Shachtman Opens National Speaking Tour on April 9

Following closely on the heels of the exceptionally successful national tour just completed by David Coolidge, Labor Secretary of the Workers Party, the Workers Party National Committee announces a national speaking tour by Max Shachtman, the Party's National Secretary, which will begin in Syracuse on April 9 and conclude, after extending to the west coast and back, in the Boston area on June 23.

This will be the third national tour organized by the Party in the space of a year, in addition to many shorter tours by Party speakers and organizers in the New England, the eastern seaboard and middle western states. Several cities which were not covered in the previous tours will be covered by Shachtman.

Shachtman will combine a series of public meetings in virtually every city he will visit with specially organized Party meetings. The principal topic of the speaking tour will be: "HITLERISM MUST BE SMASHED—A PROGRAM ON HOW TO DO IT." This is the Workers Party's answer to the war-patriots and reactionaries who are seeking to utilize working class hatred of Hitlerism for their own foul ends. Hitlerism must be smashed, but it will not be smashed by the imperialist scoundrels of every hue and stripe who have donned the mantle of anti-Hitlerism, and who are whooping it up loud for boss war. It can only be smashed by the relentless pressure of working class militancy and independence. Shachtman will show how it can be done—THE ONLY WAY IT CAN BE DONE.

Shachtman will speak on other subjects as well. American Labor is now on a strike offensive. While the pay-trioteers are appealing to the heavens—and to their Administration stooges—for restrictive legislation on strikes, etc., Labor is demanding its rights and exerting its pressure in notable instance after notable instance. Shachtman, in his speeches on "AMERICAN LABOR AND THE WAR," will present a program for American Labor in this period of imperialistic war and war preparation.

So, too, while all the yellow-bellies and one-time "radicals" are running for cover behind the skirts of "British and American democracy," while they cackle about the "inappropriateness" of revolution and the certainty of reaction, Shachtman will throw the challenge of revolutionary internationalism into their cringing faces. In answering the question, "WILL THE WORLD WAR LEAD TO WORLD REVOLUTION?" Shachtman will explain the factors making for world revolution in such a way as to stifle the wails of the pessimists with the optimism of revolutionary courage.

LABOR ACTION will carry detailed announcements of the time and place of each public meeting. Watch its columns. Consult also the local Party branch on plans for the meeting. Write to LABOR ACTION if you wish specific information on the meeting in your city. Set aside the day or days in which Shachtman will visit your city for the Shachtman meeting!

Each tour conducted by the Workers Party has been more successful than the last one. LET'S MAKE THIS ONE THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF THEM ALL!

Schedule of Shachtman National Tour

Syracuse, Wednesday, April 9; Rochester, Thursday, April 10; Buffalo, Friday, April 11; Cleveland, Saturday, April 12; Akron, Sunday-Monday, April 13-14; Detroit, Tuesday, April 15; Ann Arbor, Wednesday, April 16; Chicago, Thursday to Tuesday, April 17-22; Madison, Wednesday, April 23; Minneapolis, Thursday-Friday, April 24-25; Butte, Tuesday, April 29; Seattle, Friday, May 2; Portland, Saturday, May 3; San Francisco, Tuesday-Wednesday, May 6-7; Oakland, Thursday-Friday, May 8-9; Los Angeles, Sunday to Saturday, May 11-17; Houston, Friday, May 23; Kansas City, Tuesday, May 27; St. Louis, Thursday to Sunday, May 29 to June 1; Streator, Monday, June 2; Chicago, Tuesday-Wednesday, June 3-4; Louisville, Friday, June 6; Cincinnati, Saturday, June 7; Columbus, Sunday, June 8; Akron, Monday, June 9; Youngstown, Tuesday, June 10; Pittsburgh, Wednesday-Thursday, June 11-12; Washington, Friday, June 13; Baltimore, Saturday, June 14; Philadelphia, Sunday, June 15; Reading, Monday, June 16; Mt. Carmel, Tuesday, June 17; Newark, Wednesday, June 18; Massachusetts (Boston, Lynn, Worcester, Fitchburg), Friday to Monday, June 20-23.

LABOR ACTION

MARCH 17, 1941

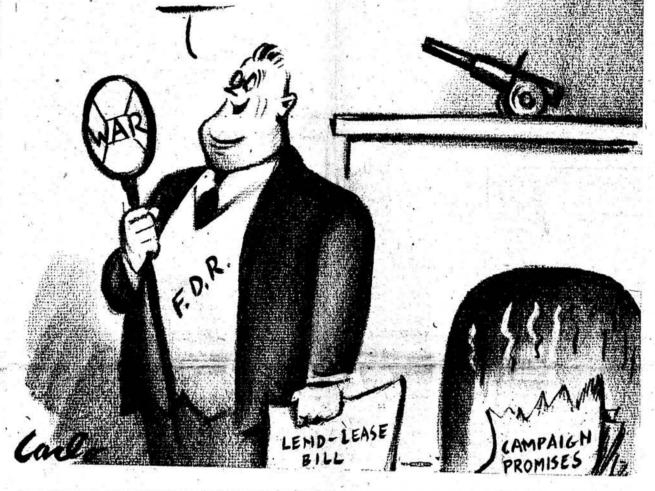
Organ of the Workers Party of the United States

THREE CENTS

BOSS CONGRESS LIGHTS GREEN SIGNAL FOR WAR!

This Week's Fireside Chat!

MY FRIENDS!
IN MY LAST FIRESIDE CHAT I SAID
"ALL OUT AID FOR
BRITAIN SHORT OF
WAR", HOWEVER



In This Issue of Labor Action

SWOC and UMW Demands—by David Coolidge Page 3
Russia and the Balkan Tangle—by Max Sterling. Page 4
The Negro and Ethiopia—by J. R. Johnson Page 2
How Not to Make the United Front Page 3

FDR Has Served HIS Class With the 'Lease-Lend' Bill— We Must Now Serve OURS!

The "Lease-Lend Bill" is the "law of the land."

The shouting and the tumult have died. The sham battle is over. The "American Way of Life" has been salvaged. Our "democratic procedure" has been vindicated. "Our system of free enterprise" may now go full steam ahead, on government subsidies, to boost profits by manufacturing war materials for dear old Britain, "the last bulwark of Democracy in Europe."

Roosevelt, the War Lord in the White House, is happy. He knew all the time that the bill would pass. He knew that all the little Congressional servants of Wall Street would do right by their masters. He knew, above all else, that the ruling class in the United States decided many months ago to join the war against Hitler.

Hitler forced this decision on them and they had no choice. The Sixty Families in the United States want to rule and exploit the whole earth and all its people. So does Hitler. The only way for the rich boss class in the U. S. to get the plunder is to slug Hitler and take it from him or prevent his getting it. Their servant, the American LEADER, will then become the world plantation overseer, the chief slave driver of the colonial peoples and the industrial and agricultural workers of the world.

Roosevelt knows his masters well. He knows they are a greedy, grasping crew, that never get their fill of profits. "Aid" to England, Greece or other great centers of "democracy," "mercy," "truth" and "goodness," means, FIRST—all aid to the bank accounts of the Sixty Families, their satellites and stooges. It means fat government contracts at 15 per cent or more and "cost plus." It means huge new factories paid for with government money. It means billions spent for war materials.

That's what the "Lease-Lend Bill" will do for the ruling class in the United States. Could they possibly have been against it?

These vultures remember the last war. They know that this war is bigger and that the slice coming to them will be even fatter than their take from the first great crusade.

And how about that little amendment to the bill that would forbid sending "our boys to fight on foreign soil," or outside this hemisphere? The ruling class took care to scotch it! Senator Ellender, who spoke out of turn in proposing it, quickly withdrew it. When it was presented by another senator, he voted against it.

The army will be sent to fight in Europe, Asia, Africa, or any other place, including the moon, if this step is considered necessary to defend and advance U. S. imperialism. The workers of the entire world will be dragged and forced through oceans of blood as the two gangs of imperialist bandits strive for world mastery. The ruling class knows that one cannot always select the battle-field. Ana what do they care whether WE die in the United States, Braxil, France or Africa; just so United States imperialism triumphs over the fascist imperialism of Germany.

Transport Workers Strike New York City Bus Companies

Union Demands

Decent working conditions: that is the crux of the demands of the striking bus workers. They ask:

A 25 per cent increase in wages;

2. A six-day, 48-hour working week instead of the present 54-hour week;

3. A three-week paid vacation instead of the prevailing two-week vacation period.

Bosses' Profits

New York City Omnibus Corp. rakes in a yearly profit of, \$2,000,000, which represents a 100 per cent yearly return on its invested capital.

The Fifth Avenue Coach Co. has jacked up its \$3,000,000 valuation in 1920 to a \$10,000,000 valuation by 1940, notwithstanding payment of \$9,500,000 to stockholders during the same period. Wages have been cut \$750,000 in the same period and the company proposes further cuts.

Knudsen Shows True Colors, Threatens Right to Strike

By FRED MORRIS

William S. Knudsen, former head of General Motors Corp. and now director of the Office of Production Management, which directs the national defense campaign, recently testified before the House Judiciary Committee that there was no need for legislation to deal with troubles in defense labor. In advising against anti-labor legislation, he predicted a decline in strikes and said that defense strikes were not numerous or large enough to be considered important.

The same William S. Knudsen, of General Motors and the OPM, on February 28 sent a memorandum to the chairman of the Judiciary Committee proposing, as the conservative New York Times says, "drastic curbs before strikes could be called in the defense industries." Among his proposals were: mediation; notice of strike not to be given until a vote has been taken under Labor Department supervision with at least 60 per cent favoring the strike; the OPM to have ten days after notice (Continued on page 2)

Not a Bus Running On Broadway, Fifth Avenue or Crosstown

NEW YORK, Mar. 11-For the first time in years, New York witnessed a strike among its transportation workers this week. Three thousand five hundred members of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) walked out on Monday, tying up 1300 busses belonging to the Fifth Avenue Coach Co. and the New York City Omnibus Corp. The men are striking for a 25 per cent pay increase, a uniform 6-day, 8-hour per day work week, three weeks' paid vacations and improved working conditions, previously submitted as a basis for the negotiation of new contracts.

