FOR A RISING SCALE OF WAGES TO MEET INCREASED LIVING COSTS!

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GOVERNMENT ACTS TO CHECK PAY RISES

Steel Union Convention Shows Rising Discontent

Rank and File Delegates Voice Growing Dissatisfaction With Leaders' Policies

By ART PREIS

CLEVELAND, May 23. — The four-day constitutional convention of the CIO United Steelworkers of America, which raced through its final session last night in the Public Auditorium here, revealed the rank and file steel workers' deep-seated dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic administration of their union and with the do-nothing policies of the leadership in the settlement of their mounting grievances.

Behind this dissatisfaction, which expressed itself during the convention primarily on organizational issues, is a growing unrest among the steel workers because of their rapidly worsening conditions: extensive part-time unemployment despite increasing war production; the refusal of the bosses, taking advantage of the no-strike agreement of the union leaders, to settle grievances; and the sharp decline in living standards due to price rises.

This underlying unrest revealed itself at the convention in the form of rank and file resistance to a number of proposals put forth by Philip Murray, chairman of the former Steel Workers Organizing Committee and president of the newly constituted international.

MURRAY DOMINATED

From the very outset of the convention, Murray personally assumed the job of beating down this rank and file opposition. He disclosed his main aims to be the centralizing of all power in his own hands, lining up of the union for unconditional support of the Roosevelt administration, and curbing of any attempts to initiate a fighting program in defense of the steel workers' interests.

From first to last, this was Murray's convention. He dominated it at every moment, speaking lengthily on all issues, great or small. In addition to his own personal prestige, carefully built up and ballyhooed, Murray relied principally on the authority of President Roosevelt, in whose name he continually spoke, to whip the delegates into line and shove over his program.

In this way, and with the aid of a powerful machine of paid organizers and functionaries who honeycombed the convention and whooped it up for Murray at every crucial point, Murray secured the constitution and powers he sought. But this was achieved at the expense of his prestige among a large number of delegates. Murray himself openly bears the responsibility for the unpopular measures which he thrust down the throats of the delegates.

A CHANGED ATTITUDE

Today hundreds of the rank and file delegates homeward bound to the mill towns and steel centers are angry as hornets. They feel compromised before their local members, who in many instances mandated them to fight for issues which Murray opposed. Most of them had entered the convention staunch Murray supporters, firmly believing that Murray himself bore no responsibility for the bureaucratic, do-nothing methods of his lieutenants and organizers. Every conscious delegate now knows differently.

The genuinely representative delegates had come to the convention with the hope of drafting a truly democratic constitution, which would safeguard the rights of the members and provide them with local autonomy and the means for building their local unions. They had come in the belief that they would be permitted to establish a militant leadership directly elected from their own ranks, including their local organizers. They had come expecting to initiate a program of action which would enable them to settle their grievances in the plants and win their demands for a dollar-a-day general wage raise and the union shop.

But they left the convention with a constitution formally consolidating all power in Murray's hands alone and depriving the local unions of any vestige of autonomy. They left with a program which pays mere lip service to their wage and union security demands, while offering no plan to win them other than continued reliance on the War Labor Board and Roosevelt.

MURRAY'S KEY-NOTE

At the very outset of the convention, in his opening key-note address, Murray made plain the main lines of his policy. He stressed as his chief concern the maintenance of undeviating support for Roosevelt and the war, and the continuance of the no-strike and government arbitration commitments made by the national union leaders after Pearl Harbor. Any delegate, he indicated, who dared to oppose his policies would be considered disloyal not only to Murray but to Roosevelt, and would be branded as an unpatriotic disrupter.

In deference to the obvious desires of the delegates to create a democratic union, Murray repeatedly spoke of his desire for a "democratic union" and a "democratic constitution."

But this was mere window-dressing. The second main point of his opening address was a scarcely veiled threat against any delegate who might seek to organize an opposition to his policies:

"I do not want—as a matter of fact, I shall fight any attempt that is made to have little back-room caucuses while this convention is going on . . . So if any of the boys are thinking right now of midnight sessions in strange places in the city of Cleveland, just begin to forget about it right now. There is only going to be one convention—remember that, and that is this convention in this hall. Do not forget that."

This was aimed primarily at loyal rank and file steel union members whose dissatisfaction was well known to Murray and who were openly voicing their discontent around the hotel lobbies prior to the convention.

FIRST BIG FLAREUP

The rank and file resistance flared up on the first important issue, during the report of the Committee on the Officers' Report, hand-picked by Murray as all the other convention committees were.

When the reporter for the committee read the section concurring in the leaders' policy of surrendering the standard overtime pay for week-end and holiday work falling within the 40-hour week, there was an immediate stir among the delegates.

Hands shot up, delegates called for the floor. There was a whispered consultation among the leaders on the platform. Three delegates took the floor one right after another, to speak against the proposal. They were not too articulate, they were not used to speaking to such a large audience, and they felt uncomfortable before the microphone. But they spoke the voice of the members back home.

The first opposition speaker simply stated: "I object to that, and our local union objects to that absolutely and we will not stand for it."

This brief statement brought a volley of applause. Two other delegates then spoke briefly in the same vein. At this point Murray intervened, as he was to do on all subsequent issues.

While the delegates were permitted a scant five minutes to speak their minds, Murray and the other officers were permitted to speak as long as they desired. The main point of Murray's first statement on the overtime issue was to the effect that it was really no sacrifice, that present practices in the steel industry were such that few workers would be affected by such a surrender.

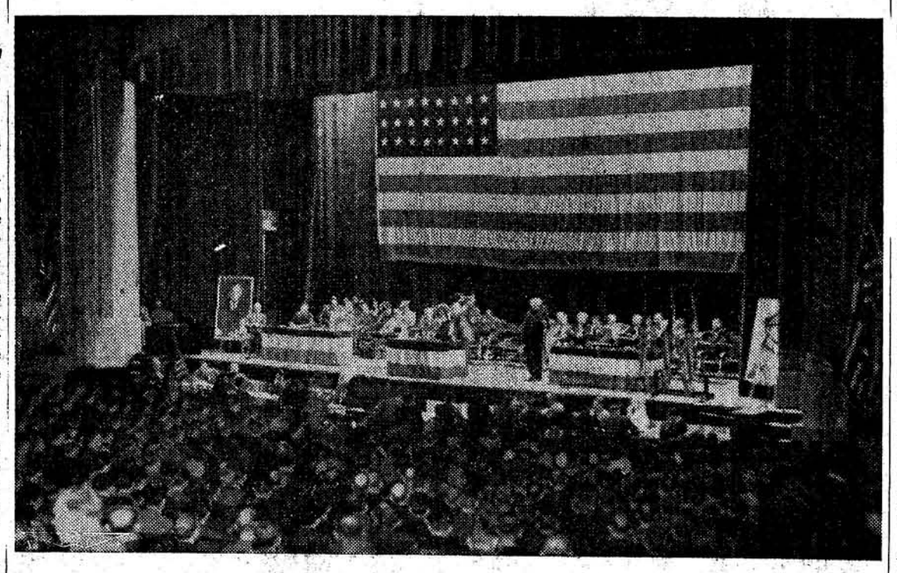
MURRAY CRACKS WHIP

After this, ten more delegates took the floor in opposition. The response to their views grew warmer and warmer. Then Murray spoke again, this time cracking the whip hard.

He poured it on about every union in the country supporting the proposal. He declared that if the steel workers did not accept

(Continued on page 2)

AT THE STEEL CONVENTION



Above is a scene at the first constitutional convention of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, representing 600,000 organized workers. Probably the largest trade union convention ever held in this country, it was attended by about 1700 delegates. A report on the convention written by THE MILITANT's special correspondent will be found on the left side of this page.

ACT NOW TO SAVE WALLER'S LIFE!

An Editorial

The fight to save the life of Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper condemned to be executed in Virginia on June 19, was taken to the United States Supreme Court for the second time this week.

The first time, on May 4, the Court refused to review the case, and failed to even state the reason for its refusal.

This time the Waller case goes to the Court with more public support than ever before. This time a brief to the Court on behalf of Waller was signed among others by Lee Pressman, general counsel for the CIO, and Joseph A. Padway, general counsel for the AFL.

Other organizations which signed the brief are the American Civil Liberties Union; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; National Urban League; United Transport Service Workers of America; Southern Tenant Farmers Union; Union for Democratic Action; Negro Labor Committee. The defense movement is also supported by numerous central labor bodies and trade union locals, and liberal groups.

All this is evidence of the growing realization by the masses that their own rights as well as Waller's are under attack in this case.

Waller killed his white landlord in self-defense during a dispute over the crop shares belonging to the Waller family. He was entitled to trial by a jury of his peers — but he was denied the right to such a trial. In Virginia only payers of the poll tax can be placed on the jury lists. The poverty-stricken sharecroppers like Waller who barely earn enough to feed themselves are unable to pay the poll tax. More than 80 per cent of the population in Waller's county are barred therefore both from voting and serving on juries.

The masses of people do not know what legal pretext the Court had in mind when it refused to consider the Waller case. But they do know that if one man can be denied the right of trial by a jury of his peers, so can others. And they know that the best time to stop it from going any further is now. That is why they are rallying to the defense of this victim of the brutal sharecropper system.

The masses do not know what the Court's attitude is toward the poll tax, because the Court expressed no opinion in refusing to review this case. But they do know that the disfranchisement of the southern workers and sharecroppers results in the systematic election of legislators who control the most important congressional committees, sponsor the most reactionary anti-labor legislation, spike such measures as anti-lynch bills and relief appropriations and thus affect the conditions of workers in all parts of the country. That is why the masses want the Supreme Court to act on the Waller case, and using it as a basis, to declare the poll tax unconstitutional.

The movement defending Waller is growing every day, its voice of protest is becoming loud and unmistakable. But it must grow more and it must protest louder — until even the Supreme Court, which "follows the elections," does not feel it wise to ignore the case. In this fight every workers' organization in the country has an interest and a part to play, and should be called upon to take action before it is too late.

Bosses Get Roosevelt 'Hint' To Stall Wage Negotiations

Administration Putting Pressure On Union Heads to Accept 'Voluntary' Wage Freezing

President Roosevelt's April 28 declaration that the workers "will have to forego higher wages for the duration of the war" is shaping up in practice as a drive to hold up any general wage increases now. This drive is further intended to lay the basis for invalidating existing union contractual provisions and to force the union leaders into "voluntary" wage freezing agreements.

