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It is a War for Boss Profits!
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LABOR ACTION

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Without a Union Contract!

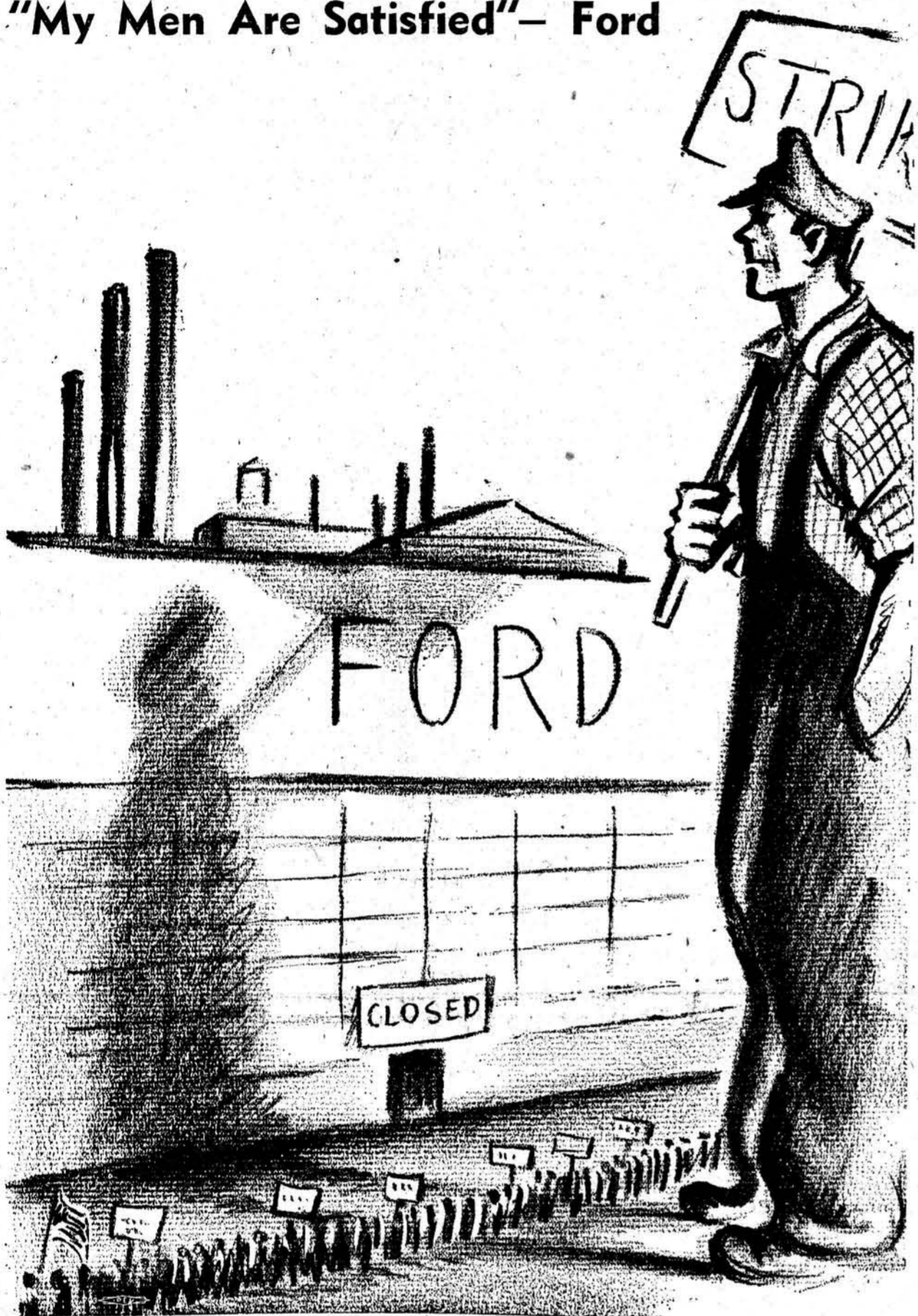
APRIL 14, 1941

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

THREE CENTS

"MEDIATION" BOARD IS A BOSS TRICK!

"My Men Are Satisfied"— Ford



In This Issue ---

Trade Union Resolution . . . Page 2

Ireland and the Easter Rebellion

—By J. R. Johnson . . . Page 3

From the Pen of Connolly . . . Page 3

The Aircraft Industry Page 4

THE WORLD AT WAR

War Enters New and Gory Stage on Balkan Front

By MAX STERLING

The battle for the Balkans is on. The war of nerves and diplomatic pressure is over—for the time being. Such alliances as were possible have been secured and the rival imperialisms have come to grips on a new major front in the war.

The war in the Balkans promises to be as gory as anything in the First World War. The impression that exists that present-day warfare is comparatively bloodless and rapid may soon give way to horror as the mountains of corpses pile up in the rugged terrain of the Balkans. If the Greek-Italian fighting teaches us anything, it is that there are places where material superiority does not have the same weight that it had in the Nazi blitzkrieg in the West. Even the Germans understand this and they have publicly declared that the fighting on this new front will be far more difficult and will last much longer than the campaign of the earlier part of the war.

The forces opposing each other on the new battlefield are fairly equal. The Yugoslavian, Greek and British armies are numerically about the same as the German and Italian armies. The British decision to put a comparatively large and well equipped army in the field under the leadership of its most able general, Wavell, reveals their hope of creating a bridgehead on the European continent from which they eventually (with U. S. aid) expect to conduct an offensive against the massed Nazi divisions.

The German decision to cross the Balkan Rubicon reveals also that Hitler has changed his perspective of

putting a speedy end to the war by a knockout blow directed at the British Isles. The Nazis are now out to break the last British foothold on the continent of Europe and march from there on the vital sources of British imperial power: Suez and the oil of Iraq and Iran.

The Nazis are anxious to do this before the new Balkan front becomes not only a British but an American front. There is every reason to believe that were it not for the United States even this front would not have been created. Without American backing, the British probably would not have dared to risk an army in the Balkans; nor is it likely that Yugoslavia would have stood up to the German machine. American imperialism has assured its allies that it is behind them 100 per cent. America is not only a tremendously expanding arsenal; the plans are already laid to make this arsenal available. American imperialism is determined that the materials of war shall find their way across the seas. The conveying of these materials is in the offing and the supply route will probably be around Africa through the Red Sea and the Mediterranean to the Balkans.

American imperialism will not be satisfied with merely stopping Hitler and creating a stalemate. Opinion in Washington is for a war to the end. It is for this reason that the Balkan front assumes its particularly important character. It may very well be that the supply route to the Balkans will carry not only American materials of war, but conscriptees, American youth.

It is this new estimation of the war that has already run for 21 months to which American intervention gives a lengthier and different perspective. It accounts for the latest gestures of friendship from Moscow toward the countries in the path of the German invasion. It is true that Stalin first made sure that Hitler had plunged his armies into the Balkan fires before signing a non-aggression pact with Yugoslavia and before making a public avowal of sympathy for a country attacked by Germany.

However, this does not by any means signify a break between Hitler and Stalin for the present. It is conceivable that this gesture would still have been made even if the Russians thought that the Nazis were capable of speedily vanquishing their foes in the Balkans. Both Hitler and Stalin pretend, the former out of strength and the latter out of fear, that their acts and statements in the Balkans, antagonistic to their interests as they are, are quite independent of the fundamental ties that bind them.

A real break between Hitler and Stalin will take place only if Hitler advances directly on Russia, or if

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 3)

The Picket Line Will Get Us Higher Pay, Shorter Hours-- Not the Mediation Board!

WORKERS ON GUARD! Watch the "MEDIATION" BOARD. The bosses have devised this new scheme to break strikes without resort to Congressional action. This board and its procedure is the greatest danger that faces the workers and the unions today. This "mediation" plan of the bosses and the government acting together is a trick to catch the unwary and weak-kneed labor leaders.

The bosses began by having their stooges in Congress start yelling for anti-strike legislation. Sumners of Texas demanded the electric chair for strikers. But none of these ravings scared the workers. We thumbed our noses at the bosses and their lackeys in Congress. Strikes increased and thousands upon thousands of workers took to the picket lines. Ford, the pious old scoundrel on the River Rouge, was the last to get a kick in the pants by the organized workers.

Then the bosses began to beat a retreat from their talk about making strikes illegal. The National Association of Manufacturers announced that there should be no anti-strike legislation. General Motors' Knudsen is against it. The big capitalist dailies do not feel that anti-strike legislation is "advisable" at this time.

The bosses heard the thunder of the working class coming from all over the land. They felt the impact of the organized workers as they assembled in mass formation from coast to coast. The power, the might and the determination of the workers fighting for their elementary rights made the stuffed shirts and the brass hats a little more cautious. The bosses of course will be followed by their retainers in Congress: the anti-labor maniacs like Cox, Smith and Sumners.

But the bosses pulled a new rabbit out of the capitalist hat. They forced Roosevelt to appoint a "mediation" board. The old tricks didn't work. Knudsen's "order" to the Allis-Chalmers strikers to return to work did not break the strike. Neither did the armored car of the Milwaukee police thugs. They didn't scare the miners. The Ford workers, thousands of them replied to Knudsen, Knox and the coupon-clippers by placing their automobiles bumper to bumper around the plant and shutting down production completely.

And so the bosses called for "mediation." They want to meet with labor and "the public" around the council table. They don't like meeting the workers on the picket line. That is if the picket lines are large, strong and well organized. For a time they will try to break the strikes by another method: "mediation."

The bosses tried the old methods but they didn't work. They called out the police with their horses, motorcycles and armored cars. They formed vigilantes and called for the army. Bills were introduced and passed in state legislatures against striking and "sabotage." But the picket lines swelled to thousands and thousands.

Now the bosses are going to try sugar a while. They have picked up the old adage: "you can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar" (night sticks, tear gas bombs and armored cars). Of course this is only temporary, and they are hoping that it will work. In addition, they still mix a little vinegar with the honey.

