

Free The Eighteen
Imprisoned Trotskyists

THE MILITANT

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National Fund Campaign Goes Over \$15,000 Quota

Glorious Response of Members and Friends Is Trotskyist Answer to the Railroading of Our 18 Comrades to Prison by Government

By Rose Karsner, Director

The glorious end to the glorious 15th Anniversary — \$15,000 Fund Campaign is the greatest tribute anyone could pay to the members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party. The Scoreboard figures speak for themselves. A mountain of words could not say it more eloquently.

We have conducted national fund campaigns before, but not in any one of them was the response as spontaneous and enthusiastic as this time. Every member of every branch felt it a high privilege to contribute to this campaign. Such was the spirit throughout the party that nobody wanted to be left out. Everybody felt that this was their way of answering the arbitrary action of the Supreme Court in railroading our 18 comrades to prison.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS

To all those who helped fulfill the \$800 item on the Scoreboard, we extend our appreciation for their co-operation and express the hope that they will actively join the fight to secure an unconditional pardon for our 18 class-war victims. We take this occasion to acknowledge a few more receipts from this source:

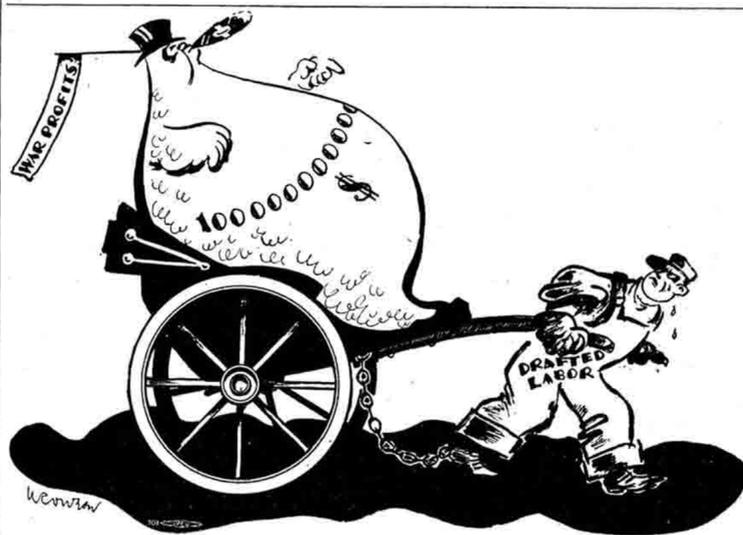
Last total reported	\$642.00
E. Ross	5.00
Dayton	35.00
Joe of Easton	5.00
Connie, N. Y.	50.00
Canton	15.00
Nathan	23.00
TEXAS	25.00
Total	\$800.00

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
New Haven	50.00	150.00	300
Boston	300.00	499.00	166
San Francisco	1,000.00	1,500.00	150
Allentown	25.00	35.00	140
Milwaukee	25.00	35.00	140
Quakertown	25.00	32.00	128
Flint	100.00	117.00	117
Detroit	2,000.00	2,325.50	116
Buffalo	300.00	341.50	114
New York	2,500.00	2,766.00	111
Los Angeles	2,000.00	2,137.16	107
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Twin Cities	1,000.00	1,000.00	100
Toledo	100.00	100.00	100
Cleveland	200.00	200.00	100
Newark	300.00	300.00	100
Reading	75.00	75.00	100
Akron	200.00	200.00	100
Rochester	50.00	50.00	100
Youngstown	200.00	200.00	100
Seattle	1,000.00	1,000.00	100
St. Louis	100.00	100.00	100
Chicago	2,000.00	2,000.00	100
East Chicago	100.00	100.00	100
Bayonne	300.00	300.00	100
Members-at-large and friends	800.00	800.00	100
Philadelphia	150.00	99.00	66
TOTALS	\$15,000.00	\$16,562.16	110%

Forced Labor Drive Aims To Destroy Union Organization

Wall Street's Dream



Reprinted from 388 News, URWDSEA—CIO.

Roosevelt's Aides Take Lead In Pushing Wall St. Program

Administration Seeks Opportunity to Unload Responsibility On Labor for War Casualties

By C. Thomas

While Roosevelt has temporarily withdrawn into the background since making his labor draft proposal, his aides have been busy keeping the issue alive. The Senate Military Affairs Committee has been holding hearings on the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill which has provided the occasion for a parade of forced labor advocates led by the brass hats.

The capitalist press has trumpeted this testimony which follows the pattern laid down by Roosevelt in

his message to Congress, in which he stated that a national service act was needed in order to "guarantee an earlier victory and reduce the toll of suffering and sorrow and blood." The last witness to appear before the Senate Military Affairs Committee before it recessed for a week was labor-baiting Admiral Land. He elaborated on the Roosevelt pattern by saying, "As a matter of simple justice to men in the service, such a law should be enacted to prove to our fighting men that the home front is backing the attack." In one form or another this type of argument has been constantly reiterated by the champions of the forced labor law.

The rail and steel labor crisis last December which opened this campaign against the wage-freeze alarmed the administration and evoked a counter-campaign by Roosevelt. The President prompted General Marshall to initiate an attack on labor accusing the labor movement of prolonging the war. A wave of anti-labor propaganda swept the country in the wake of Marshall's attack. Under cover of this campaign Roosevelt introduced his proposal for a National Service Act. The ballyhoo for national service legislation is part of this Roosevelt counter-campaign to hold the wage-freezing line against the American workers.

PLOT JOB FREEZE

This aspect of the campaign was emphasized by Senator Austin, co-author of the Austin-Wadsworth national service act, when he said, "There is nothing in this bill to prevent strikes, but I believe it would eliminate causes of strikes, such as the competition for higher wages in a tight labor market." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 13.) Roosevelt is carrying out the mandate of Big Business to bulwark his wage freezing program against the rising tide of labor resistance, and to reinforce the already stringent job freeze established by the War Manpower Commission. Testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson denied there was any manpower shortage but said he favored national service legislation because, "it would mean the freezing of workers where they are needed." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 27.)

PRUSSIANIZE THE PEOPLE

This propaganda is part and parcel of the campaign launched by General Marshall under the inspiration of his commander-in-chief Roosevelt to drive a wedge between the servicemen and the civilian workers. Commenting on this aspect of the official ballyhoo for a national service act, Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, remarked: "When will Secretary Stimson and Secretary Knox start fighting the war and stop trying to 'Prussianize' the American people? They say the boys in the fox holes demand labor conscription. Be not deceived. No boy in the slime and mud of the jungle wants his father, his mother or his sister kicked around like dogs by bungling Washington bureaucrats." Johnson then naively asks the question: "Why must the President listen to these military reactionaries in the conduct of civilian affairs? Have 'military fascists' taken over this democracy?" Influenced by political expediency, capitalist politicians occasionally make some penetrating observations about each other.

Behind this carefully planned drive for labor conscription is the determination of the administration, the brass hats and Wall Street to suppress the workers' attempts to break through the Little Steel wage-freeze formula.

This aspect of the campaign was emphasized by Senator Austin, co-author of the Austin-Wadsworth national service act, when he said, "There is nothing in this bill to prevent strikes, but I believe it would eliminate causes of strikes, such as the competition for higher wages in a tight labor market." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 13.) Roosevelt is carrying out the mandate of Big Business to bulwark his wage freezing program against the rising tide of labor resistance, and to reinforce the already stringent job freeze established by the War Manpower Commission. Testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson denied there was any manpower shortage but said he favored national service legislation because, "it would mean the freezing of workers where they are needed." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 27.)

Michigan Farmer Labor Party Committee Calls Conference

DETROIT, Feb. 9 — The Michigan Committee for the Promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party issued a call for a state-wide study conference to be held on Saturday and Sunday, March 4 and 5 at the Book-Cadillac Hotel in Detroit. Matthew Hammond, President of UAW West Side Tool and Die Local 157 and temporary chairman of the Committee for the Promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party, together with about seventy other members of the Committee signed this call. Hammond estimated that it was being sent to "twelve hundred labor, farm and civic groups in the state."