Roosevelt's latest move to block wage increases was his press statement on May 22 in connection with the report that three West Coast aircraft companies were prepared to offer wage increases. He stated that the government would do all in its power to prevent what he called "unwarranted" wage raises voluntarily granted by the employers.

Even where the corporations express willingness and ability to pay, as in the instance of the aircraft corporations, Roosevelt declared that no plant could be permitted to grant increases "which would make workers in other plants unhappy." (N. Y. Times, May 23.)

EFFECT OF FDR's "HINT"

Roosevelt's statement is generally regarded as a weighty 'hint' to the private companies to grant no further wage increases without sanction of the government. The general effect of this "hint" will be to strengthen the hand of the entire employing class in resisting the unions' demands for wage increases. It will encourage the employers to stall wage negotiations and insist that all wage disputes go before the War Labor Board or other government agencies.

The policies which the government is likely to follow were indicated last week by William Davis, WLB chairman. He stated that the administration is considering favorably the fixing of a maximum wage "ceiling" beyond which no increases would be granted. He cited $25 a week as a possible maximum, along the lines of the wage-freezing "Canadian plan."

Such wage increases as might be granted in the "sub-standard" brackets, he stated further, will probably be limited to not more than 50 per cent of the cost of living increase since the fixing of the previous wage scale. This would follow the lines of the so-called "Chicago formula" in the national shipyard negotiations. In those negotiations, Roosevelt directly intervened to force the unions to accept less than half of the increases to which they were entitled under an existing government-written contract.

Immediately following Davis' wage policy statement, announcement was made that Roosevelt intends to set up a special board to formulate government policy with respect to wage increases offered voluntarily by private management or through direct negotiations between the bosses and the unions. This board, it is reported, will most likely consist of Davis, Price Administrator Henderson, War Manpower Commissioner Paul McNutt and Secretary of Labor Perkins.

One of the most dangerous aspects of the emerging form of Roosevelt's wage policies, is the precedents he is setting for the abrogation of existing union contracts. The shipyard's case is one outstanding example.

Another, which has received little newspaper notice, was Roosevelt's signing of a bill on May 14, suspending the Walsh-Healey Act provision requiring firms with government contracts to pay overtime rates for more than eight hours work a day where such is included in a union contract. This abrogates an important contractual obligation, and permits government contractors to work men 12 hours a day before paying overtime. In those industries affected by material shortages, such as steel, this will mean a direct wage cut for many workers. This, as well as the shipyard case directive, is in outright violation of Roosevelt's April 27 assurance that "existing contracts between employers and employes must, in all fairness, be carried out to the expiration dates of those contracts."

AIM AT "VOLUNTARY" WAGE FREEZING

The aim of all these threatening moves is to put pressure on the trade union leaders to accept some form of "voluntary" wage freezing, disguised under the formula of "wage stabilization." Roosevelt prefers to fix wage levels by this method, rather than resort to compulsory measures which would intensify working class dissatisfaction with the administration and create a serious source of friction with the union movement.

The first fruits of this drive for "voluntary" wage freezing was the agreement last week by the AFL Building Trades Council, the most powerful section of the AFL, to freeze most of the existing wage scales as of July 1 for at least one year and "subject to annual renewal for the duration of the war." The agreement signed by the building trades union leaders and the government contracting agencies further established a Wages Adjustment Board to administer the agreement.

So far as the workers' living standards are concerned, the net effect of "voluntary" wage freezing is the same as that of compulsory wage freezing. In either case the workers wages would be fixed in the face of rising living costs due to mounting taxes, scarcity, price rises, etc. The workers must resist "voluntary" and compulsory wage freezing with equal determination.

THOUSANDS STRIKE AT BUDD PLANT

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., May 25. — Local newspapers have been completely silent about the most important local strike in many years — the strike of the United Auto Workers Local 813 at the Budd plant, largest industrial factory in Philadelphia.

The Budd management, which has always been the symbol of the open-shop in this city, brought things to a head early last week when they locked out a group of union welders for asking for higher wages. E. G. Budd refused to engage in any negotiations, and the union was forced to call its members out on strike.

Several thousand workers have already come out, with more departments and shops joining them every day. The entire local labor movement — CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood — is supporting the strike, and with union truck drivers refusing to cross the picket line, materials are growing ever scarcer inside the plant.

The CIO has been trying to organize the plant for the last year and a half, and has had to face die-hard opposition and continuous discrimination. Numerous grievances have been taken to the NLRB and the WLB, but Budd stands firm, refusing to mediate and make any concessions. The union has called on the government to take over the plant, which formerly manufactured auto bodies and now has millions of dollars worth of war contracts, especially munitions.

The employers in Philadelphia have rallied to the support of Budd for the same reason that the labor movement has rallied to the support of Local 813 — because they realize that the unionization of the "slaughter-house," as Budd is called, will have an inspiring effect on the workers throughout the city and may set off an all-out organizing campaign.

The Budd workers have the backing in this fight not only of the Philadelphia labor movement, but also of the body shops in Detroit, and particularly of Budd Local 306 of Detroit, which has demonstrated its support in a material as well as moral sense by donating $1000 to aid in the organization of the Philadelphia plant.

STRIKING CONTRAST

The striking contrast in conditions between the Budd plants in Philadelphia and Detroit is a perfect example of the difference between an open shop and a well organized shop.

Philadelphia welders get approximately 80 cents an hour, while in the Detroit plant they get $1.28. Machine operators get about 75-80 cents an hour, while in Detroit they get $1.25 an hour. In fact, the lowest wage in the Detroit plant, 88 cents an hour, paid to unskilled laborers, is about as much as the highest paid workers in the Philadelphia plant receive.

In addition, the Detroit shop has a complete system of seniority which protects workers from discrimination, while in the Philadelphia plant they are hired and fired at will.

These differences are not only a sign of what organization can gain for the workers, but also a direct incentive to organization of the Philadelphia plant and the winning of the strike.

Bolivian Government Arrests Fourth International Leaders

Nine members of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International have been arrested by the Bolivian Security Police on the charge of "planning to overthrow the government," and others are being hunted, according to Bolivian and Argentine newspapers received here.

The newspaper *El Diario* of La Paz, the Bolivian capital, carries an eight-column headline, in its February 22 issue: "Fourth International was planning to overthrow the government." It reports that Trotskyists "cells" were operating in Potosi, Oruror, Cochabamba, Pulacayo and other mining towns, as well as in La Paz where the arrests took place.

The Assistant Chief of the Security Police, David Mollinedo, in an interview with El Diario, names among those arrested Humberto Perez Rocha and Oscar Alandia Pantoja, the latter identified as head of the La Paz "cell." A third named is an Argentine citizen, Carlos Ibarra Grasso. The names of the others arrested are not given.

According to the police the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Workers Revolutionary Party) was established in Bolivia as a section of the Fourth International on January 14, 1941, with Miguel Alandia Pantoja as General Secretary; Oscar del Villar as Secretary; and with Guillermo Lora, Humberto Perez Rocha, Oscar Alandia Pantoja and others as its National Committee. Apparently the General Secretary and the Secretary have not yet been seized by the police, who say that the central leadership of the party was established in the mining center of Cochabamba.

SAY LITERATURE CAME FROM OTHER LANDS

In the police statements to the press, much was made of the claim that pamphlets and letters were received by the POR from New York, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and other South American countries.

Leaflets and slogans pasted on the city walls during the past year by the party had led the police to a systematic hunt for the La Paz "cell."

According to the March 1 *La Nacion* of Buenos Aires, an attempt of those arrested to secure their release through habeas corpus proceedings because their detention was unconstitutional failed when the court of La Paz ruled that the proceeding is under the jurisdiction of the criminal code.

The State's Attorney has signed an indictment providing that a criminal proceeding begin against Oscar Alandia Pantojo and the eight other workers arrested.

A "GOOD NEIGHBOR" FOLLOWS U. S. PATTERN

The reactionary Bolivian dictatorship, paraded as a sister "democracy" by Washington, is thus following in the footsteps of its Yankee master. The conviction of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO on "seditious conspiracy" charges in the infamous Minneapolis trial, in which sentences of sixteen and twelve months were handed down December 8, is the master pattern which is now being followed by the Bolivian reactionaries. In both cases the charge boils down: to the fact that the victims are revolutionary Marxists, fighters for working class freedom.

This vicious blow against the Bolivian revolutionists serves to remind class-conscious American workers of the unity of the workers of the Americas against their common exploiter—Yankee imperialism and its "native" agents.

Dunne Returns To Washington In Last Lap Of Tour

Speaks at Banquet In Seattle, Open Meet'g In Tacoma

SEATTLE, Wash., May 24. — V. R. Dunne, Minnesota labor leader and one of the 18 convicted in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial, was welcomed on his return trip to the state of Washington by two extremely successful affairs held in Seattle and Tacoma last week. Dunne is now on the concluding lap of his nationwide tour of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which is mobilizing labor and public support for the Minneapolis defendants.

In Seattle a banquet honoring Dunne was held at the Church of the People; it was sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and the local branch of the CRDC.

Seventy-nine people attended the banquet and after hearing Dunne explain the issues in the Minneapolis case, about 30 signed up to aid the work of the CRDC.

State Senator Mary Farquharson, chairman of the local ACLU, welcomed Dunne and spoke of the danger to civil liberties from the 1940 Smith "Gag Act," under which the Minneapolis defendants were found guilty. Fred W. Shorter, chairman of the local CRDC, then introduced Dunne and spoke of his respect for Dunne as a person and for the fine work he was doing.

The audience was composed of rank and file AFL and CIO members, members of the ACLU, NAACP, FOR, Urban League, IWW and faculty members of the University of Washington. Many of the above groups plan to act upon endorsement of the work of the CRDC at their next meeting.

A collection of more than $20 was taken at the banquet and a great deal of literature was sold.

TACOMA MEETING HELD IN CIO HALL

The Tacoma CRDC, under the chairmanship of R. J. Pearsol, arranged a meeting of some 30 people in that city. The meeting was held Sunday, May 17, in the CIO hall and was attended primarily by union members and liberals. Freeman Cochrane, secretary of the Tacoma Industrial Union Council, was chairman of the meeting.

After Dunne's speech the audience discussed ways and means of aiding the CRDC. Several of the union members said they would arrange to contact their members in outlying locals.

Ceylon Trotskyist Leaders Escape British Jailers

Had Been Imprisoned For Their Struggles Against Imperialism

Four leaders of the Fourth International section in Ceylon, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, escaped from prison early in April, according to British newspapers just received here.

