

CIO STRIKERS FIGHT WARD'S OPEN SHOP

CIO And AFL Locals Demand President Pardon The Eighteen

The membership of UAW-CIO Local 260, Newark, N. J. voted last week to donate \$100 to the Civil Rights Defense Committee after permission had been granted to representatives of the Newark Local Committee to speak at their union meeting and present the issues involved in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Several union members spoke out vigorously in protest against the unjust imprisonment of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Letters and resolutions protesting the imprisonments and demanding unconditional Presidential pardon for the 18 continue to pour into the National CRDC Office. Writing to President Roosevelt, August Pepe, President and Helen Hazaard, Secretary, Local 144-ILGWU, AFL, Newark, N. J. declared:

ILGWU PROTEST

"The members of the Dressmakers Union Local 144-ILGWU, on February 24, in a general meeting assembled, took up the case of the Minneapolis prisoners, the 18 men and women who, because they stood for the rights of the workers, have been framed by reactionaries and sentenced to jail in this country. . . . The excuse that these 18 labor leaders were conspiring against our government proved to be so stupid that it was refused attention even in court. The real charge was that they sold and circulated literature dealing with the labor struggle . . . and the Jim Crow methods in certain branches of the military services. As you know, the persecution against them was started years ago by Daniel Tobin, President of the Teamsters International Union-AFL, with the purpose of destroying the real union spirit of the membership. Therefore Tobin sought revenge. . . . Nothing can be imputed to the 18 prisoners but their loyalty to labor and their socialist principles. Is it a crime to help those who suffer and to advocate a society of greater justice? The Smith Act invoked to strangle the voice of democracy is an attack on the constitutional doctrines of the nation and a menace to the liberty of our Commonwealth. We owe it to our dignity as a free people to defeat the maneuvers of the reactionaries. . . .

OREGON CIO PROTESTS

From the far west, another letter to President Roosevelt stated: "The Congress of Industrial Organizations in the State of Oregon wishes to add its plea to those of other labor organizations asking you to pardon the defendants in the Minneapolis Case. . . . While we do not agree with many of the things these people advocate, we do not believe that the right of free speech should be

quenched by individuals or government."

A resolution adopted by Local 366, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Newark, N. J. urged unconditional and immediate Presidential pardon for the 18 and voted a donation to the CRDC.

George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, visited Milwaukee last week on his coast to coast tour to arouse all progressive sections of the labor and liberal movements in behalf of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Case. He reported:

"Although it was Easter Sunday, a large number of people came to the meeting at the Pfister Hotel. Among the audience were the president of the Milwaukee Free Thinkers Society and the Secretary of the German section of the Free Thinkers, also the Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. A collection was taken at the meeting. The success of the meeting greatly heartened the CRDC members in Milwaukee, and they will continue plugging away. They have been successful in getting CRDC activity started both in Milwaukee and at the University of Wisconsin in Madison."

Not only are all local committees of the CRDC stimulated into greater activity as a result of Mr. Novack's tour, but new Committees are being formed. A letter from Dayton, Ohio to the National Office stated: "I am interested in the campaign on behalf of the 18 and would like to help make Mr. Novack's visit to Dayton as successful as possible. I have contacts with several of the Dayton trade union officials which might prove useful in helping Mr. Novack present the case here. . . . Any plans or courses of action that you can suggest are quite welcome. I would like to have all your ideas on how I can help."

Among this week's contributors are the following branches of the Workmen's Circle: Branch 276, Clifton, N. J.; 420 E. Bronx, N. Y.; 601, Los Angeles, Calif.; 684, New Brighton, Staten Island; 325, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 45, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 663 Los Angeles, Calif.; 303, Birmingham, Ala.; 65, Chicago, Ill.; 126, Brooklyn, N. Y.

U. S. Big Business Sees More Strikes Ahead in England

According to the latest dispatches from London the Churchill government and its Laborite flunkies have for the time being succeeded in "settling" the coal strike. A new four-year pact involving the government, the mine owners and the miners' union has been accepted by the delegates of the National Miners Federation. This pact fixes a weekly minimum wage of \$20 for underground workers, and reportedly grants slightly higher rates to skilled workers and piece workers.