The Farmer-Labor Committee has recently been deprived of the valuable services of Emil Mazey, President of UAW Briggs Local 212 and leading figure in the Michigan labor party movement, who is now busily winding up his union affairs preparatory to his induction into the armed forces. To carry out the work of the Committee a full corps of temporary officers was elected with Matthew Hammond as chairman. The three vice-chairmen are Art Westfall of Flint, a Vice-President of the Michigan CIO, Merrill Case of Detroit, member of the AFL Teachers' Federation, and Ed J. Wasmund, dairy farmer of Richmond. Walter Quillio, Bomber Plant Chairman of Local 50—UAW, was elected secretary and Leslie Kaines, officer of Briggs UAW, treasurer. Other officers

include Walter Hardin, UAW-CIO International Representative on Race Relations, Pontiac; Tucker P. Smith, a State Vice-President of the CIO; Larrin Piercey of the AFL Government Employees' Council; Willard Martinson, Educational Director Local 50 UAW-CIO; and Paul Silver, President of UAW-CIO Local 351.

(See Labor Party Editorial on Page 4.)

Among the important additions to the Committee are Stuart Strachan, Chairman of the Cadillac Bargaining Committee of the West Side Local UAW-CIO 174; Jack Sessions, Educational Director of Budd Local 306 UAW-CIO; John Taylor, Business Agent of the Carpenters' Union AFL of Hazel Park; Joseph G. O'Connor, Organizer of the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers CIO; John Panzer, Chairman of the Engineering Unit of the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235 UAW-CIO; and F. R. Palmer of Chevrolet Local 659 UAW-CIO of Flint.

BROAD SUPPORT

The call for the March 4 conference states that among the topics to be discussed are "the structure, machinery, and methods of the party, the basis of membership, control, discipline, finances, etc.; basic political and economic principles upon which to build the party and planning the 'next steps' toward building our party." The call also makes clear that the coming conference "is not a constitutional convention" but "a study conference." The enthusiasm of the local

(Continued on page 3)

Congress Acts To Lift All Bars On Food Profiteering

By an overwhelming vote of 43 to 28, the U. S. Senate on Feb. 11 approved the Bankhead bill, which eliminates most of the existing food subsidies after June 30. Included are butter, meat, milk, processed fruits and vegetables, and many other essential staples. This is expected to raise the prices of these necessities by ten percent.

The House of Representatives has already approved similar legislation, which will tend to push still higher the ever-rising cost of food.

BOOST MILK PRICE

To underscore their utter disregard for the budget of the workers' family, in the last few minutes of the same session the Democratic-Republican Senatorial bloc passed by clamorous voice vote an amendment to the Bankhead bill, raising the price of milk. This amendment would force the War Food Administrator to boost retail milk prices in regions where dairying interests can show that "current prices have not absorbed increases in

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Service Medal

Wealthy women who never before touched anything so sordid as a duster are lamenting the hard times forced upon them by the war. Their maids have left the slavery of household work for better pay and more regular hours in war industry. Such a condition is tragic enough for the bridge-brigade, but worst of all was the fact that no one cared!

The father of one such martyr, a rich physician of Hingham, Mass., prescribed the cure. He had his jeweler design gold medals bearing crossed broom and mop rampant over a waterpail, with the proud letters WAM signifying "without a maid." This display of sacrifice is now being worn from coast to coast.

P.S.—Only women who once had maids are entitled to such tribute.

Prominent Union Leaders Ask President To Pardon Eighteen

The Civil Rights Defense Committee's campaign to secure an unconditional pardon for the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO leaders imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act gained added impetus this week as more prominent labor and liberal spokesmen addressed demands for the freedom of the 18 to President Roosevelt.

Tucker P. Smith, Executive Director of the Detroit Joint Board, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America, and William S. Schaffer, president of the giant Philadelphia Cramp Shipyards

Local 42, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, have voiced their strong protest against the frameup of the 18.

"This Union believes that democratic justice calls for a pardon of the 18," Tucker P. Smith wrote to Roosevelt. "We cannot believe that their conviction is in keeping with sound American principles or legal procedure. The 'machinery of the law' has miscarried and you will render a service to democracy by granting an unconditional pardon to these workers.

"These are trying days for democracy. . . We must guard against allowing such 'war-time' infringements of freedom becoming precedents for a deluge of breaks in the democratic wall which is supposed to protect men against this type of judicial error. As organized workers we appeal to your good offices to prevent a real crime against democracy."

THE MAIN ISSUE

In a telegram to James T. Farrell, national chairman of the CRDC, the leader of the militant Cramp Shipyards local, Schaffer, declared:

"The fact that the Supreme Court has for the first time in history refused to review a test case under a law involving freedom of speech and press is of paramount importance to the entire labor movement. I agree that the ideas and opinions of the eighteen are not the issue in this case. The whole issue is freedom of speech. A famous man once said, 'I may not agree with what you say but I will defend with my life your right to say it.' Therefore I wholeheartedly endorse your campaign."

Gertrude C. Bussey, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Baltimore, Md., wrote Roosevelt:

"You, Mr. President, are the

(Continued on page 2)

FREEDOM FROM WANT

"Bales of Allied Military Lira, being poured into Italy by U. S. and Britain, are creating a wild price inflation, leaving intense destitution and actual starvation in its wake. This money has printed on its face a sheaf of grain and on its back the Four Freedoms, including the freedom from want." — The United States News, Feb. 4.

URW RANKS FIGHT DALRYMPLE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY IN UNION

AKRON, Feb. 8. — Resentment against United Rubber Workers President Sherman Dalrymple's arbitrary and dictatorial expulsion of 70 rubber workers in the General Tire and Rubber Local 9, was on the increase this week in the big rubber unions here.

Both the Goodrich Local 5, and Firestone Local 7 have protested Dalrymple's action against 70 handbuilders whom he expelled on January 7 for participation in a strike. All 70 workers have been fired by the company and most of them blackballed.

CONDEMN DALRYMPLE

The strong Goodrich local, biggest local in the URWA, condemned Dalrymple's action as unconstitutional and in violation of the democratic rights of union members. Local 5, of which Dalrymple is a member, has filed formal charges against him for violation of the union constitution. At a general membership meeting Goodrich officers condemned Dalrymple for his dictatorial and disloyal action. There was not one word spoken in defense of his bureaucratic attack on union militants.

At the Firestone Local, second biggest in the URW, a motion was adopted to demand the calling of a special convention to deal with Dalrymple's action against the General Tire workers.

Meanwhile the URW General Executive Board has set up a receivership in the General Local. The policy has been to allow no

general membership meeting to be held. None has been held for about two months. At a meeting called last week, Carl Swartz, appointed by Dalrymple as administrator, would not allow a motion to be put at the meeting dealing with the expulsion of the 70 members. Over 700 rubber workers attended this local meeting, and the sentiment was almost unanimously against Dalrymple's dictatorial persecution of the strikers. But Swartz adjourned the meeting before any business could come before it.

The rubber barons and their press are dishing out generous praise of Dalrymple's "responsibility" and "firmness." Their satisfaction is reflected in the fact that they are more adamant than ever in their refusal to settle grievances in the plants, and by the increasing pressure of the speed-up.

But the rank and file have sounded the alarm. They are fighting now to defend the democratic rights and militant record of their union.

Brewster Leaders Relected As Workers Rebuff Government, Stalinist Attacks

In a hotly contested election of officers of Local 365, United Automobile Workers, CIO, covering three plants of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation, the administration slate headed by president Thomas De Lorenzo made a clean sweep of all offices. De Lorenzo received 5,537 votes, while his opponent, Alfred Olerio, got 4,221.

The campaign had aroused great interest in labor circles because of the circumstances surrounding the election. Last December a sub-committee of the House Naval Affairs Committee launched a vicious attack against Local 365 and attempted to smear the union administration and discredit De Lorenzo. Injected into the election campaign was a threatened "investigation" of the

union administration by the Department of Justice and the Office of Naval Intelligence.

"SMEAR" CAMPAIGN

It was obvious that the brass hats and their anti-labor spokesmen in Congress were out to "get" De Lorenzo and his supporters who have led a number of militant actions in defense of the interests of the union membership. The opposition slate was headed by Alfred Olerio who had the support of the Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist clique in the UAW. Olerio came out for unconditional support of the no-strike pledge and was hailed by the Stalinists as a "Win the War" candidate who could be counted on to redeem the "black eye" given the union by its "week-long strike last summer." The Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist clique became the spokesmen within the

union of the attempted smear against the De Lorenzo administration by the House Naval Affairs Committee.