Elaborate police "precautions" were shown to be absolutely unnecessary. The strike is being conducted in a disciplined and orderly way by the union itself; union pickets keep order, direct would-be bus riders to the nearest subway and see to it that none of the strikers indulges in drinking while on strike duty. Yet the reactionary press tried to swing public opinion against the men by playing up stories of expected violence and fighting.

True, the public is inconvenienced by the strike. But the essential fact (Continued on page 4)

Support the Bus Strikers!

With the assistance of the boss press and the city politicians, the bus companies are appealing for public sympathy against the strike. "If You Had to Walk Today, Blame the Strikers" reads the full-page expensive ad published by the company in the daily press.

But Labor, and every person who has the slightest regard for human needs—and his own safety must see that high-priced publicity for the lie it is, and give it suitable answer.

Several thousand workers have struck for a living wage and decent conditions. They are now compelled to work long hours under trying conditions. Their pay is inadequate for the work they do; in the opinion of the strikers—and that's the only opinion we can accept—it is too low for their needs.

The company of course, thinks the pay is enough. Bosses always do. They are interested only in profits—and through a fantastic combination of holding companies their profits are plenty! That's why their opinion of what a worker's wage should be doesn't

count. If they thought they could get away with it they would pay the men half of what they were getting before the strike.

If the strikers' demands are not sufficient argument, which they should be to every worker who feels himself a member of his class—the simple requirements of safety should be argument enough. No city in the world has traffic conditions comparable to those in New York. The bus drivers have up to now had to maneuver giant trucks through the traffic-crowded streets of New York for 54 hours a week. They must be on their most attentive guard every minute of the time. The slightest slip would result in a gruesome catastrophe.

How can they exercise the necessary vigilance in 54 hours of exhausting work? They can't. Even 48 hours is too much! But that's all the union demands—a 48-hour week, which is eight hours longer than the legal maximum for factory workers.

LET'S DO ALE WE CAN TO HELP THE BUS STRIKERS! IT'S AS MUCH IN THE INTEREST OF THE RIDER AS THE DRIVER! And so we say that the recent little tilt on Capitol Hill was a sham battle, a show that could fool no one but the working class, or more accurately, that part of the working class which still believes this is a war of democracy against fascism.

The honorable gentlemen in Congress who draw \$10,000 a year and other perquisites of office from the public treasury, know that it was a sham battle. They had heard their masters' yoice!

Speaker Rayburn announced that there were no differences between the House and Senate that would justify sending the bill to conference. Those for and those against the bill got together in fond embrace. Republican opponents rose to the full stature of country-loving statesmen. Senator Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin said, "We must all accept it as the law of the land . . . we must close our ranks now that the debate is closed." What the working class must understand is that the ranks of these fakers were closed before the debate began. Wiley wants the bill "sanely." He refuses to "regard war as inevitable."

After Wiley, that stalwart opponent of Roosevelt and dictatorship, Vandenberg (Rep.) arose and said: "I wish to make just one observation complimenting the address of the able junior senator from Wisconsin. On the question of national unity in this emergency, I call attention to one figure which seems to have escaped public attention. The outcome of the contest over H. R. 1776 has been heralded across the nation and throughout the world as indicating a division in the ratio of

(Continued on page 3)

The Second of Iwo Articles on the Ethiopian Question—

Negroes! Beware the Imperialist Use of Ethiopia!

(Continued from Last Issue)

Baldwin was the British Prime Minister. He had an election coming on in November, 1935. To fool the people lie said that Britain would stand by Ethiopia and the League, just as Roosevelt before the last election said he could keep the country out of war. As soon as the election was over, Roosevelt, just like Wilson, started a furious war drive; and as soon as Baldwin had won his election, he and the French prepared a plan for dividing up Ethiopia, the Hoare-Laval Plan. Anthony Eden sent the plan to Haile Selassie saying: Sign-or else. Mussolini was prepared to accept this plan-it gave him more-but the masses of the people all over the world and particularly in Britain and France raised such a stink that Laval was dismissed, Hoare was dismissed, and the plan fell through. Mussolini's soldiers began to rain shell and fire on the Ethiopians. The British and French still continued to prevent arms going to Ethiopia.

Meanwhile a typical imperialist intrigue was going on between France and Britain. Britain wanted to use France against Mussolini because if Mussolini took all of Ethiopia, Britain would lose her share. But France said that she would bring a little more pressure to bear on Mussolini if Britain would promise to bring a little more pressure on Germany, France's enemy. Britain said no. So the two of them kept on sending messages to Mussolini, asking him to be reasonable, to take his share, let them have heirs, but to do it all through the League, so that the masses of the people everywhere would feel satisfied.

Now enters the third criminal-Adolf Hitler. All through the dispute at the League, Hitler kept his mouth silent. He was weak in those days. He still had to build up the army. He had no alliance with anybody, though the British were helping him to

rearm Germany. Before Hitler could fight he had to fortify the Rhineland, that part of Germany opposite to France. By the Treaty of Versailles the Germans were prohibited from entering the Rhineland. In March, 1936, the Ethiopian situation was tense. Italian troops were winning victories in Ethiopia, the League was applying sanctions. But Britain was sabotaging the important sanction—the oil sanction—and Stalin, enemy of the workers, was selling oil to Italy. As long as Mussolini could get oil nothing could stop

Mussolini Moves on Ethiopia

Hitler called in his generals and told them to send soldiers into the Rhineland. The generals refused. They said if the French attacked, the Germans would be beaten. Hitler said in reply: "Go ahead. If they attack, do not fight. I'll take responsibility." Hitler knew that Britain would not allow France to attack. One day, in March, his troops marched into the Rhineland. Just about this time Premier Benito Mussolini sent a message to his generals in Ethiopia, telling them to stop. They had conquered enough and he didn't want to risk too much. But shortly after he had sent the message, he heard that Hitler had marched. Mussolini changed his orders and told his generals to conquer all they could. He knew now that Britain and France would quarrel about Germany and be so busy double-crossing one another that his road in Ethiopia was safe. Ethiopia was rapidly conquered. When people asked Mussolini about the first message, he said that the atmosphere was bad and the radio message had been misunderstood.

Then came a typical result of imperialist mischief. Italians in Italy have little race prejudice. They had no hatred of Ethiopians. They were opposed to the

war at the beginning and ony when the British began to talk about Italian imperialism did the Italian people give Mussolini their support. They felt that the British, of all people, should not talk like that. But after the war they lost their hostility to the Ethiopians and looked with great interest at the photographs of them which appeared in the Italian press.

The Ethiopians are a singulrly handsome people and many Italians began to write to the government, asking permission to adopt some of the children who seemed so handsome and intelligent, and now were homeless and miserable. Mussolini and the imperialists didn't want that and they started a campaign denouncing the Ethiopians as savage blacks and warning the Italians to remember that they were superior

Haile Selassie had sent many young Ethiopians to Europe to study so as to help modernize the country. First thing Mussolini did was to shoot all he could find so as to deprive the people of educated leaders. In 1896 Italian imperialism would have done the same if it had conquered. Whether Fascist or "democratic," imperialism always does the same to workers, oppresses them, exploits them, divides them by encouraging race prejudice.

England Makes a "Noble" Gesture

The Ethiopians continued to fight, even after the conquest. They carried on the war against Italian imperialism alone, without help, without encouragement. Ras Desta died a hero's death, as many others. Brit ish imperialism sold out Spain, sold out Czecho-Slorakia, tried to come to terms with Hitler at Munich and then started to fight Hitler only because he was too greedy and wanted too much. .

All the time they tried to win over Musssolini from

-By J. R. Johnson

Hitler. They recognized the conquest of Ethiopia, and even after the war with Italy began, they would not, say anything about Ethiopia. Today, however, they are trying to "knock out" Italy from the war. They piek up Haile Selassie from the corner into which they had thrown him, supply him with some arms, and they and he together are marching against Italy in Ethiopia. But these same British imperialists who five times in the last thirty-five years have tried to gobble up a large slice of Ethiopia, they are the same greedy swine! Does anybody believe that they are thinking of the independence of Ethiopia? Not at all. They are using the Ethiopian warriors against Mus-

Already in the House of Commons they are talking about establishing a protectorate after the war and a protectorate is only another name for colony. Britain will have Ethiopia, at last, to oppress and plunder the people as they oppress and plunder half of Africa. They will prepare movie propaganda and the capitalist press will write lying articles about how the Lion of Judah has returned to the throne of Solomon and such like, but apart from the figurehead of an Emperor, the country will be in chains.

That is not all, however. If Britain looks like she is losing, she will betray Ethiopia to Italy again. Or if the two war-camps (Churchill-Roosevelt and Hitler-Stalin-Mussolini) negotiate a compromise peace, Britain' and Italy will divide the country, as they have been plotting to do all these years. That, my friends, is the dirty history of one piece of imperialism. That is what is called fighting for "democracy." He is a rogue and a pernicious scoundrel, a lick-spittle servant of the imperialists who tries to make people believe that Ethiopia is now being restored to independence

What Can We Do About It?

What can we do about it? Very little now. But we can do this much. We can put a sharp stop wherever we hear it to all this talk about democratic Britain helping out the country of the black man. But above all we can learn our lesson and resist Roosevelt's drive to war here. He is lying about a war for democracy and is fooling the people as much as the British imperialists fooled the British people about Ethiopia. The British workers did not want Mussolini to conquer Ethiopia. But instead of taking action themselves by railway strikes, seamen's strikes to prevent the shipping of oil to Italy, and by exposing all who were boosting the League, they made the fatal mistake of thinking that the capitalists in the League would do something for Ethiopia against Mussolini.

you remember how bitterly you were disappointed. Let us learn the lesson. Ethiopia, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Leopold of Belgium, you remember them all. The workers are suffering there because they trusted the capitalist class, particularly the liberals and the labor fakers. Trust yourselves, workers, and nobody else.

equality for Negroes in America.

finish with imperialism, oppose it, spurn all its promises and aim at true workers' governments all over the world, against Roosevelt, against Churchill, against Mussolini, against Hitler, against Stalin, against all who oppress the people and cheat and deceive them. Whenever you hear Roosevelt or a Negro politician preach about war and sacrifice for "democracy," say to yourself, "Yes, they said the same things during the last fifty years and all the time they were plotting to strangle and divide up Ethiopia and the colonial peoples and the poor workers at home. They do that every time. No. I will not be fooled again."

