for himself. The million dollars worth of vouchers which Benham turned over to the government represented "costs," such as the salaries of assistants, etc.

Although Benham was hired as a civilian, he is actually a colonel in the active reserves, and was formerly a high WPA official in Oklahoma.

The most devastating fact which leaked out of the hearings was that the Benham Engineering Company was not even a "full going organization" when it was handed the first of these jobs. The work of Benham and his high-priced agents, it was further revealed, was the type which was being done efficiently on other cantonment jobs by men getting \$260 a month.

Bit by bit, the facts about the cantonment construction racketeering are beginning to pile up. When the lid really blows off, it will make the scandals of the last war look like so much fish-wives' gossip.

War, It's Wonderful!

Last February the House Military Affairs Committee was apprised of the fact that costs for housing construction for troops, on the basis of existing contracts, was averaging \$500 per soldier, and as high as \$900 and \$1,000 in two of the largest army camps. During the last war when the unlimited profiteering on government construction finally wound up in an expose that shocked the nation, the average costs were only \$250 per soldier.

It was also revealed at the earlier hearings in February that two out of the three members of the government advisory committee aiding the Quartermasters Corps in assigning contracts were directly associated with firms which — strangely — had secured large contracts.

But the prize commentary on the whole smelly mess was the action of the War Department in putting the heat on to get the House last week to vote down the Eagle amendment to the military appropriations bill. This amendment would have forced the discontinuance of the awarding of cost-plus-fixed fee contracts whereby contractors have been doing construction jobs for the government at twice the cost under competitive bidding.

Among the facts disclosed by Congressman Engle, who introduced the amendment, was that at Camp Dix, on a competitive bid job, it cost \$9,800 to construct a barracks, while an identical barracks constructed at Fort Meade, under a fixed-fee contract, cost \$17,364. Engle further reported that wages on the Fort Dix job were higher than those at Fort Meade and other costs were equal. This knocks the props from under the argument that labor costs have been responsible for the exorbitant costs of cantonment construction.

The War Department had originally urged the costlier fixed-fee form of contract on the basis that speed was essential and competitive bidding was too slow. That argument can scarcely apply now, as conditions permit further housing planning well in advance of actual need.

Engle introduced the first draft of his amendment Friday two weeks ago. It was tentatively approved by a standing vote.

The War Department Steps In

Then the War Department got busy over the week-end. A delegation sponsored by the Department visited Speaker Rayburn. The Military Affairs Committee got a strong letter from General Somervell, who is in charge of construction for the Department. Under-Secretary of War Patterson addressed a similar letter to Majority leader McCormack.

Patterson's letter, read to the House, did the trick. It stated that if the Engle amendment passed "the effect on the Air Corps Program, with its greatly expanded plans, would be disastrous." The amendment was voted down by the narrow margin of 179 to 175.

The joker in Patterson's argument is that the contracts for new plane plants are already let; and, besides, not the government, but the aircraft corporations let these contracts!

The real reason why the War Department prefers the cost-plus, fixed-fee form of contract is because it enables the government officials to give contracts to whomever they please. And there is little doubt but that construction contractors are not unwilling to let some of the gravy dribble back in order to get these lush contracts. If outright graft does not operate in this connection, there is always the angle of fixing up a friend or political associate. Favors, as the saying goes, have a way of repaying themselves.

Here is an angle that we can confidently predict would bring forth facts of considerable public interest if it were properly investigated. But we can also confidently predict that the House Military Affairs Committee will never push an investigation so close to that sacred cow, the War Department.

Trotskyist Interned In South Africa

LONDON, May 5 (By Mail)—From South Africa comes the news that Max Gordon, an active Trotskyist of Johannesburg, and Louis Joffe, anti-Nazi militant, have been interned by the Smuts Government which is backing British Imperialism in its fight to make the world safe for "democracy."

They are accused of being members of the Communist Party — which is, incidentally, not an illegal organization — and that they are, or have been, engaged in Trade Union work among (colored) Africans.

Max Gordon is accused of having organized a laundry workers' strike in 1936, which "caused a lot of trouble." He is further accused of appropriating trade union funds, a statement which has been positively controverted. Even if it were true, however, it should form the basis for a criminal action but not for internment.

