

The Negro Struggle
By ALBERT PARKER

A LETTER ABOUT THE U.G.E. ARTICLE

"I read with a considerable amount of interest your remarks on the stand taken by the United Government Employees at their recent convention in Washington. I also read in the same issue the resolution of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in which they give their position on the relation of the Negro to the armed forces.

"I find myself in agreement with most of what was said in both articles, but there is at least one thing which I am not sure I understand. In your party's resolution, under Point 5, is the following paragraph discussing the question of mixed or separate regiments:

"Because many Negroes have had personal experience of discrimination and segregation inflicted on them by backward workers in factories and in trade unions, a sentiment may arise in the course of the struggle for union control of military training for the right of Negro soldiers to choose for themselves whether they shall be in mixed regiments or in all-Negro regiments. In such a case we must pledge ourselves to support the right of the Negro soldiers to determine the question for themselves . . .

"However, on the very next page, in your article on the United Government Employees, there occurs a case where a group of Negroes themselves have met and decided that they prefer separate regiments as long as they get colored officers—and you attack them very strongly for this. I do not dispute your attacking them, as I believe you were well justified in this. They were not considering the interests of the Negro people, they were carrying on a political fight to elect Roosevelt and to cover up that he had announced a policy in the army that was aimed at Negroes. I also accept the other reasons you gave for attacking them.

"But what I do not understand is how this jibes with your party's resolution which as I understand it says that Negroes themselves should have the right to determine this question.

"It seems to me that you owe your readers a bit of explanation on this contradiction. I feel that you should have discussed this, at least, in your article."

ANSWER TO THE LETTER

We do not find any inconsistency in the article on the U.G.E.'s endorsement on Roosevelt's Jim Crow military policy and in the resolution our party has adopted on military policy.

We condemned the Edgar Brown-U.G.E. policy for the following reasons:

1. It was dictated by the political needs of the Roosevelt administration, not by the demands of the Negro people for equal rights in all phases of American life. Some Negro group was needed to win back the votes that were endangered or lost when Roosevelt himself said that the Jim Crow policies in the armed forces had proved "satisfactory over a long period of years." As such, the U. G. E. resolution is an endorsement of the theory that the Negro is different and inferior, because that is the principle underlying segregation in the army. That means an endorsement and acceptance of Jim Crow policies everywhere!

2. The separate regiment policy cannot protect Negroes, even if they have Negro officers. What they have to be protected from is special choice for the menial, flunkie jobs and the assignments to duty in situations where men's lives are thrown away like matchsticks. Because the Negro soldiers will be off by themselves, the Jim Crow general staff, as long as it controls things, will always be able to pick them out for "special assignment," as they did so often in the last war.

Now what, on the other hand, does the fight for the right of the Negroes to decide the question imply?

First of all, it implies a fight against the government policy. The ruling class says, "Negroes must go into separate regiments, whether they like it or not, because we think it's most satisfactory." That is, since under the present policy Negroes don't have any say in the matter, the first thing they must do is fight against the official policy that denies them any voice in the matter and segregates them at the same time.

Secondly, it means a fight for control of military training. Whoever controls military training is in a position to decide what happens to the soldiers, colored as well as white. A struggle for the right of the Negroes to determine whether they shall be in mixed or separate regiments means a struggle to take control from the officer caste that runs things today and to put it into the hands of the soldiers themselves.

How different this is, then, from the hat-in-hand, body-braced-for-a-kick attitude of Brown and his cohorts.

"In short," said the resolution of the Socialist Workers Party, "we differentiate between segregation under bosses' control and self-determination under workers' control. We are against the first, we are for the right of the second. It is part of our program, but is not a field for extensive agitation at this time."

But our letter writer is correct in saying that in our article on Brown we should have contrasted his attitude with our own position on the question of "self-determination" on the question of mixed or separate regiments.