Workers' power and socialism. That is the only

Brothers and sisters, and Negroes in particular,

Let the history of Ethiopia be another warning to us. Down with the imperialist war! Freedom for the Ethiopians. Freedom for the Africans. Freedom and

There is only one way out. The workers must

Brewster Men Busy on Wage, Classification **Negotiations**

NEW YORK, Mar. 9-The Brewster plants in Long Island and Newark are stirring with activity over the reclassifications that are due in

Election of the various reclassification delegates has taken place and the department committees are preparing to meet with the management on raises for the men.

It is expected that the committees will have to ask for increases for nearly all the men because the men have been losing nearly one-third of their wages as a result of the reduction of hours from 56 to 40. Add to this the fact that prices for elementary necessities are constantly rising and you find that the men are as bad off as they were before the new contract.

While the workers are getting hardly enough for their needs, Brewster continues to pile up the profits. About one-third of all the money that the Brewster Aero Co. makes as a result of the work done by 6,000 men goes into the pocket of one man, James Work.

Many of the workers hope that the union will have a uniform policy in asking for wage increases and reclassifications. Up to now, the management has been able to hire mechanics at 55 cents an hour although they might deserve 70 or 80 cents an hour. It is this policy that has constantly tended to reduce all wages to the minimum. By setting up a policy of uniform and correct classifications, the union can remedy this condition and increase the wages of these mechanics. In addition, the men feel the union should have a uniform policy of asking an hourly increase of at least 5 cents. The union should not permit the management to play off one department against another.

If these policies are followed, the union will emerge stronger and the men will be proud of the union's achievements.

Knudsen

(Continued from page 1) of intent to strike has been given to investigate and report; and after all of this additional delay, no strike to be called until thirty days after the report is submitted.

Abolishes Right to Strike

There can be no doubt that this change of front by Knudsen was caused by abundant evidence that the workers are not going to be fooled into remaining quiet just because some one may shout that they're interfering with "national

It is significant that the plan was voiced right after the victory in the strike at Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna plant, the same company which has been repeatedly cited for violation of the National Labor Relations Act. Support thus given to reactionary congressmen and to the anti-Labor Judiciary Committee by a man so high up in the armaments set-up will probably result in passage of laws greatly reducing the right to strike, unless all Labor organizations join to create such an outcry that the reactionary elements will be stopped dead in their tracks.

If these proposals are enacted into law, there will be so many delays that the bosses will have ample time to prepare against the strike, thus eliminating the important element of surprise, or of immediate and decisive action. Also, a long period will elapse during which all the forces of war hysteria, press and "public opinion" can be mobilized to break down the morale of the union members. But long before the strike can take place, there will have to be a vote taken under enemy supervision. With all these obstacles in the way, the right to strike will, in effect, have been abolished.

Playing for Time

Two weeks ago, LABOR ACTION predicted that Knudsen was just playing for time. It didn't take long for him to prove that. Knudsen, it should be remembered, is the very same man who in October, 1939, returning from a trip in Europe, even after the war broke out, said: "Germany today is the miracle of the twentieth century." And, as the private business men's organ, the Kiplinger Washington Letter, stated: "In cases of clash (between Knudsen and Hillman) it is Knudsen who will probably prevail, for War and Navy Department influence is generally on

Yes, Knudsen will prevail unless organized Labor makes its power felt and gives clear warning that it will not allow any curbing of its hardwon right to strike. Only Labor itself has any right to decide on when, where and under what circumstances

For Labor Action -Join Workers Party

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

Shop Steward System Is Vital to the Union

A prominent union militant in Los Angeles made some interesting comments on the union stories and the rank and file aircraft letters in LABOR ACTION that are worth discussing.

"I get the impression that the boys who read your paper or who support you think that if only the Stalinists or the bureaucrats in charge of a union would be ousted, then you'd have real rank and file participation and good union meetings.

"I used to think so, too. In fact, in our own we had, as a major point against the Stalinists, the fact that they introduced so damn many resolutions that union business was never attended to, and the membership didn't attend. And, of course, the CP was able to keep control.

"But after we finally ousted them and put in a program which I'm sure you'd say was O.K., we still had the same problem. In fact, I sometimes get disgusted with the whole business. You work and fight for the rank and file to control a union, and then they don't pitch in with you," he said.

Leon Trotsky made some very pertinent observations on this question a couple of years ago, in an interview with a Chicago union organizer which was published at that time in the Trotskyist press:

"More workers will participate in the union meetings if the business taken up is close to their hearts; if gentine union democracy prevails; if the workers aren't wind-bagged to death with long speeches, etc."

But the fact remains, and young and inexperienced unionists must bear it in mind to maintain a sense of proportion on union work, that even under the most favorable union conditions, rank and file participation never develops to the point desired by some. In the very best days of the rubber workers' unions

in Akron, for example, a union membership meeting of 500 out of 9,000 dues paying members was considered good attendance. On vital questions like a strike vote, about 50 per cent

of the union membership would participate. This was in the days when the URWA wasn't taking a back seat to any union in the country for militancy, rank and file participation, freedom of political expression, etc. Other unions likewise had similar experiences.

You begin to understand this phenomenon when you see the regular union meeting as a sort of a representative assembly, as so many of the workers see it. That is, the boys who come to the Sunday meetings twice a month are usually the leaders in their department, shop stewards, militants, politically conscious elements, etc. When the union is functioning properly in the plant

through a shop steward system, the rank and file participates most decisively in the department or division

Democracy in the union movement consists, besides the usual right of criticism, speech, voice, etc., in building a union structure within the plant so that the rank and file pitches in to settle its own problems.

The proper way to get at the problem of the bureaucrats' gag rules, etc., in union meetings, is through building the structure within the plants. The shop workers who don't attend union meetings aren't easy to arouse against something they don't feel directly. But their grievances in the plant bear directly on their welfare. and they do want and will discuss them at a department meeting, demanding action. Here is where a smart union militant functions first. He becomes a leader there.

Experienced unionists have long said that a contract is neither good nor bad but enforcing it makes it so. A good shop steward system in the shop, fighting every inch of the way, can put teeth into a contract that the management never dreamed existed when they signed. And many a good contract became its opposite because no shop steward system was set up to follow through.

Of course, the ideal is to have the best contract and the best shop steward system. But, as people learn, there is nothing ideal in the conditions or aspects of the class struggle. You deal with the material on hand, the best

Another thing, and I note this in some of the aircraft letters, in judging a union situation or a signed contract, what counts is not only what the union gets but, and sometimes this becomes decisive, what the "intangible"

I mean by this the following. After the seven week Goodyear strike in 1936, the contract signed wasn't so hot. That is, by itself it didn't raise wages, etc., so much as one would have expected.

But that didn't exhaust the question. The most important single gain was the development of union consciousness of class consciousness, of arousing the spirit and determination of all Akron workers. The Goodyear boys went back, putting teeth into the contract, fighting grievance settlements, wage increases, against speed-up, etc., and in a short time had a real union.

That is why it is a fatal mistake, too frequently in-dulged in by many "politicos" and unionists, to judge a strike settlement as victory or defeat purely by what the capitalist paper said about the terms of the settlement. Often that is not enough!

This same kind of rounded out point of view is what is needed today in judging the many strikes in the country. It is what is lacking in the letter to the editor in a recent LABOR ACTION where a headline on a story I wrote is criticized because it emphasizes that the CIO workers are on the march, rather than that the union leaders are holding the CIO workers back. (I skip the fact that a correspondent never writes the headline, or sees it beforehand. The editor does that) What is important is that the critic fails to understand what is the

vital thing to get across Today the vital point to make is that labor, despite all the national unity propaganda, is fighting for its rights, against bearing the cost of the war. The class struggle goes on. One must start from that decisive fact. It must be emphasized over and over again, because the capitalists are trying to conceal and suppress the struggle, and despairing souls fail to see it.

Don't oversimplify the whole question by seeing the union movement as the rank and file straining at the leash while the bureaucrats always hold back. That is largely true, but not the whole story.

It is not true today, specifically in aircraft, the industry in which the letter-to-the-editor writer works. Aircraft workers in Southern California, to be concrete, are not union-conscious like the autoworkers, for example It's a job selling unionism to them, hard work overcoming the propaganda on which they've been fed.

The union spirit here is something quite different from that in San Francisco, for example. Or Detroit, or Flint. It takes time, and struggle, and great struggles which burn themselves into the consciousness of the workers, to get that old do or die spirit which is perhaps the most magnificent characteristic of the American

JACK WILSON

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

SEES MUCH AMISS IN BREWSTER UNION

Dear Editor:

If the last shop meeting of Local 365, UAW-CIO (Brewster Aircraft) is a sample of the kind of union activity it is going to carry on, then you can expect to see this union

local stew in its own juice. In the first place, a resolution barring Fascists, Nazis and Communists from membership, and not permitting anybody who supports these philosophies to hold office, was passed. We know the part played by the Nazis and Fascists in smashing trade unions in Italy, Germany and Spain. We also know the policy of the Communist Party here in this country. Where they can't rule a union, they wreck it. The thing that I'm afraid of is that any progressive union member who knows his rights and fights for them can be called a "Red" and kicked out on his ear.