For the union militants the important issue in the election campaign was sharply posed: Would the union membership retain its democratic right to elect its own officials free from interference by the government and the union bureaucrats. Despite the threat of a government investigation of the DeLorenzo administration on charges of "fraud, sabotage and other criminal offenses;" the company pressure in laying off almost three thousand workers in the recent period (which the Stalinists blamed on the union administration); the support given the opposition candidate by the Addes-Frankensteen clique on the International Executive Board; the frenzied flag-waving of the Stalinists; the membership of Lo-

cal 365 returned De Lorenzo to office along with his entire slate.

Following the announcement of the election returns the Olerio group filed an appeal with the General Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union charging "irregularities" in the conduct of the election. According to information received by members of Local 365 the GEB, now meeting in Los Angeles, voted to send a panel of three Board members to New York to investigate the charges. Included on the panel is Richard Frankensteen, Vice-President of the UAW.

Thus the fight of the militants in Local 365 to maintain the independence of the union free from government-employer domination has become tied up with their struggle for internal union democracy against the interference of the union bureaucrats.

(Continued on page 2)

Anti-Semite Rankin -- Stalin's Latest Admirer

By Norman Daniels

Congressman Rankin, the Jew-hating, Negro-hating, fascist-minded, anti-labor representative from Mississippi, recently opened a pair of eager arms for a passionate embrace of none other than Joseph Stalin. From all indications, this is not a case of overnight infatuation. Rankin has obviously been watching Stalin's precipitous retreat from Bolshevism, since Lenin's death twenty years ago. It struck his fancy. In his own reactionary mind Rankin concluded that Stalin has finally descended to his own level. From the floor of Congress Rankin is now anxious to show the world that he is not only capable of bitter hatred toward labor and racial minorities, but he is also capable of warm affection for someone who like Joseph Stalin is deserving of it.

Rankin is not the only one of the anti-Bolshevik fraternity to embrace Stalin. He is merely the latest and the lowest of the species. Throughout these years other reactionary individuals and groups have embraced Stalin. They stood out as signposts along the road indicating the distance separating the traitor Stalin from the revolution he had betrayed.

There were, for example, the Menshevik opponents of the October revolution, types like Vyshinsky and Maisky, who embraced Stalin. Since then they had climbed into high positions in his oligarchy. Vyshinsky is today in charge of the reorganization of

the Soviet Union into sixteen so-called "autonomous" republics. Maisky is Stalin's ambassador to England. Vyshinsky and Maisky represented Stalin's triumph over the men who made the revolution. The same Vyshinsky is the one who served as the prosecuting attorney against the old Bolsheviks in the Moscow frame-up trials, demanding their execution by Stalin's firing squad.

Stalin's Admirers

Once Lenin's generation of Bolsheviks was murdered, it became commonplace to see men like the American-multi-millionaire Davies, or the high-ranking British clergyman, the Dean of Canterbury, or the rich and labor-hating Captain Rickenbacker sing panegyrics to Stalin. Stalin is one of their heroes. Like the dashing hero of the melodramas of the nineties, Stalin appeared on the scene in the nick of time to stay the hand of the villain, Trotsky, before he could snuff the life out of the innocent maiden — monopoly capitalism.

This anti-Bolshevik fraternity of Stalin's admirers has a vested interest in the preservation of the capitalist system of cruel exploitation and devastating wars. While they may vary in the size of their purses and degree of reaction, they are united in their hatred of socialism. But Rankin's hatred expressed in his panegyric to Stalin in Congress on January 26, 1944 adds a new note of anti-Semitism. It deserves extensive quotation:

"During the time Trotsky was in power in Russia he closed every Christian church in that country, killed preachers and priests, turned their cathedrals into museums and had a streamer drawn across the front gates of Moscow bearing the legend: 'Religion is the opium of the people.'"

"Stalin is a gentle and Trotsky was a Jew. Stalin was educated for the priesthood. The Bible says teach a child the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart therefrom. It was but natural, therefore, that when Stalin came into power and got rid of the Trotsky crowd he should open the churches and restore freedom of worship."

Stalin and Trotsky

"Trotsky and his crowd had murdered millions of Christians in Russia."

"When Stalin came into power he still had those Trotsky commissars to contend with. But when he got into this war and was able to organize his army things began to change. The men in the army said, 'Get these commissars out of here,' just what Stalin wanted them to say, and he took every last one of them out. Up to that time the officers had no insignia on their shoulders or sleeves. They were just comrade somebody in the Russian Army. The commissars were over them. Up to that time Stalin had not won a battle; but when he got rid of those commissars and said to his generals and to his fighting men, 'We are going to depend on you,' the Russian

Army really began to 'go places.' He restored the insignia from lieutenant general down to corporal. Eddie Rickenbacker said when he was here the other day that he had never seen such a change in an army."

"Stalin not only did that, but he changed some more of Trotsky's crazy stuff. He reopened the churches and tore down that streamer across the gates of Moscow. During Easter of last year there was the greatest attendance in the Christian churches in Moscow there had been in 25 years."

Dissolved the Comintern

"In addition to that Trotsky had organized the Comintern to foment revolution throughout the world, and his agents began to organize throughout the United States. It seems to me that in these attempts to smear Congress and to smear and malign decent Americans I can see and hear in the voice of Walter Winchell the echo of Trotsky, and I can see it in these unjust attacks that are made in PM."

"Stalin broke up the Comintern. He said: 'We are no longer afraid of the rest of the world. We are now convinced that we can get fair treatment at the hands of our allies.'"

"He broke up the Comintern, he reopened the churches, restored rank and discipline in his army, and introduced the incentive payment plan among the men who work in his factories. A man is paid now according to what he does. And today Russia is win-

ning victories, restoring confidence throughout the world."

This is not all there is to Rankin's speech in Congress. Rankin, like many of his other brethren, is a fervent supporter of the Moscow frame-up trials in which Vyshinsky was the chief prosecutor and which Joseph E. Davies tried to whitewash by his "Mission to Moscow" film. Rankin, continuing his harangue, says:

"I call attention to the fact that this crowd of Communists in the United States who have been following the Trotsky line all these years, trying to foment revolution, not only in this country but also in Russia, had planned to assassinate or overthrow Stalin. He caught them and shot about half of them and sent the rest to jail!"

Rankin's Anti-Semitism

Rankin's endorsement of the Moscow trials, his denunciation of Trotsky and Trotskyism, his warm love for Stalin, should at least qualify him for the position of an honorary member of the Stalinist party. But the Daily Worker, Stalin's mouthpiece, doesn't seem to be very happy over Rankin's support. While they could not very well take issue with his estimate of the Russian situation, they are somewhat unhappy over the anti-Semitic line in Rankin's speech.

When Rankin brands everyone he dislikes a Trotskyist, he is not original. He repeats the tactics of Browder and Com-

pany. Only he goes a little too far to suit Browder and Company. The official Stalinist spokesmen differ from Rankin as a portrait differs from a caricature. Their own face is represented in caricature through Rankin who emphasizes most boldly the very ultra-reactionary features they would prefer to hide.

In the Political Gutter

Under the heading "A Scene in Congress that will Tickle Hitler," the Daily Worker of January 27 attacks Rankin's speech in a front page story. But look as you may, you will not find in this story a single reference to Rankin's praise of Stalin. This they obviously approve. Nor is there any mention of the bulk of the speech — a venomous attack upon the Trotskyists; this too is in line with their own views. But they are obliged to criticize Rankin's anti-Semitism.

The Stalinists have learned not to be too choosy in their associations. In the political gutter to which they have descended, they have to get along with all sorts of vermin. Rankin's species is as yet new and apparently a bit annoying to them.

The Stalinists no doubt remember Browder's admonition to shake the hand of everyone who is for Teheran. Rankin is an enthusiastic adherent of Teheran. He is more than that. He is a great admirer of Stalin and an outspoken Trotsky baiter. If only he could learn to keep his mouth shut about his anti-Semitism. . .

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The AFL members on the War Labor Board last week again respectfully petitioned the board to petition Roosevelt to modify the wage-freezing Little Steel formula "realistically." They begged the board to appeal to Roosevelt to change his "hold the line" order, which is the basis of the board's own ruling limiting wage increases to only 15 per cent above the wage rates of Jan. 15, 1941.

In their petition, the AFL representatives pointed out that prices have advanced according to the independent AFL-CIO investigation 43.5 per cent, almost double the false claim of the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The AFL representatives further state that they made a similar petition as long ago as March, 1943 which was set aside by the WLB majority. They point out that the cost of living stabilization through price control, promised three years ago by the administration, has not been realized.