CORRECTION

In our column last week on the effect of the poll tax in eight southern states, we said "only about 10% of the adult population can enter the voting booths." This is not correct. More near the figure for the presidential election of 1936 would be about 20%, although in some places it is 10%. This does not change the point of the article, for the figure of 60% quoted for the rest of the country is still correct.

Defense for Waller Asks Aid

Negro Sharecropper In Virginia Faces Execution

The National Office of the Workers Defense League has issued a plea for funds to aid in the defense of Odell Waller, 23-year-old Negro sharecropper sentenced to execution December 27 at Richmond, Va., on a charge of murder.

On August 6, Waller was extradited from Columbus, Ohio, whence he had fled after having fatally shot his landlord, Oscar Davis, in self-defense during a quarrel over wages. Davis had refused payment for work performed on his land by Waller, his wife and his 65-year-old mother and had also declined to pay a promised wage to the mother for four weeks' nursing in the Davis household.

The case is appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and will probably have to be carried to the Supreme Court of the U. S. Aside from its importance in the saving of Waller's life, this case involves the problem of the legal status of Negroes and poor whites in the South. The judge, confronted by the fact that Waller's jury had been "illegally" made up of 10 land-

GREEN FOR UNITY ON HIS TERMS . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

AFL—meaning the bureaucracy riding on the shoulders of the craft unions—is prepared to renew peace negotiations on the basis of the formula it advanced three years ago.

This formula means capitulation of the industrial unions to the craft union bureaucrats. It would "permit" the unions which were expelled from the AFL for organizing the workers in the basic industries to return on the old status. But the new unions would be thrown into the meat grinder of the bankrupt craft outfits having jurisdiction in their field.

What's In a Name?

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 8.—An enterprising restaurant manager today displayed on his menu "Gâteau Roosevelt"—Roosevelt cake. "The cake is the same as any other cake," explained the manager. "I just thought it might sell better with the Roosevelt name."

Yessir! Roosevelt or Willkie cake—it's just about the same thing—only the Roosevelt brand has a prettier icing!

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

LABOR SHOULD WORK 10 TO 12 HOUR DAY Declares Millis

Labor has just received an inkling of what "national unity" really spells. In his first interview with the press since he was named by Roosevelt for the post of chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, Dr. Harry Millis declared that the workers should be willing to work a ten or twelve hour day in an "emergency."

This kind of talk, especially when there are still about 9 million unemployed, will absolutely ensure Millis' approval by Wall Street and a reactionary Congress. First fruits of the labor vote for Roosevelt!

CONVENTION HITS AFL CONDITIONS . . .

(Continued from page 1)

a clamorous demand—from labor "leaders," "friends" of labor, and many open enemies of labor—for what is euphemistically called "labor unity," but which really means going back to the AFL under conditions jeopardizing the very life of the new industrial unions.

But, fortunately, they withstood that tremendous pressure. When those opposed to the motion were asked for, not even the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' delegates who had spoken for Hillman's policy recorded themselves as opposed to Lewis' policy.

WHINING HILLMANITES

Three speakers took the floor for Hillman's policy: Franz Daniel and Frank Rosenblum, of the "clothing workers, and George Balducci of the textile workers. Only Rosenblum appeared to believe what he was arguing for. The other two put on a half-hearted performance—probably reflecting their own real feelings, for both are directly dependent on Hillman's good favor.

They were answered by a barrage of effective speeches. Perhaps the best was that of a Negro packinghouse worker, Neil Weaver. He reflected the bitterness of the Negro toilers at the "illy white" AFL policy: "They tell my people we can only be hod carriers or porters." And he reminded us of the fate of the packinghouse workers during the last fifty years—never organized by the AFL. Weaver didn't give the most polished logical argument—but his aroused bitterness at the very possibility of capitulation to the craft union moguls was better than a formal argument.