Another thing. The chairman (who happened to be ex-President Pope) didn't even know how to run a meeting. The way he ran the meeting. nobody knew what the hell was things I'm sure we could get them

planned. Nobody knows what's being done about reclassification. This is very important, especially now that our work week has been cut to 40 hours. First our hours were cut to 46, and we lost about a day's pay, and now our hours were cut again, and we lost another day's pay. The rest of the fellows and myself don't mind working less hours, but we're sure going to miss the extra dough. We want to know what the union is going to do about this. We think that a general increase should be asked for, to make up for the dough we find ourselves short in our pay checks. When the fellows voted for the reclassification committee, I hope they didn't vote for "friends" of the They probably don't think it's im-

portant that education of the members be started. Or that it's important that more union members be drawn into more union activities. Maybe they don't know that they could educate the members and draw some of them into union work by printing a shop paper. If enough of the brothers asked for these

passed by the new executive board.

In talking about the war with some of the other men working here we agreed in our point of view, that the war was not a war for democracy, but a war for profits. I was shocked to see a British War Relief Society poster on the union bulletin board today. I hope our union isn't jumping onto the pro-war band-

I know it's the wrong thing to say, for a man who has been in trade unions as long as I have, and who knows how necessary they are to the working man, but after seeing how things are run here, I can't blame so many of the men for the little interest they show in the union. Maybe if they had showed more interest, things wouldn't be what they are now. It isn't too late yet...

Fraternally, A Brewster Worker.

WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT BREWSTER MOVING PLANS

I am using your paper as a means

For several months since the announcement that Brewster was going to build a new plant in Buck County, Pa., the whole plant has been buzzing with talk on what's going to

boys at Brewster's plant here in Long

Island City what's what on the ques-

tion of our plant moving to Pennsyl-

happen when the new plant is ready to open up. What we would like to know is about when is this plant going to open up? We'd also like to know who has

got to go? That's very important, you know, because many of us have families and couldn't possibly leave New York. It might mean that either we've got to look for new jobs or start making the necessary preparations to move to Pennsylvania, and not on a moment's notice, either.

Also, we'd like to know how much more are they going to pay? You know that moving to Pennsylvania is no cinch. We've got to leave many friends, break up homes and lots of other things. So we want to know how much more the company is goof trying to find out for many of the ing to pay?

You may be surprised at the fact that I have to ask you all these questions, but our union officials make no attempt either to let us in on the know, or let us know what's going on one way or the other. We don't expect the company to give us any consideration, but we do expect it from the union.

Thank you for the courtesy of printing this. Yours truly,

HITS ILGWU POLICY ON OVERTIME WORK

The joint board of the ILGWU has abandoned the 35 hour week. Overtime is now permitted in shops. And this when there are thousands of unemployed ILGWU workers walking the streets. When the union bureaucrats permit the bosses to work their help overtime, rather than hire extra workers, what chance have these unemployed workers got to get work? And of course there has been no limit put to the amount of overtime the workers can put in.

The bureaucracy's excuse is that the manufacturers lose tremendous amounts of business during the season because shipments are delayed. If that is the case, why not try to absorb some of the unemployed workers by hiring extra help, instead of allowing overtime? Overtime certainly will not alleviate unemployment, but will aggravate it to such an extent that the unemployed workers will find it more and more difficult to get as much as a day's work. The union bureaucrafts are worried about the boss' profits, but disregard the unemployed work-

Is this the efficiency that the bureaucrats were talk about-overtime, speed-up, setting up of managers' school, helping the bosses to maintain and increase their profits?

During a crisis such as exists in the industry now, the union should call for shorter hours - with increases in wages to correspond to the higher cost of living, and not permit

An ILCAN Mande

New York, March 10

CP Machine in Disrepute As Bridges Forces Shabby Contract on Longshoremen

Special to Labor Action SAN PEDRO—The Pacific Coast longshoremen have received a raise of five cents an hour straight time and ten cents overtime. Not content with the fact that this meager raise -the only one since 1934-served to make the misled rank and file of longshoremen vote to accept a bad contract, the employers used the raise in two ways as a club. First, according to the terms of the contract signed on December 20, the raise would be given on February 20 only if the longshoremen "did better work" during the interval. Now the raise is granted, but the shipowners

Mass. CIO **Unions Meet** In Convention

BOSTON—The Massachusetts state CIO tinions held their annual convention March 1 and 2 with 600 delegates present representing 100,000 organized workers in 12 international unions, three city industrial union councils and numerous local industrial unions.

Although a rather tense pre-convention struggle had been carried on between the Lewis and Hillman forces organized into two blocs. groups made a temporary before the convention and came on the floor united to do battle against the Stalinists. This tended to throw the rank and file worker delegates off balance and made many of them wonder what the fight had been about, if anything.

Discuss Lease-Lend

The convention gave its support to the Lease-Lend Bill by a vote of 271 to 131. Discussion on the bill was confined to four speakers, two from each side, each speaker getting only five minutes. This was a decision by the chairman. It was clear that the leaders of the two groups had reached an agreement not to have free discussion from the convention floor on the Lend-Lease Bill. This decision was made probably not only to block Stalinist delegates from voicing opposition to the bill, but to keep ANY opponents of the bill from an opportunity to influence the delegates to oppose the bill.

Michael Widman, CIO organizer in the drive to organize the Ford plants, reported that the drive was going ahead with much success. He concluded by saying that if Ford does not meet the union demands for wages comparable to the wages of workers in the organized plants and if he fails to meet the union committees and bargain with them in good faith, "We'll have one of the biggest strikes the Labor movement has ever seen." This speech met with thunderous applause.

Another speaker warned the delegates that Labor must learn its lesson from Europe and prepare a strong and resolute organization which can meet successfully the onslaughts which have smashed our brothers in the European countries.

Affirm Right to Strike

On the following resolutions the convention found itself unanimous: a resolution affirming the right to strike for higher wages and better working conditions; a resolution pointing out the danger of proposed legislation for a "30 days cooling off" period before striking; a resolution against all anti-strike legislation. The convention was also unanimous in voting to send a telegram to President Roosevelt demanding that no American soldiers be sent to fight on foreign soil.

Several organizational motions were passed which showed a tendency to centralize the power of the organization in the hands of the larger locals and in the executive committee. For instance, one motion which was passed, not without considerable opposition, changed the basis on which delegates to the executive committee shall be elected in such a way that the larger locals will have more representation. Another attempt was made when a motion was brought in to allow members of the executive committee to vote according to the strength of their locals. This met with determined opposition from the floor and was defeated.

Main Task in Local

Most speakers who took the floor urged passage of the various motions presented "in the name of democracy." It was evident that the delegates understood that unions are democratic organizations in which all members have equal rights to speak and vote. However, those using the word often forgot its meaning. Groups whose reputation for allowing democracy is completely discredited were loudest in leading the fight in its name. Many delegates kept

this fact in mind when they voted. Much of the business of the convention was not finished due to the

still cry about "slow-down" and indicate that they will continue their speed-up drive, using the slight increase in pay as a basis for their demand that the gangs put out more

The strategy behind the signing of such an obviously rotten contract by the Bridges machine remains rather a mystery. In the longshoremen's negotiations, as in the steam schooner strike of the Firemen's Union, they pulled off one of the most reactionary deals in their not inconsiderable history of phony moves on the west coast waterfront. Was it because its bureaucratic and reactionary policies had so separated the Stalinist machine from any possibility of winning the support of the militants, that it had to patch up a close alliance with the weak sisters and company men in hopes of keeping Bridges. in office?

By this contract the vicious and hated arbitration system is strengthened and extended: a coastwise system of working and dispatching rules is to be drawn up, which will rob a port like San Pedro of many advantageous "port practices" whose benefits the men now enjoy. It specifically permits the employers to adopt any labor saving devices they see fit. and adds that if the men "feel that they suffer financial loss, they may ask for a wage increase"-this after the bitter and so far successful fight that has been put up against the adoption of lift boards by the San Pedro local. Then to top it all off, the union is bound to the contract for two years, and this is claimed as a great victory.

Stalinists in Disrepute

It is true this "glorious" contract was accepted by referendum vote of the rank and file longshoremen, but it carried only after a bitter fight and a tremendous campaign by the Stalinists, with The Voice, the union paper, carrying pages of propaganda and Bridges himself visiting every port. As a final move to put over the contract it was arranged for San Francisco and Portland, where good majorities were certain, to vote first, and then the result of their vote was widely publicized in the other ports which had not yet voted. In this maneuver the Bridges machine was greatly aided by the capitalist press, which played up prominently the Frisco and Portland votes. The whole plan is modelled after a very similar attempt made by Ryan when he tried to put over the phony June 16 contract in 1934.

In this deal Bridges and the Communist Party machine exposed themselves before the real militant elements of the longshoremen, the elements that made possible the victories of 1934 and 1936. Now as never before is Bridges spoken of as a direct obstacle to union progress. In his trips to defend the contract before the San Pedro and Seattle locals, Bridges was questioned, heckled, booed. In San Pedro he became so rattled as to claim before the membership of that local that the man who made it possible for the longshoremen to "win" this agreement was . . . Wendell Willkie . . . who had intervened with the employers after Roosevelt had refused to do so. Now he finds himself in a hopelessly head-on clash with San Pedro and Seattle, and especially with the progressive leadership of the San Pedro local from whence he is threatened with a contest for power.

Already for a considerable period, the Communist Party machine has been altogether eliminated from control in Seattle, Portland and San Pedro. A year ago in the coast-wise elections, Ernie Bowen, president of the San Pedro local, was narrowly defeated by the Stalinist incumbent for district secretary-and that only by the margin of some solid blocs of warehousemen's votes. This year he threatens to run again, and with better success, either for secretary or possibly for president against Handsome Harry himself.