Previously THE MILITANT reported the escape of N. M. Perera and D.P.R. Gunawardene, elected members of the Ceylon State Council, as reported in a radio-alarm from Ceylon heard in Far Eastern waters.

In addition to these two comrades, it is now reported that two others escaped: Colin R. de Silva and Edmund Samaakody.

Another outstanding leader of the party, Leslie Gunawardene, has successfully evaded arrest since 1940, so that all the principal party leaders are now at large, despite the desperate attempts of the British Governor-General to keep them behind bars.

The Trotskyist party was formally outlawed by the British recently.

AN OPEN LETTER IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Following the issuance of a Communist Party leaflet slanderously attacking the Trotskyists and THE MILITANT, the Socialist Workers Party of San Francisco last week issued an open letter to the organized labor movement of San Francisco and the members of the Communist Party. The open letter reads as follows:

Brothers:

Those individuals and groups who seek to destroy democracy are deadly enemies of the working class. Unfortunately, there is such a group active in the labor movement. Their weapons are slander, lies and vilification. They seek to terrorize and intimidate any who dares to oppose them. That group is the so-called Communist Party. They do not use the firing squad and concentration camp to silence their opponents only because they lack the power.

Last week, a mimeographed sheet was distributed to sections of the San Francisco trade union movement aiming to whip up a lynch spirit against the distributors of THE MILITANT, Trotskyist national weekly newspaper. This leaflet was issued by the "Waterfront Section" of the Communist Party. Among other choice bits of slander it had the following to say:

"Distributed in some parts of town and particularly to union meetings is a Trotskyist sheet . . . THE MILITANT, hard at work for the Axis . . ."

The Stalinist "Waterfront Section" charges that THE MILITANT has been "hard at work for the Axis." Proof for such a serious accusation? NONE! There is no proof and there can be none because it is a vile lie concocted by the leaders of the Communist Party. The facts are the opposite. THE MILITANT, together with the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists), has established an outstanding record in the American labor movement as determined fighters against fascism. We give here a small part of the record!

Anti-Fascist Record Is Proven

On February 21, 1939, the Bundists and Coughlinites held a mass meeting in New York City. The Socialist Workers Party, utilizing THE MILITANT, mobilized the workers of New York in a monster demonstration against the mass meeting and drove the fascists to cover.

On the next day, February 22, 1939, the Bund tried the same stunt of holding a mass meeting in Los Angeles. There again the Socialist Workers Party together with THE MILITANT rallied the workers in a counter-demonstration that made the Bundists run like rats for their holes.

Further, when the boss-sponsored Silver Shirts tried to invade Minneapolis, the Trotskyists along with the leadership of Local 544 of the Teamsters organized a workers defense guard movement that drove the Silver Shirts out of town. This is in the record and can be verified by anyone interested in finding out the truth.

At this moment 18 men and women have been tried and convicted under the notorious Smith Gag Law. This law was sponsored by the pro-fascist, poll-tax Congressman Smith, of Virginia. The Smith Gag Law has been condemned by both the CIO and AFL. Among the 18 convicted are the national leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, the editors of THE MILITANT and the leaders of Local 544 (CIO).

During the trial of the 18, the Federal government, which had made an investigation of the activities and ideas of the defendants, did not so much as hint that these defendants could be linked with any Fascist movement, whether American or foreign.

If the 18 Trotskyists and labor leaders are "hard at work for the Axis," explain then, Messrs. Stalinist leaders, how the following labor organizations—which are only a few of a long list—support the 18. Are these organizations Axis agents too?

Labor Support of Defendants

For the benefit of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party we will first mention the waterfront unions which have voted moral and financial support for the defendants: The Marine Cooks and Stewards, the Marine Firemen and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen of San Diego, San Pedro and San Francisco. Four locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers have endorsed the defense.

Among the other union organizations are numerous locals of the United Auto Workers, CIO; New Jersey State Industrial Union Council; St. Louis, San Francisco and Bridgeport Industrial Union Councils; Steel City Industrial Union Council (Pittsburgh); CIO Council No. 2 of Bucks County, Quakertown; United Shoes Workers Joint Council No. 13, New York City; United Auto Workers District Council, Lockport, N. Y.; International Ladies Garment Workers Joint Board, AFL, Baltimore and the Dress and Waistmakers Joint Board, ILGWU, AFL, New York City.

These unions who rallied to the support of the 18 did so because it is crystal clear that the men and women convicted were being persecuted for their progressive union activity, socialist ideas and courageous anti-fascist struggle.

The 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case were convicted for advocating the Socialist ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. To support the indictment, the prosecution introduced as evidence—the Communist Manifesto, as well as the works of Lenin. We leave it to the "Waterfront Section" to explain why an organization that calls itself the Communist Party stigmatizes as allies of the Axis, people whom the capitalist courts have just convicted for advocating the ideas and program of the great founders of scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The Trotskyists are the foremost fighters against fascism in all countries. Many hundreds are suffering in the concentration camps of Germany, Italy, Spain and France. Others have been executed for their struggle against fascism by Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Above all others, the Trotskyists are hated and feared by the fascists.

For Defense of Soviet Union

In addition, the Trotskyists have a consistent record of being the defenders of the Soviet Union as a workers state, in spite of the misleadership of the Stalin bureaucrats. In the midst of the period when all those who are now praising the Soviet Union were loudly condemning it, the Trotskyists and THE MILITANT remained firm in their defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

We charge that the leaflet issued by the so-called "Waterfront Section" of the Communist Party is part of a national and international lynch campaign against all those in the labor movement who dare oppose the Stalinist policy of completely subjugating the unions to Wall Street and the large industrialists. These dollar-patriots mouth patriotic phrases while continuing to cripple war production in order to stuff their bulging purses with "sky-is-the-limit" profits.

The Stalinists are not only anxious to appease the monopolists who are conducting a constant anti-union campaign, but have become the leaders of a 'witch-hunt' against ALL militants who want to preserve union gains and union rights.

Far from leading to an effective struggle against fascism at home or abroad, the Stalinist policy of hamstringing the workers, of misleading them into putting their faith in this or that boss rather than in the workers' own power, their own unions and their own organized strength, leads to a weakening of the labor movement and a strengthening of fascism.

The monopolists, who are now being whitewashed by the Stalinists, have in the past supported, are now supporting and will in the future support fascist movements directed against the labor movement.

On Guard Against Frame-Up Machine

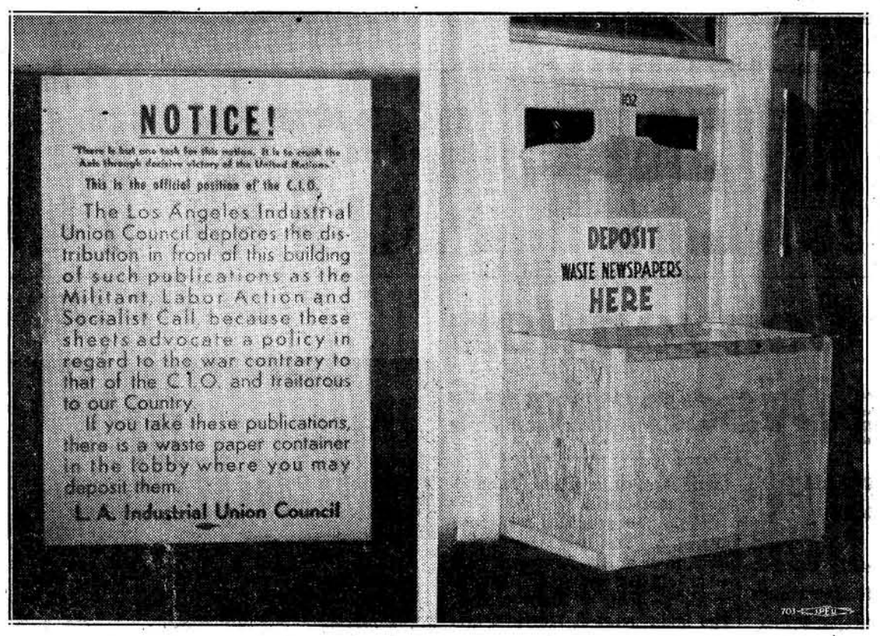
The attack which the Stalinists are attempting to unleash on THE MILITANT and the Trotskyists is a forerunner of similar attacks against all who stand in favor of preserving labor's rights.

On guard against the frameup artists, lynch inciters and liars in the leadership of the Communist Party!

Workers! Trade Unionists! Rank and File members of the Communist Party! READ THE MILITANT FOR YOURSELF AND THEN JUDGE THE TRUTH OR FALSEHOOD OF THE POISON PEN BUREAUCRATS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

Issued by the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists), San Francisco

C. P. BOOKBURNERS AT WORK



That the Communist Party will stop at noth g in its efforts to keep the workers from learning the truth about the anti-labor offensive and the treachery of the Stalinists is indicated by the above photographs taken at the Los Angeles CIO hall. Cloaking themselves in patriotism and trying to make the workers forget that only a year ago they were supporters of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Communist Party forces in the Los Angeles CIO Council railroaded through a resolution "deploring" the distribution of certain working class papers in front of the CIO hall. When the slanderous resolution failed to achieve its purpose, the Stalinists posted the sign and built the box shown above, and stationed "monitors" beside the box to put pressure on the workers. But at last reports, the Stalinist book-burners have still had little success, and the workers continue to read the papers.

WORKERS' FORUM

Wants to Help In Distribution of THE MILITANT

Editor:

I recently arrived here from Boston, Mass., after a three-year stay there. I attended meetings held by your group there and was deeply gratified by the work they are doing.

I am a Negro and I am sure my people will be interested in your paper, THE MILITANT. I am sure I can put out as many papers as you could send. So mail me as many as possible and perhaps some booklets and other pamphlets, C.O.D. each week.

T. S.
Florida.

A CORRECTION

Editor:

Permit me to correct an error that crept into the column, "Stalin Blames the Red Army Ranks for Early Defeats," which appeared in the May 23 MILITANT. While not a grievous mistake, it nevertheless tends to obscure the point I was making in the column.

The column was concerned with two pronouncements of Stalin. They were both made in the form of Orders of the Day. One was made on the anniversary of the Red Army, Feb. 22; the other on May 1.