This action reflects the pressure on the AFL bureaucrats by the ranks. It also shows this leadership has no program to secure wage increases other than to whine before the very WLB and administration which has been instrumental in enforcing the wage freeze.

2500 AFL foundry workers, members of the Molders and Foundry Workers' Union, went out on strike Feb. 7 in 35 plants of the Chicago area. The strike was called after the Regional War Labor Board refused to grant a demanded 6c an hour wage increase. The walkout was suspended after two days when the board agreed to grant a rehearing of the wage issue.

On the same Feb. 7 as these AFL workers went on strike, AFL President William Green was admonishing the International Boilermakers convention in Kansas City that "no matter how unjust conditions may become, no matter how sharp the aggravations may be," the workers "must stay on the job." He called on the local unions to maintain the same "100 per cent perfect record in fulfilling our no-strike pledge" as the top international AFL officials have made. The Chicago foundry workers strike came as the first expression of rank and file opinion on Green's advice that they surrender unconditionally to the labor-hating bosses.

The annual report of the New York Regional Board of the National Labor Relations Board shows that in 1943 there were 1,141 new labor disputes, involving almost a million workers, filed with that single regional agency.

This is higher than in the preceding war years. Charles T. Douds, New York regional director, admitted that there has been a "regrettable decrease in speed" in handling these cases, due to "a substantial increase in the number of strike notices resulting from the Smith-Connelly Act" as well as a reduced budget.

It all adds up to this one important fact: the government mediation and arbitration agencies have become more and more the cemeteries for burying the workers' demands.

Efforts of the top leadership of the International Association of Machinists to secure a postponement of the union's 1944 convention are meeting strong opposition from the local lodges.

In a poll being taken on the question, a majority of the big lodges in the Seattle and Cleveland areas have already voted against postponement. Despite the leadership's argument about the difficulty of getting convention accommodations, there is strong sentiment in the ranks for a convention to act on the vital problems confronting the workers right now. The conservative leadership is just as anxious to stall off discussions of these problems.

The AFL International Brotherhood of Boilermakers on Feb. 9 concluded its 10-day convention in Kansas City, Mo., without abandoning its Jim Crow policies of segregating Negro members into separate auxiliary locals and restricting their union rights.

Resolutions in favor of full rights for Negro workers which rank and file delegates sought to present to the convention were bureaucratically pushed aside by the top leadership.

Without changing its fundamental policy of segregation, the leadership was forced to yield some meagre concessions because of pressure from the growing Negro membership and the protests of the progressive sectors of the labor movement. Representatives of the Negro auxiliaries will be permitted to attend the next national convention — due in four years — and participate in local councils. Negro members will be allowed also to share in the union's group insurance plan, a right denied them previously.

No discussion on the Jim-Crow issue was permitted on the convention floor. A Pacific Coast and Southern caucus was established to discuss the issue and bring in recommendations. The proposals of the Southern caucus — dominated by especially backward elements — formed the basis for the convention's decisions.

Merchant seamen on vessels operated in Army supply lines are subject to military courts martial and are under the jurisdiction of military courts, according to the ruling of Judge M. G. Underwood in the Federal District Court, Columbus, Ohio.

Judge Underwood made the ruling on Feb. 9 when he denied a habeas corpus writ to Jacob M. Berue, a merchant seaman, who was sentenced to seven years hard labor by an Army court martial in Casablanca on a charge of provoking "an incident on the high seas." Berue had been accused of striking the master of the SS Anthony Wayne on a voyage to Casablanca.

Since almost all cargo on the high seas is now war cargo, this ruling means that some 250,000 civilian seamen would now come under military jurisdiction and be subject to court martial for any alleged infractions of discipline.

Stalinist Ranks Glum And Apathetic As Bureaucrats 'Explain' New C. P. Policy

When Browder announced to the Madison Square Garden rally of the Stalinists in New York on January 10 that "we are ready to cooperate in making capitalism work," it is reported that hundreds of listeners rose to their feet, not in applause, but in disgust. They walked to the exits, leaving Browder to extol to Stalin's more hardened followers the official program of total surrender to Big Business.

Further reports received indicate fragmentary attendance at subsequent meetings held throughout the country. Workers, particularly, stay away. Of those who do appear at the sessions, many have lost confidence in the Stalinist leaders and line. They accept copies of The Militant, and even read them while meetings are in progress. As a rule, they ask few questions, and only those which touch on minor issues.

ATTENDANCE DROPS

In Minneapolis only 50 or 60 persons appeared at a celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Daily Worker at which Louis Budenz, its editor, spoke. There were, in addition to Stalinist

backs, some university students and a few others in the audience. Many known Stalinists were absent. The Militant was distributed outside the hall. Nearly

'They Were Bored'
"I spoke at a certain meeting the other night. . . the audience consisted of middle aged folk. . . they smoked cigarettes and fidgeted in their seats. They whispered. They scratched. . . They coughed and grunted. Every few minutes somebody would rise and walk to the toilet for a rest. . . They were bored."
—Mike Gold, Daily Worker, Feb. 14.

everyone accepted it, reading, during Louis Budenz' speech, the Militant's editorial on the dissolution of the Communist Party.

In Detroit, Militants were also distributed at the 20th anniversary meeting. Only a few hundred people trickled in, a sharp contrast to the 3000 who packed the hall last year on a similar occasion. About 200 persons took the Militant.

In New York, local meetings have been held to "explain" to the uncomprehending member-

ship the latest Stalinist betrayal. At the Lower East Side Branch on Feb. 1, the major part of the discussion turned upon the "crimes of the Social Democracy." The Midtown Club meeting showed the same lack of interest in basic issues. There was no applause for the speakers, no enthusiasm, no questions. The Village Club meeting, attended almost entirely by petty-bourgeois types, displayed equal indifference to William Browder's explanations.

It appears that the shameless repudiation of socialism by the Communist Party has disoriented the rank and file. Those most enveloped in apathy are the worker-Stalinists. The best of these militants will, after a period of adjustment, look for the true party of revolutionary socialism and find their way to Trotskyism. But the bulk of the membership has

become so completely demoralized by the twists and turns of Stalinist policy that they are corroded by bitter cynicism or sunk in despair.

Army Food Costs

Gen. Marshall, Secretary of War Stimson, and other war chiefs scream out against workers' demands for wage increases to meet the leap in living costs.

What do they do in their own departments? They have increased the food allotment from 44c per day per soldier in 1942 to 67c per day in 1944. That's just over 50% — a good equivalent of Murray's figures especially in view of the fact that the army has far better facilities for buying than the average worker's family.

Forced Labor Drive Is Threat To Unions

(Continued from page 1)

strategy is to stall home front issues in the hope that the exaltation, anxiety and grief of decisive battle will make "win the war" a completely effective answer to the clamor for relaxation of [wage] controls." Business Week then goes on to outline the strategy of Roosevelt who, under cover of the impending invasion, expects to stimulate a "blaze of popular anger that, skillfully guided will overawe the [labor] dissidents—as soon as the troops land in Europe and the really big casualty lists start coming in."

General Marshall tried to unload upon labor the responsibility for prolonging the war and thereby increasing the number of casualties; now, as Business Week informs us, Roosevelt is seeking the opportune moment to smear labor with the blood of the servicemen in order to push through Wall Street's program. For labor to adopt a complacent attitude because of any temporary lull in the anti-labor campaign is to invite disaster. This campaign is now kept simmering in anticipation of the first favorable opportunity to intensify the drive against the unions, further regi-

ment the American people and "Prussianize" the nation.

The organized labor movement must take the initiative in defending the democratic rights of the people as a necessary prerequisite to the preservation of the unions. Labor must counteract the attempts of the military caste to drive a wedge between the workers and the servicemen. The CIO has taken a step in the right direction by announcing its intention of publishing a servicemen's supplement to the CIO News which will present labor's case to the men in the armed forces.

The success of this excellent enterprise in labor journalism will primarily depend upon the adoption of a clear, bold and comprehensive program that will meet the needs of the servicemen as well as of their wives and families on the home front. To put such a program into action requires a political party, an independent labor party, that will decisively oppose the Democratic and Republican parties of monopoly capitalism which are acting as partners in the conspiracy to unload the burdens of their war on the people and to rob them of their rights.

PROMINENT UNION LEADERS URGE PARDON FOR EIGHTEEN

(Continued from page 1)

personal letters since the 18 were railroaded to federal prison. The CRDC reports that it now has on the press a new pamphlet describing the lives of the 18, including their many contributions to the labor movement, and a poster about the case for use in union halls, meeting places and organization offices.