The minimum wage in the coal industry still remains almost \$3 a week below the average male factory wage in England, officially estimated at \$22.78. That the miners have been granted only a pittance is clearly to be seen from the figures estimating the annual cost increase arising from the new pact. This is set at "\$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 annually." Divided among several hundred thousand miners, it comes to less than \$2 a week, and will hardly alleviate their terrible plight in the face of wartime scarcity and inflation.

The pact also involves a speed up. "Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor, and Major Gwilym Lloyd George made it clear to the miners' delegates that increased output was expected as a result of the concessions." (N. Y. Times, April 14).

SUBSTANTIAL MINORITY

A substantial minority of the miners' delegates rejected the new agreement, the vote being reported as 512,000 for and 97,000 against. The opposition among the miners themselves is unquestionably much larger.

It is reported that the North-Cumberland and Yorkshire miners have returned to work and that strikes elsewhere have subsided.

According to *Business Week* (April 15): "Tyneside shipyards are back to almost normal operation, and Belfast, where dock, aircraft and engineering workers walked out, is again functioning as an important arsenal city."

But the temporary subsidence of strikes in these areas by no means denotes the end of the strike wave or the termination of England's labor crisis, especially in the coal fields. This is taken for granted by the conscious spokesmen of American Big Business. The foregoing article in *Business Week* goes on to warn that "the basic causes behind the wave of labor unrest remain, and realists will not be surprised if

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Montgomery Ward Strike Scene



A picket in the Montgomery Ward strike, involving 5,000 Chicago members of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, is held by police when he protested their assistance to a scab trying to pass the picket line.

The De Gaulle Clique And Its Plan For A Capitalist France

By James Cowan

The real aim of the Anglo-American capitalists to prop up reactionary dictatorial governments all over Europe has already been revealed in the case of Italy, where the war-weary people have been harnessed to the Allied war machine and had foisted upon them the infamous regime of Badoglio and the King. This self-same policy is now being pursued in the case of France.

A consistent pattern emerges. It resembles not at all a blueprint for the liberation of France, but a plan for frustrating the will of the French masses, sub-

jecting them anew to the rule of capital, the dictatorship of the "200 Families."

Now that military plans are almost completed and the Allied armies stand poised for the thrust into western Europe, both the Anglo-American capitalists and their French satellites are becoming more and more obsessed with the probable political consequences of the pending military campaign: What will happen in France on the morrow of the invasion?

The experience of Italy is fresh in their memories. The Italian workers took the promise of liberation seriously. Having overthrown the government of Mussolini, they moved forward to complete the job of political house-cleaning. A popular revolution threatened, and still threatens, to sweep away not only the last vestiges of the Fascist regime, but the capitalist system that gave it birth.

ALLIANCE WITH REACTION

In order to avert this catastrophe, the imperialist "liberators" allied themselves with every element of Italian reaction. The regime of Badoglio and the King, supported by Allied bayonets, was fastened upon the country. Instead of the promised freedom and democracy, Italy has been given an Allied military dictatorship.

Roosevelt and Churchill have

good reason to fear that their "liberation" of France will be accompanied by a similar popular upheaval. As every report on conditions in France has revealed, the shadow of civil war hangs over the land.

Roosevelt and Churchill realize that to forestall and hold back revolution, the aid of the French capitalist class is indispensable. The bulk of that class is in metropolitan France and at present co-operating with the Nazis through the Vichy government. Hence Roosevelt's instructions to General Eisenhower to deal with whatever French authorities he deems fit once his armies have landed on French soil.

These instructions have had an upsetting effect in the emigre camp of the de Gaulleists, who have been striving to persuade Roosevelt and Churchill that they alone are able to save France for capitalism. Liberals of every stripe, who view de Gaulleism as the white hope of a future capitalist democracy in France, are equally perturbed. They stubbornly refuse to acknowledge the fact that what Roosevelt and Churchill are concerned about is not "democracy," but the preservation of capitalism which is now so ominously threatened by the upsurge of the European masses.