In the Feb. 22 document, Stalin blamed the early defeats of the Red Army on the "unexpectedness and suddenness" of the German attack. On May 1, a little more than two months later, Stalin evolved an entirely new reason for the same defeats, one that is characteristic of the criminal methods of the bureaucratic Stalinist regime. In the new version, the defeats are blamed on "complacency and frivolousness" in the ranks of the Red Army.

In my article I quoted the following from Stalin's Feb. 22 Order of the Day: "This circumstance should be noted: No sooner had the German arsenal lost the weapon of suddenness than the German Army was confronted with catastrophe." However, when this was printed in THE MILITANT, it was described as part of Stalin's May 1 Order of the Day.

I wish to emphasize: the above quotation is from the Feb. 22 Order of the Day, the full text of which was printed in the Feb. 23 N. Y. Times. Nowhere is the element of "unexpectedness and suddenness" mentioned in the May 1 document.

Fraternally,
M. STEIN

A Loan

Editor:

I opened the outer door of the apartment building where I live and was fumbling for the key to the inner door. It was 11 P. M., the time one gets home from a branch meeting.

Suddenly I felt a thrust in the side. A gaunt looking young man had burst into the entrance. His hand was in his pocket and was pushing against me. "Listen, lady," he said, "I have a gun here. Give me that," pointing to my purse.

Now I have heard that pickpockets never keep purses in their possession, as they can be used as evidence. So I said, "You don't want this, but I will give you the money in it." I began to search the purse for money, but could find only a little change. "Well," I said, "I haven't much here, but I think I have a couple of dollars tucked away in my clothes. I'll give you that."

When he saw I was so willing to help him, he said, "Lady, I'm sorry to have to do this, but I can't get work anywhere. I am an ex-convict and I can't get defense work or any other kind of work. They don't care whether I kick the bucket or not."

I began to talk fast. "Well," I said, "that's too bad. I have been working for two years for the unemployed and now I am helping the CIO. I have been in the labor movement for years, trying to make it possible for everybody to get work."

"Oh," he said, "now maybe you need the money. You'd better give me the change in the purse and keep the two dollars." "Oh, no," I replied. "I don't need it so badly. You take it for yourself."

And so we argued. At last I persuaded him to keep a one-dollar bill. "Listen, lady," he said earnestly as he was leaving, "this is only a loan. You will get it back."

C. ROBINSON,
Chicago, Ill.

Discontent At Steel Convention

(Continued from page 1)

it they would place themselves in opposition to the rest of organized labor. And he pounded away on the point that to oppose this was to oppose Roosevelt and the war, "because the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, while the country was involved in a great war situation, asked American labor to forego the privilege."

After a 20-minute barrage of this sort, the vote was immediately taken. Despite Murray's intimidation, about 60 delegates openly voted against the proposal, while many more, not wishing to put themselves on the spot, simply abstained.

KEY RESOLUTIONS

The first major task facing the convention was the discussion on the 25 resolutions brought in by Murray's Resolution Committee.

One of the key resolutions was on "Labor and the War," setting forth the position of "wholehearted support to the program of the War Production Board," "wholehearted devotion to the President's War Program" and pledging to "rout out . . . disrupters and fomenters of national disunity."

At this point, the few Stalinist delegates at the convention came alive. Several of them began to raise the question of demanding a "Western Front." Murray just brushed them aside, and they received little encouragement from the convention. All the satisfaction the Stalinists finally got, was a resolution passed later on asking the CIO Executive Board "to give consideration to the question."

The next resolution was on "AFL-CIO Cooperation." This resolution urged a greater measure of collaboration with the AFL through the War Labor Victory Board, but avoided any reference to organic unity. In his remarks on this resolution, Murray indicated that the craft union chiefs were still opposed to industrial organization:

"The matter of obtaining organic unity has its obstacles. There are definite difficulties to be met with, and they are, perhaps, the same kind of difficulties that the CIO had to meet with back in 1935."

AN INSPIRING EVENT

The most inspiring point of the convention was reached in the discussion on the resolutions against Jim Crow discrimination in industry, government and the armed forces and against the poll-tax system in the South.

The role of the Negro delegates at the convention was outstanding. There were about 75 Negro delegates. They participated in all the discussions, and proved to be the most articulate and militant workers at the convention. Several of them, who spoke on the anti-discrimination and poll-tax resolutions, received spontaneous, standing ovations from the convention.

One Negro delegate who inspired such an ovation, an officer of a Chicago local, indicated that increasing trade union leadership is coming from the ranks of the oppressed Negro workers.

"So far as racial discrimination is concerned in my local," he stated, "it is scarcely noticed, but in the plant in which I work there are only nine Negroes, eight of whom are in the union, five of whom are holding office. I have been the president since 1937, without any opposition."

Other delegates, both Negro and white, evoked great applause when they declared that the resolution against discrimination should be more than a matter of lip-service and that the union should take specific steps to combat every concrete manifestation of Jim-Crowism.

CONSTITUTION DEBATE

Throughout the first two days of the convention, there were sudden little oppositional flare-ups on various issues, but Murray promptly squelched them before they could make any headway.

But the real upsurge came during the debate on the constitution, the main business of the convention. The Constitution Committee did not make its report until late on the third day of the convention. By this time, Murray was urging the convention to greater and greater speed, obviously anxious to avoid any debate or opposition.

The delegates were handed a printed copy of the proposed constitution and asked to begin voting on it at once without any opportunity to read or study it in advance. There was an immediate protest from several delegates. A motion to recess for one-half hour was made, but Murray sharply opposed it. On his insistence the motion was defeated, although there was a strong voice for the recess.

As the initial articles and sections of the proposed constitution were read, it became clear to many of the delegates that it was designed to place all power in the hands of the international president, that is, Murray.

"DEMOCRATIC LICENSE"

A rumble spread through the convention hall when a constitutional provision was introduced giving the international president sole power to "appoint, direct, suspend, or remove, such organizers, representatives, agents and employees as he may deem necessary" and to fix their salaries.

Many of the delegates had come expressly instructed by their locals to demand the election of organizers and similar functionaries, because of their sad experiences with the kind of organizers Murray had thrust on them.

Only one delegate had had the chance to speak when Murray stepped in to head off the storm.

Here was not even lip-service to democracy. Murray argued that the union was "only six years old." "We cannot run the gamut of democratic procedure to the point of license. You are only taking the first step in the direction of a democratic set-up. Good as your intentions, you should not assume the hazard of placing the union in jeopardy. And that's what you would do if you threw this convention into confusion and tried to elect organizers, etc."

Several delegates took the floor, enumerating the bad experiences they had had with the machine-picked organizers. Before the debate could get well under way, Murray's men on the floor began clamoring for the vote, which Murray hastily put. This time, over 150 delegates arose to vote against Murray.

Then Murray and his lieutenants began driving for greater speed, discouraging debate, reminding the delegates that this was the last day of the convention. But the greatest resistance was yet to come. This was on the question of dues and per capita to the international.

THE HOTTEST ISSUE

One of the principal organizational grievances of the rank and file has been the heavy per-capita they must pay the international, 75 cents out of each dollar of monthly dues. As a result of this, most of the local unions, particularly those with less than 5,000 members, have little or no funds with which to operate and organize locally.

Hundreds of the delegates had come to the convention instructed by their locals to vote for a 60-40 division of dues, instead of the old 75-25 division.

No sooner was the section on the 75-25 arrangement for dues read, than pandemonium broke loose. A great shout broke out: "Here it comes! Here it comes!" Half the convention was on the floor clamoring for recognition.

But there was no opportunity for debate. Murray stepped up to the microphone with the words, "Now I'm going to do a little blitzkrieg on my own."

Thereupon he scored the rank and file delegates for a full half hour. He told them that anyone who voted against the per capita proposed by him was working to "undermine and destroy our union." He pictured the international officers with their hands tied, and visualized the halting of all work of union expansion. But he was really talking against the very basis of union democracy, which is dependent on the power and strength of the local unions and their ability to function properly. The real issue was whether the union is to be built from the top down, or the bottom up.

No delegate spoke after Murray finished. It appeared that he had silenced all opposition. The vote was called. So strong was the "No!" voice vote, that Murray was forced to call for a standing vote. This was a method favorable to Murray, for many delegates were afraid to expose themselves. Nevertheless, some 300 delegates stood up and openly voted in opposition to Murray.

VITAL QUESTIONS

The great shortcoming of the convention was the failure to properly discuss any of the basic economic issues confronting the steel workers. The crucial questions of wage increases and union security did not come on the floor of the convention until the very tail-end, in the last half hour of Friday night's extra session.

While Murray had expressed himself at one point in the convention against wage freezing, the specific question of the dollar-a-day wage demands in Little Steel and the demand for the union shop were deliberately buried throughout most of the convention.

At the last moment, a wage policy resolution, containing many correct features including the reaffirmation of the dollar-a-day increase demand, was hastily read to the convention. There was no opportunity for discussion. There was no implementing program offered for winning the demands. A quick vote was taken, and the convention was then adjourned. It was obvious throughout the convention that Murray did not care to place any emphasis on the vital issues of wages and union security.

The results and significance of the convention can be briefly summarized.

In itself, the establishment of an international steel workers industrial union with its own elected officers marks a great historic achievement of the American labor movement, crowning a struggle of more than half a century against the greatest open-shop interests in the country.

While the steel workers did not secure the kind of democratic union based on militant policies which they desired, they demonstrated at this convention their growing will and determination to build such a union.

It was clear that the steel workers failed to secure an effective program to defend their interests because they are in the contradictory position of trying to win economic gains while upholding a union leadership which is constantly retreating before the bosses and government.

But the lessons of this convention have been driven home to hundreds of the delegates who participated in it. They are beginning to see the need for a clear cut militant and progressive program. In the coming period, they will formulate that program and find for it a warm response among the ranks of the steel workers.

James P. Cannon

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

By Albert Parker

How to Fight Army Jim Crow

For eight weeks Judge Philip Forman of the United States District Court tried to get Donald Wayman Sullivan, a Negro who lived in Newark, N. J., to reconsider his attitude to being drafted into the army.

Sullivan had refused to go into the army because it would segregate him into a separate Negro regiment and treat him as a different kind of person solely because his skin is darker than that of some "whites."

Judge Forman read things to Sullivan and pleaded with him and so on. He gave him Hitler's "Mein Kampf" to read, and showed that Hitler had called Negroes "half-apes." Finally, the judge, preparing to announce sentence on Sullivan, asked:

"How can you sit idly by and say 'I will not raise my finger against the man who thinks my race is only half human?'"

And Sullivan answered: "There are a lot of people over here that agree with him (Hitler)."