Copies of this and other literature as well as petitions for pardon of the 18 may be secured from the National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Funds are urgently needed to provide relief for the families of the 18 victims, to press the campaign for their pardon and fight for the abolition of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act under which they were framed. Send all contributions to James T. Farrell, Chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

F. I. FEATURES CHAPTER OF JAMES P. CANNON'S HISTORY

The February issue of Fourth International, just published, features the first chapter of James P. Cannon's forth-coming book, "The History of American Trotskyism." Covering the period from the first world war to 1923, Cannon traces the problems of the early years of American Communism, when the infant movement, isolated and persecuted, had first to build a leadership rooted in the American working class, and to struggle against ultra-leftist elements who threatened to hold the party underground after its legality had become possible. Rich in political lessons, this first chapter will make workers eager to read other sections which will appear in subsequent issues of Fourth International and be published by Pioneer Publishers in the spring.

There are few sources today from which advanced workers can derive authoritative information about the economy and political perspectives of Japan. This month's issue of Fourth International contains the first of a series of articles by Li Fu-Jen, "Japan Faces the Abyss," analyzing the social forces of Japan with Marxist precision. The author of this important study demonstrates how superficial and false is "Japanese unity," and reveals the deep cleavages and growing unrest within the empire, comparing them with conditions existing in Czarist Russia before the October Revolution.

Reviewing Louis Adamic's latest book, "My Native Land," J. B. Stuart in his article on "New Trends in Nationalist Thought on the European Question" shows by analyzing their actual life experiences in the past few years that the workers and peasants of the European Question" shows achieve their national and social

liberation only through the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe.

TROTSKY'S ARTICLE

Readers of Fourth International have requested more of Trotsky's articles on theoretical military questions. In response to their demand, John G. Wright has translated Trotsky's outstanding military pamphlet, "Military Doctrine or Pseudo-Military Doctrinairism." The first section of this large pamphlet appears in this month's "Arsenal of Marxism." It is not a handbook of rules for battle but a political study of the relation of military policy to the social structure of the state.

"How the Trotskyists Went to Jail," Joseph Hansen's report of his trip to Minneapolis with James P. Cannon, and his discussions with other convicted Trotskyist leaders just before their imprisonment, is a warmly human story, packed with anecdotes and reminiscences which give the reader some of the personal background of the 18 men and women now serving prison terms for their adherence to socialist principles.

Such outstanding events on the American scene as the dissolution of the American Communist Party and the Roosevelt administration's further moves toward reaction are analyzed by the editors in "The Month in Review."

You will find this issue an excellent one with which to introduce your fellow-workers to Fourth International, the theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers' Party.

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by ALBERT GOLDMAN

The official court record of the final speech for the defense in the famous Minneapolis labor trial. Clearly and brilliantly, Goldman deals with the issues in the case and elaborates on the questions raised in the trial:

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Walter White and "Uncle Tomism"

An interesting trend of the NAACP leadership was made public a few weeks ago in the Negro press. Walter White, National President, gravely admonished the members to beware of "radical and communist movements."

White infers that our realization of complete equality would not or should not come through a drastic change in the present system of government but rather as a result of gradual political pressure on the officialdom of this capitalist "democracy."

This policy, upon analysis, reveals itself to be a modern form of "Uncle Tomism." It is also the popular pastime of most Negro editors, preachers and so-called civic leaders as well as the officials of the Stalinist party.

During slavery times Uncle Tom was the Negro "Quisling" of his day. He advised the militant slaves to try to get along with "massah," who wasn't really a bad fellow. Those following this policy were rewarded by being allowed to work from dawn to dusk without receiving a lashing.

Today, instead of open political slavery, we find the Negro and, indeed, also the white workers laboring under a camouflaged form of economic slavery. They are condemned to a life of toil in a factory, overworked and underpaid, or worse, to face a bloody death on the battlefield in one of the periodic imperialistic wars.

From these facts, the majority of the NAACP membership correctly reasons that the time to fight is now and that the way to fight is with the labor movement in a militant manner. Walter White, however, has no confidence in such methods. He, like Uncle Tom, views with alarm the Negro trend toward radicalism.

The masses of Negro workers want to fight for equality NOW. To be oblivious of this fact one would have to be both deaf and blind. Indeed this is a related manifestation of the great economic urge of all workers to better their condition and obtain some sort of stable security in life.

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHEREAS LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" - KARI, MARX.

Missouri Federal Prisoners Are Tortured And Murdered

By Ruth Johnson

Beating, crippling and killing constituted "treatment" for prisoners at the United States Medical Center of Springfield, Mo., according to authenticated charges filed by Norman Thomas and the Workers Defense League in a demand for federal investigation last week.

According to documents now in possession of the New York World Telegram, James White, a 21-year old Negro committed to the Medical Center as a psychotic, died in the prison on Dec. 8, 1943. The autopsy read "dehydration of tissues" - which in itself would prove criminal negligence on the part of attending physicians, since intravenous injection of liquids could have been utilized to save him.

They testify that White "had not been in the institution a week until he had been beaten and kicked like a dog. . . one of the beatings was witnessed by a Dr. Hunter!" The hospital chart showed that 12 hours before White died, he had lesions all over his body. The record shows that he was "subdued" by attendants. His brother, who later saw the body, asked why it was so bruised; he was told the wounds were self-inflicted, although no hospital record of such injuries exists.

Another inmate was beaten savagely, crippled, then charged with assault and condemned to an additional year in the prison. He was kicked in the groin, pounded with a fire hose, stomped upon by attendants, flung naked into a bare cell without bed, mattress, chair, or toilet facilities, kept there for 45 days without clothing or medical attention, and restricted to a diet of bread and sauerkraut.

This same prisoner reported witnessing the torture of an inmate who refused to give guards information they demanded. The man was stripped, thrown into a bare stone room, kept without food for the rest of the day, kicked and beaten at night, and still unfeared, beaten again the following morning.

Four Class-War Prisoners Now in Sandstone



Jake Cooper, member of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO, Oscar Coover, Minneapolis organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, Max Goldman, former organizer of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544, Federal Workers Section, and Harry DeBoer, Local 544-CIO organizer, shown in the Minneapolis headquarters of the SWP shortly before they were imprisoned at Sandstone on their convictions under the Smith "Gag" Act.

PRISON TORTURES Among the revelations is a 36-page writ, drawn up and notarized by a prisoner who attempted last October to file it at a Federal Court in Kansas City. For this attempt he was thrown into a stripped cell, and later, with some of the witnesses he named, transferred to Leavenworth.

These are typical of the accusations. Nor are these the first. Last summer, Stanley Murphy, New York conscientious objector imprisoned there, charged that he had been brutally beaten and subjected to strip cell confinement. The investigators stated they could neither confirm nor deny the charges, since it was a case of Mr. Murphy's word against that of the guards.

A new "investigation" is to be directed by James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons, and a representative of the Public Health Service. These two government bureaus, charges Evan W. Thomas, chairman of the War Resisters' League, "are jointly responsible for administering the prison" which they have been assigned to investigate.

ing morning. "When the attendants were through beating him there was blood on both sides of the wall and on the floor," the writ continued.

Starvation and the "water cure" - washing down the stone solitary-confinement cell with powerful hoses, while the occupant clung to the bars for support - were common preludes to beatings.

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Conference Called By Farmer Labor Party Committee

(Continued from page 1)

the drive to pit soldier against worker are rapidly convincing the advanced workers that they need a party of their own to fight against the forces of Big Business at whose head they now recognize their erstwhile "friend."

This is manifested by an increased interest among the workers in the activities of the Committee for a Farmer-Labor Party and by a lessened interest in the official national CIO political program of Hillman's Political Action Committee. Although the Farmer-Labor Committee is giving support to the ward precinct set-up, so disgusted are the workers with building up an organization that will help "labor's friends" to office that they have become thoroughly apathetic, neither participating in any numbers in these committees nor attending mass meetings sponsored by Hillman's committee.

Nazi Financiers Seek Allied Deal Through World Banking Connections

In exposing schemes by which German financiers hope to cling to their power after the fall of Hitler, the New York Post has traced the interwoven threads of world capitalist intrigue.

Under a plan attributed to Hjalmar Schacht, British and American capital would take a share in the ownership of German industry, while leaving to German financiers full control of a political regime designed to crush the expected revolt of the workers.