Knudsen made a speech on "Army Day" to the Military Order, Veterans of Foreign Wars. Of course he had much to say about labor. "The labor situation during the last month has grown worse due to organizational and jurisdictional strikes. Strikes like the Lackawanna, International Harvester, Bethlehem at Johnston and Ford are purely for the purpose of speeding up the union organizational effort in the plants."

This demonstrates what kind of a head Knudsen has and what side of the fence he is on. Union organizational efforts of course have absolutely nothing to do with wages, hours, company unions, spies, scabs, company thugs and the huge profits of the corporations. According to this General Motors big shot, the workers just get together in unions in order to have some place to go after work.

Then Knudsen gets down to the real kernel of the matter. "Let us settle the disputes, large and small, around the table and keep the plant going." Here you have the boss capitalist position in one sentence. While the capitalist with his battery of lawyers and government stooges tries to browbeat the workers in conference, the plants should keep going so that the profits can keep piling up. What Knudsen and his friends want to keep going is the dividends, interest and big salaries.

"The new Mediation Board will undoubtedly perform a great service if it can induce the disputing parties to work while the dispute is being analyzed." What does Knudsen mean by the "disputing parties" keep at "work"? Nobody works in these plants except the wage earners, the toilers: LABOR. Does he mean for the big stockholders and bondholders to keep at work? What work do they do? And, to be sure, the "Mediation" Board will "perform a great service." That's what it's there for: to break strikes and perform a great service to the boss.

"I do not believe that legislation against strikes is necessary or enforceable but I do believe that during the emergency that strikes can be held to a minimum." Knudsen believes that strike votes should be under the Labor Department and not the NLRB. For some strange reason he doesn't trust the NLRB. After the "Mediation" Board reports, a cooling off period should be provided for. "With a procedure like this 90 per cent of the strikes will be eliminated—and they must be or our program will fail."

(Continued in editorial column, page 4)

What Is the Cotton-Hand to Do?

Roosevelt's Triple A Was Supposed to Help the Sharecropper and Cotton Hand—But Has It?

By A ST. LOUIS WORKER

ST. LOUIS—Now that another cotton crop is being planted it is timely and essential that all workers connected with the production of the cotton crop review the past, consider the present and then decide what action to take to raise themselves from their condition of degrading poverty.

For eight years this correspondent has been in very close touch with the conditions under which the cotton crop is produced. He has lived with tenants, sharecroppers and day-hands and, in the natural sequence of events, has made the acquaintance of a few liberals and knows the behavior of the reactionary landowners.

Many people ask me, "Why, if the condition of the cotton crop workers is so unbelievably bad, don't they do something about it?" The answer is that they have done something about

it. That they haven't done more is simply due to their faith in President Roosevelt, his oily fireside chats and his cotton control act, familiarly known as the Triple A and officially known as the Agricultural Adjustment Act

The Triple A

This year marks the beginning of the seventh year when the cotton crop is being produced under the provisions of this act. And year by year the condition of those who actually till the cotton soil has become worse. Roosevelt promised that the act would rehabilitate the cotton-field worker. The Agricultural Adjustment Act has been a magnificent demonstration that the worker should not expect much from laws passed by a government under the domination of the owning class. The congressmen and senators from the cotton-producing states voted for this

law and that should have been sufficient warning to the cotton workers that the law was not intended to benefit them. Such benefits as have been derived from the law were secured after a courageous, militant demonstration in January, 1939, when several thousand evicted sharecroppers camped on the highways for several weeks, in cold and sleet and snow, and exposed the vicious violation of the cotton control act by the landowners. This act, which was supposed to "freeze" the status of the sharecroppers and give them one-half of the benefit payments which the government pays for a reduction in acreage planted, actually resulted in their eviction as sharecroppers and their new status of day laborer.

Now there is nothing envious about being a sharecropper. An income of \$250 per year for the average sharecropper is a liberal estimate.

But when this sharecropper becomes a day-hand, the income drops to an average of \$125 per year, which is also a liberal estimate. The actual production of the cotton crop requires about 100 days of labor at 75 cents per day. Besides this, the day-hand may (or may not) get additional work in harvesting the corn and hay crops.

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If anyone had told the owners of land fit for the cultivation of cotton that some day their sharecroppers and day laborers would organize and join a labor union they would have laughed until their fat frames shook. No cotton field worker, they would have told you, has gumption enough to do a thing like that. Furthermore, should anyone get the notion to undertake organization of "their hands" they would simply not permit it.

(Continued on page 4)

What Benefits Negro Labor, Benefits All Labor

We Are 100 Per Cent Behind the Negroes in Demanding Jobs on New York Buses—But There Are More Important Demands

By DAVID COOLIDGE
National Labor Secretary
Workers Party

An organization of Negroes in Harlem has instituted a campaign demanding that the bus companies of New York City supply jobs for 100 Negro workers. The campaign takes the form not only of a demand on the bus companies but also as an effort to have Negroes boycott the buses and refuse to ride them until Negroes are given the employment "asked for." Pickets are placed at bus stops in Harlem with signs and placards urging Negroes especially not to ride the buses.

The organizations in charge of this campaign have appealed to the Transport Workers Unions for assistance and to all organizations claiming to be friendly and sympathetic to the struggles of the Negro people.

We Go Further

The Workers Party is in full and complete agreement with the efforts of Negroes to get jobs; any and all jobs that they are qualified to hold, up to the very highest jobs in industry or government, elective or appointive, without any exception whatsoever. We go further than this.

We demand not only economic equality for Negroes but social and political equality also. SOCIAL, POLITICAL and ECONOMIC equality are inseparable, they are a unity, and one cannot be attained without the other. We are opposed to jim-crow at any point and in any way whatsoever. We are opposed to, and fight against jim-crow in industry, government or in the trade union movement.

Reduced to practice this means that the Workers Party is for Negroes having jobs, any jobs, with the bus companies or other industries. It is correct for Negroes to fight for

these jobs; and fight in any way that will produce results. The Workers Party stands ready to fight at the side of the Negroes to obtain these results.

We would, however, like to see the Negroes of New York broaden their campaign to include the mass production war industries. In fact it is our opinion that it is these industries that should be the focal point of their campaign and not relatively small and unimportant industries like the bus companies.

Furthermore, 100 jobs are only a drop in the bucket. There are thousands and thousands of unemployed

Negroes in New York City. There are thousands and thousands more working at menial jobs at very small pay. All of these are entitled to jobs and to jobs at far better wages.

There are vast war industries in New York and its environs. There are: the Brewster Aircraft Co. in Queens; three Bethlehem shipbuilding plants; Consolidated Shipbuilding Corporation in the Bronx; the federal Navy Yard in Brooklyn; numerous companies making radio equipment; thousands of large and small metal and machine industries working on war orders for the fed-

(Continued on page 2)

FROM OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

Open-Shoppism Gets a Terrific Jolt

LOS ANGELES, April 6—Los Angeles is about to be stripped of one of its most cherished honors—it is well on the way toward losing its place as "the home of the open shop." Last week, 17 CIO led strikes were in progress in this cozy little stronghold of reaction.

And on this widespread front labor won hands down. Reaction has been more unabashed than usual, too. Agencies for recruiting scab labor have been thriving in the open and police and municipal administrations have been outdoing themselves in fighting labor.

Notable example of what labor can do if it really decides to fight was the United Mine and Smelter Workers' strike at the Price-Phister Brass Foundry. Here cars of scabs, guarded by official police escorts, were run into the plant daily. Police on duty at the works openly recruited passing motorists to help run the scabs through. And the usually vicious cops surpassed themselves in brutality as well. There were more than the customary number of unwarranted attacks on pickets—men and women alike.

This only added fuel to the fire of the union's determination to see the strike through to a successful end. And they won. The contract they got calls for a beginning wage rate of 60 cents an hour, 65 cents after six months, a 5-cent-an-hour blanket raise, and 5 cents an hour additional for night shift workers. Re-classifications for 27 workers will mean a \$4,000 yearly increase in wages.

Most important of all, the plant will have a closed shop.

At the CIO industrial council meeting the union's delegate revealed rather abashedly that the company had agreed to a union bulletin board on the door of the men's lavatory. Another delegate got up and said, "I always knew where the best place was to put a bulletin board, but this is the first time I've ever seen it written into a contract."

The large number of Mexican delegates at the CIO council meetings is a good sign. Los Angeles Mexicans are used to being kicked around even

more than the Negroes out here. So they, like the Negroes, offer one of the potentially most militant sources for union membership.

The council here is forging ahead in its anti-jim-crow drive and the Negroes are taking an ever more active part in the fight for a decent wage standard. Among the white unionists there is less jim-crow prejudice than might be expected. The real battle, recognized by white and Negro alike, is against the employers. They both realize that the sooner unity within labor is reached the sooner a strong fight against the common enemy can be waged.

DARNELL RUBBER WORKERS

The United Rubber Workers ended a hard-fought strike against the Darnell Rubber Company in Long Beach with a good contract. Wages now range from 62½ cents an hour to \$1.15. Before the strike, the weekly spread had been from \$14.50 to \$25. The range now is from \$25 to \$46 per week.

Out of this strike came a demonstration of the progress workers out here are making in the only real school—the picket line. The Darnell workers learned through bitter experience with cop-employer brutality and strike breaking tactics that a labor victory depends ultimately on labor's strength and not on "good will" or public opinion. Plans are now under way to form flying squadrons of unionists who will be ready for strike duty anywhere in the city. This recognition of the indispensability of workers' defense guards is a real step forward for Los Angeles.

Because so much of this town has been open shop, workers out here have had little experience in real inter-union cooperation. Once they get the feel of the unlimited strength that can come from honest-to-God labor solidarity, there is nothing they can't and won't do. Because the boys out here are in the mood to try anything.