TORN WITH FEAR

The AFL heads were torn between fear of industrial unionism, which would cut across their cherished craft jurisdictions, and a gloomy picture of the dues receipts. But by 1933, they could no longer resist the irresistible demand of the unorganized for organization, nor the obvious fact that if the AFL did not receive these workers, some rival set-up would. The AFL Executive Council reluctantly began to issue federal charters, duly safe-guarding the interests of the crafts in the plants, to local groups of workers in auto, rubber, etc.

Even under this dubious sponsorship the industrial workers managed to make their aims felt. In 1933, 812,000 workers went on strike as compared with 243,000 in 1932.

MEMBERSHIP DECLINES

By October, 1933, Green was "pointing with pride" to a membership of 3,926,796. But on August 1, 1934, the Federation had to report a decline to 2,608,011 paid-up members.

From the start of the 1933 upsurge, these craft leaders fought effective industry-wide organization and refused to charter autonomous internationals in the mass industries. Above all, these relics shuddered at the militancy of the fresh, young layers of industrial workers, their willingness to battle—and to die—on the picket lines.

Green stifled a strike of the auto workers in 1933 against the infamous "merit clause" of the NRA auto code by shoving the notorious Wolman Auto Labor Board on the auto workers. When strike sentiment continued, Green sent his paid henchmen, like Bill Collins and Francis Dillon, to coerce the auto workers into submission.

He treated the rubber workers of Akron similarly, using Coleman Claherty, a venal skate, to block strike action with a phony settlement engineered in Washington. When the Toledo Chevrolet workers struck in early 1935, Dillon rushed to the scene and jammed over a company-union agreement with a threat of pulling the strikers' charter.

NAMED DILLON

At the 1935 auto workers convention, Green was compelled to grant an international charter, of course, properly protecting the crafts. He offset this by arbitrarily naming the hated Dillon as president of the new-born international. Twelve days later, he tried unsuccessfully to pull the same stunt at the rubber workers convention with the likewise hated Claherty.

Under the Green policies, the industrial workers went from defeat to defeat. The membership of the auto unions, for example, dwindled from a 1934 peak of 100,000 to 20,000 by February, 1935.

The final blow was the defeat of John L. Lewis' resolution for the chartering of industrial unions, with unrestricted jurisdiction in the mass industries, at the October, 1935, AFL convention.

These were the conditions which bred the CIO and compelled the split from the AFL.

MURDER INC. . .

(Continued from Page 1)

previously warned by War Department officials not to use.

PROFITS RIDING HIGH

But profits at Hercules have been riding high on war orders. Plants can be re-built, especially when property damage is covered by insurance and huge reserves piled up from previous profits.

As for the dead and crippled workers—Well, the flesh of human labor is "cheaper" than safe manufacturing processes.

What of the most recent examples of "sabotage"? In the *New York Times*, November 17, at the tag-end of an article devoted to the menace of sabotage, this dead give-away slipped past the editor's blue pencil:

ONE CAUSE

"Some experts on explosions attribute last week's blasts to accidents and pointed to the fact that explosions often occur when plants that are expanding take on relatively untrained workers."

Expert workers command more pay. But profits demand "cheap" labor. Untrained workers, desperate for jobs, will work for low wages. Women workers, notoriously low paid, were widely employed in all the wrecked plants. And wherever low wages prevail, long hours and speed-up are also invariably present. The workers are drained of their physical reserves. The tired brain, battered nerves, numb muscles may relax their vigilance for a moment. And the press wails "sabotage" over more torn bodies.

School for Capitalist Generals

By EUGENE VARLIN

The United States Military Academy, West Point, is under the direct control of the War Department. It is the only school of its kind in the country. Its aim is "to produce not merely competent company clerks, or even competent second lieutenants, but potential officers of the general staff and general officers."

Founded in 1802, its graduates, with few exceptions, led the American Army in the Mexican War, Civil War, the Spanish-American War and the World War. They occupy the U. S. Army's highest positions today.

WANT TO BE A WEST POINT CADET?