In San Pedro the fight against the Bridges machine is ably carried on by the other leading militants in the local, L. B. Thomas and Don Cox, usually supported by Laurence. Seattle is solidly against the machine, being the single large port to turn in a majority against the contract. In Portland, San Francisco, most of the small ports and even in most of the warehouse units substantial opposition blocs exist. Only the failure of these groups to unite on a coast-wise basis and advance a common progressive program can make it possible for Bridges and the CP machine to misdirect the progressive sentiments of the west coast longshoremen for another year.

shortness of time and for this reason many delegates went home feeling that their main task lies at home, building their unions and carrying on their fight to organize the unorganized, in order that next year they might have a bigger and better con-

Coal Diggers, Steel Workers Ask Boost in Pay

But the Demands the Unions Make Are Much Too Moderate in View of the Enormous Profits the Companies Make

By DAVID COOLIDGE

Negotiations between the coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America began Tuesday morning. Conferences between the United States Steel Corp. and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee are also in progress. The negotiations between the miners and the coal mine owners overlap with those between the steel workers and the steel operators. This, because some of the largest mines are owned by the United States Steel Corp. and other large steel companies such as Jones & Laughlin. These are the "captive mines" such as those operated by the Frick Coal Co., subsidiary of U. S. Steel.

The present two-year contract of the miners expires March 31. The contract of the steel workers with U. S. Steel runs perpetually unless it is called off by the SWOC or the Corporation.

The central demand of the miners and the steel workers is an increase in wages. At present the miners have a 35-hour week and a basic daily wage of \$6.00 in the North and \$5.60 in the South. The miners will probably demand a 30-hour week and a \$1.00 a day increase in pay.

The SWOC has already rejected the 21/2 cents an hour increase offered by U. S. Steel. The union wants 10 cents an hour increase. Among other demands of the union

1. To be recognized as the exclusive bargaining agent for all employees of the corporation, instead of the present arrangement under which the agreements are plant by plant and the union is the bargaining agent for union members only.

2. A 48-hour rest period in each calendar week, the work week to run from Monday to Friday. This would eliminate the practice of the company in working the men for 10 consecutive days and on Saturdays and Sundays without a rest period.

3. Time and a half for overtime in excess of eight hours a day and for work in excess of 40 hours in any calendar week.

4. One week's vacation with pay for one to five years' employment and two weeks for all employed over

five years. 5. Improvement of the present grievance machinery.

6. Creation of a joint commission of the union and the company to consider equalization of rates in the various labor classifications.

7. Reinstatement provisions for

8. Seniority to be based on continuous service. 9. Arrangements for machinery through which the union can collect

Weaknesses of SWOC

A reading of the present demands of the SWOC reveals a number of important points that were not covered in the original contract with U. S. Steel. At present the SWOC is bargaining agent only for union members. This despite the fact that there is no union in steel other than the SWOC. There has not been any other union that could in any sense be called representative of the steel workers for at least 40 years.

The way, of course, for the SWOC to push this demand and to make the demand effective is to complete the organization of the steel industry and to set up a real steel international. At present the SWOC is a loose aggregation, completely controlled from the top. The top officers of the SWOC sign contracts without submitting the contract to the workers involved for approval or rejection. Contracts do not cover all the plants of a company or all of the several subsidiary companies of a holding company like U.S. Steel. The SWOC is seeking now to correct this weakness in its relations with U. S. Steel but nothing has been done yet to strengthen the union internally by making it a more militant and better fighting organization. For this more internal democracy is needed, the encouragement of more initiative from the union membership and locals, the complete organization of the industry and the formation of a steel international union.

U. S. Steel is not paying time and a half for overtime in excess of the basic work day of eight hours. Furthermore, by judicious juggling of the work week by the "stagger" system, the corporation is in position to tamper with the time and a half provision. Added to this is the fact that the workers lose Saturdays and Sun-

The union demands do not define what is meant by "improvement of the present grievance machinery." However, it is evident that here is a real sore spot. This is usually the case in all loosely drawn contracts. If grievance procedure is not clearly defined, well understood by the workers and an efficient grievance committee established, the company can render a contract completely useless. This is a further reason for establishing an international in steel and putting the union under the democratic control of the workers.

It is impossible for a committee, at the top, and removed from the daily practical problems that come up in every plant, to handle grievances ef-

ficiently. This holds not only for the to approve or reject them. national leadership but also for any local or regional leadership appointed from the top. Day-to-day grievances can be handled effectively only by elected representatives or committees of the men in the shops. These representatives should be employed in the shops. When it is necessary for international officers to step in, it should be at the request of the men in the plants and in consultation with their elected shop representatives. No union contracts should be signed until the union membership has had the opportunity

From demand "9" it seems that the SWOC has had some difficulties in collecting dues. In the final showdown, the inclination of workers to pay dues will be decided by the service which they feel the union is giving them. No company - union "machinery" can take the place of a militant, loyal and democratic union

The demand SWOC makes of U. S. Steel for an increase of ten cents an hour is far too low. The present base pay is 621/2 cents an hour. The demand should be for a \$1.00-an-hour

minimum for a base 30-hour week. All work over 30 hours should be at time and a half rates, with double time for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. This should hold, of course, not only for U. S. Steel but for all the steel companies.

The miners have a higher wage rate than the steel workers and they are asking an increase. This is correct. The coal industry is beginning to boom again. Holders of coal company stock are sitting by gleefully waiting for the dividends to begin rolling in. Coal output increased in 1940 by 61,000,000 tons over 1939. The

output of 1941 will be greater than for 1940.

The steel corporations are making fabulous profits. These profits will increase during 1941. Workers are far too modest in demanding more of the wealth which they create by their sweat and toil. They are too willing to divide up with the boss. The way this works out in practice is for the boss to get the lion's share although he performs no useful and necessary service. In fact, the coupon clippers and those who draw down the big dividends are not en-

-MORE ON THE CANNONITES AND THE UNITED FRONT-

How Not to Make a United Front

The united front of all workers. regardless of their basic political views or affiliations, is one of their strongest weapons. Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Communist, Anarchist workers, members of the CIO or the AFL or the unorganized, workers with and without political affiliations-all have in common the fact that they are members of the working class and have the same class interests. Whatever differences there may be among them are or should be subordinated to the difference between all of them, jointly, and the capitalist class. Therefore, the united front-class against class!

At the same time, however, there ARE differences of opinion in the working class, political and organizational divisions. If it were not for this fact, there would be no urgent need of a united front. Every organized section of the working class has a program of its own. A separate program is not only a declaration of where one stands and what one advocates, but it is an implicit criticism of all other programs and organizations. If the criticism is not meant seriously in the first place, then the program and the organization have no right to independent existence. What right would people have to form "another" organization if they did not seriously disagree with an already existing group? Such conduct would be irresponsibly divisive in an already badly-divided Labor movement. But if the criticism

War Signal-

(Continued from page 1)

60 to 31 in the Senate on the ques-

tion of aid to England . . . The issue

on this floor was not aid to England.

It was the method of proceeding to

give aid to England . . ." (Willkie,

you will remember, was not opposed

to giving England the 50 destroyers,

he was only against the "method.")

Roosevelt know what they are about.

Marx was correct; they are the

General Executive Board of the rul-

ing class. They are the deputies of

the Sixty Families. The "American

Century" which they seek to inaugu-

rate is a century of plunder, bandit-

ry, robbery, exploitation on a world

They can only be stopped by an

organized and aroused working class.

A working class conscious of its own

interests and determined to fight for

those interests-and no other! A

working class trained, steeled, hard-

ened and disciplined to fight by

whatever means are necessary to

win the victory. A working class

determined to escape from poverty,

misery, slavery and exploitation. A

working class that will fight against

capitalism, against imperialist war

-for Socialism and the World So-

"All Men Are Created

Dorothy Valdez of the Harlem

Night High School last month re-

ceived the New York State Regents

medal for the highest college en-

trance examination mark in English

in the state. But the award has not

helped her get a decent job. She

gets domestic work at 25 cents per

hour. She joins two other local med-

al winners in this employment-

Francis Baccus, who won honors in

civics and history, and Clarissa Her-

rera, in Latin. Nothing like an edu-

cation to get ahead in the land of

Officials of the Corcoran Art Gal-

lery in Washington, D. C., have de-

cided to bar Marian Anderson's por-

trait by the distinguished American

painter, Paul Meltsner, from its

spring exhibition. Upon being taxed

with attempting in this spiteful man-

ner to get even with Miss Anderson

for her fight against discrimination

in the Capital, the management said

the insinuation was "perfectly ab-

surd and utterly ridiculous . . . A

shown as a part of the very exhibit

portrait of a Negro minister is to be

to which Mr. Meltsner charges his

portrait was excluded because of

race prejudice . . ." We may be sure

that the good parson whose picture

is admitted has always kept "in his

democracy!

place."

Free and Equal . . . "

scale, and murder.

cialist Federation.

is meant seriously, then it is worth racketeering that once flourished in while and necessary to maintain it at all times. Greater or lesser emphasis may be given it, depending on circumstances, but it cannot be abandoned entirely at any time, or even concealed or suppressed, without proving that it wasn't very important to begin with.

Therefore, a prime principle of the united front is this: the right of everyone in it to retain his beliefs and criticisms, to express them openly. If this right is exercised loyally, the workers have everything to gain. The educational value of a comparison of freely presented views is enormous. What's more, this right is a test of all the sections of the united front. Only those will fight for it who have nothing to fear from putting forward their program openly, who have full confidence that they can stand up in any fair discussion.

Several Recent Cases

In the light of these considerations, how have the Cannonites-the Socialist Workers Party-fared in their recent applications of the united front policy? It is a subject worth reviewing, not so much in order to dispose of their pompous pretensions as to indicate how the united front should not be made. Before the split in the SWP, about

a year ago, we tried in vain to prevent the Cannonites from following an opportunistic united front policy in the unions. The problem was an election in the Philadelphia ILGWU. On one side, the Stalinists; on the other side, the extreme right-wing tip of the Dukinsky machine. And in addition, a smaller but organized and very influential group of leftwing and progressive militants. In spite of our warnings, Cannon and his trade-union "experts" jammed through a policy of complete, uncritical support of the right-wing gang in return for a couple of trifling positions for the militant group. The price paid? The reactionaries laid down an ultimatum to the militant group that before they would accept its support(!) the group would have to dissolve and promise to issue no literature or election material of its own. Cannon insisted that the ultimatum be accepted; he insisted, furthermore, that not even the SWP press should have a word of criticism of the Dubinskvite bureaucrats. Result: a triumph for the reactionaries, who conducted a savage redbaiting, 100 per cent pro-war campaign, without encountering any criticism from the dissolved and humiliated left-wing. The Philadelphia story was not an isolated example of Cannonite policy.