The headquarters of this conspiracy is the Bank of International Settlements at Basle, Switzerland, founded in 1930 to fulfill loan arrangements under the Young plan. The BIS acts as a clearing house for the financial deals of international cartels.

President of BIS is Thomas H. McKittrick, American financier who on Nov. 23, 1943 was accused by a Morgenthau aide of doing business with Germany

is a favored friend of the British directors.

Baron Kurt von Schroeder of the Schroeder banks of Cologne and Hamburg, one of the early promoters of the fascist party, directly controls a large percentage of German industry. He is on the board of directors of a dozen big iron and steel companies, vice-president of the board of directors of the Reichsbank, president of the German Commercial Credit Bank, managing director of many other concerns. He is also a director of BIS.

Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, is one of the directors. A close personal friend of Schacht, Norman has been a key figure in British deals with Hitler since the rise of fascism.

Sir Otto Niemeyer, director of the Bank of England, is also a director of BIS, collaborating with Norman in the pro-fascist maneuvers of British capital.

Paul Hechler, vice president of the Nazi Reichsbank, now a member of McKittrick's Basle staff,

Aid Labor's 18

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WALL ST.-NAZI CARTEL TIES STILL MAINTAINED

By Art Preis

Further revelations of American Big Business cartel ties with Nazi monopolies during the war and their plans for strengthening such international monopoly relations when military hostilities cease, were disclosed in a report prepared by the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department and recently published by the war mobilization subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

Actual instances of continuing American-Nazi corporation dealings after Pearl Harbor are cited in the report. Even where direct evidence of actual trading is not cited, the report reveals that cartel agreements between American and Axis trusts are still in effect. Virtually every major American corporation maintains such agreements, which are merely "suspended" because of wartime exigencies.

DU PONT DEALS

The duPont chemical and munitions trust, which controls billions in war contracts, just prior to American entry into the war so arranged its contractual agreements with the German chemical trust, I. G. Farben, and other Nazi interests as to be able to resume mutually profitable world monopoly ties after the war.

The report further discloses that American Bosch, which makes special equipment for Diesel engines, maintained cartel arrangements by means of which "the production of Diesel engines in the United States was apparently retarded." American Bosch also acted as an intermediary in transferring royalty payments from its Nazi partner to Bendix Aviation Corp.

MONOPOLIST AIMS

It is significant that the Justice Department report raises no objections to cartels as such. It attempts to make a distinction between the motives of American Big Business which engages in cartels merely "for business reasons," and the motives of the Axis trusts which "take a political form." This is an obvious attempt to whitewash the American corporations as well as make it appear that the international political aims of the American government are unrelated to the world monopoly and profit aims of the ruling monopolists.

The Department of Justice was investigating certain aspects of the Bendix license and patents agreements with these Axis companies. Bendix sought to send information to its international cartel partners tipping them off to that fact and working out an arrangement skirting the specific objections raised by the Justice Department. The government's chief objection was that the agreements as they stood established a division of markets on a territorial basis. So Bendix sought to change this to a division based on allocation of patents rights.

ELECTRICAL CARTEL

Another international giant whose American section still continues to deal with the Nazis is the N. V. Philips firm, which has about 80 companies all over the world manufacturing and distributing radio and electrical equipment. Philips has been closely linked with General Electric, Westinghouse Electric and the Radio Corporation of America.

Through its subsidiaries in neutral countries, such as Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Argentina, the Philips subsidiary in the U. S. was able during the war to continue to make advantageous arrangements affecting the exchange of patents and trade information, and in 1942 even assisted its German partner to fight a patent suit in Sweden. Just prior to the invasion of Holland, where Philips has its top holding company, it entrusted its British interests to a provisional trusteeship established by the Midland Bank, and entrusted to the Hartford Bank & Trust Co. control of its affairs in North and South America, Spain and Portugal. Similar arrangements with German financial groups were made to protect its interests inside Germany.

The American Bosch Corp., according to the Justice Department report, supplied its Nazi cartel partner, the Robert Bosch Co., with "information as to developments in short-wave and high-frequency radio which means the basis of intertank, ground-air, and infantry radio communications in the German army." The American firm handed over the information supplied by the government itself regarding experimental work being conducted by the U. S. Navy and the Army Signal Corps.

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The report does point out that the American cartel partners in munitions "apparently aided in creating an atmosphere of acquiescence to the revival of German munitions production," - that is, helped arm the Nazis. It also admits that these cartels have "acted as substantial deterrents to the industrial developments" in colonial countries and "resisted the rise of new enterprises abroad as well as at home."

One thing is confirmed by these latest disclosures. American Big Business is patriotic only to the extent of protecting and safeguarding its world monopoly interests and profits. In these aims, American capitalism differs not an iota from the Nazi, Japanese, British or other capitalists. When it can be arranged, they all continue to do business with each other over the corpses of the worker-soldiers on both sides of the battle lines.

Congress Lifts All Bars On The Food Profiteers

(Continued from page 1)

production costs which have occurred since Jan. 1, 1941."

The subservience of Congress to the food monopolists and speculators is so complete that it has moved to eliminate even the few small restraints upon rising food prices contained in the subsidy program. That program itself has been ineffective in holding down the cost of food, the major item in the workers budget. This has been demonstrated by figures recently published by the CIO disclosing a rise of 74.2% in food prices since Jan. 1941.

Nevertheless Roosevelt has put forward this food subsidy program as a substitute for granting any wage increases above the Little Steel formula. When Roosevelt issued his demand for a labor draft in January, he included an extension of this subsidy program as one of his five points. But this part of his program as well as his request for taxation of "unreasonable" profits has now been tossed out the window by Congress.

"VICTORY CONGRESS" The top leadership of the AFL and CIO, following in Roosevelt's

tracks, have likewise championed the food subsidy program as the answer to labor's needs. They thereby hoped to head off any independent struggle by the workers to shatter the Little Steel formula and secure a rising wage scale to cope with the soaring cost of living.

One of the main planks of the CIO Political Action Committee has been to put pressure on Congress to preserve and extend this subsidy program. By its 2-to-1 vote killing existing subsidies, this so-called "Victory Congress" shows how little attention it pays to the method of political action advocated by Hillman, Murray and their ilk. After months of the letter-writing pressure campaign of the CIO Political Action Committee, the Senate found just one reasonable argument in favor of subsidies - Senator Taft of Ohio declared that subsidies could well be used "in the case of copper, to subsidize high-cost producers!"

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

NOW ON THE PRESS SOCIALISM ON TRIAL by JAMES P. CANNON The text of testimony in the Minneapolis trial. A companion pamphlet to Goldman's IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM 2nd and enlarged edition Ready for distribution in March Order from Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

New York Sunday Night Forum There will be no Forum this Sunday. A new series of Sunday Night Forum programs is scheduled to begin about March 15. Watch for announcement

THE MILITANT

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— LEON TROTSKY

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6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Labor Party

The Michigan Committee for the Promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party has issued a "Call for a Study Conference on Building a New Political Party in Michigan" to be held in Detroit on March 4 and 5, 1944. This Committee was set up at a conference held in Detroit last December, attended by approximately 70 union leaders representing over 200,000 Michigan trade union members. The conference expressed the growing rank-and-file sentiment of the Michigan labor movement, particularly in the CIO, for the formation of an Independent Labor Party and a growing impatience with the "company-union" politics of the top union leadership.

The sixth annual convention of the Michigan CIO, held last July, adopted a resolution in favor of an independent labor party. The resolution proposed a referendum vote of all affiliated unions on whether or not they "favored setting up an independent labor party." A week after the Michigan CIO convention the National Executive Board of the CIO held a special meeting in Washington. Alarmed by the rising tide of labor party sentiment that developed after the passage of the Smith-Connally anti-strike Act and determined to head off the movement toward independent political action by labor, the top CIO leaders established their "political action" committee setup under the chairmanship of Sidney Hillman which is committed to the support of the Roosevelt Democratic machine and the capitalist two-party system. Using this action of the National Executive Board as a pretext, the Michigan CIO leaders disregarded the decision of the state convention on the formation of an independent labor party and have thus far refused to carry out the convention mandate to institute a membership referendum on the question.