The bulk of the appointments to the U. S. Military Academy are made on the following basis: six from each state at large to make a total of 288; three from each congressional district totaling 1305; 172 from the United States at large, and 180 from the enlisted men of the Regular Army and the National Guard. These four categories cover all but seventeen of the 1964 cadets appointed.

Appointments are made by the President as follows: from States-at-large and from Congressional districts on the recommendation of their respective United States Senators and Representatives; from enlisted men in the National Guards of the states and territories on the recommendations of their respective governors; and from men enlisted in the Regular Army, on recommendations of the commanding general of the particular army corps from which the appointees are drawn.

In only one case does the government provide specifically for a competitive examination, and that is in appointments from the United States at large. Of the 172 in this grouping, more than two-thirds are selected without examination as noteworthy students of so-called "honorary schools" (colleges where military training under army officers is given) or as "worthy" sons of deceased war veterans.

THE COMPETITIVE EXAM FRAUD

A physical examination is compulsory, and justifiably so. A mental examination is compulsory only if the candidate cannot show a certificate of graduation from a secondary high school (in this case, a validating, but not a competitive, examination is required), or show a college board certificate, in which case he need not take an examination. Hence, the competitive examination is really a fraud which conceals this simple fact—the politicians are at full liberty to choose whomever they want without regard to ability.

The only place where the competitive system really operates is in the few Presidential appointments. The nature of the "mental" examination shows clearly the class of people who have a chance of being selected. The "mental" test requires a knowledge usually acquired only through a first rate college education. It is not a test of native ability. The subjects covered are algebra, plane geometry, English grammar, composition and literature, the history of the United States and ancient Greek and Roman history.

"EQUAL" OPPORTUNITY

Few workers could pass this examination. And that is its precise purpose—to make it impossible for workers to enter West Point. This examination grants the typical capitalist "equality of opportunity," like that equality of the law which Anatole France once noted holds both rich and poor

white" and made up of 10 landlords, a carpenter and a businessman, said that in his opinion "only well-to-do citizens should be on juries."

Negroes and poor whites are excluded from jury service by the operation of the poll-tax law of Virginia.

David Clendenin, Secretary of the WDL, asks that funds for the Waller case be sent at once to the Workers Defense League National Office, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. Two thousand dollars will be needed to fight the case to its end. Of this, \$300 must be raised at once.

EMILY POST IN THE ARMY

We are used to having officers described as "bluff" or "blunt." An officer who lacks command of strong language in dressing down a private is considered not worth his salt. And we have all heard the term "meas," which the buck privates use in reference to their food, a term somehow not associated with attributes of gentility like the correct handling of a knife and fork, or whether to rise from table before a lady. In other words, few of us associate Emily Post with the Army.

In this we are badly mistaken. Cadets at the U. S. Military Academy are required to study social usages for two hours each week. And for good reasons.

It is expected that Army officers shall move only in Society, that is, in the social circles of the rich and the socially "acceptable." Indeed, every military journal emphasizes this with its extensive society pages. In the *Army and Navy Journal* or *Army and Navy Register* reams of print are devoted to the blue chiffon dress and orchid corsage worn at such and such a select affair by the wife of Officer So-and-So. Only a few weeks ago, the Washington press was all a-dither over a gala affair at which the U. S. General Staff hosted and toasted the leading military lights of South America.

In this fashion, the commissioned officer is constantly reminded that the capitalist Army is divided within itself. The officers come from one class; the privates, from a hostile class. These class differences are emphasized in the most common every day forms. Officers and privates eat separately. They live in different quarters. And the "national unity" of wartime only serves to intensify these class differences.

ONLY "GENTLEMEN" NEED APPLY

What kind of families do West Pointers come from? Arthur P. S. Hyde's *West Pointers of 1900* supplies some revealing brief biographies of members of the Class of 1900.

These biographies show that West Pointers almost without exception, are the sons of officers, generals, professors, blue blood families, the wealthy layers of the population.