A 100 Per Cent Turn

In the fall of 1940, the Cannonites made an almost 180-degree turn in their united front and trade union policy, hesitantly at first but with really worked-up ardor by now. Unfortunately, the new policy is scarcely an improvement over the old. Two outstanding examples will show what we mean. A few months ago, the New York

Food Workers Union, Local 302, was faced with an election. On the one side, a 'semi-conservative, semi-progressive group which began making "100 per cent patriotism" and redbaiting its main planks. On the other side, the Stalinists, supported by many militants. In addition, a large, important bloc of real left-wingers. progressives and militants. The Cannonite experts first tried to get their local fraction to support the patriots in the election. The militants of the fraction balked. The writer, for his part, in discussions with these militants, urged upon them the propriety and necessity of a bloc with the Stalinists. The experts finally retreated and the policy of a bloc with the Stalinists prevailed. We still believe the bloc we advocated was correct. It united the bulk of the militants, of the most class-conscious elements, of the most underpaid workers. In the given instance, it was a distinct service to the union's best interests. But the way the bloc was made by the Cannonites was not so

Having flopped over at the last minute, but still in time, the Cannonites went the whole hog. They drew up a program with the Stalinists in which the latter were given a nice, thick coat of whitewash. The program of the united bloc described the Stalinists as traditional and stout fighters against the gangsterism and

Local 302! This in face of the commonly known fact that the Stalinists passed through a whole period when they were as thick as thieves with the racketeers, supporting and defending them literally to the last minute. Why was the whitewash necessary? And why was it necessary for the Appeal, in describing the installation of the new officers, to give such extravagant compliments and praise to the new Stalinist administration, without giving the slightest hint to its readers of what this bureaucracy means to the work-

Stalinism is the syphilis of the Labor movement, said Trotsky. The Thomasites, for example, think it can be disposed of by sunning and lifting their pretty noses at the workers who are infected with this political malady, instead of going among these workers, drawing them into the struggle on the progressive side, and fighting along with them whenever it helps the Labor movement. The Cannonites; on the other hand, who realize the need of united front with the Stalinists, think that the malady can be eliminated by not mentioning it, by concealing the fact that it exists-at least in those cases where their united front is involved! -and by suppressing all warnings of its ravages in those concrete

There, in practice, is the tradeunion united front policy of the SWP, the policy which, according to Cannon at his latest plenum, must become more militant, more outspoken, more critical, less ambiguous, less compromising . .

The Connolly Campaign An even cruder example of opportunism is the policy of the Cannonites in the recent election in the 17th Congressional District of New York. Here they could not even offer the feeble excuse that "this is a tradeunion united front, not a political front" In the midst of the campaign. the SWP announced the withdrawal of its candidate, who was not on the ballot, in favor of Eugene Connolly, candidate of the Watson section of the ALP (the only other contestants were a Democrat and a Republican). Now, what is the "Watson section" of the ALP? It is exactly 100 per cent Stalinist controlled: is composed of Stalinists, their stooges and a few dupes. Who is Connolly? An unavowed but nevertheless confirmed Stalinist. Whoever else does not know these fcts, the Cannonites certainly do know them.

Now, no revolutionary or working-class principle is violated in endorsing a Social-Democratic or Reformist or Stalinist candidate for office in an election. Given certain conditions, it is right and necessary. But one of the first duties of a revolutionary Socialist, when he calls upon the workers to vote for a Reformist or a Stalinist, is to tell these workers WHO and WHAT they are voting for, and WHY. Without this, you don't have a united front. All you do is blow the horn for a dangerous element in the ranks of the working class; you blind the workers to their interests and their duties.

We did not think the interests of the workers would be served by endorsing the Stalinist candidate in this particular election. It would not serve to mobilize substantial sections of the working class against capital, against the war, and for genuine independent political action. Without going into detail on this, we point only to the fact that the arch-reactionary appeasement rag, the Daily News, found it possible to endorse Connolly in the 17th District. .

On Giving the Facts

The Cannonites, however, did endorse Connolly. Oh, critically, to be sure! For what? For his "purely pacifist" program! But not one single word about the fact that Connolly is a Stalinist. On the contrary, the Appeal goes out of its way to denounce indignantly the capitalist press for a "deliberate attempt to smear Connolly as a Stalinist and to drag in issues which have absolutely nothing to do with the campaign." Not one single word about the fact that Connolly is the candidate of the Stalinist wing of the ALP. On the contrary, the Appeal describes it as the "New York County (left wing) ALP" The Stalinists are now the left wing! By virtue of what consideration? It would be interesting to sion.

read an explanation by the SWP experts on just what it is that makes Stalinism and the Stalinists the left wing of the labor movement, or even of the ALP-very interesting.

Why does the Appeal so deliberately hide the fact that it is the Stalinists who are involved in this case? What purpose is served? Is it to help workers orient themselves in a confused situation? Or is it because the Cannonites are shamefaced about a united front with the Stalinists? The Appeal rightly answers the criticism of the Social Democrats by pointing out that revolutionists have even proposed a united front with a party led by Scheidemann and Noske. But they never hid the fact that it was Scheidemann and Noske they proposed it to. They never hid the facts about Scheidemann and Noske, They didn't paint them up artificially, embroider them with lace, to make them appear attractive to the workers. They always followed the good rule: Say what is. The Cannonites abandon that rule—there is the difference. And to cover their tracks, they launch a violent attack-not against the Stalinists, but against us! Now we understand, in all its clar-

ity, what the SWP monthly magazine means when it writes in its current issue: "Lenin, and Trotsky and Cannon after him, defined the united front as a tactic of struggle against, the opponent to whom the proposal is made," and again, "Lenin, and Trotsky and Canhon after him, do not view the united front as an end in itself . . ." When the Stalinist press used to write, "Lenin, and Stalin after him," we used to blush for shame at the thought of the vulgarity and bureaucratic idolatry to which the Communist movement had been degraded. But Trotsky reminded us of the philosophical Japanese proverb that even the head of a sardine can be worshipped—by some people. Now, when the Cannonite_ press suddenly brackets its bosswhose voluminous contributions to the arsenal of Marxian theory have steadily enriched the revolutionary movement for the past 20 yearswith Lenin and Trotsky, there is evidently no one around who will even blush. If the head of a sardine can be worshipped, why not Cannon, the genial continuator of Lenin and Trotsky, the "after-them" theoretician and practitioner of the united

Waller Wins New Stay of Execution

Once again Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper convicted by a landlord jury for the shooting in selfdefense of a grasping white landlord who tried to rob him of his share of a cotton crop, has been saved from the workings of the vicious legal system of the South. The 23-year-old youth has secured a writ of error which holds up his execution until argument between his attorneys and the state of . Virginia, probably some time in April.

Tried by a Jim-Crow jury, without any sharecroppers on it, Waller didn't stand a chance. Virginia, as well as the other southern states, excludes non-poll tax payers from jury service, and the sharecroppers are, of course, too poor to pay a polltax. It's a swell merry-go-round. The planters exploit the croppers through low-sharing cotton farming systems, work them like dogs, pass poll tax laws which require payment of money to vote and to serve on juries, and then use the political, economic and legal system which they have set up to terrorize their slaves.

Negro, Labor and fraternal organizations, acting through the Workers Defense League, are active in the fight to save and free Odell Waller. They will not stop fighting with the argument in the courts of Virginia. If they lose there, the Supreme Court will be the next step. Mass protest and action has saved innocent Negroes and class-war victims before. Labor everywhere, regardless of color, is carrying on the fight for one poor cropper and, through him, for future victims of this vicious oppres-

Editorials -

OUR PROGRAM AGAINST THE WAR

- 1. Not a man, not a cent for Wall Street's war. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 2. For a rising scale of wages to meet increasing cost of living. Thirty-Thirty

 \$30 weekly minimum wage

 30hour weekly maximum for all workers.
- 3. Expropriate the Sixty Families. For Government ownership and workers control of all war industries-aviation ,steel, chemicals, railroads, public utilities, etc.
- 4. Against both imperialist war camps.
 For the Third Camp of World Labor
 and the Colonial Peoples.
- 5. Let the people vote on war. For the right of youth to vote at the age of 18.
- 6. Abolish secret diplomacy. Open the files of the State Department.
- 7. Withdraw all armed forces from territory outside the United States. Free the colonies. Hands off Latin America.
- 8. Against compulsory military training
- For the defense of civil liberties and workers' rights. Stop the persecution of aliens. Against the M-Day Plans and war-time dictatorship.
- 10. For full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. End discrimination against Negroes in industry and trade unions.
- 11. For an independent Labor Party. 12. For Workers' Defense Guards against
- Fascist and vigilante attacks. 13. No confidence in the Roosevelt government. For a workers' government
- and a people's army. 14. For Peace through Socialism. For the Socialist United States of the Americas, for the Socialist United States of Europe, and for the World Socialist Federation.

Remember This!

Yes, it never fails in a real showdown. However "friendly" a boss politician or a boss newspaper may be to the workers, that "friendliness" comes to a sudden halt in the face of a real crisis. (That's something to remember the next time you hear a boss politician mouthing his loyalty to democracy and his hatred of fascism.)

Hardly a paper in New York that has not tried to work up public sympathy against the bus strike. The news stories and headlines would take too much space to quote, but the jist of them is this: Bus strikers force terrific hardships on New Yorkers.