Comrade Gordon joined the Trotskyist movement in 1932, when he assisted in the formation of the Marxist Educational League, the International Socialist Club and the Lenin Club in Cape Town. He was afterwards associated with the Communist League of South Africa (Trotskyist) and with the Group for the Fourth International (Johannesburg).

OPINIONIZING AND "TEACHING NEGROES IS A CRIME"

In 1936, Comrade Gordon organized the Commercial Employees Union of the Witwatersrand. He then turned his attention to the African Laundry Workers (whose union had previously been shattered by the Stalinists) and he led them in a strike which was notable for its militancy and the discipline of its members. It is his activities during this period, together with a frame-up charge of appropriating union funds,

which is now being used by the South African Government to keep him from active participation in the labor movement for the duration of the war.

The fact that educational and Marxist classes for Africans were conducted on the premises of the trade union of which he was secretary is another charge against Gordon. These classes had been carried on for two years with the knowledge of the Native Affairs Department. In any case, there is nothing in South African Law prohibiting the holding of such classes.

Social Workers Picture State Of The Nation

Here is a picture of American democracy at work. It was drawn recently, at Atlantic City, by the annual National Conference of Social Work, a joint convention of social workers' organizations dedicated to the "American way of life," and this year advocating "all out aid to Britain."

1. "There are four million man days lost to industry each year due to illness. 10% of this is due to industrial illness, leaving the appalling total of 360 million man days lost through non-industrial illness. Strikes cause only two hours per man year of lost time, while illness causes eight." 3,400,000 workers are maimed annually.

2. "There is inadequate nursing and medical care of pregnant women; inadequate care of infants and insufficient attention given to their remedial physical defects; growing children receiving insufficient protective foods; and educational opportunities are too limited to "meet the needs of democracy."

3. "Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor, appeared before the Conference and flayed "irresponsible trade unions" that are striking for higher wages in "this period of national crisis." The Conference then adjourned.

UNEMPLOYMENT:

1. The relief situation is "in chaos."
2. 3,500,000 people are "in need."
3. Roosevelt's request for WPA appropriation of \$875,000,000 for 1941-42 is "crucially inadequate." It will provide for only one fifth of the needy.

4. Unemployment insurance is totally insufficient for the basic family requirements.

5. No attempt has been made to rehabilitate the 4,000,000 physically handicapped.

HEALTH:

1. 40% of those on WPA are in poor physical condition.

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Why Tobin And Roosevelt Are Fighting Local 544

It is illuminating to examine the nature of the opposition to the Minneapolis General Drivers Union Local 544 upon the union's decision to affiliate to the CIO. A person may often be judged by the enemies he makes. Certainly one can judge the character of Local 544 by the character of its opponents.

First, Daniel J. Tobin. What does he represent? He is a senile representative of business unionism. The organizing of workers is to him primarily a business proposition calculated to serve his personal interests and the interests of the bureaucrats on his payroll. The benefits accruing to the workers from unionism are but incidental to Tobin's purpose. Toward the capitalists he has the servile attitude of a smaller-scale businessman toward the financial giants. The idea of pitting the working class against the capitalist class for broad economic and social objectives is as abhorrent to him as to any capitalist. He is ferocious only against class-conscious workers and militant local unions—he did his best to destroy Local 544 during the great strikes of 1934 which built the union, denouncing its leadership as "reds" in the midst of the strike. He closes his eyes to the racketeering which infests so many of his locals as a natural fruit of class-collaboration business unionism.

When Local 544 was victorious in 1934 despite Tobin, he expelled the local from the International shortly afterward. He spent enormous sums, using thugs in his attempt to crush the expelled local and replace it with one controlled by him. He failed. Then came the rise of the CIO tendency in the AFL, striking fear into the Tobins. This fact and other circumstances compelled Tobin to readmit Local 544 into the International. Against Tobin's craft-minded hostility and suspicion, Local 544 initiated the 11-state North Central Area committee which brought 200,000 over-the-road drivers into the International. This growth, and the fact that the new members were proletarian elements very different from the driver-salesmen who previously constituted the bulk of the International, gave Tobin the undesired appearance of being less reactionary than other members of the AFL top bureaucracy.