So the judge sentenced him to three years in a federal prison.

There were of course some unusual aspects to this particular case. Most judges don't spend eight weeks trying to convince people to go into the army. Furthermore, it developed in the course of the case that Sullivan had some years ago attempted on numerous occasions to enlist in the navy in any capacity other than mess attendant and that he had been repeatedly rejected because he was a Negro.

But on the whole, the Sullivan case is typical of all those involving Negroes who object to the draft because of the army's segregation-discrimination policies. It can therefore serve as the basis for a discussion of the far more important question: How can the Negro people successfully carry on the struggle to achieve full equality?

Our Sympathies Lie With Sullivan

In the dispute between Sullivan and the judge representing the government, all our sympathies are of course with Sullivan. His act was one that showed not only courage, but the desire to make a protest against the whole vicious system of Jim Crowism. Sullivan is a thousand times right when he points out that there are plenty of people in this country who share Hitler's racial theories. As a matter of fact, he could have told the judge that the Jim Crow elements in this country practiced racial discrimination against the Negro people before Hitler was even born, and that Hitler only had to borrow and adapt the Jim Crow methods which keep the ruling class in power in the South and the Democratic Party in office in Washington. He could also have told the judge that the chief difference between Hitler and the American Jim Crow elements on this question is that Hitler openly says that the Negro people are half-human, while the Jim Crow elements treat the Negro people as though they were half-human.

Nevertheless, there is a difference between a protest and an effective protest. And we must have no illusions that Jim Crowism can be abolished in the army by a protest such as Sullivan's. Its only immediate result is to remove a brave fighter for Negro equality from the arena of active struggle against Jim Crowism.

But, some people may say, suppose it was more than one person who did what Sullivan did, suppose there were many who followed his example? Wouldn't that be effective?

In the first place, a realistic examination of the situation shows that there is little possibility of a mass movement of Negroes in this direction. Most Negroes are dissatisfied with the way they are treated, but for a number of different reasons they are not ready to go to jail as Sullivan did or are not convinced that such a course would help the situation any.

Would Pose Question of Power

Secondly, and this is much more important, the government if faced with such a movement would take much stronger repressive measures and proceed to crack down with all the power at its disposal. The ruling class would undoubtedly mobilize terroristic gangs such as the Ku Klux Klan to launch a pogrom against the whole Negro people. All this would pose the question of power — who is to control the government? The government of course would fight to the last ditch on this question. But what about the Negro people?

Unless they were prepared to fight back with the same kind of determined struggle, they would suffer a crushing defeat, and if anything their conditions would be worse than they are now.

So you can see that a mass movement following Sullivan's example would be faced with all the questions that face a revolutionary movement. It would first of all have to recognize the decisive character of its fight, and have a clear idea of its goal, the overthrow of the oppressors of the Negro people. It would have to have an experienced revolutionary leadership. And it would have to have the support of the majority of the working class, both white and Negro, or it would go down to defeat.

Whatever else may be said about the present situation, almost everyone will agree that there is at this time no such Negro movement with a revolutionary perspective or revolutionary leadership. To undertake such a course under these conditions then, would be to invite sure disaster.

It should also be noted, incidentally, that the only way such a movement could be even theoretically successful would be by a struggle. Passive resistance, pacifism and all that go with them would have to be quickly discarded once the fight began to involve the masses. This in itself is an argument against such individualistic acts of protest — which are futile when they are not imitated by others, and have to be abandoned when they are.

Behind the West Coast Evacuations

Bankers Profit From Driving Japanese-American Citizens Into Concentration Camps

By GORDON BAILEY

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — A minority problem as acute as any in Europe is being created by the forced removal of Japanese-Americans from the Pacific Coast.

In a move unprecedented in U. S. history, American citizens are being taken from their homes and transported to hastily constructed concentration camps.

From Los Angeles, caravans guarded by army jeeps daily bear Japanese-American families to the desolate Owens River Valley. Here, in the bleak Manzanar Reception Center, surrounded by barbed wire and miles of arid wasteland, men, women and children are living as virtual war-prisoners of their own government.

Evacuations are being enforced by army officials acting under a presidential decree empowering them to bar from certain areas any person they consider undesirable. The army command has power to declare any district a restricted area and to order the removal of any residents. No reason need be given for the evacuation, and American citizenship is no protection.

So far the measure has been applied only to Japanese-Americans and to enemy aliens: but militant workers, liberals or "uncooperative" citizens could be ousted similarly.

BEHIND THE EVACUATIONS

After Pearl Harbor, the press whipped up an hysterical picture of a West Coast invasion aided by Japanese-American residents. The administration had to make a decisive move to show West Coast residents it was alert to their danger. The FBI rounded up all suspected enemy agents in the first few days of the war, but this was not demonstrative enough to give the effect of energetic preparedness the administration was seeking to offset Pearl Harbor.

Considerable pressure for the ousting of Japanese-Americans came, however, from California Chambers of Commerce, the Bank of America, and the reactionary Associated Farmers. These groups see in the Japanese-American farmer not a military menace, but an obstacle to their complete domination of California agriculture. Taking advantage of the situation to demand their ousting in the name of "national defense," California bankers hope to seize control of the truck gardening fields vacated by the Japanese-Americans.

Originally brought to America as a supply of cheap farm labor, the Japanese proved unwilling to serve as super-exploited farm proletarians. Instead they turned to small scale truck gardening.

Finding new competitors instead of a cheap labor supply, California farm interests passed laws against Japanese land ownership. These laws were effective against the first generation of Japanese immigrants, but did not prevent their American born children from acquiring property.

The second and third generation Japanese-Americans developed the truck gardening industry till in 1941, they were producing 35% of California's garden crop, and a total produce worth over $72,000,000. Twenty seven thousand or 55% of all Japanese-Americans were engaged in truck gardening or marketing vegetables. They operated 6118 farms totaling 258,074 acres: an average of 42 acres to a farm.

Large scale machinery could not be employed on farms that size; only small scale cultivation and arduous stoop labor was feasible. While truck gardening remained a minor enterprise dependent on family cultivation, the Japanese-Americans were undisturbed in their fields.

BANKERS SAW THE HOPE

But large scale farming has become the feature of California agriculture where corporations operate single ranches as large as a couple of counties. Farming here is a Big Business enterprise entailing tremendous capital investment and thousands of farm laborers. Control of the capital involved has passed into the hands of financiers centered in the Bank of America, who are seeking ever new fields for investment and profit.

Then came Pearl Harbor! — and the bankers saw hope. With the Japanese-Americans herded behind barbed wire, the way would be cleared for industrialized agriculture. The headlines that blared about the west coast Japanese menace since December 7, reflected not only public alarm, but also the Bank of America's hopes of new fields for conquest.

The speed of evacuations is producing contradictions in the trend toward consolidation of truck gardening. Unemployed dirt farmers are being rushed to the vacated farms to save season's crops. Government loans are being extended to them to maintain the farms in production. The need for an immediate increase in food production encourages the government's policy of maintaining the small units as before.

Nevertheless signs of consolidation can be seen already. A corporation has been formed to operate ten small farms near Los Angeles as a 450 acre unit. Larger consolidations are in progress. Despite government loans dirt farmers are not taking over farms in large numbers. Meanwhile Bank of America capital is pushing steadily into the field.

PUBLIC REACTIONS

There have been very few manifestations of public support for the evacuations. Most people fail to see why entire families should be cast into concentration camps to foil a few possible saboteurs. This is especially puzzling to them when the army announces that none of the evacuees are even suspected of hostility: that potential enemies are being arrested and handled separately.

Indicative of the public's true feelings is the aid given by neighbors to departing evacuees. Aid in packing, temporary shelter, and useful items of all kinds are offered to evacuees by neighbors who knew the Japanese-Americans only as quiet good-mannered residents of the neighborhood.

A Nisie (second generation Japanese-American) student was elected president of his high school here only a few days after Pearl Harbor. Students at City College are collecting toys and games for children at Manzanar. Officials of a union with Japanese members expressed hostility to the evacuations and declared these brothers to be among the most devoted and most militant members.

All this is reflected in the tone of press handling news of the actual evacuations. The evacuees are pictured as good citizens who are making their sacrifice for national defense. Stories of the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce to tighten up the alien land laws are reserved for the inside pages.

The army, having herded the Japanese-Americans into concentration camps, does not know what to do with them. Plans to settle them in interior states are falling through as farm interests there object to a possible source of competition. Idaho and Colorado, requiring considerable labor for their beet fields, have offered to accept several thousands; but state labor bodies fear the influx of cheap labor. Conditions under which semi-war prisoners will work on private farms have not yet been formulated.

Attempts are being made to develop a government-sponsored guayule rubber project at Manzanar, but it is still in the planning stage. Objections have been voiced to paying the evacuees for their labor.

Meanwhile concentration camps are being rapidly filled, new ones are being built, and an eventual 50,000 men, women and children must be housed, fed, and guarded by the army. Actual administration of the camps has been taken over by a government farm agency.

Conditions at Manzanar and the Reception Center at the Santa Anita Race track reflect the haste and ruthlessness of the evacuations. Barracks have been built at Manzanar, but stables serve as accommodations at Santa Anita. No one may leave the camps, and none but blood relatives with passes may visit them: even those conducting welfare work are denied admittance. While attempts are being made to keep families together, this is not always possible due to varying evacuation dates and orders. No provisions have yet been made for continuing the education of children abruptly taken out of school. Physical discomforts at the camps are considerable, but the worst burden of the prisoners is the enforced idleness, which leads to boredom and depression.

Reports of poor conditions at Manzanar became so widespread that General De Witt, in charge of evacuations, was forced to deny the charges. He actually admitted their truth by stating present conditions were temporary.

But whatever the conditions at the camps may be now or may become later, and whatever the ultimate disposal of the Japanese-Americans, they have been cut off from their previous economic bases, and will be unable to return to them after the war.

And so the story of the Japanese-American evacuations stands today — a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desire of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the "war for democracy."

King George's Face And His American Subjects

By a Correspondent

Shortly after the United States entered the war, the job on which I was employed in South America came to an end, and I started back home. In the course of my somewhat leisurely trip back, I observed two incidents which throw much light on the attitude of the American colonial people toward their British rulers.