DISCRIMINATION IN AIRCRAFT HIRING

Aircraft management out here is crying in its beer because there is such a shortage of skilled

labor. At the same time any number of skilled workers are denied jobs because they are Negro, Oriental, or Mexican, or because they are not SECOND GENERATION Americans. Already Douglas and Vultee are hiring women on production jobs for which there is an oversupply of male workers who, however, can't meet requirements that might have been cooked up by the membership committee of the DAR.

This can mean only one thing, since we know that the sabotage scare is nothing but a smoke-screen for anything the capitalists want to put over on the public. The aircraft tycoons are not going to be caught short when we go to war. The Army isn't so particular about the background of the men it recruits or drafts. And men who can't get work even in these boom days are perfect bait for recruiting sergeants.

So the deal works two ways for the capitalists—they get more men for their army and they are prepared to keep production going to provide an uninterrupted flow of profits when the country goes on a total war footing.

TRONA OUTLOOK GOOD

The big strike of the United Mine and Smelter Workers at Trona is unsettled as this goes to press but the union delegate promises that the "most amazing union contract you have ever seen" will soon be announced. Be that as it may, amazing things have been happening in the company town of Trona since the strike was called several weeks ago.

Company cops have been in the company jail—afraid to come out—since the men hit the bricks. The union polices the town. Company officials wouldn't hear of the closed shop before the strike, but now only men certified by the CIO can go into the plant. Other CIO unions in the state have been cooperating magnificently with food and funds, and the union can hold out indefinitely. But at the present writing, it looks as if this won't be necessary.

The Party and the Trade Unions

The following is the trade union resolution adopted by the recently held Plenum of the National Committee of the Workers Party.

The prestige, the effectiveness and the future of the trade union movement in the United States are inextricably tied in with the Second World Imperialist War. The fate of the working class depends in large measure on the answer the organized workers give to the problems posed by the imperialist war now going on. Basic political issues inherent in the imperialist character of the present conflict intrude into the labor movement and the traditional boundary between political and economic action, is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain and defend.

The pressing necessity for the imperialist bourgeoisie in the United States to wage war against imperialist Germany in its own interest; combined with its desire to boost profits and enhance its own class position, creates a dilemma for the ruling class. This class is face to face today with an organized working class that has already demonstrated—to an appreciable extent—its indifference to the war and some determination to struggle for its own economic interests. While labor has not opposed the war as such, neither has it accepted the demands of the ruling class that the workers suspend the struggle for economic and social gains.

The bourgeoisie seeks to resolve its dilemma, hide its aims and obscure its real objectives, as always, by appealing for defense of the nation, the perpetuation of "our way of life," and extolling the glories of "our system of free enterprise."

BOSSES ATTACK LABOR'S GAINS

While the ruling class seeks to inveigle the workers into the war by patriotic appeals and a call for defense of the fatherland, it is compelled to strike at the trade union movement and attempt to stifle its militancy. The most sinister aspect of this attempt is the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to assure its profits and position by an attack all along the line against the economic and social gains of labor. This is exemplified in the drive against the Wagner Act, the Hours and Hours Act, the Walsh-Healy Act.

This drive against the living standards of the working class is further revealed by the numerous anti-strike bills introduced in Congress and the vicious anti-sabotage bills now before the state legislatures. The latest "victory" of the ruling class is the appointment, by Roosevelt, of the so-called National Mediation Board.

The conspiracy of the bosses against the unions is also exposed in the capitalist press, which never fails, when a strike occurs or is threatened, to emphasize that the "defense" program is being held up or that the plant involved has so many billions in "defense" orders. This whole anti-union conspiracy of the bourgeoisie is a well-organized attempt to wreck the trade union movement, render it helpless and thereby pave the way for unhindered prosecution of the war and unlimited profits from the war industries.

THEY FEAR THE UNION MOVEMENT

The bourgeoisie fears the organized working class and its potential power. They fear the unions, especially those in the mass production industries. At present these workers are engaged in a struggle with the ruling class for collective bargaining, higher wages and shorter hours. But the resolution "On the Political Situation and the Party Tasks" points out that "it would be mere fetishism of words if we failed to see that when the American workers go out on strike for their class demands even in war industries, and turn a deaf ear to the bourgeois appeals that 'our defenses are being weakened,' they are carrying out, in a very primitive way, not fully consciously, but yet carrying out the spirit of the Leninist slogan." (To transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary struggle for socialism.) The leaders of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie understand this all too well, far better than the workers themselves. To put over their attack on the trade union movement, and at the same time conceal their own aims, they enlist the services of trade union

leaders such as Hillman and others who take places on the various government boards which are completely dominated by the big bourgeoisie. Then, covered by these trade union leaders and liberal "friends of labor," they launch their attack. They protest that strikes are hindering the "defense" (war) program, they demand a "cooling off" period, "arbitration," and resort to all the time-honored devices that have proved useful in holding the working class in check.

The top trade union leadership on its part covers before the bourgeoisie and makes obsequious. In place of a determined and militant offensive, this leadership substitutes a pleading defensive attitude. In place of constant emphasis on the cause of the strikes and the right of the workers to higher wages and defense of the strike as the only effective weapon in the hands of the unions, this leadership tries to soothe the bourgeoisie with statistical proof that there are fewer strikes now than in a similar period of the First World Imperialist War.

Aided and abetted by this leadership, the ruling class has succeeded in having the unions adopt standardized resolutions allegedly directed against "nazism, fascism and communism." Thus the bourgeoisie, helped by the union officialdom, lay hands on the militant core of the unions, especially the politically competent and experienced militants. By this maneuver the bosses use the top union leadership to drive out all those militants who are articulate opponents of the war; all those politically educated unionists who can train the workers and prepare them for the decisive struggle against war and capitalism.

THE ROLE OF THE STALINISTS

The chief responsibility inside the labor movement for dovetailing labor into the war plans of the imperialists rests with the Stalinists and the social-chauvinist labor leaders. There are Hillman, Green and Murray on the one side of the shield and Browder and Co. on the other. The social democrats of the SDF and SP stripe need not be taken into consideration. The SDF cannot be distinguished from the Roosevelt administration and the SP is a one man organization, an extremely confused outfit minus a clear program and totally impotent.

In our agitation against the Stalinists it would be a mistake to underestimate the influence on the working class, of the recognized trade union leaders. This social-patriotic poison must not be ignored. On the other hand it would be fatal for the party to allow itself to be deluded by the anti-war pretensions of the Stalinists.

Hillman and Co., direct agents of Roosevelt and the war makers, scheme to drag the workers into the imperialist war camp, the British-American axis. The Stalinist bureaucrats, direct agents of the Kremlin, seek to drag the labor movement along behind the Berlin-Moscow combination. Both of these factions, each in its own way, defend and promote the interests of one or the other imperialist war camps.

Hillman and Co., in a most criminal manner, take advantage of the fact that large numbers of workers are resentful against Stalinist union wrecking activities and drag them into the Roosevelt war camp. These top trade union bureaucrats use the healthy revulsion of the workers against the Stalinist GPU agents to dampen the class struggle and promote the interests of the ruling bourgeoisie.

The Stalinists on their part protest that they are against Roosevelt and the war. The party, however, must explain the history of these discredited bureaucrats and the rôle they play in the present war. It would be the rankest naïveté to hold the belief that the Stalinists are an anti-war party. They are not opposing the imperialist war. They cannot be because they are in one of the imperialist war camps, just as Hillman and Co. are in the other. They say that this is an imperialist war and that is true, but they are part and parcel of one of the imperialist gangs.

THE MARCH OF LABOR MILITANCY

One manifestation of the impotence of the trade union leadership—particularly the CIO leadership

—is their attempt to ward off the blows of the bourgeoisie by tying the unions in with the government. They want to defend the unions and above all their bureaucratic positions by appealing to the Roosevelt government. This blinds the workers to the capitalist and imperialist character of the government and hides the collaboration between the trade union leaders and the bureaucrats. Bill Green, of the AFL, has pretended at times to be an agent of the government in the affairs of the unions. This attitude, however, is motivated solely by the desire of Green and his followers to proceed DIRECTLY in collaboration with the bosses without the government stepping in as intermediary.

The total objective situation and all the questions posed before the trade unions and the workers by the Second World Imperialist War, indicate and delineate the trade union policy and the main tasks of the Workers Party.

The most significant phenomenon today is the class movement of the workers for collective bargaining and higher wages. This movement expresses itself in the numerous strikes that are taking place all over the country in the war industries. It is important to recognize that these strikes occur not only in war time but in a period when wages and working conditions have improved over past periods.

Strikes under present conditions demonstrate that the American working class has no feeling of defeat, that it is not run down, that it has not lost its vigor and freshness. Furthermore, this militant movement of the workers is not confined to the so-called advanced workers but embraces large sections of the industrial proletariat and for the first time includes the Negro workers. The most responsive elements are found among the younger workers who from month to month show an increasing union consciousness and militancy.

We are face to face with a working class pregnant with revolutionary potentiality.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS PARTY

The Workers Party must base its line of policy on what is actually taking place. Party policy must be planned not only in line with the present movement of the workers, but must be conceived so as to be adequate to cover militant developments that may come with the unfolding of the present imperialist war.

It is obvious that neither the present nor future interest of the working class can be adequately represented by the trade union bureaucracy of the CIO, AFL or the railway brotherhoods. The planned, conscious and persistent propaganda and agitation of the Workers Party is necessary and imperative.

As the war progresses and the bourgeoisie becomes more and more enmeshed in its own contradictions; as the militancy of the working class increases and the ruling class finds itself faced with more stubborn resistance, it will demand action from the government or will form its own "illegal" apparatus for restoring "order." The attacks of the bosses will increase in ferocity, making it impossible for the unions to hold to their "independence" or to go forward as purely economic organizations. They will more and more come under the control of the Roosevelt government, which means under the control of the bourgeoisie hiding under the mantle of Roosevelt imperialist "democracy."