West Point graduates, when time hangs heavy on their hands, may engage in civil occupations. The civil "occupations" of the Class of 1900 are a conclusive indication of the bourgeois character of the West Point graduates.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

New Japanese moves seem to be waiting upon completion of the Soviet-Japanese negotiations which were interrupted by Molotov's trip to Berlin. It is generally assumed that one of the things Hitler impressed upon Stalin's emissary was the necessity for rapidly coming to an understanding with Japan which will clear the road for the Far Eastern diversion that Hitler wants.

The Japanese, for their part, are preparing to move—and from their point of view it is not at all a diversion, but a major drive to grasp hold of the Far Eastern strongholds of Britain's empire. Heavy concentrations of troops are waiting on Hainan, island off the south coast of China, and in Formosa, to begin the southern thrust. First step is evidently to be Saigon leading to acquisition of the important French naval base at Camranh Bay. This would in turn by the starting point for eventual attack on Singapore and the Dutch East Indies.

STALIN MAY GIVE GREEN LIGHT

As in so many other critical junctures of the war, Stalin this time also is expected to give the green light. The expected Soviet-Japanese pact will presumably come in due course as one of the results of the Berlin parley. The Japanese are meanwhile employing every possible means to ease the pressure upon them in China. Assuredly Stalin will be expected to help in this regard too.

The probability of major events in the Far East this winter and into the coming Spring necessarily raises the immediate issue of American policy. All campaign denials to the contrary, it appears

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

pretty plain that an Anglo-American understanding already exists with reference to the coming eventualities. The British have undoubtedly made Singapore available for the use of the U. S. fleet. That fleet has already been strengthened by a number of cruisers and submarines. The U. S. air establishment in the Philippines has likewise been increased by several squadrons.

These steps are not likely to prove a sufficient deterrent for the Japanese. On the contrary, the Japanese have every interest in speeding up matters in order to be entrenched as far as possible before the U. S. is actually ready to go war on a big scale.

U. S. CONCERNED OVER ATLANTIC

Furthermore the situation in the Atlantic is not such as to encourage the Washington administration to go ahead in the Pacific.

This winter is destined to provide the major test of British seapower and it is not at all accidental that the prime concern of U. S. policy has been and remains the strengthening of the American Atlantic position, the acquisition and development of bases in Latin America—under whatever guise the Latin American governments requires—and fresh effort to back Britain in the hard and difficult months that lie ahead.

Of all these factors Japan is well aware. This is still the golden opportunity for the Japanese imperialists and they are not likely to let it pass.

All they are waiting for is the go ahead, signal from Moscow. And that signal will not be long in forthcoming.

A TRADE UNIONISTS ARMY

Just compare, for instance, the discipline maintained in an army officered by workers—trade unionists—with that in the capitalist army. Members of a democratically run union are united by common interests. We are accustomed to elect our own officers, to decide a course of joint action by common vote after discussion. Not through fear of punishment, but through common interests, we then carry out the majority decisions in a disciplined manner. This type of workers training would condition the character of an army led by union men, and would be a guarantee that the army would not be used by Wall Street for imperialist adventures.

But that is the exact opposite of the character of the present Army regime. The aims of the Army are now decided behind closed doors, through conferences restricted to the General Staff and the "best people," through secret pacts and treaties. These aims are imposed on the ranks by a martinet discipline, the whip of one class over another.

We want an army modeled like a democratic trade union! An army in which those who do the fighting and dying have something to say about what they are dying for! An army which will guarantee the interests of the American masses! The first step toward the creation of such an army is a program of trade union control of military training.

Sam Gompers' Ghost Haunts Craft Chiefs

On December 19, 1924, Sam Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor and chief spokesman for craft unionism, was buried. His leading mourners, William Green, Mathew Woll, John Frey, William Hutcheson, and John L. Lewis, on that day buried a whole historical period in the development of American trade-unionism. But they did not know it.