Both American and British imperialism, moreover, have covet-

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Punishment for Hitler

An essay contest in Columbus, Ohio, on the general subject "What to Do with Adolf Hitler" was won by a sixteen-year-old Negro girl. Her idea, as reported by a religious magazine, is to put the Fuehrer into a black skin and make him spend the rest of his life in America. (From The Nation, April 15).

Ickes Scheme Aims To Shield Plunder Of Public Wealth

By R. BELL

Speaking before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco last week, Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, commenting on the plan to place billions of dollars worth of Government-built plants on the auction block for sale at a fraction of their cost said that the acquisition of these properties "by existing monopolies for the purpose of halting their competitive production" would produce "post-war chaos." "On the other hand," he added, "continued Government ownership and operation would be a 'negative answer.'" After brushing aside the "negative answer" of Government ownership and operation, Ickes goes on to say: "Some other way, in my opinion, must be found which would avoid the death grip of monopoly and give vitality to the American principle of real free enterprise."

"We must make sure," says Ickes, "that the ownership and control of these plants come to rest in the hands of those who are interested in their continued, full operation and have hopes of a rejuvenated and even more vigorous America. I know of no better way to accomplish this than to vest the ownership and control of these Government plants in the men and women who have served in our armed forces. These are the people who, we can be sure, will be interested in maximum production and maximum employment." (N. Y. Times—April 15).

"POST WAR" PLANNERS

The disposal of some fifteen-and-one-half billions of dollars worth of Government-owned war plants and facilities has been oc-

WLB Fails To Enforce Ruling Against Mail Order Company

Chicago Walkout Is First Strike During War To Be Authorized By Any CIO International

CHICAGO, April 17.—The first war-time strike authorized by a CIO international union is holding firm in its sixth day here. Some 5,000 embattled workers of Montgomery Ward and Co., one of the world's two largest mail order firms, are fighting on the picket line to compel the company to renew its contract with CIO United Mail Order, Warehouse and Retail Employees Local 20, following the failure of the War Labor Board to enforce its three month old order against the company.

Only when the workers took matters into their own hands last Wednesday and struck at Ward's key mail order plant, central warehouse and largest retail outlet store, did the War Labor Board, which moves so quickly and harshly against workers defying its decrees, finally certify the case to the President. Roosevelt

had intervened twice in 1942 to compel Ward to accept a previous WLB ruling. In sharp contrast to the speed with which he acts against striking workers, Roosevelt has thus far made no statement condemning the company for its defiance of the WLB nor ordered it to comply with the twice-stated WLB directive to extend the union's contract.

KELLY-NASH

Meanwhile, the Democratic Kelly-Nash city administration, a notoriously corrupt Rooseveltian political machine, has placed its uniformed forces of "law and order" at the disposal of the Ward Company. An obliging Cook County judge has issued at the behest of company and city officials an injunction limiting picketing and other rights of the workers. The reactionary daily press, Republican and Democratic alike, features huge advertisements by the company spewing poison against the striking workers and their union.

But countering the strikebreaking actions of Roosevelt's political colleagues and the anti-labor smear campaign of the kept press, organized labor support both here and throughout the country is being mobilized behind the strike in the greatest demonstration of union solidarity witnessed during this war. Over 1,600 fellow unionists in Ward's Kansas City outlet last Thursday went out on a one-day sympathy strike. Jeff Craig, organizer for the Detroit Joint Board and officers of the Detroit Ward local promised to close down Ward's five largest Detroit department stores "unless the President acts to force compliance." The Chicago CIO Council issued a statement today unani-

mously supporting the battle of local 20.

According to Spotlight, official Local 20 organ, in its "Fourth Strike Bulletin" of April 15, "in a call from Washington today, Allan Haywood, National CIO Director of Organization informed Leonard Levy (Local 20 president) that the CIO is prepared to aid and assist us immediately! Half an hour later, Minneapolis CIO Director, Fullerton Fulton, called to tell us that the CIO WILL NOT PERMIT CHICAGO ORDERS TO BE SHIPPED FROM ST. PAUL! This rapid-fire response from top CIO officials puts the CIO on record for the first time since Pearl Harbor in full support of a strike." It would appear from this that the CIO officials apparently are giving behind-the-scenes support to the strike.