Georgetown, British Guiana, was a port I visited in the latter part of January. This fairly old coastal town, which projects off the northeast corner of South America, had witnessed a local strike by the stevedores for an increase in wages. The standard of living of the natives is even lower than that of the poorest sharecroppers in our own southern states. They had demanded a wage increase of about sixpence a day, 12 cents, and it had taken several weeks for the British officials to give in to this small demand. The war has skyrocketed the cost of living there, but wages which were too low to start with, did not keep pace with the rise in prices — just as in the United States.

NATIVES SAT STILL

In Georgetown I went to a local movie. At the start of the main feature they always flash a picture of King George on the screen, and play a short refrain from "God Save the King," at which everyone is supposed to stand up.

This night, however, the formality suffered a casualty. The natives who are segregated and forced to sit up front in the movie, would not budge from their seats. For five seconds there was a distinct rumbling of voices from the entire native section of the audience. In the balcony the whites stood up. Then the main feature was swiftly flashed on.

Usually there is a fine of £10 ($50) for this "insult" to the national anthem and imperial figurehead. However, it was a full 200 natives who remained seated and for that reason no one was arrested and the event was not mentioned in the local press. The fact that the poorly paid natives flaunted this comparatively high fine is an indication of what they feel about British rule.

EVERYONE STANDS

Almost two months later I visited Port-Au-Spain, Trinidad, one of the busiest ports in the Caribbean which is now being developed as a U. S. army base. Here I went to the movies again, chiefly to observe the attitude of the natives toward paying tribute to the king. But apparently the British officials had learned a lesson and were avoiding the possibility of demonstrations.

Only when the show was over and the lights put on, did they flash the king's face on the screen and start playing "God Save the King." By this time everyone had already arisen to leave. **In this way things are so arranged that everyone stands up for the king.**

I think it would be fair to say that this is a typical British imperialist solution of the problem of native discontent, as well as a manifestation that the native people no longer have the slightest confidence in their rulers.

Police Add Slander To Jim Crow Brutality

Baltimore Cops Charge That Drunkenness Is Responsible for Negro Dissatisfaction

BALTIMORE, Md., May 23. — Late last month 2000 angry Negroes marched on the state capital to demand of the Governor an immediate end to the beatings and killings of Negroes by Baltimore police. This week official action was begun to whitewash and to "study" the charges of police brutality that have aroused so much resentment among the Negro people here.

The local police department and courts had already whitewashed the cops involved in recent sensational cases. Now, in an attempt to divert attention from themselves, the police have begun to slander the Negro people. According to them, the only reason there has been any trouble is because — the Negro people drink too much!

Fantastic as it may seem, Police Commissioner Stanton called a hearing at which witnesses, mostly cops, testified that the cause of all the unrest in the Negro districts comes from the bars, taverns and package liquor stores. That is the way the official mind sums up the problems of 175,000 Negroes forced to live in three square miles of what is chiefly slum territory.

A DANGEROUS SLANDER

The police hearing was followed by another, staged by the State Liquor Board, which carried on with the same slander, pretending that the mounting wave of dissatisfaction in the Negro districts is due to too much whisky. They know better, but in this way they lay the ground for the addition of more police to the Negro areas.

The police department, says the **Baltimore Sun**, never mentions the word "riot," but constantly prepares for it. What does this means? What kind of "riot" are they expecting? Let them honestly tell why they think there may be a "riot" and they will have to admit it is because Negroes are fed up with police brutality and their miserable living conditions.

The Negro people of Baltimore must beware lest the police seek some excuse for a mass attack on them! They must denounce and expose everywhere the slander that their neighborhoods are the scenes of drunken orgies.

As for Governor O'Connor, his only answer to the March On Annapolis has been to appoint a commission to "study" the situation. Composed of a very conservative group of people, it is a sure thing that the commission's recommendations will be mild indeed, and neither the Governor nor the State Legislature will be under any obligations to carry them out. Militant Negroes here have no illusions about this commission which includes the chief of personnel and employment at the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Co., who for years has told Negroes they can't work at his factory.

WHAT ABOUT THE SEGREGATION PROBLEM?

Of course, no part of the administration has a word to say on the question of segregation. The crowded living conditions of this war-boom town bring disease and death to both white and Negro; but the death rate among the segregated Negroes in this city is 60% higher than among whites. Those responsible for continuing these conditions are killing off many thousands of Negroes more than the police department.

Whatever the Negro people have gained anywhere in the way of better jobs, better housing and greater respect for their rights, they have won only by struggle, by demonstrations, by militant organization. Now that the labor movement has made good strides forward in this city, the Negro people will find it in their own interest to look upon the unions as their allies, and to cooperate with them in the solution of their joint problems. In the direction of Negro-labor unity lies the solution of the problems of the Negro people.

African Natives Enslaved In Name of 'War for Democracy'

The peoples of Europe are subjected to a ferocious oppression by German imperialism and we are entirely with them in their struggle against the Hitlerian satraps.

However, Hitler did not invent forced labor. He only follows the example of the good "democracies." From the Belgian Congo a dispatch of last March tells us:

"The Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, M. Rijckmans, has signed a decree which comes immediately into force, as long as hostilities last, **and without prejudicing the obligations already laid down for native districts.** All male adult able-bodied natives of the Belgian Congo can be obliged to devote their energies to the cultivation, harvesting and picking of agricultural products recognized by the Governor General as being necessary to the war efforts."

The "obligations already laid down" required the natives to do 60 days of unpaid forced labor per year. Now they can be subjected to complete slavery at the discretion of the Governor-General. And this slavery is justified by the interests of the "war for democracy." The strangest thing about this "democracy" that the African people are ordered to defend is that they themselves are not allowed to enjoy any of it.

Another great "democrat," the royalist General de Gaulle, recently delivered a grand speech on liberty. You can easily imagine the style, no need to give quotations. But where did he make this speech on the blessings of liberty? At Brazzaville, that is, in the center of the slave exploitation of the African native people by the "Free" French. . .

What's New About The 'New Order'?

Hitler calls it a "new order"— but in fact there is nothing new about it.

A recent report of the The International Transport Workers' Federation reveals that war profiteering is just as widespread in France since 1940 as it was before or as it is today in the United States and Britain. It says:

"Quotations of leading stocks have risen 250 to 300% between the period prior to the country's collapse in 1940 and the Spring of 1942. On the other hand, workers and all those dependent on their daily earnings are starving.

'An investigation . . . of Toulouse and Lyons shows that the Government - decreed minimum wages are not sufficient for bare necessities, and even these minimum rates are not observed. In Toulouse, 41.9 per cent of workers earn less than 1000 francs ($23.50) a month."

Belgian Labor Party Adopts A Program

One hears little of the Second International in these tempestuous times. However, a precious document has just arrived. It is so precious in fact, that it should be included in the text books of future generations to show how people die intellectually, although their bodies continue to live. This document is the program of the Belgian Labor Party, recently revealed in London by former Labor Minister Arthur Waters:

"The program lists projected internal electoral and administrative reforms and specifies that the monarchical system be retained but on the basis that the king rules, not governs' and that the system be governed by natural interest.

"Private initiative will be encouraged, according to the projected program, but measures must be taken to prevent the 'harmful influence' of monopolies."

To give moral advice to the King, that is the answer of these "Socialists" to the tasks of our epoch!

Join the Socialist Workers Party

ON THE WORKERS' BOOKSHELF

ILL FARES THE LAND by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1942. 419 pages. $3.00.

Part of this interesting document is a result of the findings of the LaFollette Committee, which opened its hearings in California in December, 1939 to investigate reports of violations of civil liberties, particularly with regard to agricultural workers. It is easy to see, on reading McWilliams' story, why the capitalist press did not give wider publicity to the investigators' information. It does not make pretty reading.

In this book the author describes the industrial revolution in agriculture and its effect on the "two types of agricultural migrants: the depression or removal migrants, and the habitual or migratory worker — both victims of the industrial revolution in agriculture."

The purely factual material he presents reads like fantastic fiction; two million men, women and children on the roads of the agricultural South, seeking farm jobs that don't exist. From Maine to Mexico, from the Florida marshes to the State of Washington, the migratory hordes of cotton pickers, beet harvesters, berry pickers and the others straggle in a never-ending and profitless struggle — just to keep alive! This army of Mexican, Negro and poor-white **families** live from year to year in constant starvation and disease while gathering the fruits of the land they no longer can till.

His thesis of the industrial revolution in agriculture, McWilliams amply supports with facts and figures. He points out the nation-wide tendency toward consolidation of land into large operating units, which has been gaining momentum during the past ten years: the greatly increasing number of large farms with a corresponding decrease in the number of smaller farms that occurred during the decade of 1930-40. This and other data take on colorful if tragic meaning in the descriptions of the thousands of families uprooted by the concentration of capital on the land.

The beginnings of the industrial revolution were noticeable before the first World War; McWilliams tells about the "revolution in Texas" as revealed in the hearings of the Walsh Commission on Industrial Relations in 1915, but after 1917 no one remembered the testimony. "In 1915, the tenant-and-cropper system was obviously on the verge of complete collapse. But transportation facilities were not well developed; it was not easy to escape from serfdom. Instead of fleeing to California, tenants organized. What they might have been able to accomplish in their own behalf, if the World War had not intervened, cannot of course, be said. But that they were reaching toward an effective solution seems plausible. . ."

All the evils in the conditions of agricultural workers under the capitalist system, have of course become highly intensified under the war program. Overnight, reports McWilliams, the government bought thousands of acres of land for its war needs, and in many cases gave the farmers two weeks to hit the road. These farmers did not receive compensation from the government, because the land did not belong to them. Neither did they receive any kind of stipend or grubstake from their absentee landlords. They were simply set adrift to join the throngs of other dispossessed farmers suddenly forced to seek another way of making a living. All social problems of the migratory workers are sharpened by the war program: health, education, housing, demoralization. There are 250,000 migrant children in the nation today without school opportunities. Dysentery, pellagra, syphilis, even leprosy, have broken out in many migrant camps.

By now, suggests the author, consideration of the agricultural problems should have progressed from talk to action. He does not believe it is necessary to go so far as to nationalize land, but "if our policy is to force the land to support a large population in order to minimize relief costs, then social control of land is essential." Among the suggestions McWilliams offers are: land leasing associations financed by the federal government; the recognition of the "right to relief" on the basis of need and not of residence; an alliance between the "under half" of American agriculture and organized labor, with labor realizing that there is not one farm group but two — "the spectacle of the AFL and CIO sitting in conference with the Associated Farmers of California is rather ludicrous."