It was inevitable, as Roosevelt speeded up his war efforts, with Tobin as his closest lieutenant in the labor movement, even closer than Hillman, that Tobin would attempt to destroy Local 544. The local's weekly organ, the *Northwest Organizer*, has opposed Roosevelt and explained the nature of the imperialist war to its readers, including members of many other unions; Tobin would not let that go on. Tobin's final move was precipitated by an article in the businessman's monthly, *Fortune*, which twitted Tobin about racketeering in the union and the Trotskyists in the Northwest. To cover up the racketeering and show himself a bet-

ter patriot than *Fortune*, Tobin came out with an editorial viciously attacking Local 544.

To conclude with Tobin: His attack on Local 544 is the attack of business racketeering unionism, tied to the war efforts of Roosevelt and the bosses, against a militant body of workers.

Second, Roosevelt. In response to a telegram from Tobin complaining about Local 544 and its chartering by the CIO, Roosevelt on June 13 declared "that this is no time for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another." Roosevelt wanted the CIO to leave Local 544 to the tender mercies of Tobin. Did Roosevelt know that Tobin had forced Local 544's action? Why didn't Roosevelt first seek out the facts instead of talking merely on the basis of Tobin's telegram? Why didn't he insist that Tobin act democratically toward Local 544? But these questions are naive. Roosevelt was well aware of what he was doing.

Roosevelt's action against 544 shows how fraudulent is Roosevelt's pretext that he acts against unions only when they are dominated by Communist Party elements connected with a foreign government. His action against 544 shows that, as the representative of the interests of American capitalism at war, he acts against militant trade unionists devoted to the cause of labor.

Bringing up the rear in this unholy alliance against 544 is the Communist Party. To some, this union of Roosevelt, Tobin and the Stalinists may appear inexplicable. But it is quite natural. None of the three is interested in the working class in and of itself. Roosevelt is interested in maintaining capitalism; Tobin in maintaining the business union bureaucracy associated with "democratic" capitalism; the Stalinists in serving the Kremlin bureaucracy. All three attempt to pervert the American working class to their reactionary aims.

The Stalinists fear the type of unionism represented by 544 more than anything else. That type of unionism is a living rebuke to the fraudulent line of the Stalinists in the unions. Against Roosevelt and Tobin the Stalinists may posture as militants. But contrasted with a genuinely militant union like 544, with its consistent class-struggle policy year in year out, the Stalinist zig-zags are exposed as mere devices to twist the workers to the service of the Kremlin.

Against all these opponents, we are certain, Local 544 will give a good account of itself. Its history is assurance for that. Its militant leadership is assurance for that—a leadership that has proved that it has no other aim than to fight for the immediate and ultimate interests of the American working class.

FDR Discovers the Negro

Scarcely was the ink dry on his order nominating Senator Byrnes, vicious Negro-baiter of South Carolina, to the Supreme Court, when Roosevelt issued a statement, last Sunday, "urging" employers to "examine" their employment policies with respect to the hiring of Negro workers.

Other than voicing a pious sentiment, there is not one phrase in the statement which indicates that Roosevelt intends to take any action whatsoever against those employers who continue their discriminatory practices.

Roosevelt will not call out troops against the bosses as he did against the workers of the North American Aviation Company.

While Roosevelt "urges" the employers to "examine" their policies, Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief continues to Jim-Crow Negroes in the armed forces.

Did Roosevelt just realize the situation, that he waited until how to deplore it? We cannot believe that for one minute. He knew about this situation all along.

He's concerned now about the increasing protests which the Negro people, asked to support the war for "democracy", are raising against the whole vile system of Jim-Crow. And they're not only talking about it; they are preparing to take action against it. That action is a Negro March on Washington, planned for July 1.

What a graphic refutation of the lie that this is a war for "democracy" will be the spectacle of 10,000 Negroes at the gates of the White House, demanding an end to Jim Crow!

That spectacle, and that alone, has moved Roosevelt to his no-discrimination utterance. He wants to offset the effectiveness of that protest, pull its teeth, or behead it altogether.

Did Roosevelt speak out against the whole system of discrimination? No. With careful intent, his words are: "in defense industries," "in this present emergency," "in defense production."