Particularly inspiring has been the solidarity demonstrated by members of non-CIO unions. Thus far, all local AFL union members have refused to cross the CIO picket lines. Teamsters and Railway Brotherhood members are refusing to handle "hot" shipments or make deliveries to or from the struck buildings. The local AFL Building Service Employees publicly announced support for the strike and contributed \$500 to the strike fund. The independent Illinois Union of Telephone Workers has informed Local 20 that it will not service Montgomery Ward until the strike is settled. The Chicago Printing Trades Union, which for a year has refused to print the Ward catalogues, has offered moral and material support to the strikers.

PRO-CORPORATION

The pro-corporation attitude of the Roosevelt administration and its War Labor Board has never been so clearly demonstrated as in the Ward dispute. This is the second time within the past year and a half that Montgomery Ward, headed by Sewell L. Avery, one of the most uncompromising open-shoppers in the country, has openly defied WLB rulings. In each instance, the WLB has responded with a hush-hush kid glove policy, acting only after a strike threat or an actual walkout.

Thirty days before the expiration of the contract.

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OHIO STEEL LOCAL IS OPPOSED TO RECEIVER

CLEVELAND, O.—"I don't care if I'm out in battle at the time, if the company doesn't do the right thing with these men, I would still like to see them quit work." These were the departing words of Raymond Jablonski, former president of local No. 1519 of the CIO Steelworkers Union after his induction into the navy.

At the same time, he urged the local to seek affiliation with some other organization. The IWW has since made overtures to this local, whose officers and committeemen have been suspended by the international union's executive board and a receiver appointed to take over the affairs of the local union.

The majority of Steelworkers in this district are opposed to any move which isolates them from

the rest of the workers in the industry. There exists, however, widespread dissatisfaction with the policies of the International which will undoubtedly be expressed at the steel convention scheduled to be held in this city on May 9.

After weary months of negotiation, there is still no progress to report on a new steel contract, test case for the whole labor movement now in breaking the Little Steel formula. The steel companies have laughed at grievances ever since Murray shackled his own union with the no-strike pledge, and the men in the mills want an end of this pledge at the convention.

The maintenance workers in the industry are especially underpaid today and want action in

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Akron CIO Backs Fight Of The URW Militants

AKRON, O., April 17.—The United Rubber Workers of America, CIO, is now locked in a critical internal struggle.

The dispute inside the rubber union takes on special significance since the entire CIO movement is faced with a campaign by the top officialdom to force strict adherence to the no-strike pledge by means of open violence against the rights of all militant unionists who dare to defend the workers against company encroachments and provocations.

The campaign on the part of the Dalrymple clique to house-break the rubber union and to set up a dictatorship over the membership, reached a new high this week, when Dalrymple again cracked down on the rank and file. The General Executive Board expelled two members, without trial, from the Akron Sieberling local, for participating in a walkout.

The bureaucratic actions of URW President Dalrymple have evoked a rising tide of resistance inside the rubber union. The expulsion of the 72 bandbuilders at the General Tire Local several

weeks ago was followed by the following steps:

RALLY TO MILITANTS

1. The great majority of the General Local membership rallied to the side of the victimized militants and demanded their reinstatement. So overwhelming was the opposition that Dalrymple found himself without any significant support inside this local union. He then proceeded to set up an administrator over the local and usurped all the local union's rights.

2. Goodrich Local 5 and Firestone Local 7 adopted resolutions demanding the reinstatement of all the expelled General Local members and condemned Dalrymple's arbitrary action in depriving unionists of membership without a trial.

3. The General Executive Board of the International union thereupon held star chamber hearings on the cases of the expelled members and reinstated all but 7 of the bandbuilders. All were declared guilty of violation of the no-strike pledge, but the 7 workers were singled out as "ring-leaders."

4. Howard Haas and Ray Sullivan, leaders of the General Local

opposition to Dalrymple were ordered expelled by the General Executive Board for alleged disruptive activity.

5. Goodrich Local 5 brought Dalrymple up on charges for violating the basic provisions of the URW constitution and a membership meeting voted by an overwhelming majority to expel him, suspend him, and fine him on several counts.