The political problem in agriculture is that "farm labor and farm migrant groups are not adequately represented, either functionally or politically in our scheme of things." In large measure this is because they are not organized. The Grange and Farmers Union do "for the most part, really represent farmers" but the powerful American Farm Bureau is a "company union" of farmers — the initial fund for the organization came from the Lackawanna Railroad and the Chicago Board of Trade, and was formed for the express purpose of keeping down unrest.

Utterly devoid of sentimentality or romanticism regarding farming as a "way of life", written without fear of offending the offenders, this book is a terrible indictment of the capitalist system of rule and ruin. The remedies McWilliams offers are not given as the only possible solution. Indeed, he seems to say that his proposals are offered merely as a bridge to a complete solution: he does not urge a reversal of the historical trend, legislating the large-scale farms out of existence. The author sums up:

"Until the masses of the people actually get possession of the reins of power, both economic and political, they will not be able to create a democratic non-exploitative economic order."

This is only another name for socialism.

Reviewed by Dina Saunders.

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Memorial Day Massacre — Five Years After

It was five years ago this May 30, on a warm and sunny Memorial Day, that a parade of several hundred men, women and children, steel workers and their families, marched across a large open field in Chicago toward the strike-bound Republic Steel plant.

They were marching to bring a message of unionism, of industrial freedom, to the non-union men and scabs being used by the open shop corporation to break an important section of the Little Steel strike of 1937.

Across their path, these men and their families met the armed hirelings of "law and order," several hundred blue-coats pumped full of anti-labor venom and incited by the corporation and the boss politicians.

Without a word of warning, the police opened fire, pouring a stream of bullets into the orderly marchers. Scores fell to the earth. The cops charged the fleeing workers, beating them down with their night-sticks, bashing in the skulls of the injured and dying.

That night ten steel workers' families mourned their dead. Scores of injured men, women and children twisted in pain on their hospital beds, some to die later, others to go through life maimed and disabled.

Seldom had American capitalism given a more vivid demonstration of its consuming hatred and fear of organized labor. Seldom had the American workers received a more bitter lesson of the true nature of the ruling class.

When the bodies were all buried, when the crippled and bruised were all hidden in their homes nursing their hurts, when the strike was broken, the Little Steel bosses congratulated themselves. Their murderous clubs and bullets, they believed, had beaten the union.

But the bosses thought wrong. Their violence and terrorism could not beat down the irrepressible urge of the steel workers for unionism, for organization to fight back against the brutal exploitation of the steel barons.

Last week, in Cleveland, Ohio, the sacrifice of the martyred dead of the Memorial Day massacre was vindicated. For their struggles and death had given renewed inspiration and white-hot resolve to others. These others came forward to catch up the banner from their lifeless hands, thousands and tens of thousands, until last week the mighty international union, the CIO United Steelworkers of America, came to full being.

That union is their monument, as it is the monument of all those who in the decades past have fought and died that the steel workers might be free. The blood they shed has helped to nurture into richness the soil from which an army has sprung. That army of labor will yet break thru the ramparts of capitalist reaction and build the kind of workers' world where there can never be a Memorial Day massacre.

WHO WILL LEAD FRANCE AFTER THE WAR?

By A. ROLAND

That is the question confronting all the political elements among the French classes. Nor does it trouble the French alone. The same problem keeps awake o' nights many American and English statesmen, and even the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Each and every conscious force is preparing against the time when the Germans are defeated and driven from the occupied countries. Will the war really be over then, and everything settle down peacefully in a period of reconstruction? Nobody really believes that! The war will enter into a new phase in which there will be a struggle for mastery over the nation and its economic life.

The representatives of the old bourgeois parties hope to reestablish life just as it was before the war. The deputies and senators who "democratically" voted themselves out of existence and gave legality to the totalitarian regime of Petain, will do their best to forget that painful episode. They are ready to serve their country in the same manner as before. That is why they have attempted to continue meeting more or less regularly, even if only as a rump parliament. Petain and Darlan would have liked to suppress these meetings entirely, but they felt themselves entirely too weak and unsupported to start the kind of struggle that would have followed. Instead, they therefore acted the ostrich and looked the other way, finally getting the agreement of the Herriots to have their meetings only in Chatel Guyon, a suburb of Vichy. This suited the interests of both groups, the "ins" and the "outs," since it prevented the outbreak of a conflict that might have further weakened the capitalist class.

The exact shadings in the ranks of the bourgeoisie from those who feel sure of a German victory to those who feel sure of the opposite may some day be fully traced. Naturally it is the latter whose anxiety leads them to establish links with one side of the underground movement, the side which stresses nationalism and which calls itself the movement for "National Liberation." This group issues a magazine called "Combat." Its program is the restoration of bourgeois democracy and the driving out of the Nazis. The possibility for the achievement of this program it sees in a victory for the United Nations. Naturally it hopes to retain the French Empire intact.

The most significant fact about the underground is that it shows a distinction along class lines. The old trade unionists and worker elements from the ranks of the social-democrats as well as the Stalinists participate in the movement for "Liberation." It is not too easy to distinguish between the programs of the two movements. The magazine "Liberation" calls itself the "Organ for the Forces of Resistance of France." All that one can say is that it has a working class slant on occasion.

The social-democrats never feel at ease except in a milieu of class collaboration. It was perfectly natural therefore that some of their leaders in the "Liberation" movement approached the leadership of the movement for "National Liberation" for a Popular Front. It is possible that the Stalinists had a finger in this move, but there is no way of telling. The fact of the matter is, however, that the bourgeois organization refused the offer! They wanted nothing to do with the worker angle of liberation. The class lines are not washed away even with both classes affected by the catastrophe of national defeat in war. The bourgeoisie refused, even knowing the benevolent aim of the social-democrats. That aim was to prevent any working class outbreak against capitalism after the war. The "socialists" wish to give such assurance to the capitalists so that the latter will not resort to a totalitarian regime of their own the moment the Nazi regime ends.

No doubt a major reason for the refusal by the bourgeoisie is its perspective of being restored to power by the armed forces of the United States and England. If it were not for that, the capitalists might have entered gladly into friendly relations with the "socialists."

One might ask the perfectly legitimate question: Why do the social-democrats attempt to organize the working class only in order to have the workers fight to restore the power to their oppressors? Evidently only for bargaining purposes, for payment from the masters for services rendered. This is reflected in the entire press of the social-democrats at home and abroad. Edward Loring merely expresses the mood of his entire movement when he writes in the May 23rd *New Leader:*

"Those who on the day after a second armistice can speak in the name of millions of well-organized (!) union members, will be in a position to bargain at the peace tables. Those new governments which succeed the exiled ones will need the support of an existing apparatus, which the unions have now. The underground movements mainly comprise former trade union nuclei. Any revolts especially those inspired by the United Nations, can come only from former union memberships, led by ex-labor chiefs. Law and order in the interim between Nazi retreat and Anglo-American-Soviet occupation must be maintained by the union headquarters."

The revolt Loring speaks of is a "national" revolt directed against the fascist invaders. Such a revolt is encouraged on all sides, even by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. Loring—and all the "socialists" of his school—approves in advance the occupation of all Europe by the "democratic" armies. He knows perfectly well that the function of these armies will be to restore capitalist governments everywhere, and to suppress any attempt to replace these governments, not by fascists but by workers. Loring's view is expressed best of all by John M. Work in the same issue of the *New Leader:*

"It is more important than ever that the truth about democratic socialism should be told, so as to prepare the minds of the people for a real solution of their problems. Otherwise there might be disaster after the war. It is the duty of all good socialists to try to prevent revolution. The way to do it is to build Socialism. This is no time to lapse into negative pessimism."

This travesty on the ideas of socialism is the one and only contribution of social-democracy to the post-war scene. It is of a piece with Blum's defense at the Riom trial when he called on the world to witness that he had saved the power in France for the bourgeoisie which was now showing itself so ungrateful to him. The fascist counter-revolution, the imperialist war, seem to have failed to teach these cretins anything. Apparently they think that history can be turned back completely on itself, that the bourgeoisie will restore the arena in which these "socialists" can wage a parliamentary struggle for the ever-so-gradual emanciption of the working class.

Social-democracy has played up the degeneration of the Soviet Union into the totalitarian Stalinist regime to frighten workers with the ideas of revolution. They do not stop to analyze why it is that this Stalinist regime is perfectly in accord with their views on the post-war world. Stalin is even more anxious than Loring and Work that the American and British armies march into France after the defeat of Hitler. The social-democrats fear the establishing of a totalitarian regime like that of Stalin's in case of a revolution on the part of the French working class. But Stalin fears the end of his own totalitarian regime if the French proletariat comes to power. Stalin knows the difference between revolution and counter-revolution, between Leninism and Stalinism. The social democrats equate the two.

So it comes about that for apparently opposite reasons, these two political streams pursue exactly the same course. The social-democrats fear the extension of Stalin's power all over Europe in case of working class revolution. But Stalin and his bureaucracy fear the end of their evil power in that same event. French social-democracy which claims to be opposed to Stalinism and all its works, therefore actually helps by its policies to maintain Stalinism in Russia. And one need only quote from its own words to see how brazenly it betrays the cause of the working class of all countries.

Seamen Overcome Navy Gunners Anti-Union Bias

Union Seamen Win Sailors' Confidence By Showing Them What Unions Can Do

An interesting account of how the action of union seamen broke down the anti-labor antagonism deliberately built up among men in the armed forces is related in the May 14 issue of *Seafarers Log,* organ of the Atlantic and Gulf District of the Seafarers' International Union, AFL.

"When the S.S. Greylock left for the Red Sea last fall, she carried her regular crew but also, for the first time, a Navy crew of gunners to man the newly installed anti-sub and anti-aircraft armament.

"There were eight Navy men under the command of an Ensign. Most of them were green kids who had never been to sea before. They were pretty suspicious of the SIU men when they came aboard. They kept to themselves as much as possible.

"This aloofness between union and Navy men continued until it came time for chow. Then the gun crew sat up and took notice. Their plates were about half as full as the SIU men's plates. They demanded to know 'how come?' The Ensign informed them, in the best shave-tail tones, that they were on Navy rations and he did not want to hear any complaints.

"After the meal was over the Navy gunners got together and elected a delegation to call on the SIU crew. The delegation came to the focs'l and wanted to know (very meekly and politely) how it was that the crew ate so well. The boys patiently explained that civilian crews hadn't always eaten so good aboard the ships, but that a little trade union pressure here and there had accomplished wonders over the past three years.

"The gunners were amazed to learn that belonging to a union could increase the number of spuds you got on your plate.