DAMNED THE UNSKILLED

Bill Green, Gompers' nominal successor, and the rest of the surviving lieutenants continued in the "faith" which Gompers had bequeathed them. Old Sam had always damned the unskilled and unorganized, the multiplying millions of industrial workers. Green and his colleagues retired to the traditional AFL routine of dues collections and the adjustment of endless disputes between a thousand declining crafts.

In the golden days of post-war "Normalcy" the auto, rubber and a host of other industries were harnessing new millions of workers to the mass production machinery. Despite the ever-expanding need for union organization, the AFL steadily declined from a membership of 4,978,740 in 1920 to 2,126,796 by 1933.

TORN WITH FEAR

The AFL heads were torn between fear of industrial unionism, which would cut across their cherished craft jurisdictions, and a gloomy picture of the dues receipts. But by 1933, they could no longer resist the irresistible demand of the unorganized for organization, nor the obvious fact that if the AFL did not receive these workers, some rival set-up would. The AFL Executive Council reluctantly began to issue federal charters, duly safe-guarding the interests of the crafts in the plants, to local groups of workers in auto, rubber, etc.

Even under this dubious sponsorship the industrial workers managed to make their aims felt. In 1933, 812,000 workers went on strike as compared with 243,000 in 1932.

MEMBERSHIP DECLINES

By October, 1933, Green was "pointing with pride" to a membership of 3,926,796. But on August 1, 1934, the Federation had to report a decline to 2,608,011 paid-up members.

From the start of the 1933 upsurge, these craft leaders fought effective industry-wide organization and refused to charter autonomous internationals in the mass industries. Above all, these relics shuddered at the militancy of the fresh, young layers of industrial workers, their willingness to battle—and to die—on the picket lines.

Green stifled a strike of the auto workers in 1933 against the infamous "merit clause" of the NRA auto code by shoving the notorious Wolman Auto Labor Board on the auto workers. When strike sentiment continued, Green sent his paid henchmen, like Bill Collins and Francis Dillon, to coerce the auto workers into submission.

He treated the rubber workers of Akron similarly, using Coleman Claherty, a venal skate, to block strike action with a phony settlement engineered in Washington. When the Toledo Chevrolet workers struck in early 1935, Dillon rushed to the scene and jammed over a company-union agreement with a threat of pulling the strikers' charter.

NAMED DILLON

At the 1935 auto workers convention, Green was compelled to grant an international charter, of course, properly protecting the crafts. He offset this by arbitrarily naming the hated Dillon as president of the new-born international. Twelve days later, he tried unsuccessfully to pull the same stunt at the rubber workers convention with the likewise hated Claherty.

Under the Green policies, the industrial workers went from defeat to defeat. The membership of the auto unions, for example, dwindled from a 1934 peak of 100,000 to 20,000 by February, 1935.

The final blow was the defeat of John L. Lewis' resolution for the chartering of industrial unions, with unrestricted jurisdiction in the mass industries, at the October, 1935, AFL convention.

These were the conditions which bred the CIO and compelled the split from the AFL.

MURDER INC. . .

(Continued from Page 1)

previously warned by War Department officials not to use.

PROFITS RIDING HIGH

But profits at Hercules have been riding high on war orders. Plants can be re-built, especially when property damage is covered by insurance and huge reserves piled up from previous profits.

As for the dead and crippled workers—Well, the flesh of human labor is "cheaper" than safe manufacturing processes.

What of the most recent examples of "sabotage"? In the *New York Times*, November 17, at the tag-end of an article devoted to the menace of sabotage, this dead give-away slipped past the editor's blue pencil:

ONE CAUSE

"Some experts on explosions attribute last week's blasts to accidents and pointed to the fact that explosions often occur when plants that are expanding take on relatively untrained workers."