So too with the Little Flower. The Little Flower, as you know, is New York's mayor, Fiorello La Guardia. And if there is one pose he likes—even better than his fireman pose-it's that of "friend of Labor." Yet, since the strike was announced, the Little Flower has smelled very much like the bosses' man. He too has put the blame on the strikers and done what he could to work up feeling against the strike.

Of course, the Little Flower has something at stake—separate and apart from his general concern with corporation profits. The Little Flower is boss of the city. The subways, all of them, are now owned by the city. The city has not looked favorably on union organization of the subway workers on city-owned subways. But the subway workers are organized in the same union as are the bus drivers—and the Little Flower is just a bit worried about future "trouble."

Yes, these things are worth remembering the next time you read a plea to Labor in the "friendly" boss press-and especially the next time La Guardia runs for office.

Loyal to What?

For downright stupidity one would have to look far and wide to beat those workers at Midvale Steel Company who last week voted to put all three shifts on a SEVEN DAY WEEK OF 56 HOURS, "in the interest of the national defense emergency."

There are 5,000 workers in the plant and the proposal carried by a 2 to 1 vote. The workers at this plant are organized in the Midvale Company Employees Federal Local (AFL).

The new "agreement" calls for time suffering martyrdom in Labor's cause. and a half for overtime, that is, time and a half for the extra 16 hours, or two days, the men will work over the legal 40-hour. week. This means that the men will draw \$40 for a seven-day, 56-hour week. Their average hourly rate will be about 72 cents.

Edward Kunz, secretary - treasurer of the local, said this was the first time that a McNamara. Our fists are clenched, our union had ever placed such a proposal before its membership. William Hepner, president of the local, said that "other unions may criticize us for this, but we are loyal Americans before we are anything else."

Kunz is correct; no other union, so far as we have heard, ever took such a step to break the backs of its members, wear them

out, enslave them-and so brazenly to help the boss increase his profits.

What are these bosses' men talking about with their blah-blah of being loyal Americans before anything else? What are they loyal to? Certainly not to the workers of Midvale and the union which they head and mislead. The officers of this AFL local are loyal only to the big shots who own Midvale Steel.

These workers are to get \$40 for working eight hours every day in the week with not a day off "in the interest of the national defense emergency." The "national defense emergency," so far as the owners of Midvale are concerned, means the huge profits they want to pocket quickly on \$32,000,000 in war orders.

This local is directly affiliated to the executive council of the AFL. And Bill Green wants to get his hands on the automobile and aircraft workers. What for? So that they can have the opportunity to toil seven days a week?

James McNamara

James B. McNamara, one of the two McNamara brothers railroaded to San Quentin for the alleged dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times in 1910, died this week in jail.

McNamara spent thirty long years in jail. During that time, teal criminals of all kinds and sorts were pardoned. But not McNamara. He was not a big-shot racketeer and certainly not a big-time banker guilty of no more serious crime than swindling a million people out of their life

McNamara, you see, was a labor leader -a labor leader who had tried, in openshop Los Angeles, to organize the bridge and structural workers. That's a crime which the boss courts do not treat lightly —the biggest crime of all in fact, bigger than murder, arson or rape.

McNamara was secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Workers. In 1910, the same as today, the unions were trying to organize Los Angeles-still notoriously open-shop. Champion of the open-shoppers was the Los Angeles Times.

On October 1, 1910, a bomb was thrown at the Times building. Immediately the open-shoppers pounced on the McNamara brothers and other leaders of the organizing campaign.

The prosecution had no tangible evidence to connect the brothers with the crime. But facts count for little in a boss court where Labor is involved. It counted little in the case of Tom Mooney, who spent 20 years in jail (also for "thrawing" a bomb in Los Angeles) on testimony that all the world knew was framed—until freed on pardon a few years ago. It counted little in the case of the McNamara boys.

Expecting the jury to bring in a death verdict, Clarence Darrow, lawyer for the defense, persuaded the McNamaras to plead guilty on what is supposed to have been a stupid and inexcusable deal with the prosecution to let the defendants off lightly. They pleaded guilty . . . and John was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment; James and Matthew Schmidt for the rest of their natural lives.

Where the custom has been to release life-termers after 20 years or so, Los Angeles—anxious to preserve open-shoppism -exacted its pound of flesh from McNamara and Schmidt. Time and again people in all walks of life petitioned the governor for a pardon to no avail.

Had McNamara been a scion of the Rockefeller family, guilty of murdering defenseless women in the Ludlow massacre, no harm would have come his way from the boss courts. Had he been an owner of the Los Angeles Times campaigning to preserve the slavery of open-shoppism and all it means in rotten wages and worse conditions, the boss courts would have treated

Instead he was a loyal member of his class, fighting in the interests of his class,

While in the books of boss "justice" he may therefore be listed as a "criminal," in the history texts of Labor, and in the memory of every worker-militant he is indelibly seared as a heroic martyr whose punishment is yet to be avenged.

We stand in solemn tribute to James minds set in proletarian resolution to smash the rotten system of capitalist injustice and thus avenge all those who have given their lives under the lash of boss per-

Let us now double and quadruple our efforts to free every Labor prisoner from the dungcons of capitalism!

Tranport Workers Strike New York City Bus Lines

(Continued from page 1)

is that the strike is also for its benefit. When a shorter and uniform work week is proposed, it must be remembered that these men have to drive great-sized busses through the heaviest traffic in the world. The slightest slip because of overwork. the least bit of inability to act as quickly as necessary in a dangerous spot, may spell disaster not only for the bus riders but also for people riding in smaller vehicles into which a bus may smash, and pedestrians. The driving of these great machines requires constant super-attentiveness. a nerve-wracking job if there ever was one. Only through measures such as proposed by the union will the safety and welfare of both the men and the public be guaranteed. And a victory for the bus workers means a victory for all Labor, for it means the further strengthening of the Labor movement, an added citadel against the attacks of the bosses,

Companies Plead "Poverty"

The companies, refusing to meet their workers' demands and even suggesting cuts, can nevertheless afford to spend thousands of dollars for full page advertisements in all the city's newspapers. In its reply to the vicious and misleading attack upon it, the union pointed out that the poor, undernourished companies, pleading poverty as the reason for their refusal to give in to the strikers, has been making huge profits while the men are now earning less than they did in 1929. The New York City Omnibus Corp. has been earning net profits of \$2,000,000 a year, a 100 per cent return annually on the stockholders' investment. And the Fifth Avenue Coach Co. has increased its stockholders' equity by \$7,000,000 in the last 20 years, although almost \$10,000,000 has been paid out in dividends in less than

Yet the company wants its employees to take a cut, and not being satisfied with that, issues an additional demand that there be no more sick leaves and holidays with pay. But to the uninformed public, the companies present themselves as good bosses, giving fine conditions to the men and simply starving to death themselves-all for the sake of their dearly-beloved workers.

In their advertisement, they imply satisfaction with present conditions and willingness to mediate the union demands. But nowhere do they dare to claim publicly that they offered counter-proposals. Not once did they indicate a willingness to bargain collectively. Instead, they quote misleading figures, misleading because they fail to point out that these are wages paid to exceptionally skilled men, drivers chosen only after careful examinations designed to test their nerves and stamina as well as their driving skill. Working conditions are naturally tougher for them than for many other workers. And in comparing their wages with those of men in other fields, the ads carefully avoid a comparison of hours worked (the bus drivers now have a 54-hour stretch) and of working conditions. Taking all these considerations into account, no one can deny the justice of the strikers' demands.

John A. Ritchie, chairman of the board of both companies as well as of several others, plus freight lines and a director of a bank and of the Greyhound Bus Corp., doesn't let out any information on how much he's getting paid. He probably gets free rent for his Central Park penthouse apartment. This is the same man whose Chicago Motor Coach Co. used strong-arm methods to break an AFL strike in 1934, a strike characterized by "violent disorders," because the company would not allow its company-union employees to organize into an independent union. But he couldn't pull the same stuff against the TWU in New York. As the big-business magazine Fortune wrote: "Three years later in New York (that is, after the Chicago strike), when the TWU demanded an election, he gave in, much as it galled him. The election was held and, to Mr. Ritchie's intense chagrin, the TWU won, and the result is a

The union has issued a statement in which it tells off Mr. Ritchie and his whole crew. He is "sadly mistaken," it says, if he thinks that the Transport Workers Union will stand for any strong-arm methods. And this comes from men who can well take care of would-be strike-break-

Blame the Company!

Instead of advertising, as they did, that the public should blame the union if it had to walk instead of using busses, the true story of the strike should be headlined: If You Had to Walk Today, Blame the Bus Companies. Swollen with huge profits, wanting revenge for the earlier victory of the union and determined that this is the time to fight it with the mounting tide of anti-Labor sentiment which the boss press is trying to create under the protection of the drive to war hysteria, Ritchie and his gang are trying to palm off a false story on an uninformed public. Instead of the union rejecting plans for a peaceful settlement, it

was the company which showed by its refusal to utilize the procedure for collective bargaining with the elected representatives of the workers that it was not acting in good faith, but only seeking means to de lay and confuse the men. But how it has a strike on its hands, a strike motivated by the need for increased wages and better conditions for men living in a war period with a rising cost of living which will increase even more rapidly in a short time to come. Their busses idle, large sums in fares being lost, the companies will be the ones who will give in first. The strikers are already showing their mettle and will hold fast till the strike is won.

Next on the program is and must be action to assure and enforce col-

lective bargaining rights for the subway workers who belong to the same union. The contracts existing when the city took over the subways expire in June. Already the Board of Transportation has been showing its disregard for these contracts. Mayor La Guardia hasn't so much as lifted a finger to stop that. The puffed-up Little Flower wants to rule the roost and thinks that the union should follow where he leads. But a strong strike now against the bus companies will show him where he really stands and, more important, will prove to the subway workers what power they hold in their hands. It is up to them to apply it. Let the bus strike be the first step towards a closed shop for all New York City transportation workers!

THE WORLD AT WAR -

What Is the Significance Of Stalin's Anti-German Gesture in the Balkans?