In a word, Roosevelt is against discrimination only in so far as it may prove a handicap to his conduct of the war. He is willing to make a gesture in the right direction—just a gesture—if this will keep the Negro people in line, willing to be used as cannon fodder, or auxiliary labor in the dirtiest, hardest and lowest paying war production jobs. And when the war is over? The Negroes will be "put in their place" once more as in 1918.

More is needed than this belated and worthless statement of Roosevelt's to put a complete and permanent halt to the Jim-Crow system in industry. That statement is calculated to quiet protest, and not to alleviate the conditions protested.

The mere threat of a march on Washington has forced this reluctant utterance from Roosevelt. That in itself demonstrates the effectiveness of a program of militant, organized action.

But it will take the march itself, carried out on a most militant plane, and greater actions involving millions of workers, white and Negro, before Roosevelt and his class will be forced to discontinue the system of Negro discrimination, the system which has proved so useful to the bosses in keeping the workers divided amongst themselves.

Canners Exempt From Walsh-Healey Act Rules

Sec'y Perkins Grants War Dept.'s Demand That Canned-Foods Bosses Be Freed Of Child Labor, Safety, Overtime Regulations

Secretary of Labor Perkins last week exempted the food-canning industry from observing the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, covering child labor, overtime pay and safety and health conditions, in production of goods under government contract.

Madame Perkins acted at the formal request of the War Department, which on June 4 moved for the suspension of the Act under the pretext that this was essential in order to obtain canned goods at reasonable prices for the army.

In March, the National Defense Advisory Commission had advised the War Department to seek this exemption. Prior to the present army expansion, the War Department had gotten around the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act by splitting up its contracts into less than \$10,000 orders and by dealing with wholesale dealers rather than the canned goods manufacturers directly. The Walsh-Healey Act does not apply to contracts of less than \$10,000.

The canners have opposed taking government contracts as long as that would place them under the regulations of the Walsh-Healey Act. And now they have had their way.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW O.K.'D

Conditions in the canning industry are about the vilest of any

in the country. Health and safety hazards are particularly bad because of the extensive exploitation of women and child labor in the industry. A large section of the cannery workers are migratory, due to the seasonal character of the work. This presents a difficult problem of unionization.

Comparison of weekly and hourly wages tells the whole story of the viciousness of the government's policy.

According to U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, the average weekly wage in August 1940 for all manufacturing industries was \$26.10. For the cannery industry it was \$18.14. Cannery workers averaged 46.5 cents an hour, while average hourly pay for all industries was 66.7 cents.

In October 1940, when wages of all workers rose to an average of \$26.54 a week, the pay of cannery workers dropped to \$16.61.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT'S ALIBI FOR THIS

The War Department, in its request for exemptions for the cannery bosses, stated that this was necessary because prices of canned goods had increased as much as 40 per cent due to the activities of speculators.

"So, the government intends to reduce these prices immediately by destroying the meager safeguards of the workers in the industry!

Ironically enough, the War Department put in its formal request on the very day that two federal grand juries in San Francisco had brought in indictments for illegal and monopoly practices against the entire cannery industry of California, center of the industry for the country.

The meaning of "national defense" is made even more clear to the workers of America by this latest blow at the workers' standards dealt by Madame Perkins and the War Department.

This view finds support in a general estimate of Stalin's position. Stalin's basic policy premise is to do everything possible to avoid war because war would endanger the power of his bureaucratic clique. This has motivated his every move.

The question right now is: how far will Stalin go in appeasing Hitler? How many of his demands will he accept to avoid war?

It may be taken for granted that Stalin will offer fresh concessions in an economic agreement giving Germany much of the wheat and oil that it wants.

But it is not so probable that Stalin would consent to measures of military occupation or even troops transit because these concessions would lead to the same result as a war, eventual destruction of Stalinist power in the Soviet Union at the hands of the Nazis and the internal reaction which Hitler would surely sponsor once he got a foothold.

The chances are that the Hitler-Stalin seesaw of pressure and counter-pressure will come to a precarious halt somewhere between those two points. Hitler will not press so far as to make hostilities necessary. Stalin will not hold out so long as to force Hitler's armed hand.

THE OUTCOME

Our guess of the outcome is a new economic agreement giving important advantages to the Nazis. The military clash, which we deem inevitable, will be postponed until Hitler has settled accounts with Britain.