The bourgeoisie and the government, however, will not have an open road. The impact of the war and the passing of illusions about "democracy" will raise the class consciousness of the workers and lay the basis for rapid politicalization of the rank and file. The party member is, above all, the political teacher of the worker. Advancing the political understanding of the workers is the paramount function of the revolutionary.

This does not mean that the party member places himself above the workers and outside the active ranks of the union. The revolutionary performs all the elementary functions of union membership; attending meetings, participating in strikes, leading the picket lines and doing any and all union jobs that fall to him. The party cannot

(Continued on page 4)

Sauce for Big Business Is . . .

By Susan Green

The Kiplinger Washington Service—for value received—sends its clients weekly letters on what's brewing in Washington. Businessmen like to know ahead of time what's coming out of the capital. It helps them in their pursuit of rapidly multiplying profits. I base the following items on information contained in recent Kiplinger letters. I figure that workers, in their just pursuit of life and a living, need this inside information—even if they are not paying clients.

All branches of the capitalist government are head-hunting for workers on strike to increase their wages to meet the rising cost of living. Knudsen and Stimson order the Allis-Chalmers strikers back to work. State legislators propose laws to draft workers who strike. Some national legislators go so far as to propose the death penalty for strikers. And policemen and state troopers are ordered by mayors and governors to do their stuff.

Under these circumstances you would exactly expect the government policy at the present time to be to ALLOW the cost of living to rise. Yet this astounding information is contained in the Kiplinger letter of March 15.

It is stated in that letter, and underlined for emphasis, that food prices will rise. Then comes the juicy morsel that in Washington "at present the rough official idea is to let them rise about 10 per cent before putting on the brakes."

Regardless of why the government stands behind a 10 per cent increase in the cost of living, to be fair it should also stand behind a 10 per cent increase in wages. Instead this "democratic" government, city, state and federal, emerges as strikebreaker No. 1.

Is this a contradiction? Only if you don't know that the job of a capitalist government is to govern for the capitalists.

On the subject of "putting on the brakes" on rising prices, Kiplinger gives another bit of valuable information. But first I must tell you about Mr. Arnold, head of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, who very recently wrote a fat book called "The Bottlenecks of Business." In it he showed, most graphically, how greedy monopolies have absolute control of certain commodities, fix prices, limit distribution, all in the interest of greater profits.

In his book and in speeches, Mr. Arnold promised to open up these bottlenecks of business by prosecuting all violators of the anti-trust law. In this way he was going to lower prices to the government and the consumer, keep down the cost of living permanently, and in fact make milk and honey flow in all directions—even in the direction of the poor, which, of course, was a lot of hokey.

Comes Kiplinger's letter of March 15 definitely advising its clients that from now on Mr. Arnold's department will have very little to do. The government has made it clear to the captains of industry that there will be no anti-trust enforcement nonsense "for the duration," as they are saying in Washington.

Writes Kiplinger: "This will not be announced . . . (in fact announcement may be the other way). But it will be essential line of policy." Then the Kiplinger scribe put down the sentence: "Government price policing or fixing can prevent abuses of collusion," and with tongue in cheek added the significant words, "they think."

What Benefits Negro Labor, Benefits All Labor

(Continued from page 1)

eral government. These are really the important industries. They employ hundreds of thousands of workers of all kinds. All of them are expanding and increasing their working forces daily. There are jobs for common labor, the semi-skilled, skilled, technicians and scientific workers.

There are Negroes by the thousands who can fill these jobs and they should demand them and fight for them. It is on these industries that the fight should be concentrated. There are vast opportunities in industry today not only for the skilled and semi-skilled, but all the important industries have made provisions for the training of their employees through company schools and apprentice courses. It is in these industries that Negroes can acquire the training that will fit them for a permanent place in industry.

Governor Lehman has recently appointed a committee to work with the State Defense Council to end discrimination in employment for "defense industries." Two Negroes in close contact with Negro labor are members of this committee: Lester Granger of the Urban League and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Prominent labor leaders and industrialists are also on the committee. The labor leaders and the industrialists can begin at home immediately; the labor leaders fighting against discrimination in their own unions, and the industrialists by giving Negroes jobs immediately.

Negroes must not fall into the trap of demanding jobs simply because they spend money with this or that corporation. This means that if Negroes don't buy airplanes or ships, corporations manufacturing these machines need not employ them. Negroes must demand jobs for the same reason that they are demanded by white workers. This is especially true of the jobs in the so-called "defense" industries. Negroes should test out this business of making the United States "the arsenal of democracy." And they should test it out by the thousands; not merely with some puny demand for 100 jobs from an insignificant bus company.

There is one final point that needs to be discussed; this is the problem of the Negro worker and the unions. This has been and remains a sore spot. Many unions, particularly the AFL unions, have most vicious jim-crow policies and practices. This interferes with Negroes getting and holding jobs. This policy and practice must be smashed and Negroes are 100 per cent correct in their opposition to jim-crow in the labor movement as elsewhere.

The only brakes working are those on WAGES.

Conscripts in the military camps who have gone there with the soothing notion that all will be over in a year will soon have it blasted out of their heads. A law is likely to be passed in the fall EXTENDING THEIR SERVICE. This extension of service will go into effect if the country gets into the war or if we have an "emergency." "Regardless of the chances of 'war,' the chances of 'emergency' are very great . . . so great that plans should be made largely upon it." Thus Kiplinger to businessmen.

You conscripts who thought a year's training might not hurt you! The rosy promise of soon returning to a job, the bosom of your family, peacetime pleasures, was only propaganda to ease you into the bosses' army. "You're in the army now"—and now—and NOW. The imperialists will be finished with you when they are finished with their war for world domination—unless a bomb gets you first.

Kiplinger predicts that "production for many civilian purposes is bound to be curtailed." In the crazy concentration on manufacturing war equipment, making goods just for human needs takes a back seat. One of the reasons is that plants producing civilian goods will not be permitted to get the raw materials they need. The workers in these industries are sitting on a volcano. Already there have been shutdowns. Already many workers have been thrown out of work. More shutdowns will come. More workers will be out of jobs.

The theory is that such shut-out workers can find jobs in war industries. That's easier said than done. They are skilled in other lines. An expert on ladies' hats would not be much good at making airplanes. To train for new trades takes time and is a terrible hardship. For older workers it is almost impossible. (The younger ones are, of course, invited to join the army.) Why should the bread be taken out of the mouths of these workers and their families!

The capitalist who shuts down his plant continues to live in luxury and makes his adjustment to the more lucrative war economy without giving up his yacht and mansion. With the worker it is quite different. In England, at the height of war production, hundreds of thousands of shut-out workers were, and still are, out of jobs.

Here is a challenge for militant unionism. Before the executioner's knife falls upon the livelihood of thousands and thousands of workers, demands should be made upon the Office of Production Management for the continued flow of raw materials to the plants producing peace-time goods.

Workers want jobs—not a bosses' war! While workers are exhorted to be "patriotic" and make sacrifices to preserve "democracy," Kiplinger's letters make no bones about the fact that "democracy" will not longer exist after the war.

The March 22 letter states bluntly that there will be a "semi-totalitarian government here." Those workers who think the suspension of their rights is just a war measure, should read a hundred times the following sentence from the same letter: "Preparations for war are preparations for the post-war 'new era.'"

LABOR ACTION again poses the alternative that history lays before the working class: The "new era" of capitalism, meaning some form of fascism—or the struggle for workers' power and SOCIALISM.

Negro and white worker alike.

The majority of the organized mass production plants are in the CIO. This organization is founded on the principle of industrial or vertical unionism: taking in all the workers in the plant irrespective of race, color or type of work. The CIO has made remarkable progress in breaking down trade union and industrial jim-crow. There is plenty yet to be achieved, but Negroes all over the country are learning rapidly that the place to do it is inside the unions and particularly inside the CIO unions. Negroes must not judge the trade union movement today by the past or by the present practices of the AFL.

All over the country today Negro workers are standing shoulder to shoulder with the white workers. This was especially noticeable in the recent Bethlehem and International Harvester strikes. This is as it should be.

Negro workers must not be influenced by Negroes or whites who do not understand the labor movement or whose primary interests are outside the working class, as a class. The overwhelming majority of Negroes are workers. Their fundamental interests are identical with those of the white workers. The majority of the white workers of course do not understand this; but neither do the majority of Negro workers. The place of the Negro as a group is with the working class in the organized labor movement.

This is not just a theory but has tremendous practical importance. A. Philip Randolph understood this thoroughly when he was going through the long ten year struggle, against terrific odds, to organize the sleeping car porters. They are an international, affiliated to the AFL. Despite the fact of the jim-crow policy of the AFL, the sleeping car porters are in there. They have been recognized by the company, they have won victories; they have had wage increases and today they are accorded the dignity of a worker, and not, as it used to be, the insulting status of a menial.

LABOR ACTION
114 W. 14th Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

I am interested in learning more about the Workers Party and its fight against the bosses' war plans.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Easter Rebellion Ireland and the Revolutionary Tradition of Easter Week

By J. R. JOHNSON

Easter Sunday morning, 1919. Three o'clock. James Connolly, Irish revolutionary leader, was talking to his daughter and some of her friends, all asking why the revolt so carefully prepared had been countermanded.

Connolly knew that the arms from Germany had been intercepted, he knew that the arrangements had broken down, but he knew that the British government was going to strike. He could not let the revolt be stamped out without resistance. It seemed to him, and rightly, that the resulting demonstration would be too great. He would fight, come what may. There was a chance that if they held out long enough the whole country might rise. But, whether or not that happened, the blow had to be struck. It was in this spirit, long range revolutionary calculation, that Connolly sent the message to his followers calling on them to begin.

They prepared a declaration of the Irish Republic, signed by Thomas Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, P. H. Pearse, James Connolly, Thomas MacDonagh, Eamonn Ceannt, Joseph Plunkett. About noon the next day, a body of Irish volunteers marched down 61 Connell Street, apparently on parade. In reality they were marching on the Post Office and they seized it. At that same moment, small detachments seized other key points in the city. A little over a thousand men, workers, and a few intellectuals at their head, had challenged the whole British Empire.