Expert workers command more pay. But profits demand "cheap" labor. Untrained workers, desperate for jobs, will work for low wages. Women workers, notoriously low paid, were widely employed in all the wrecked plants. And wherever low wages prevail, long hours and speed-up are also invariably present. The workers are drained of their physical reserves. The tired brain, battered nerves, numb muscles may relax their vigilance for a moment. And the press wails "sabotage" over more torn bodies.

Sam Gompers' Ghost Haunts Craft Chiefs

On December 19, 1924, Sam Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor and chief spokesman for craft unionism, was buried. His leading mourners, William Green, Mathew Woll, John Frey, William Hutcheson, and John L. Lewis, on that day buried a whole historical period in the development of American trade-unionism. But they did not know it.

DAMNED THE UNSKILLED

Bill Green, Gompers' nominal successor, and the rest of the surviving lieutenants continued in the "faith" which Gompers had bequeathed them. Old Sam had always damned the unskilled and unorganized, the multiplying millions of industrial workers. Green and his colleagues retired to the traditional AFL routine of dues collections and the adjustment of endless disputes between a thousand declining crafts.

In the golden days of post-war "Normalcy" the auto, rubber and a host of other industries were harnessing new millions of workers to the mass production machinery. Despite the ever-expanding need for union organization, the AFL steadily declined from a membership of 4,978,740 in 1920 to 2,126,796 by 1933.

TORN WITH FEAR

The AFL heads were torn between fear of industrial unionism, which would cut across their cherished craft jurisdictions, and a gloomy picture of the dues receipts. But by 1933, they could no longer resist the irresistible demand of the unorganized for organization, nor the obvious fact that if the AFL did not receive these workers, some rival set-up would. The AFL Executive Council reluctantly began to issue federal charters, duly safe-guarding the interests of the crafts in the plants, to local groups of workers in auto, rubber, etc.

Even under this dubious sponsorship the industrial workers managed to make their aims felt. In 1933, 812,000 workers went on strike as compared with 243,000 in 1932.

MEMBERSHIP DECLINES

By October, 1933, Green was "pointing with pride" to a membership of 3,926,796. But on August 1, 1934, the Federation had to report a decline to 2,608,011 paid-up members.

From the start of the 1933 upsurge, these craft leaders fought effective industry-wide organization and refused to charter autonomous internationals in the mass industries. Above all, these relics shuddered at the militancy of the fresh, young layers of industrial workers, their willingness to battle—and to die—on the picket lines.

Green stifled a strike of the auto workers in 1933 against the infamous "merit clause" of the NRA auto code by shoving the notorious Wolman Auto Labor Board on the auto workers. When strike sentiment continued, Green sent his paid henchmen, like Bill Collins and Francis Dillon, to coerce the auto workers into submission.

He treated the rubber workers of Akron similarly, using Coleman Claherty, a venal skate, to block strike action with a phony settlement engineered in Washington. When the Toledo Chevrolet workers struck in early 1935, Dillon rushed to the scene and jammed over a company-union agreement with a threat of pulling the strikers' charter.

NAMED DILLON

At the 1935 auto workers convention, Green was compelled to grant an international charter, of course, properly protecting the crafts. He offset this by arbitrarily naming the hated Dillon as president of the new-born international. Twelve days later, he tried unsuccessfully to pull the same stunt at the rubber workers convention with the likewise hated Claherty.

Under the Green policies, the industrial workers went from defeat to defeat. The membership of the auto unions, for example, dwindled from a 1934 peak of 100,000 to 20,000 by February, 1935.

The final blow was the defeat of John L. Lewis' resolution for the chartering of industrial unions, with unrestricted jurisdiction in the mass industries, at the October, 1935, AFL convention.

These were the conditions which bred the CIO and compelled the split from the AFL.

MURDER INC. . .

(Continued from Page 1)

previously warned by War Department officials not to use.

PROFITS RIDING HIGH

But profits at Hercules have been riding high on war orders. Plants can be re-built, especially when property damage is covered by insurance and huge reserves piled up from previous profits.