Such an accord would leave the Soviet Union even more perilously exposed than before to eventual attack and destruction. Every step of Stalin's designed to shield the Soviet Union from involvement and attack has only succeeded in increasing the Soviet Union's peril.

STALIN ENDANGERS USSR

Thus it becomes ever more plain: Stalin and his clique of bureaucratic leeches are incapable of assuring the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Stalin, by destroying the revolutionary movements in Western Europe and in Asia in the decade preceding the war, cut the Workers' State off from the only reliable allies it could have. By throwing in his lot with Hitler, he alienated what was left of the sympathy and support of anti-Fascist masses all over the world. By surrendering now, step by step, to Hitler's demands, he hastens the day of reckoning between the Soviet Union and the imperialist world, represented by the Nazis.

Advanced workers will hold ever more staunchly to the two basic principles of their attitude toward the Soviet Union: to carry on the struggle against Stalin with a view to restoring the democratic power of the Soviets and freeing the Soviet working class from the incubus of the bureaucracy—but at the same time to fight in defense of the Workers' State against any imperialist assault.

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

The Lesson Of France's About Face

So, Vichy is now at war with the British. Only in Syria to be sure, but it is a war nevertheless and the tendency must be for the war in Syria to develop into a full-fledged conflict between the erstwhile allies, taking in many fronts.

And does this mean anything to the gentlemen who have been considering the war from the very beginning as one of democracy against fascism? Are the middle-class democrats and those in the ranks of the labor movement who saw in France, when it was at war with Germany, one of the champions of democracy, capable of learning a lesson from this sudden about-face on the part of the men who were leaders of the French nation at the time it was fighting on the side of Great Britain?

I am referring only to such people who are sincerely devoted to democracy and are really anxious to defeat fascism. There are many many thousands of these people who have convinced themselves that they have no course to follow except to support the democratic imperialists against the fascist imperialists. These people are oblivious to the obvious lesson that can be drawn from the fact that Vichy is now on the side of Hitler. To the democrats the "collaboration" of Vichy with Hitler simply means that the bad anti-democratic people have succeeded in obtaining control of the French government and the French people and thereby brought to a halt the fight for democracy.

The important thing to remember is that the leaders of Vichy—the Petains, the Darlans, the Weygands—were fighting for France against Germany and were extremely important cogs in the French "democracy" before Hitler's conquest of France.

And it is foolish to assume that these people wanted a Hitler victory. For they knew that they were not fighting for democracy but for French imperialist interests. They may have been responsible for the French defeat; they may have been incapable of leading the French to victory but it seems to me to be absurd to say that they preferred a Hitler victory.

Same Men Support Hitler Who Fought Him

If anything proves that the French government under Daladier and Reynaud was not fighting for democracy but for French imperialist interests it is the fact that the French army and French navy were offered by men who are now willing to fight on the side of Hitler against British and American "democracy." The Darlans and the Weygands are the same type of men and with the same ideas and sympathies now when they are collaborating with Hitler and fighting in Syria against the British as they were when they fought against Hitler. Since no one is so naive as to believe that they were transformed into fascists because France was defeated the conclusion is inescapable that an army allegedly fighting for democracy was offered by men who, if they were not completely fascist, had no interest in democracy.

Absolutely certain is the proposition that the British and American armies and navies are no different, in the type of generals and admirals commanding them, than was the French army. The higher officers of the British and American armed forces are just as little interested in democracy as are the Darlans and the Weygands. Not even the middle-class democrats with their colossal capacity for self-deception would contradict this assertion.

The Case Of De Gaulle

Is the case of De Gaulle proof to the contrary? Every one of De Gaulle's statements proves that it is not democracy he is fighting for but the French empire. He simply believes that it is necessary to support Britain to the end in order to save French imperialist interests. And De Gaulle, by the way, is only an exception. The vast majority of the higher officers are solidly behind Vichy. They are not and never were interested in democracy.

That the army and navy are subject to the authority of the government and so long as the government is democratic the armed forces will be fighting for democracy regardless of the fascist sympathies of the higher officials is about the best argument the democrats can produce. But what a miserable argument that is! Even assuming that this is true, it means that a democratic government is willing to take a chance on being stabbed in the back by an army controlled by officers whose sympathies are with fascism.