They held the center of the city for over five days. By Friday, 60,000 British soldiers were fighting 1,000 Irishmen while Dublin blazed in flames. The revolutionaries hoped that the country would follow them—but nothing happened, nothing at any rate that could then be seen and measured. On Saturday, President Pearse ordered the surrender. To even sympathetic observers it seemed that the Irish had merely once more shown themselves a brave but irrational and unpredictable people. Except Lenin, who wrote fiercely in their defense, not only as revolutionaries but in defense of the circumstances of their revolt.

A HISTORY OF BLOODY REPRESSION

To understand this noble but apparently futile heroism one must have some idea, however rough, of Ireland's past at British hands.

It is customary to speak of Turks in the Balkans and Tsarism in Poland as classical examples of imperialist barbarism. Nothing in six centuries of European history has ever equalled the British strangulation of Ireland. To get some adequate idea of this, one has to study the histories written by Irish nationalists, and printed in Ireland. No British historian would dare to write the history of Ireland, even if he were intelligent and revolutionary enough to seek the truth under the thick cake of lies that British history, official and unofficial, has laid over the facts. If he wrote it, no British printer would print it.

Ireland was, many centuries ago, one of the foremost civilized nations of the world, far in advance of the British, a country producing Catholic scholars of European reputation, and the home of a flourishing association of free clansmen. The British fell upon them after the Norman conquest and plundered them for nearly 800 years. Rape and massacre and arson—arson, massacre and rape. That is the history.

The worst was perhaps Cromwell. Ireland is divided into four great counties, of which Connaught is the most remote and the wildest. Cromwell ordered the Irish to clear out of the three counties and go to Connaught. "To hell or Connaught." Every Irishman knows that phrase. It signalled the depopulation of a country. That was long ago. Two hundred years later the British did it again. Hitler is doing it today. The British will do it tomorrow again. What is there to choose between the ruling classes of Europe?

DELIBERATELY STARVING A PEOPLE

Ireland was the natural port of call for vessels from America. Today the empty warehouses, centuries old, still can be seen in Cork and other seaport towns. Britain strangled the trade, ruined Irish industry, stole Irish land, evicted Irish tenants, made Irish Catholics pay to support English bishops, taxed Ireland to pay British debts, bribed Irish parliamentarians (Englishmen and descendants of Englishmen) to sell out Ireland.

There is no crime in the horrors of imperialism which the British did not perpetrate against the Irish people for the "benefit of Ireland." The last and greatest was the famine of 1847. Not one Irishman need have died. The potato crop failed. But while the millions of Irish starved, ships laden with corn sailed out of the harbors to make profits for the British landlords. Parliament voted \$250,000 for Irish relief, and \$500,000 for the rebuilding of His Majesty's stables the same year. And as a million people starved and died and epidemics raged, the London Times wrote that an Irishman would soon be as rare on the banks of the Lefey as a red man on the banks of the Hudson.

Revolt after revolt had failed, chiefly through the cowardice of the Irish petty-bourgeoisie and the influence of the priests, both of whom hated the British but were more afraid of the revolution. After 50 years, the Liberal Party almost got a limited Home Rule Bill through Parliament. The Tory landlords started to build an army and swore they would revolt. So much for British democracy! It was in this highly charged atmosphere that the 1914 war broke out and the British began to overtax and oppress the Irish people to make them pay for a war, which they claimed, among other things, was to defend Ireland.

CONNOLLY ORGANIZES REBEL FORCES

Revolutionary feeling was, to all appearances, low. During the Boer War the British had denuded Ireland of troops and there had been no revolt. The British government therefore taunted the Irish Nationalists in the House that revolutionary spirit in Ireland was dead. But these Irish Gandhis talked about revolution only to threaten the British. They were as afraid of it as the British garrison, and as soon as war broke out they declared a truce. "All for the war."

In Dublin, however, James Connolly, a revolutionary Marxist, had been writing pamphlets and organizing labor, with some success. When Sir Edward Carson and the Irish aristocrats began to form their army in 1913, Irish revolutionaries countered with a volunteer army. But when the war broke out, Connolly took the lead with the Irish citizen army, a force consisting of the most of a few hundred men centering chiefly in Dublin. Apart from Lenin's Bolshevik Party, this was the most extraordinary revolutionary organization that Europe had seen for centuries.

It was organized for the purpose of making a revolution, and making it soon. Connolly was determined that the war would not end without a revolt. There would be no repetition of Ireland in the Boer War and taunts of the British parliamentarians. He felt that all the Irish wanted was a lead and he was ready to give it. His followers were workers, chiefly members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. They drilled with rifles openly, under the eyes of the British garrison. They had orders that whenever called, at day or night, they were to leave whatever they were doing and assemble. At half-past three in the afternoon the call would go out. Cab drivers would leave their cabs standing in the streets, office workers their desks, assistants their shop counters, workers their jobs. Whatever they were doing, wherever they were doing it, they would stop, run for home, and ten minutes after Connolly had sent the word around, the streets of Dublin would be filled with men running, jumping on trains without paying, while buttoning up uniforms and buckling on bandoliers.

The British government was powerless to interfere. One of its agents visited Connolly's office. Connolly drew a revolver on him and told him to get out. And the brave Briton, facing death or liberty, chose liberty.

The revolt was finally planned for Easter, 1916. Arrangements had been made for cooperation with the volunteers and other revolutionary forces of the nationalist movement. Roger Casement, a famous explorer and humanitarian, had sought arms from Germany. But the liaison service failed. The German ship arrived and signalled but contact was not made. Word for action was sent and then countermanded. There was wide support—it was no hare-brained rash adventure—but it was far more conspiracy than mass revolution. Connolly hoped to set fire to the tinder which he knew Ireland was. He failed. The shot which killed him seemed the end of revolutionary Ireland for a generation. But he died full of hope. He was a thousand times right, mistaken though he was in his tactics and immediate objectives.

BRITISH BRUTALITY PROVOKES NEW RISING

The British authorities had been trembling since 1914. They didn't know what Ireland was thinking. They knew that a revolt had been planned, but they hesitated to strike because of the possible consequences. Now they thought they knew what Ireland thought and felt. The people were quiet—dozed. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois press condemned the senseless adventure, as they called it. Whereupon the British determined to strike while the going was good and to crush the revolutionary movement. Day after day they shot leaders of the Irish Citizen Army, and exulted over it in the press. The Irish bourgeoisie protested. On May 12 Connolly was lifted out of the hospital, propped up on a chair, and shot. The British shot and shot. They would wipe them out. And as the slaughter continued, Ireland woke again, the whole country, from end to end.

Under Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, the Nationalist movement began to grow. By 1918 Ireland was seething. Connolly and the Easter martyrs were national heroes. At the first election after the war, over 70 of the 100 delegates were Sinn Feiners, pledged to no cooperation with Britain. The Volunteers, the

Irish Republican Army, the remnants of the Citizen Army began to prepare. From below, the civil war boiled over and the revolution began, anywhere, anyhow, without leadership, without order—a nation fighting instinctively for freedom.

"The Irish Question Is a Social Question"

—JAMES CONNOLLY

"As we have again and again pointed out, the Irish question is a social question, the whole age-long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production in Ireland. Who would own and control the land? The people or the invaders; and if the invaders, which set of them—the most recent swarm of land thieves, or the sons of the thieves of a former generation? These were the bottom questions of Irish politics, and all other questions were valued or deprecated in the proportion to which they contributed to serve the interests of some of the factions who had already taken their stand in this fight around property interests.

"... the producing classes could not be expected to rally to the revolution unless given to understand that it meant their freedom from social as well as from political bondage.

"The spokesmen of the middle class, in the press and on the platform, have consistently sought the emasulation of the Irish National Movement, the distortion of Irish history and, above all, the denial of all relation between the social rights of the Irish toilers and the political rights of the Irish nation. It was hoped and intended by this means to create what is termed 'a real National movement,' i.e., a movement in which each class would recognize the rights of the other classes and; laying aside their contentions, would unite in a national fight against the common enemy—England. Needless to say, the only class deceived by such phrases was the working class.

"When the questions of 'class' interests are eliminated from public controversy a victory is thereby gained for the possessing conservative class, whose only hope of security lies in such elimination. During the last hundred years every generation in Ireland has witnessed an attempted rebellion against English rule. Every such conspiracy or rebellion has drawn the majority of its adherents from the lower orders in town and country, yet under the inspiration of a few middle class doctrinaires the social question has been rigorously excluded from the field of action to be covered by the revolutionary force; in hopes that by such exclusion it would be possible to conciliate the upper classes and enlist them in the struggle for freedom. The result has in nearly every case been the same. The workers, though furnishing the greatest proportion of recruits to the ranks of the revolutionists, and consequently of victims to the prison and the scaffold, could not be imbued en masse with the revolutionary fire necessary to seriously imperil a domination rooted for 700 years in the heart of their country. They were all anxious enough for freedom, but realizing the enormous odds against them, and being explicitly told by their leaders that they must not expect any change in their condition of social subjection, even if successful, they as a body shrank from the contest, and left only the purest minded and most chivalrous of their class to face the odds and glut the vengeance of the tyrant.

"The result of the long drawn out struggle of Ireland has been, so far, that the old chieftainry has disappeared, or through its degenerate descendants has made terms with iniquity, and become part and parcel of the supporters of the established order; the middle class, growing up in the midst of the national struggle, and at one time, as in 1798, through the stress of the economic rivalry of England almost forced into the position of revolutionary leaders against the political despotism of their industrial competitors, have now also bowed the knee of Baal, and have a thousand economic strings in the shape of investments binding them to English capitalism, as against every sentimental or historic attachment drawing them towards Irish patriotism, only the Irish working class remain as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland."—From "Labor in Irish History," by James Connolly.