As for the dead and crippled workers—Well, the flesh of human labor is "cheaper" than safe manufacturing processes.

What of the most recent examples of "sabotage"? In the *New York Times*, November 17, at the tag-end of an article devoted to the menace of sabotage, this dead give-away slipped past the editor's blue pencil:

ONE CAUSE

"Some experts on explosions attribute last week's blasts to accidents and pointed to the fact that explosions often occur when plants that are expanding take on relatively untrained workers."

Expert workers command more pay. But profits demand "cheap" labor. Untrained workers, desperate for jobs, will work for low wages. Women workers, notoriously low paid, were widely employed in all the wrecked plants. And wherever low wages prevail, long hours and speed-up are also invariably present. The workers are drained of their physical reserves. The tired brain, battered nerves, numb muscles may relax their vigilance for a moment. And the press wails "sabotage" over more torn bodies.

WORKERS SURGED FORWARD

Once freed of the dead weight of the craft leaders, the industrial workers surged forward. In 1936 and 1937, they stormed the citadels of auto, rubber, steel and other major industries. By 1937, the CIO industrial union movement counted over three million members and constituted the most dynamic and progressive union organization ever built by American labor.

Green and Co. nursed their hatred of industrial unionism. They harassed it with guerrilla jurisdictional war and taxed the AFL membership for an anti-CIO war chest. Bill Green publicly gloated over the CIO defeat in "Little Steel" while the blood of martyred steel workers poured on the streets of Chicago, Canton, Youngstown, Weirton.

Today, Bill Green plausibly speaks for "unity." But he seeks to embrace the CIO merely to strangle it. Yes, unity of organized labor is the most pressing need of the workers. But not Green's brand. Real unity can be achieved only with the guarantee that the principle of industrial unionism will live and grow, and that the Bill Greens will not toss it into the grave beside the bones of old Sam Gompers.

WORKERS SURGED FORWARD

Once freed of the dead weight of the craft leaders, the industrial workers surged forward. In 1936 and 1937, they stormed the citadels of auto, rubber, steel and other major industries. By 1937, the CIO industrial union movement counted over three million members and constituted the most dynamic and progressive union organization ever built by American labor.

Green and Co. nursed their hatred of industrial unionism. They harassed it with guerrilla jurisdictional war and taxed the AFL membership for an anti-CIO war chest. Bill Green publicly gloated over the CIO defeat in "Little Steel" while the blood of martyred steel workers poured on the streets of Chicago, Canton, Youngstown, Weirton.

Today, Bill Green plausibly speaks for "unity." But he seeks to embrace the CIO merely to strangle it. Yes, unity of organized labor is the most pressing need of the workers. But not Green's brand. Real unity can be achieved only with the guarantee that the principle of industrial unionism will live and grow, and that the Bill Greens will not toss it into the grave beside the bones of old Sam Gompers.

WORKERS SURGED FORWARD

Once freed of the dead weight of the craft leaders, the industrial workers surged forward. In 1936 and 1937, they stormed the citadels of auto, rubber, steel and other major industries. By 1937, the CIO industrial union movement counted over three million members and constituted the most dynamic and progressive union organization ever built by American labor.

Green and Co. nursed their hatred of industrial unionism. They harassed it with guerrilla jurisdictional war and taxed the AFL membership for an anti-CIO war chest. Bill Green publicly gloated over the CIO defeat in "Little Steel" while the blood of martyred steel workers poured on the streets of Chicago, Canton, Youngstown, Weirton.

Today, Bill Green plausibly speaks for "unity." But he seeks to embrace the CIO merely to strangle it. Yes, unity of organized labor is the most pressing need of the workers. But not Green's brand. Real unity can be achieved only with the guarantee that the principle of industrial unionism will live and grow, and that the Bill Greens will not toss it into the grave beside the bones of old Sam Gompers.

WORKERS SURGED FORWARD

Once freed of the dead weight of the craft leaders, the industrial workers