"But their problem still remained. They didn't belong to the SIU and they were hungry.

"The SIU immediately took steps to remedy the situation. They held a meeting and voted to supplement the gunners' rations from the regular crew ice box. And they further decided that, if it became necessary, they would take up a collection to buy the Navy men additional chow.

"After the vote had been taken and the gunners were about to leave for their own quarters, one of them said, 'Gee, you guys are OK. We were told to stay clear of you because you were a bunch of agitators. But you're OK for my money.'

"The following day the SIU men were again approached by the gunners. This time one of them said, almost apologetically, 'We've been thinking this thing over... and well — what we wondered was if we could join the SIU.'

"It was explained to them that there was nothing to be gained by their joining the Union while they were in the Navy, but that if they still wanted to go to sea after the war was over, there would be a card waiting for them in the SIU.

"The story of the friendship between the SIU men and the gunners got back to the Ensign and he blew his top. He didn't like the idea of trade unions and he didn't like the idea of his men even talking to union members. He made the rest of the trip hell for the Navy men, and he tried to pull the same stuff on the SIU men. Needless to say, he was put in his place.

"Well, all went peacefully (except for the Ensign) until the return trip to the States. As the ship was approaching the North American coast, she was attacked by two subs at once. One came at her from the port side and the other from starboard.

TOKEN OF APPRECIATION

"The Navy gunners sprang to action with the precision of a well oiled machine. They swung their 4-inch gun to port and blasted away. The sub was 400 yards away and the sea was rather heavy, but the fourth shot got the sub. She sank rapidly, leaving behind only an oil slick.

"The gunners then swung to starboard to meet the second sub which had already launched 2 torpedoes — both missing their mark. The gunfire was so accurate that the sub was forced to submerge and abandon the attack.

"Throughout the engagement the SIU crew worked in closest cooperation with the Navy crew, acting as shell passers. . .

"When the Greylock hit port the SIU men took up a collection and presented the sum of $330 to the gunners as a token of their appreciation for saving the ship and possibly their lives. There was only one small stipulation attached to the gift — none of it was to go to the SOB Ensign.

"This was OK with the gunners — you can be sure. They left the ship on a short furlough in New York, seasoned seamen and gunners — and good union men!

"P. S. We just heard that the Ensign has brought charges against the SIU crew. He is charging them with incompetency, insubordination and subversion."

Soldiers Face Barrage Of Anti-Labor Propaganda

Press, Radio and Movies Directing Steady Stream of Fascist Ideas at Army Ranks

By DAVID WARNER

Many workers are aware that ever since Pearl Harbor, the every-day drive of the capitalist class against the labor movement has taken on a new and concentrated form. The "no-strike" agreement, put over with the connivance of the labor bureaucracy and resulting in the abolition of labor's one real weapon, the administration's moves to freeze wages in the face of a sharply rising cost of living — all are clear evidences of a powerful and intensified attack by the bosses.

Most workers however are not aware that this drive is not restricted merely to the gains of the trade unions. One of its most dangerous aspects has been the conscious attempt of the bosses to drive a deep wedge between the men in the armed forces and the trade union movement, to fill the minds of the soldiers and sailors with a vicious fascist hatred of the trade union movement and everything that it represents.

The needs of modern warfare have forced the capitalist class to create a huge conscript army, drawn chiefly from the ranks of the workers and the lower middle class. The capitalists know far better than do the workers the completely undemocratic nature of their army and fear above all else that the soldiers and sailors may some day look to the working class for leadership in solving their thousand and one grievances.

It is this fear which drives the bosses to utilize all their propaganda mediums—the press, radio, movies, and certainly not the least important, their complete control of the apparatus of the army and navy — in a constant effort to poison the minds of the drafted and enlisted men against the labor movement.

COMMENT BY MRS. ROOSEVELT

No less a person that Mrs. Roosevelt has stated in a speech reported in the April 25th **N. Y. Times,** that "there has been a decided propaganda drive against labor. It is not only directed at the public mind — that would be an easy matter — but it is also being done in the armed forces." Mrs. Roosevelt's profound conclusion — that "some awfully clever people" were responsible for this drive — is of no importance. What is meaningful for the labor movement is that anti-labor agitation in the armed forces is so widespread as to draw comment from the wife of the President.

The methods of the anti-labor agitation in the armed forces are simple. Like all reactionary propaganda, it is based on a constant repetition of lies and slanders. The question of whether the "democratic" bosses learned their methods of propaganda from Hitler or vice-versa is debatable indeed.

The only newspapers read by the men in the camps are those of the bosses. Filied day in and day out with the constant refrain of labor's "greediness" in demanding higher wages as contrasted with the self-sacrifice of the drafted and enlisted men, it would be a great wonder if the soldiers did not become affected. An innocent reader might be forgiven if he got the impression that the publishers and stockholders of the daily papers were also living on $21 a month.

PRESS, RADIO, MOVIES

It is indicative of the extent and virulence of the open anti-labor feeling in the army that one of the leading contributors to the **Stars and Stripes,** organ of the U. S. overseas forces, is Westbrook Pegler, leading anti-labor columnist.

The movies too play their role. A recent **March of Time** short, shown in scores of army camps and in movies throughout the country indulges in characteristic anti-labor propaganda. The movie takes the audience into the home of a supposedly average American family, the "Davises." The conversation is between Davis Sr. and young Bill, home on leave from the army.

Bill: "And it doesn't make it any easier when we hear about all these strikes in defense plants."

Davis Sr.: "It seems to me these labor bosses have forgotten that Hitler is the worst enemy that labor has got."

More important than any of these factors however, is the role played by the officers. Chosen by a system which makes it virtually impossible for a worker to crash through, the officers constitute a thoroughly reactionary group, bitterly inimical to labor. Vested with complete power over the rank and file, deciding what their men shall read, what they shall see and how they are to spend their time, who can estimate exactly the weight of the anti-labor role played by the officer caste?

No progressive worker can comfort himself with the thought that such anti-labor propaganda is without effect on the men in the armed services. Enough evidence is at hand to show how deeply anti-labor and even fascist ideology has permeated in the ranks of the soldiers. Next week we shall discuss some of this evidence.

ROOSEVELT TIPS THE STALINISTS FOR SERVICE RENDERED

By M. STEIN

Why It Took So Long

The Russians have a proverb: "When one master fights the other, the muzhik gets his head cracked." Earl Browder was prosecuted and then sent to jail, because his master, Stalin, had made a pact with Hitler and denounced Anglo-American imperialism in very bitter terms. Stalin has been in the embrace of the same Anglo-American imperialism ever since Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union. Since then, Stalin had won the most tender praises of Churchill and Roosevelt. But it took close to eleven months before Roosevelt would right the wrong done to Browder. Browder was sent off to jail with dispatch, considering the fact that the country was not yet at war and at the time the case couldn't be rushed too much under peacetime conditions since the "due process of law" had to be observed. But there was no hurry to release Browder even though the President's signature was all that was required.

Why didn't Roosevelt act earlier to sign the same piece of paper that set Browder free? Or for that matter, why won't the British government permit the publication of the **Daily Worker** which it suppressed during the Stalin-Hitler pact, especially since a lot has changed in the British government, and Stalin's friend, Sir Stafford Cripps, is now Churchill's second in command? Didn't Roosevelt know immediately after June 22, 1941 that Stalin and all his agents could be relied upon for the most uncritical, most wholehearted support? Doesn't Churchill know the same?

We think that the answer can be found in the very question. Just because Churchill and Roosevelt have been sure of the uncritical and complete support of the Stalinists, there is not a thing they have to do for them, there are no concessions that they feel called upon to make to them. It is an axiom: The ruling class will persecute those sections of the labor movement that struggle for the rights of labor. But very often the rulers are also compelled to make concessions to those who struggle.

How Prices Are Fixed

But even those who do not know the meaning of struggle, those who are in the market always ready to sell out the rights of labor—they know that when they yield too easily, the price is brought down. The Stalinists have yielded so easily and with such abandonment, that they cannot ask for any price. The release of Browder is one of the typical bits of Rooseveltian generosity, the generosity of the master who is a good tipper, who knows that in the end a good tip pays dividends in greater service.

The delay in releasing Browder shows how considerate Mr. Roosevelt is towards the arch-reactionaries of his own class. He gave the Communist Party close to eleven months to demonstrate even to the most conservative of the conservatives, that it can outdo them in conservatism. He gave the Communist Party close to eleven months to demonstrate even to the most brutal of the exploiting employers that it can be relied on to try to pacify the workers.

There is no doubt that the Stalinists have stood the test. They have become distinguished from the ordinary run-of-the-mill reactionaries only by their greater zeal. Roosevelt felt that the time had become ripe to throw Browder to the Stalinists as a sort of a tip for the zeal with which they served. He freed Browder.

But some people just wouldn't be satisfied. You might think that everybody would like a good sport. Roosevelt had done the sportsmanlike thing. After all, you've got to give the Stalinists something for their services. They certainly didn't ask for very much. They asked for Browder! It was certainly no sacrifice on anybody's part to give that to the Stalinists.

Some Are Never Satisfied

However, some people permit their vengefulness to obscure their vision. Take for example the telegram sent Roosevelt by Representative J. Parnell Thomas, a member of the Dies Committee: "Your executive order freeing Earl Browder, Communist law violator, is conclusive proof that the New Deal is garroted by Communism." What Earl Browder is this congressman talking about? Certainly not the Earl of 1942. A politician should know that the time element is very important.

One would expect a more charitable attitude from a man who speaks in the name of the Catholic War Veterans. But its national commander, Thomas Walsh, issued an open letter to the President, saying:

"It is indeed regrettable, that this group which since its inception has directed itself to disunity amongst our citizen population by espousing the doctrine of the overthrow by force of our established government . . . should now be the beneficiary of executive clemency for their leader who preferred jail to rendering service to his country in World War I."

It seems that the sin of having been a revolutionist once is unpardonable, even if you have to go back to the last World War for references. This man does not even make the pretence of hiding his class view of justice. He would keep a man in jail for his views in the last war.

The hysterically reactionary Westbrook Pegler, and the very dignified *N. Y. Times* have also come out against the release of Browder. Every indication is that the Stalinists are very much upset by this demonstration of hostility towards them. Robert Minor sent a letter to the *Times* pleading with the to change their attitude. But they will not be moved. There is nothing left for the Stalinists to do but to go on serving devotedly and meekly in the hope that somehow, someday, they will liquidate the debt for their revolutionary past.