GUERRILLA WARFARE FROM START TO FINISH

The history of that revolution is written in pamphlets and letters and the memories of the Irish people. No book has even faintly touched it. Pitched battles of any scope there were none, until very late and then between Irish and Irish. It was guerrilla warfare from start to finish. Michael Collins never had more than 2,000 men in his band. But he had the flower of the nation behind him.

Lloyd George could send a quarter of a million men into Ireland within 72 hours if he wanted to. He dared not do it. He couldn't trust his own soldiers. He was pretending that the Irish were loyal, except for a few bandits. He had to dig into the garbage and collect every crook, tough and scoundrel he could find; and sent them to Ireland to save Ireland for democracy. They and the police and the garrisons fought it out with the Irish in the streets of Dublin and wherever they found each other. At any minute, in any town of Ireland, the bullets rattled in the streets. With thousands of pounds on his head, Michael Collins went about his business in Dublin, with his plans in one pocket and a revolver in another. Eamon De Valera worked in hiding, under orders of the revolution. On a night every coast guard station in Ireland was burned down. Banks, post offices, customs houses, police stations were systematically destroyed by guerrilla bands.

Men did things which would have been laughed at as ridiculous in fiction. Dan Breen fought through the campaign, street fighting and raiding, and lived to become a deputy with 42 bullet holes in his body. Over and over again he routed half a dozen British soldiers. He and two friends fought their way out of a house surrounded by scores of British soldiers. He would go to his mother's house to sleep. The British soldiers would come paying their routine visit and ask her when last she had seen him. "He is upstairs sleeping," she replied once, and the detachment fled like a flock of chickens down the street. He was the greatest of them all, but every Irish village had its Dan Breen.

YEARS OF BITTER CIVIL WAR

Meanwhile the international scandal grew. The American Irish were sending money and bringing pressure to bear through Washington. Irishmen high in the British civil service were sabotaging and acting as spies for Collins. In the tangled European situation, Britain's voice could not be raised, while she was murdering Irishmen by shooting them down at football matches. The British workers were demonstrating for their own demands and against the invasion of Ireland in crowds a quarter of a million strong. The Manchester Guardian and the Quakers led a journalistic agitation. Egypt was pounding at Britain. The British garrison was disintegrating. The British could fight no longer. They sought peace and skillfully drove a wedge between the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the Irish gentry and business men on the other. A partial peace was signed.

Ireland lost Ulster and the movement ended in a bitter civil war. The social question was beginning to emerge from the national question. The IRA, the real mass organization in contact with the people, in 1921, as in 1914, fought a purely national struggle. But the Irish question is the land question, and after two or three years of civil war it was beginning to find voices. The inevitable next stage would have been an agrarian revolution. The Irish comrades fell back and took help from British imperialism against the incipient social revolution.

British banks still dominate Ireland, but some of the chains have been struck off. Today De Valera knows that if he were to countenance aid to Britain, his doom would be sealed. Connolly had made a tactical mistake, but his faith in the Irish hatred of British imperialism was a profound revolutionary faith, based on knowledge of his people, revolutionary courage and intuition, and a deep understanding of Irish history. His rashness was valuable beyond the timid caution of a thousand lesser men.

EITHER IN CONNOLLY'S WAY, OR . . .

Easter week was the herald of the Irish revolution and the first blow struck against imperialism during the war at a time when the Irish revolutionary movement in Europe seemed sunk in apathy and the futile squabbles of exiles in cheap cafes. Today, 25 years after, Europe is moving through the same cycle, but this time in a society so exhausted by economic crisis and political strike, so starved and battered by barbarous governments, so shaken and stunned by the shocks of war, so weakened for the gigantic shocks that both sides are preparing for each other, that we can watch for the break which must appear in the artificial structure of organized repression and coercion which holds the continent in chains and drives millions to mutual destruction. It may flare and be stamped out as Connolly's revolt flared and was stamped out. But it will count, for the reasons that Connolly's counted. Because it shows the way out, the only way out, for people who must find a way or perish.

World at War--

(Continued from page 1)

Britain and America deal such heavy blows to Hitler as will weaken him to the point where he will no longer be a danger to Stalin.

The Russian gesture towards Yugoslavia and Turkey testifies to the changing relation of forces in the war as seen through Russian eyes, and the tremendous regard that the Kremlin has for the power of American intervention. The fact that Secretary of State Hull was so pleased with the Russian statements was not because he saw in them an immediate or early break with Hitler, but rather because they fitted in with America's war hopes.

The war therefore is entering a stage of long and bloody duration. The peoples of the world who suffer from hunger and disease are faced with extermination on a scale greater than the last imperialist war. The rival imperialisms are about to wade through oceans of blood in order to determine who shall be the exploiter of the world. The war aims of Germany, British and American imperialism will be saturated with the blood of millions. But the imperialists do not reckon with the millions who will rise up to call a halt to their suffering, and who will proclaim their own aims—AN END TO THE BLOODY WAR BY PRESSING THE SOCIALIST WORLD REVOLUTION!

A NOTE FROM CHICAGO

Heartening is the solidarity between Negro and white workers at Harvester. These workers know that both have a common enemy—the slave-driving boss. In the thick of every melee, ready to perform any task, shouting encouragement to any faltering worker, is the Negro worker. As is often true, the Harvester employers are bringing in job-hungry, misguided Negroes as strike breakers. The Negro CIO workers at Harvester are determined to educate their fellow-workers.

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor . . .

AFL'S STRIKE BREAKING ROLE AT HARVESTER

Dear Editor:
Did the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) blunder in striking the McCormick works plant (6,500 men) of the International Harvester Company? Yes. Tractor works (6,000 men) was solidly CIO but was this true of the McCormick works? If, as the CIO claims, their membership at McCormick works exceeded that of the AFL, then why did the CIO refuse an NLRB election? So runs the criticism of the strike at the McCormick works section of the Harvester Co.
The confusion and skepticism of critics lies in this: their failure to detect the real nature of the AFL union setup at the McCormick Company's local works. Since an NLRB ruling outlawed company unions at International Harvester, the McCormicks have had to plan anew. They seized upon a new scheme. They decided to recognize an AFL union.
Why if this "AFL" union is genuine, does it have the hysterical support of the inveterately labor-hating Chicago Tribune? Since when did this smelly piece of journalism favor any kind of unionism, CIO or AFL? This "AFL" union at McCormick's has embraced both craftsmen and industrial workers and holds out its welcome arms to the Negro worker. Are we to believe that overnight the AFL has become aware of the unskilled worker? Has the AFL suddenly repented its lily-white union policy of the past? Hardly!
The CIO's demands are of minimum nature and every honest and intelligent unionist, CIO and AFL, recognizes the validity of the Harvester strike. None is unacquainted with the bloody history of the Harvester employers and their man-kill-

ing labor practices. Consequently, if a bona fide AFL union existed at the McCormick works it certainly would not oppose the CIO drive for better plant conditions. Rather, it would join hands with CIO in a common struggle against the bloated McCormicks.
This understood, the CIO is entirely correct in striking McCormick works and deserves the maximum support of all labor. Every AFL unionist must recognize the unholy alliance between a corrupt AFL leadership and the McCormick interests. Support must be pledged by AFL unionists to their CIO brothers at Harvester. Already many AFL locals have voiced their protests and adopted resolutions condemning the strike breaking rôle of the AFL at Harvester.

Philip Marsh,
Chicago, April 3.

POLISH PRESS PEERS INTO CRYSTAL BOWL

Dear Comrades:
Since I am reading 16 hours out of

every 24 for the last six months, I thought I knew something about current events, but, to my great surprise, I have learned that I am not from this world, and my ignorance equals the man's from Mars.
We have many books recently published on the topic: how the world is going to look after this war. Also, the press is full of ideas as to: what are the peace aims of all of us. Anyway, it is all bunk. I've learned the "true reality" yesterday, when incidentally a Polish paper fell into my hands. "Dziennik dla Niszytskich," published daily in Buffalo, N. Y., is one of the biggest Polish papers in the world. Its editors are the cream of Polish intellectuals. They are cardinals, bishops, monks, historians, strategians, diplomats and music-masters. Not one in this crowd is below Ph.D. of academic degree. A really venerable mob. So we ought to heed their prophesy. Here it is:
Some foolish people have various foolish notions: some think the Nazis are to dominate the world after this war; others think the democracies will; yet there are some that

think Stalinism will dominate; still others say proletarian revolution will. All of it is illusion, a dream. All of the above mentioned forces are led by infidels. The world after the war must be a holy world, a God's world. Who is better suited to rule such a world, if not His Excellency, the Polish piano-master, with the assistance of the Roman Church. Therefore, on one page I read that the eastern province of Prussia will be Poland. I thought it was plenty ambitious. But, on the next page, I read: that after this war Russia would become a monarchy. The czar will be the ruler (I suppose he will be resurrected) unless Poland takes Russia in her protective custody and keeps it democratic. And why not? So Poland will dominate the European continent.

What will become of Germany is not clear. One thing is clear: Germany simply would not be there. One can only presuppose that they will meet the fate of the Danish chickens. It seems religion and praying on one's knees will do it. I don't want to say anything now about religion. But I know that the apes who teach the doctrines of Wotan are now walking all over the poor people who were on their knees.

So even if my tribe is the chosen one now to rule, I doubt its ability to do it on its knees. And who was the damned fool that wanted to save this civilization? Where is it?
St. Dziengielewski,
Pa., March 25.

Philadelphia Readers . . .

See: SUPPRESSED FILM OF THE MEMORIAL DAY MASSACRE DURING REPUBLIC STEEL STRIKE.

Hear: "THE LABOR SPY RACKET EXPOSED."

Time: SUNDAY, APRIL 20, 8:30 P.M.

Place: 329 PINE STREET.

READ, SUBSCRIBE TO
NEW INTERNATIONAL

Schedule of Shachtman National Tour

Buffalo	Friday, April 11
Akron	Saturday, April 12
Cleveland	Sunday, April 13
Akron	Monday, April 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

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—30-hour 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 and conscription.
9. 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.