It is absurd however to claim that a reactionary army can be fighting for a progressive cause. The army reflects the actual relationship in society much more accurately than Parliament or Congress. If the higher officers all come from the upper class or are connected with the upper class, if in their mode of thinking and acting they show no sign of democracy then it is as certain as anything can be that the army can not be used for a war for democracy.

The Red Army Under Trotsky

In the Red Army under Trotsky officers of the Czarist Army were used but the real power was in the hands of the political commissars. The officers were simply technicians following out orders. In the armies of the British and American "democracies" the officer caste is supreme.

To those who are convinced that this is a war for democracy against fascism we say: Look at Vichy, gentlemen, and you will see that an army led by such men is not an army fighting for democracy. And the generals and admirals of Vichy are no different from the generals and admirals of London and Washington.

Only a democratic socialist state can create an army which in structure and ideas is capable of fighting for true democracy.

On the War Fronts

Stalin-Nazi Clash Is Unlikely Now

Stalin's Fear Of Hitler Means He Is Ready To Grant Substantial Economic Demands

By GEORGE STERN

News of a severe strain in Nazi-Soviet relations fills the newspapers. Rumors fly of an impending Nazi-Soviet clash. From all the capitals concerned a heavy smokescreen of report and counter-report billows up to obscure the realities of the situation.

So far as can be judged from the various versions of the "crisis," the following are the apparent facts:

1. Hitler is pressing a series of vital demands on Stalin. These probably include demands for German access to the grain of the Ukraine and the oil of the Caucasus. This access is to be had through direct German control, either through "specialists" and "experts" sent in to supervise production and transport, or through actual military occupation.

It is probably also true that Hitler is demanding transit for Nazi troops through Soviet territory for a vast flanking movement through Iran against the British in Iraq.

2. In support of these demands Hitler is staging a military demonstration aimed to frighten Stalin into acquiescence. News of German military dispositions along the long eastern frontier from Finland and the Baltic to the Dardanelles has been coming freely from German-controlled news sources.

This suggests that while the military movements are a fact, they are perhaps being presented in an exaggerated form in accordance with the well-established Nazi propaganda-pressure methods. In any case Moscow officially told the world last Saturday that these German movements are actually in progress—and Moscow must know.

3. As part of his effort to resist or at least to bargain for a reduction in Hitler's demands, Stalin is putting on a cautious counter-demonstration of his own—the movement of Red Army troops in Moscow under the guise of "summer maneuvers."

"DEMOCRACIES" VAINLY HOPING

These are the apparent facts. From these facts wishful observers in London and Washington are building up the hope of an early and widespread collision between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. If, secretly, they really know better, they are at least trying by this means to fan a little the smouldering embers of Nazi-Soviet conflict which are indubitably present.

In the absence of positive information or overt acts by the parties concerned, one can at best speculate, to be sure, concerning the real line-up. But there are certain general observations which one can draw upon for orienta-

tion in measuring the possibilities and probabilities of the situation.

First of all, it is highly unlikely that Hitler wants at this time a frontal clash with the Soviet Union. For Hitler to become involved in such a conflict would mean—regardless of the easy optimism of the German military staff—that Britain gains a desperately needed respite, a respite that might well be the difference between ultimate victory or defeat.

If Hitler were actually balked in his death drive against the British Empire, it is conceivable that he might seek a solution in the East. But that is by no means his present position. The Battle of the Middle East has not yet even begun and Britain's position there is by no means impregnable.

It is also conceivable that Hitler's need for Russian oil and wheat is so desperate that he is willing to take the broad gamble of military action to acquire them. But it is, on the one hand, not yet clear that his need is this desperate and, on the other hand, he can certainly still count on extracting his wants—or a fair share of them—from Stalin without going to war.

APPEASEMENT WOULD FOLLOW

One factor should be noted at this point however: Should Hitler in the near future decide that he has to use force against the Soviet Union, it is quite safe to assume that such a turn in the war will be utilized to bring about a negotiated peace with Britain and to forestall U.S. entry into hostilities. It has always been the hope of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc that Hitler would become engaged with the U.S.S.R. in a mutually costly and even exhausting war.

But none of the conditions at the present time suggest that Hitler is considering this course. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that he intends to press forward his effort to deal a death blow to the British Empire and believes he can bend the Kremlin to his will without resorting to force.