The recent movement for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party in Michigan, initiated by the union militants in an effort to break through the opposition of the top leadership of the CIO, takes place against this background. There is danger that in their impatience to get on with the formal organization of a labor party, the militants will be led into taking precipitate and premature action which may result in an abortive formation and compromise the entire labor party movement. Because of the key character of the labor party development in Michigan, the movement for a na-

tional labor party can be accelerated or retarded, depending in large measure on the outcome of the present struggle within the Michigan CIO.

In the literature distributed by the Michigan Committee for the Promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party calling for the March 4 conference it is evident that some union militants are being enticed by the prospects of a short cut to the formation of a labor party by skipping over the head of the Michigan CIO. The movement for the formation of an independent labor party would be given tremendous impetus by carrying the official approval of the state CIO organization. The labor party advocates in Michigan already have a powerful nucleus within the state organization; they have the support of labor party adherents in practically all sections; they have the official action of the last state CIO convention and what is more important, they have the ever growing labor party sentiment of the rank and file members of the component unions on their side. With this lever, the thin layer of opposition on top can be pried loose. Through the medium of a referendum or a special convention the independent labor party can be launched in Michigan under the official auspices of the state CIO.

Instead of following this indicated line of action, the call for the March 4 conference is directed primarily at those groups outside the CIO unions. While delegates to the conference are apportioned on the basis of one delegate for each 250 union members, "farm organizations, co-ops, civic groups, women's clubs, church groups, student groups, language or nationality organizations, racial groups, neighborhood or shop political clubs," are invited to send one delegate for each 50 members. What is the purpose of weighting the conference on the side of those groups standing outside the unions to the point of violating the democratic principle of proportional representation?

An even more dangerous concession is the general reference in the literature of the conference committee to the need for the formation of a "peoples party" or a "new political party" or a "third party" instead of the specific kind of a party which the Michigan CIO convention went on record for — an independent labor party. If these concessions are made with the intention of attracting a broad base on the basis of a watered-down program, to avoid "offending" any of these divergent groups, the maneuver can only result in setting back the movement for an independent labor party.

One has only to learn the lesson of the last mayoral election in Detroit to realize that the workers are fed up with "labor supported" candidates who find it necessary to apologize to the "respectable citizens" for having accepted the support of organized labor and the Negroes. Organized labor in this country is a giant 13,000,000 strong, and need apologize to no one. This giant must openly espouse the cause of all the downtrodden and oppressed without regard to race, color or creed. These are the majority — the overwhelming majority. No hodge-podge aggregation of "people of good will," no wishy-washy program of thin-blooded social reform is going to gain the loyal adherence of this majority.

The union militants in the Michigan CIO are faced with an historic task. The tempo of development of the independent labor party movement will in large measure be determined by how well they perform this task.

Italy

Allied military authorities in Italy last week gave a further demonstration of their "democratic" aims by handing over governmental control of south Italy to the dictatorship of Mussolini's former comrades-in-arms, General Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel.

This is in line with the entire policy pursued from the beginning by the Allied powers in Italy. Step by step, the Allied Military Government has proceeded to crush the political and democratic rights of the Italian workers and peasants, which they had reached out to regain in the revolutionary upsurge that toppled Mussolini's regime.

The AMG has banned all forms of political activity except the monarchist, prohibited political gatherings of the working class and liberal parties, censored and suppressed opinion antagonistic to Badoglio and the King. The AMG has shielded the capitalist speculators and black market operators who have brought the people to the verge of starvation. Allied military power has kept many former fascist officials in their posts and protected them from the wrath of the masses.

These acts are now crowded by the official imposition of the Badoglio regime upon southern Italy. Thus Roosevelt and Churchill pay the latest installment on the deal they made with that section of the Italian fascist regime and capitalist ruling class which agreed to switch from the Axis to the side of the Allied powers.

Despite efforts of the American capitalist press to represent this move as a restoration of "self rule", it is quite obviously nothing but the perpetuation at the point of Allied bayonets of a vile and hated dictatorship.

Badoglio and the monarchy represent only a tiny clique of the capitalists, high-ranking officers, clerics and rich landowners who thrived on fascism for 20 years. Only Allied intervention has thus far saved this regime from swift destruction by the Italian masses.

Badoglio has hailed this latest tender of Allied support with public thanks for Anglo-American "generosity and confidence." No such gratitude, we can be sure, is felt by the Italian people. They will see in it only one more confirmation of a growing conviction that liberation from oppression can come only through their own revolutionary struggle against all forms and forces of capitalist domination.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

Women Workers

Editor:
During a recent dispute at one of the Ford plants here in Detroit, when the plant union bargaining committee was thrown out of the company labor-relations office, the whole shift just downed tools and walked out in indignation at this insult to the union. This was merely the latest in a whole series of provocations by the company, which has been firing active union committeemen constantly.

The next shift which came in at its usual time quickly found out what the score was and did not start work. However, by this time inspired rumors had begun to circulate that had the effect of causing indecision on the part of some. Sensing a break, a group of plant chairmen began to work a "campaign."

The shift had concentrated around an exit, and there one plant chairman after another mounted a platform and urged the workers to return to work and rely on the legal procedure. Everything was used — "have faith in your officials" — "remember the war" — "remember our no-strike pledge to President Roosevelt" — "remember the no-strike vote of the last convention" — etc., etc. The workers remained silent and unresponsive to every plea, commenting to each

other, "They gotta say that because of the law." However they were watching each speaker keenly, to determine whether the speaker was merely complying with a legal requirement, or whether he was speaking his convictions.

The only appeal that moved them in the slightest was the one to "keep the boys over there supplied with arms so that they can come home sooner."

This went on for a half-hour with the workers silently growing more indignant, until suddenly, when another speaker started the line "Do any of you really know what you are striking for?," he was answered by the wrathful voice of a southern woman in the crowd — "We are supporting our union brothers and sisters, protecting the union, and to get that brother back his job."

"But how will this strike help that?" shouted the speaker. "The way it helped you back when they fired you!" the woman worker retorted. "But it took me two months to get back because of your unauthorized strike at that time," the speaker pleaded.

"You wouldn't be back yet if we hadn't taken action," was the woman's angry reply.
Stymied, the speaker tried a different tack — the hell the soldiers were going through, how

they depended on the workers here for supplies, that the workers in this plant had brothers, sisters, fathers, boy-friends over there, and that on no account must work stop, so that the men could come back sooner.

"But if we lose the union, what will they come back to?" — broke in the woman worker heatedly. "We over here can't let the company break the union while the men are gone!"

That settled it. The woman worker had voiced the real feelings of the workers in the crowd. They immediately began pouring out of the exit, muttering about how they were going to take care of certain individuals at the next elections.

Listening to women workers all over the place, one caught that same central idea — "We must fight for the union while the men are gone" — "They fought so hard to get it, we can't let them down while they are gone" — "The company is trying to break the union, taking advantage of the war" — "If the company breaks the union, the men will be open-shop slaves again" — and repeated stories of how the boys over there, in writing to their wives and girls, are always asking, "Is the union holding together?"

Auto Worker,
Detroit

Workers' BOOKSHEET

WARTIME CRIMES OF BIG BUSINESS by George Breitman. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.; 16 pages, 5c.

Breitman begins this pamphlet by summarizing the most important cases in which Big Business has been charged with manufacturing and selling defective war materials. The Carnegie-Illinois Corp., subsidiary of U. S. Steel, faked tests and supplied defective steel for ships. The Anaconda Wire and Cable Co. sold the government defective communication wire.

The Wright Aeronautical Corp., subsidiary of Curtiss-Wright, was accused by the government of "falsifying tests on airplane engines, destroying records, forging inspection reports." All these crimes were committed in a plant financed by the government. The Bohn Aluminum and Brass Corp. of Detroit knowingly violated specifications for engine castings. The Sandusky Foundry and Machine Co., the National Bronze and Aluminum Co., the Antonelli Fireworks Co., the Collyer Insulated Wire Co., etc. palmed off defective war materials on the government in their drive for super-profits.

The Department of Justice reports that 123 federal indictments have been filed against various companies for such crim-

inal activities and 1,279 investigations of other companies are pending.

Breitman demonstrates that these crimes are not essentially different from the daily practices of Big Business. "The explanation for the policies and activities of the monopolies and corporations is always to be found in the profit motive . . ."

"Billions are being made on war contracts, but even the most powerful corporations do not disdain to pick up a few millions extra by manufacturing substandard products . . ."