"Mediation" Is A Boss Trick

(Continued from page 1)

Knudsen is probably right on all counts. With a procedure such as he proposes, 90 per cent of the strikes will be eliminated. Strikes will be eliminated, and so will wage increases. But long hours will not be eliminated. Neither will spies, scabs, thugs and company unions.

We do not know whether or not anti-strike legislation is necessary. That's for the bosses to decide. It's their Congress, their congressmen and their President. But we agree that such "laws" are not enforceable. Mr. Knudsen has learned a little at least. And we know where he learned it. The bumper to bumper picket line at the Ford plant and the refusal of the Allis-Chalmers workers to take his "orders" taught him that.

"That wages may rise in a period of high industrial activity is an accepted fact. (By whom—Ford, U. S. Steel, Bethlehem?) The problem is to hold the rise in proportion to the rise in living cost, and prevent a spiral from which it is extremely hard to recover." We don't know much about spirals, but we have a hunch that we know what Knudsen is talking about. He is telling the bosses (he is one of them) to hold wages down as low as they can. Because, you see, if the workers get wages up too high during the "emergency" it will be difficult to reduce wages after the war is over. Knudsen is still haunted by those mass picket lines. Just as they can be used to raise wages, they can be used to keep them up. Furthermore, those picket lines can be used to keep wages going up and as an aid in getting rid of the wages system entirely.

Knudsen is losing patience with people who keep talking about money. "This is no time to ask for quotations on the defense of the United States. If we are going to put it on a dollars and cents basis, how much more per day or per share is this defense job worth, how much of a down payment do we want on the protection of our shores and our homes and our democratic institutions? This job can't be handled with money. It must be handled with our hearts."

This great oratorical flight came, of course, near the end of Knudsen's speech. He was winding up. Next came the call for "sacrifices from everybody. 'Work and Save' must be our slogan."

Some of this will leave workers a little puzzled. We never yet saw a boss handling dividends, profits and interest with his "heart." We never noticed workers getting hit over the head or run over with a boss' "heart." That's not our understanding of what a night stick, a tear gas bomb or a police armored car is.

Furthermore, the workers do want to put this business on a dollars and cents basis. To hell with this "heart" business. Does Knudsen think that we are fools? The bosses put "defense" on a dollars and cents basis and that's what the workers should and must do. If they don't, they'll starve. It is interesting the number of things

that Knudsen did not mention in his speech. He talks about getting together around the "table." But did he ask the Allis-Chalmers workers to gather with him around the table before he sent his bluff "order" for them to resume work? Did he say anything about Ford's army of private thugs that manufacture clubs in the Ford plants to beat the workers with? Did he condemn Bethlehem for violating their own capitalist law and supporting the company union? Did he mention the vigilantes that were organized at Bethlehem? Did he mention the fact that a federal judge condemned Bethlehem for holding up the federal government during the last war? Did he mention the fact that the Aluminum Corporation has been indicted for violation of the anti-trust laws and that this corporation has been charged with conspiring with a German trust to restrict the production of aluminum? Did he inform his audience that this Mellon corporation had a net profit in 1940 of over 44 million dollars, equal to \$25.12 for each share of stock?

No; this representative of the bosses said not a word about any of these things. He wants mediation, which means strikebreaking. He is for the Mediation Board because he believes that it will be effective in fooling the workers and keeping them off the picket lines. He is out with all his "heart" to protect the bosses and their profits.

Knudsen knows that this is an imperialist war, that the ruling class in the U. S. is out to make a killing just as they did during the last war. He knows that the working class is learning that it is not their war, that it is a boss war and that the workers are only called on to do the toiling in the factories and the dying on the battlefield.

But the workers must keep the picket lines going. To hell with the Mediation Board and its boss class trickery. Demand that labor leaders get off this board and take their places on the picket line. Keep the strikes going. Organize all the workers. Demand signed contracts. Demand higher wages and shorter hours. Don't take less from the bosses. Don't take less from the government.

The Navy Is Set

We have at hand a report by David H. Popper, expert on American military matters for the Foreign Policy Association.

The Navy, reports Mr. Popper, is on a war footing. Although its expansion program—"which can be compared only with the effort made during the First World War"—is not yet complete, the Navy is ready to go into action tomorrow if need be.

"The strategic disposition of ships, planes and bases has been altered to conform with existing political conditions. . . . As for personnel, most reservists are in active service and officers and enlisted men are being prepared for duty by intensive wartime instruction procedures." (Our emphasis.)

In addition, Mr. Popper points out that, while the mass training program of the army has temporarily reduced its fighting efficiency, "the tactical value of the Navy is being maintained and enhanced through the period of augmentation."

What does it mean? The meaning is simple: the Roosevelt Administration expects to enter the war any day—it may not do so for a few months, but then again it may do so tomorrow. The first steps in military intervention will thus be taken by the Navy. Its "strategic disposition" has been changed—changed so that its forces hover near the vital war fronts (Far East and Mediterranean), prepared to intervene at a moment's notice.

Those who have rocked themselves in the comfort of a delusion that military entry is impossible until the army conscripts are ready have here a forecast of military probabilities. On one pretext or another, the Navy, at a moment considered expedient by American imperialism, will enter the war. Possibly as a blockade force, possibly as a combat force—probably as both. The conscripts will follow in due course. And, under the "lend-lease" war powers bill, it will all be done without Congressional authorization, merely on the decision of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy—President Roosevelt.

That Roosevelt is heading for war, no longer needs arguing. Roosevelt virtually admits it. That war entry may be a matter of days, also needs no arguing. The facts are plain. What does need arguing is: Who authorized this war? The people? By no means! The people are against the war!

Again we raise the demand:
Let Congress pass the Ludlow War Referendum Bill!
LET THE PEOPLE VOTE AGAINST WAR!

A Magic Fountain of Plenty For the Few

A Series on Aircraft

By BOB FELLOWES
(Aircraft Worker)

Mystery surrounds the origin and growth of many of the present aircraft corporations with the exception of one book and a few articles. There is a real dearth of literature on the subject of how aircraft is financed.

It is exceptionally important that more be known about these aircraft corporations that have grown like mushrooms after a heavy rain. Many aviation workers want to know how much profit their company is making, how the present rate of profits compare to the profits made before the war, etc. This information is particularly important because of the phony stores that are circulated in the press and elsewhere, of the sacrifices and losses entailed by the aviation bosses in their endeavor to give all for the sake of pay-riotism. To make it easier for the aviation worker to size up the situation in his plant we are printing the following series of articles on aviation. Any worker who has any information about his shop that can be used in this series is urged to send it in immediately. Questions in regard to specific plants will be answered elsewhere in the paper.

Aviation from its very birth was recognized as a powerful weapon for war and a fertile field for enormous profits. This was evidenced as

Cotton--

(Continued from page 1)

Were they not masters of all they surveyed? Didn't they own and control "the law"? Could they not have any of their "hands" arrested whenever it suited them on any sort of a trumped-up charge? They could and often did.

Tenant Union Grows

But in spite of decades of terror and docility that bordered on slavery, a labor organization came into being in 1935. It was and is known as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. In the first few years of its existence it conducted a militant organization campaign. The planters looked on the early efforts of this union with amused toleration but as union activity increased and the militancy of the early leaders penetrated the rank and file, a change of front was soon adopted by the landowners. Beatings, arrests, and other forms of terrorism became a common occurrence. But the sharecroppers and day-hands joined in growing numbers. The union, started in one of the northern Arkansas cotton growing counties, soon spread and reached southern Missouri. It is with the Missouri organization that your correspondent is most familiar.

At first the "locals" merely consisted of a handful of the most courageous among the cotton-field workers. They would meet in various places, from tumble-down Negro churches to pigstys. They instinctively felt the necessity for banding together with all other cotton field workers. The news of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union having taken leadership penetrated to the remotest cotton patch.

Conditions were especially favorable in Missouri for a rapid extension of union activities. Missouri had never grown cotton until the boll weevil destroyed the cotton crops grown farther south. The Missouri landowners, seeing profit in the cultivation of cotton, found to their amazement that their land was ideally suited for that crop and in fact produced the highest yield per acre of any cotton land in the world. But they had not learned the landowner tactics that invariably go with the raising of cotton. There were still a good many small landowners who actually tilled the soil. There were tenants who provided their own tools and rented land for one-fourth of the crop produced.

Militant Action

But southern landowners, looking for land where the boll weevil would not plague them, moved into Missouri and taught their new neighbors how to squeeze the last dime out of a cotton crop. Slowly, but surely, small landowners and tenants were eliminated. Civil liberties were more and more encroached upon. And in the last two years several definite efforts have been made to keep the Missouri cotton field workers from exercising their right to vote. Yet conditions for the growth of a union were much more favorable here than in the typical southern cotton growing states. And it is for this reason that the most militant action for improved working conditions came in Missouri.

The January, 1939, highway demonstration came suddenly, almost without warning. It had the undivided support of every cotton field worker in the Missouri cotton district. Due to the secrecy with which it was organized and also due to the inexperience of the leaders of the demonstration, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was not consulted nor asked for support until after the demonstration was under way.

(To be continued)

far back as 1898 when the U. S. government first initiated its policy of subsidizing aviation by giving a Smithsonian Institute inventor \$50,000 to further his airplane invention. The profit angle came to light early when, way back in 1910, the Wright Bros. started a struggle with Glenn H. Curtiss for the legal control of the industry. The struggle resulted in aviation being set back for several years. The tussle as to who was to siphon off the profits was finally won by the Wright brothers.

With the outbreak of World War I aviation went to town. From the bottomless government spout over one billion dollars was poured out to the aviation industry (mainly Curtiss and Wright) for exactly 196 planes that went to France. Evidently at that time pay-riotism also paid well.