By MAX STERLING

It is zero hour in the Balkans and the massed Nazi troops on the borders of Greece and Turkey cast an ominous shadow on Salonika and the all-important Dardanelles. In this situation, one of greatest import for Greece, Turkey and Great Britain, one suddenly hears the voice of Moscow, hitherto silent, addressing itself to the Bulgarian government with the declaration that the occupation of Bulgaria by German troops means "an extension of the sphere of the war and that the Soviet government cannot therefore render any support to the Bulgarian government in the application of its present policy."

This astonishing declaration, which was broadcast for successive days over the Moscow radio and which received big headlines in the Soviet press, is significant in at least one aspect. For the first time since the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in August, 1939, the Russians are balking publicly at this latest instance of Nazi expansion. Different indeed is this statement from those that preceded Hitler's occupation of Poland, Norway and the Low Countries! At that time the German occupations followed, according to Moscow, "the logic of war against the British and French incendiaries."

True, these observations about the 'logic of war" were made at a time when Stalin, by agreement with Hit-. ler, was placing some distance between himself and Hitler by way of grabbing part of Finland, Poland, Bessarabia and the Baltic countries, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania.

A Different Matter

The German advance into Bulgaria and the threat to the Dardanelles is a qualitatively different matter. Not only does it lessen the distance between the two suspicious partners, but it takes place at a point that is of vital strategic importance to Russia, both from an economic and military point of view. The Dardanelles is historically Russia's most important means of entry and exit to the world's trade routes and to Russia's sources of oil. It is also the "back door" for any invader. It is this that motivated the aid given by the early Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky in establishing the Turkish state under Kemal Pasha with whom it was possible to maintain the friendliest relations.

It is therefore easy to understand the deep apprehension with which the Kremlin looks on Hitler's threat to a friendly Turkey and to the Dardanelles. The declaration from Moscow expresses fear and, combined with that-impotence. The Kremlin did not even dare address itself directly to Berlin, for Bulgaria was not so much the guilty party as the victim bludgeoned by a tremendous and superior force, into the loss of its independence. Stalin understood very well the helpless position of Bulgaria as well as the determination of the Nazis to take her over. Despite the fact that a great deal of pro-Russian sentiment existed in Bulgaria, the Kremlin gave no indication that it would support Bulgarian resistance and, throughout the period of tremendous pressure on her, kept a discreet silence.

Fear German Wrath

Moscow's fear of the German military machine, still at the height of its power, and her unwillingness to do anything that may bring the wrath of the Nazis upon her, however close to Russia this juggernaut approaches, is known only too well in Berlin. There they can afford, to speak out promptly, directly and without sentiment. The senior partner tolerates no nonsense from the uncomfortable junior partner. He may understand his, hurt feelings but at the same time he brings him sharply to order.

No sooner was the Russian declaration broadcast when from Berlin came the following reply; "The march of German troops into Bulgaria continues according to plan.

"We are determined to hinder every British attempt to bring the

war into an area where we consider our main economic interests lie.

"If other governments do not share these ideas and have different views regarding the southeast, particularly when, like the Soviet Union, they are not at war with Britain, then it is a matter that is understandable.

"But simultaneously it must be understood that Germany can in no way tolerate restrictions on measures it deems necessary to defeat Britain."

The German statement closes with this bit of cynical ridicule to which Moscow, by addressing itself to the Bulgarian government, which no longer could call its soul its own, was fair prey:

"When the government of the Soviet Union gives its opinion, Bulgaria will naturally take cognizance.

This then is how Hitler takes note of Stalin's feeble protest, after which he passes on to the order of the day, certain that Moscow will heed the warning that "Germany can in no way tolerate restrictions on measures it deems necessary to defeat

If Hitler decides that in order to defeat Britain he must have the Dardanelles as a preliminary to advancing on the oil fields of Iraq and Iran or to the Suez Canal, and if in the process he demands obedience from Stalin, it is more than likely that he will get it, assuming that the present strength of the Nazi machine is not materially altered.

It is in this sense that one cannot

imagine any Russian-Turkish alliance against Germany in the present circumstances. Despite the Moscow declaration to the government of Bulgaria, which may have been intended also to bolster Turkish resistance to Germany, the Turks understand this very well. It is probably because they cannot hope for any substantial support from Russia, more than any other factor, that has made them cautious in committing themselves to the support of Greece if the latter should be attacked by the Germans:

There are reports that the Russians are massing their forces behind the Prut River on the Rumanian frontier and in the Caucasus on the Turkish frontier. Perhaps that also is intended to give the Turks heart. There is nothing that Stalin wishes more than that Hitler should be engaged in conflict at every turn. The worse thing that can happen is that Hitler would be strengthened through capitulations and bloodless victories. Stalin needs not only distance, but time-time in which Hitler can exhaust himself contending against ferocious resistance, and in which the opposing armies are more exhausted.

So long as this does not happen, Stalin will mobilize his forces on the frontiers but will not fight. Rather, one may expect that these mobilizations will lead to some more carving after the style of Poland, the Baltic countries and Bessarabia. Short of an attack on Russia itself, the agreement with Hitler will remain in

The Russian declaration to Bulgaria indicates that Stalin is wriggling in the uncomfortable grip of Hitler but not to the point of breaking from it. In effect he is saying to Hitler: "Don't go too far against my interests or I may do something." To the world Stalin tries to give the impression that he has some measure of independence from Hitler. But there is not today, nor so long as Germany has the upper hand in the war, any prospect of a break between Hitler and Stalin.

Lower Manhattan Social It's free for all and a merry

night it will be at 16 St. Mark's Place, Apt. 5-D, on Saturday, Mar. 15. St. Patrick will be guest of honor and he promises to cat with you and drink with you and dance with you until the wee hours of the morning.

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT JOBS ARE VITAL

But We Must Avoid

Reactionary Traps

By CONRAD LYNN_

The war boom has swung into high. Watching its progress, and the Negro's exclusion from jobs, the national Negro organizations are protesting in a crescendo of confusion approaching hysteria. Everybody has a different theory on discrimination. The volume of these cries testifies to an increasing consciousness of the ills from which our submerged tenth suffers, but the lack of a clear program of struggle causes useless dissipation of

A FEW OF THE DANGEROUS TECHNIQUES

The most despicable method employed to break down the barriers is that of cajolery. The Pittsburgh Courier on the first page of its March 1 issue flaunts a picture headed "Don't Let the Ole Flag Touch the Ground." The story tells of an American flag lying in the gutter, white pedestrians passng it by, and a Negro woman reverently picking it up. This is supposed to be clever propaganda to persuade the ruling class that Negroes are loyal and therefore won't sabotage if given jobs. The moral is: "Let's get ahead by kissing posteriors in high places."

The second traditional technique stresses prayer and Christian humility. The Rev. Channing H. Tobias, in his speech as an associate of the Advisory Defense Commission before the National Urban League, urged Negroes to go to church more and support the YMCA. Such advice requires more cheek than the famous "Pie in the

Sky, Bye and Bye" anthem. A more ominous threat is contained in the action of the Oklahoma City Negro Chamber of Commerce sponsoring the formation of a Jim-Crow local of the AFL Carpenters Union for the express purpose of competing with white union carpenters on defense jobs. Previously the bureaucrats of the Federation had denied Negroes

Another straw in the wind is the "news" article that Henry Ford has just released to the Negro press showing how he has always employed Negroes and has put hundreds to work on his socalled model 86,000 acre estate at Ways, Ga. Below a picture of some of them the Pittsburgh Courier warns its readers "may not fare so well if the union wins its labor fight with Henry Ford."

UNIONS MUST END JIM CROW

the right to join the white local.

The pattern is beginning to unfold. Employers deliberately exclude Negroes from jobs. Union leaders aid them by barring Negroes from their rolls or complacently refusing to actively place Negro members on jobs. This is a dangerous procedure for organized Labor already under attack by the entire ruling class.

With this situation developing, is not the fight of the Negro for jobs in industry one with the fight of Labor for democracy? And can any real progress be made without an offensive by organized Labor to end discrimination in employment and in its own ranks? The unions, especially the CIO, must put up a

fight against Negroes being excluded from jobs. Wailing and weeping are not enough. Negroes must repudiate their leaders who swill from the

federal trough while supposed to be representing their interests in Washington.

DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND

Professor Harold J. Laski, a member of the British Labor Party Executive Council, is well known in America as an ardent supporter of Britain in the war. No one could accuse him of revolutionary opposition or bias against the Churchill But as a left-wing Laborite, Mr. Laski is sensf-

tive to the real discontent that exists among the British workers with respect to war-time conditions. Writing in the January 31 issue of The Tribune he lists these grievances as follows: (1) "There is grievance over conditions in the workshops, . . . There are factories, for example,

where active Trade Unionism is frowned upon ... There is also grievance about the habits of the National Wages Tribunal. It is not, I think, an exaggeration to say that there is not great confidence in its present composition among the

(2) "The evacuation system continues to be a festering sore. Its impact on rich and poor remains tragically unequal." (3) "There are grievances due to inadequate

allowances, and to delays in their administration. This applies especially to the defense forces and their dependents."

(4) "There are grievances due to the unequal working of the food distribution system. Rationing bears heavily on the wage-earner. It still does not affect the lives of those who can afford either to eat in luxury restaurants or to purchase unrationed foods.

And above all, as Laski remarks, the British workers "badly want reassurance that they will not be forgotten after this war as they were forgotten after the last." But, "no measure has so far been broached by the Churchill government to

LABOR ACTION Official Organ of the Workers Party

Published weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Company Vot. 5, No. 11 MARCH 17, 1941

114 WEST 14th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. (3rd Floor) Editor: JOSEPH CARTER Managing Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT

Business Manager: JOHN BILLINGS Subscription Rate: \$1.50 per year, \$1.00 six months

(\$2.00 per year or \$1.50 six months for

Canada and Foreign) Re-entered as second class matter May 24, 1940, Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.