The kept press which howls "sabotage" and "unpatriotism" every time a union goes on strike, deliberately minimizes the crimes of these companies. Roosevelt's Attorney-General Biddle who sent 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO to jail for opposition to Big Business and its war permits—such Big Business criminals as Anaconda to continue production and coin super-profits with only light fines and a few imprisonments of lesser officials.

The criminal war frauds are only one aspect of the policies of Big Business. Breitman demonstrates how America's "60 Families" have used the war to strengthen their monopoly stranglehold on the nation's in-

dustries and to exact exorbitant profits from production of war supplies.

To counter the profit-hungry activities of Big Business, Breitman presents the position of the Socialist Workers Party "That the ownership and control of industry be taken out of the hands of the capitalists . . . Let industry be owned by the government and operated under the control of committees democratically elected by the workers."

To achieve such a program, however, the workers need a political party of their own because the Republican and Democratic Parties "are last-ditch supporters of the system of private property. . . The workers need a party which will be just as firmly devoted to the program of government ownership and workers control of industry."

Breitman concludes that the entire struggle of the workers to better their living standards and to tear control of industry out of the hands of the plutocrats can ultimately be successful only "by the creation of a new kind of government, one which will aid and not oppose the struggle for government ownership and control, a Workers' and Farmers' Government."

Reviewed by MARK BRADEN

International Notes

The real situation in Japan, bellying claims of "national unity" behind the Japanese imperialist war lords, is revealed in a report by Israel Epstein, Chungking correspondent for Allied Labor News. Based on statements of Japanese prisoners in China, this report, published in PM, Feb. 6, discloses the mounting dissatisfaction, unrest and anti-war sentiment, which has been expressed through huge strikes, demonstrations and other proletarian class struggle manifestations.

Describing the reaction of the Japanese workers to labor conscription, which the Japanese ruling class imposed upon them in 1942, the report states:
"In March 1942 came labor conscription without the safeguards of price control, adequate wages and the taxing of inflated war profits. The government — took means the industrialists — which the power to assign men and women over 15 years old to any industry in any part of the empire."
"The conscription method is the same as for the army, except that draft notices are printed on white cards instead of red. That is why labor conscription is known as 'white card service.'"
"White card service" is a phrase of horror to Japanese workers. They are moved from place to place without regard for

family, and must work at pay fixed at a daily maximum of 40 cents for men and 25 cents for women.

"One result of the 'white card service' has been a wave of suicides. One in Kobe attracted attention throughout Japan. A young man there received his white card, and he and his family took their lives on a railroad track. Thousands turned out for their funeral despite police objections, and worker-speakers poured out their indignation and told of similar instances in their experience." * * *

Opposition to the Tory-Labor Party political truce that has ensured continued Tory domination of the government, has reached such a pitch that Churchill himself has been moved to directly intervene on behalf of Conservative candidates in two by-elections where independent labor candidates threatened to oust the incumbents.

On Feb. 1, Churchill wrote a letter of endorsement to a Conservative candidate in the Brighton by-election in which he berated the "large numbers of our people" who hold "the vain and foolish belief. . . that anyone is free to push personal or party ends without regard for the common interests."

James B. Reston, London correspondent for the N. Y. Times, stated on Feb. 2 that "by intervening in the Brighton by-election Mr. Churchill was trying to put a stop to . . . the drift toward a renewal of party politics," because "independent candidates have had increased success particularly against conservatives."

In a subsequent London dispatch published in the N. Y. Times, Feb. 11, Reston reported Churchill's similar intervention in the Western Derbyshire by-election "in an effort to block rising opposition to his coalition." Churchill wrote a letter of endorsement to the Marquess of Harrington, son of the Duke of Devonshire, who was defending his family's 205-year old monopoly of his district's Commons post against the son of the chairman of the local Labor Party, who had resigned from the LP to contest the election.

These instances of intervention, declares Reston, "are important as an illustration of the fact that Mr. Churchill is worried about the growing restiveness against his coalition."

These signs indicate that the British workers are moving to shatter the treacherous political alliance which the labor leadership has used to shackle them to the British imperialist war machine.

Reconversion -- The Newest Big Business Grab-Bag

Whenever one of Roosevelt's choreboys starts shouting loudly about the rights of labor, it's time for workers to look around and see what new knife the administration is sharpening up for them while they're being subjected to the chloroform of demagoguery.

A case in point is the speech delivered by Vice-President Wallace on Feb. 5 before a meeting of the AFL teamsters in Los Angeles, where he talked much about organized labor having an equal voice with Big Business in planning the reconversion of industry to peace-time production. "Unless labor makes itself heard among Congressional and Government committees which will have so much to do with problems of reconversion of industry," opined Wallace, "we shall see a tendency for property rights to be placed ahead of human rights."

This fake solicitude was expressed almost immediately after Roosevelt's chairman of the War Production Board, Donald M. Nelson, had issued a general administrative order laying the basis for exclusive Big Business control of all industrial reconversion planning and administration.

Nelson's order, GAO 2-141, provides in effect that reconversion shall be placed entirely in the hands of the WPB corporation "dollar-a-year" men, like Nelson himself, who was "lent" to the government by Sears Roebuck & Co. The WPB is empowered to act only with the approval of the industry advisory committees directly representing the big corporations. Thus, the representatives of Big Business will simply hold a tete-a-tete among themselves and lay out such plans as will best satisfy their own interests.

Since Big Business is guided solely by motives of monopoly and profit, it is a foregone conclusion that the interests of the workers will get no consideration whatsoever from these corporation schemers. They propose to run the economy by themselves and for themselves just as they did in the pre-war depression years and as they are doing today. Wallace's sentiments notwithstanding, Roosevelt's real plans for reconversion will mean, as one writer put it, that the workers "had better start looking for a good corner on which to sell apples."

Rail Hazards Increased By Monopoly Practices

Many of the recent train wrecks in which hundreds have been killed or maimed, including scores of servicemen, have resulted from the failure of the railroad monopolies to utilize modern equipment and safety devices, according to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission submitted to the Kilgore Committee in the Senate.

Evidence presented last week to the committee by the Department of Justice shows that the big railroad corporations, which are controlled by the leading finance capitalists, have deliberately prevented the introduction of new equipment and devices for the comfort and safety of passengers in order to protect the profits of the companies and prevent rate reductions.

Under the so-called Western Agreement, adopted in December 1932, all the carriers combined "to avoid practices which will dissipate railroads' earnings in the Western District." In order to avoid competition, the agreement prevented the conspiring carriers from introducing lower rates or making changes in schedules, services or accommodations. The Western Agreement was in full force as late as April 23, 1943, when the Justice Department began its investigations.

According to the committee's findings, the railroads entered the war with 44 per cent less passenger cars and locomotives than they had in 1917. The greater part of this equipment has been in use since the last war.

While workers going to new jobs and soldiers on furlough pay high fares to travel in extreme discomfort and growing danger, while wage increases for railroad employes are fought tooth and nail by the companies, these methods of operation have enabled the railroad monopolies to pile up during the war the largest net profits in their entire history.

Why You Pay High Prices For Shoes That Rot Away

While the administration decrees shoe rationing, shoe industry officials of the War Production Board are blocking the use of an inexpensive oil or wax treatment of shoe leather which shoe manufacturers themselves admit increases the durability of shoes as much as 50 per cent.

The elimination of this treatment especially in the production of the cheaper grades of shoes that the workers can afford to buy, has resulted in a quality deterioration equivalent to a 42 per cent lift in shoe prices.

Among the WPB officials chiefly responsible for protecting the profiteering shoe manufacturers is Lawrence B. Sheppard, president of the big Hanover Shoe Co., who conveniently occupies the post of chief of the leather and shoe division of the WPB. Called before the Kilgore Committee to explain the failure of his office to enforce the use of the oil treatment formula, Sheppard cynically claimed that "there is no clearly discernible consumer preference" for shoes so treated. That is, the workers don't "prefer" having shoes which will not rot off their feet.

As one authoritative witness before the Kilgore Committee stated, the real reason behind the WPB failure to enforce the use of the oil treatment is "business-as-usual" considerations. The shoe manufacturers want a scarcity to boost prices and want "to sell more shoes, rather than make them give better service."

Donald Montgomery, consumer counsel for the United Automobile Workers, CIO, scored the entire consumers goods policy of the WPB. "Judging by results," he declared, "the WPB has scarcely lifted a finger to require manufacturers to produce the cheap essentials which everyone needs for daily use." On the contrary, he pointed out, "the WPB has fought side by side with manufacturers. . . to force higher prices for these low-cost goods."