Flying Coffins Pay

The American airplanes soon achieved a reputation for themselves. They were called the flying coffins; for sooner or later the faulty and cheap construction of the plane resulted in some poor stiff achieving a burning, spiraling death.

The First World War was only a rehearsal for the aviation bosses in the art of shaking down the government and defrauding the people of the millions of dollars in taxes that they had paid to the government.

Note that the government was a willing partner to this shakedown. For did not the government appoint the \$1.00 a year pay-rioters who were only too glad to fleece the treasury with the connivance of the highest officials in the land.

Immediately after the war, death on wings had to take a temporary holiday. Capital was withdrawn on a large scale from the aviation industry. Thousands of workers were thrown out of the industry they had built up. The aviation gift child became a foundling.

Money Pours In

The government found it necessary to step in and reimburse the remaining financial interests. The gov-

ernment voluntarily went out of the air mail business and handed over some juicy contracts to various aviation companies. They also constituted a market for the various companies, paying them steep prices for planes that were outmoded the day after.

In 1926 when all business began to stir as a ship does in troubled seas, the aircraft industry began to attract the very big financial interests. Money began to pour in and suckers began to form lines to invest their money. Aided in their upsurge by Lindbergh's spectacular flight, aviation stock shot sky-high. Wright's aviation stock soared upward from 25 in 1927 to 254 in 1928. Aircraft production in 1925 totalled \$12,000,000. In 1929, just before the prosperity bubble dissolved and was taken over by Sally Rand, the total value of aviation stock reached the figure of one billion dollars.

With the beginning of the depression the aviation companies, as well as other industries, began to fall under the control of various mergers and trusts. After a process of several years of reshuffling and dissolving companies legally and buying other companies out, we find that about 80 per cent of the companies are neatly parcelled out among five groups: the General Motors-North American Aviation group, Curtiss-Wright, Chrysler Corp., United Aircraft and Aviation Corp. group. The other companies, Glenn L. Martin, Brewster, etc., are more or less semi-independent, a status which they are steadily losing.

Welcome War

World War II was welcomed with open arms by the aircraft industry. Profits were not coming in fast enough. As a result of the war, the value of the aircraft production totalled \$225,000,000 in 1939. In 1925 the total production value was \$12,000,000. In 1940 the government set aside for aircraft purposes over one billion dollars. In the current budget the government has set aside two billion dollars for the purchase of airplanes. The aviation industry has struck it rich.

The APM Meets, 'Discusses,' Passes Stalinist Resolutions

By HENRY JUDD

NEW YORK—Last week end—April 5 and 6, to be exact—there took place in this city a gathering of the Stalinist clan and tribesmen from various sections of the United States.

The first day of the conference was completely and literally a washout! A public meeting, scheduled to be held in the huge open-air auditorium of Randall's Island, was called off on account of a substantial rain. The committee in charge of the affair hastily transferred the sessions of the American People's Meeting to Mecca Temple in the city proper.

The time consumed by the convention was Saturday evening—devoted entirely to speech-making and to song-singing by the International Workers Order chorus—and all day Sunday. On Sunday the APM split up into various panel discussions which adopted resolutions. These resolutions, in turn, were presented to the body as a whole on Sunday evening.

Openly Stalinist

Strange to say, nobody offered a single amendment to any resolution—either at the panel discussions or at the convention meeting as a whole. Every resolution—big, small and medium-sized—was unanimously adopted. At the Sunday evening session (after James P. Davis of the National Negro Congress and Stalinist vice-presidential candidate at the last election had spent a good deal of time in a money-raising speech) the panel resolutions were adopted. The resolution was read, or reported on, in five minutes and ONE MINUTE—discussion per speaker was permitted from the floor!

It is really unnecessary to prove that the APM was a completely Stalinist-dominated affair. No bones were made about it! The Daily Worker and the Dean of Canterbury's collection of Jesuitical lies called "Soviet Power" were sold openly everywhere. The entire proceedings from a practical standpoint (ushering, maintaining order, etc.) were handled by hundreds of New York members of the Young Communist League; every Stalinist publication, song sheet, record, art magazine, photograph, moving picture, etc., was represented in one way or another in the decorative lobby devoted—so it was said—to illustrating the activities of the APM. And finally, speaker after speaker mentioned the Communist Party in one way or another—in a laudatory fashion, we need

hardly add. James P. Davis modestly admitted that he had written the major resolution adopted at the convention.

Who was there? According to the Daily Worker there were over 4,000 delegates, representing the Lord only knows how many ten of thousands. They were elected—according to the same source—by local APM councils, trade unions, fraternal groups, general social and welfare movements, etc.

This is stuff and nonsense or, more accurately, "twaddle." The overwhelming bulk of those present came first from New York City itself and, second, were probably for the most part outright Communist Party members elected from the dozen and one innocent and "stooge" outfits set up by the CP.

There were present, undoubtedly, a substantial group of genuine working class delegates and militants. Many of them—when they got a chance to talk—made fighting speeches about local strike or civil liberty conditions. But these genuine delegates were completely swamped in the stereotyped procedures of the Stalinist machine.

What's Wrong with the APM?

What was accomplished? What was the upshot of the whole thing? Well, a bunch of resolutions were adopted and a manifesto, ringing with indignant anti-war phrases and promises of action, was ordered to be circulated in a million copies.

But from a serious standpoint, from the standpoint of a genuine anti-war movement, it was all cut-and-dried. How easy it was to imagine the same group of people shouting the exact opposite slogans and passing the exact opposite resolutions if Stalin should jump over to the camp of the democratic-capitalist powers. The pacifist and anti-war protestations of the APM are fake and will change tomorrow with a change in Moscow's policy. This is proved by the fact that no one dared offer a resolution which would explicitly state that the APM would refuse to support the United States in ANY war—no matter who its ally.

No, the trouble with the APM is NOT merely that it is a pacifist organization—which it is not! The trouble with it is that it is run by one of the partners of the Hitler-Stalin war alliance, and you can make a good guess which is the partner.

THE NEGRO'S FIGHT

Guard Against The Trap Set By Henry Ford

By J. R. JOHNSON

Ford is one of the most dangerous enemies of labor who exist in this country. This enemy of labor has been laying a train of race hatred in Detroit and is now about to touch it off. The organized working class movement and the Negroes will have to fight hard and long to check and frustrate and defeat this sinister plotter. It will be no easy fight.

Ford has always employed Negroes in his factories. Of over 80,000 workers in the River Rouge plant, over 10,000 are Negroes. Ford does more than that. He sees to it that Negroes get positions in the more skilled departments. There are even some in the tool shops; not too many, but just enough to make them feel that they have a chance. The majority, of course, are unskilled laborers doing the hardest and heaviest work.

Ford has a Negro personnel director in charge of the Negro personnel, a fellow called Marshall. Marshall's business is to boost Ford among the Negro population. Months ago Ford saw the big struggle coming. Marshall got busy, organized banquets and fetes, and through Negro organizations, parsons and the usual bunch of Negro petty-bourgeois, he extolled Ford as the benefactor of the Negroes. The Negro press also praised Ford as the man who employs Negroes.

Now the struggle has burst out. The sudden strike is one of the most powerful indications of revolutionary spontaneity that we have seen for years—a testimony to the vitality and the magnificent fighting quality of the American workers on whom so much depends on a national and international scale during the years. The men must win. But many of the Negroes are anti-union. Ford is anti-union. Ford gives them jobs, so they are anti-union.

The strikers are making no bones about scabs. One of the pictures most featured in the recent press accounts of the strike is the picture of a Negro beaten up by pickets. The press from every angle is playing up the Negro phase of the strike. Break the workers at all costs. Ford is now reaping his reward. He is ready for race hatred, race riots, anything to break the union. It is what he has played for all the time. It is his last card. The Negroes, despite their grievances, must take sides instantaneously with the union against Ford. Any Negro who attempts to scab will deserve all he gets. This is no time for counting and reshaping what has been done and what ought to have been done and what was not done. Ford is the enemy of the workers. He must come into line or be brought in.

But the unions have to do some hard and quick thinking too. Ford gives jobs. He enables Negroes to eat. General Motors, for example, employs unskilled Negroes, but every Negro knows that for a job Ford is the man in Detroit. The unions must, therefore, now in the heat of the struggle, convince the Negroes that their jobs are safe in the hands of the unions. They must see to it not only that Negroes are invited to join the union. That is not enough. They must convince the Negroes that they can look to the union for active concern about jobs for Negroes.

The Negroes are not anti-union by nature. Society drives them into corners from which they see no exit. Ford sets traps for them. The union must openly take their side. They must feel that the union can give them more than Ford can.

There are only two forces in modern society—the ruling class (the Fords) and the organized working class. The organized working class has a responsibility not only to itself, but to all labor, organized or not. We need all the forces we can weld together. Ford is out to split the workers. The press is out to help him. Unions and Negroes have to think hard and think fast. Many other unions are solving that problem. The Detroit situation is too important to allow Ford to get away with his anti-labor, anti-Negro, fascist policy.

E. JOHNSTON

Resolution--

(Continued from page 2)

tolerate in its ranks those who fail to carry through this elementary working class activity.

THE WAR IS THE PIVOT OF OUR POLICY

The organized struggle of the workers today for improvement in their economic condition will undoubtedly open the war for the conscious and planned political propaganda and agitation of the Workers Party. The workers will learn by their experiences with the bourgeoisie and the government that these "immediate demands" will not be met. They will learn also that the trade union bureaucracy will go over to the ruling class and to full and unqualified social patriotism. As their eyes are opened, as they feel the lash of the bourgeois profit seekers, and are confronted with the criminal desertion of their own leaders, our party will have a real opportunity to turn the thinking of the proletarians into revolutionary channels.

The pivot around which our policy revolves is the Second World Imperialist War. "The thoughts and activities of the working class (of all the classes) are dominated by or connected with the war and its problems. Our agitation and activities must therefore be dominated by and connected with the war and its problems, bearing in mind at all times that for us the main problem of the war is its revolutionary-socialist transformation."

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