6. The Firestone Local 7 executive board inserted an advertisement in the local daily paper supporting Local 5's action in expelling Dalrymple and condemning the International General Executive Board for violation of union democracy.

7. The Akron Industrial Union Council, after an investigation, publicly supported the General Local and the actions of Goodrich Local 5.

8. Despite this mounting resistance, the Dalrymple clique replied to the expulsion of the International president from his local union by issuing a peremptory demand in the name of the General Executive Board that Local 5 reinstate the President.

The constitution of the union

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Toledo Auto Barons Launch Attack On Union Militants

TOLEDO, O.—On March 30, five employees of Willys Motors, Aircraft Division and members of Local 12, UAW-CIO, were fired off the job by the company, on charges of excessive absenteeism and showing lack of interest in their work.

There was no protest of any kind made by the union, although one of the men fired was a union steward. These firings were made in complete disregard of the union ruling that at the first infraction of discipline, a worker is to be warned; the second time to be suspended for

five days; and the third time paid off.

The men protested the charges and demanded immediate action and replacement on the same jobs in the Aircraft Building. In reply to the charges, one of the men, a former member of the navy and a veteran of the Coral Sea battles, stated that due to his physical and nervous injuries he was not able to endure the long and sustained hours demanded by the Company. Testimony of the other men revealed that at times they had worked 12 or 14 hours a day.

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Significance Of The UAW Local Elections

By E. Henry

The recent local union elections in the Auto Workers Union demonstrate the deep discontent of the auto workers and their desire for a new militant program for the union. In local after local it is the same story; the old leadership has been thrown out of office.

In Dodge Local 3, Earl Reynolds and his Addes-supported slate were defeated by a combination of Reuther and the Association of Catholic Trade Union elements. In Chrysler Local 7 Ed. Carey and his Reuther-backed slate were defeated by a close margin. Cunningham, an Addes supporter, was elected to the presidency. The election in Chrysler Highland Park Local 490 saw the incumbent President Rubini defeated in the primary and Jenkins elected in the run-off.

The election in the Murray Local 2 witnessed the defeat of Lloyd Jones, seven times president of the Local. Jones was defeated by a two-to-one margin by Fagin who "opposes factionalism in the UAW." Al Germain and his Reuther slate were defeated for re-election in Hudson Local 154 by Bland and an Addes-supported slate also by a two-to-one margin.

Ford Local

In Ford Highland Park Local 400, the former President Ben Garrison was decisively defeated in the primary election. Ten candidates were competing for this post. In the run-off, Hindmarsh, an Addes man emerged the victor.

In Continental Motors Local 280, the incumbent President was defeated. In Lin-

coln Local 900, Scotty Clarkston was defeated for re-election. In the powerful Ford Local 600, the old Reuther leadership of Twyman and Co. was defeated by a 3 to 2 margin by the Grant-Addes slate. In the Willow Run Bomber Local 50 election, the incumbent President Glen Brayton was defeated by Wally Quilloco, although both candidates ran on a program of "rescinding the no-strike pledge" and "building a labor party." The old leadership was likewise defeated in the Lansing Oldsmobile Local. In Local 659 at Flint Chevrolet, Terrell Thompson was ousted from the presidency. And so on and so forth. The story is the same in local after local. The old leadership has been ousted. The fundamental tendency is not difficult to establish. The secondary leadership of the UAW, the local officers, have fallen victims to the growing wrath of the auto workers. In this negative manner the ranks of the auto union have expressed their dissatisfaction with the conditions in which they find themselves today and the existing program of the union leadership.

An election of especial significance occurred in Plymouth Local 51. Here, after a reign of four years, the Stalinist machine headed by "Pop" Edelyn was swept from office. The fact that they were replaced by a combination of Reuther and Catholic Trade Union elements does not detract from the importance of this event.

The Stalinists

Although the Stalinists have been steadily losing ground in the UAW for the last

few years, they retained control of three powerful local unions in the Detroit area: Plymouth Local 51, East Side Tool and Die Local 155, and Bohn Aluminum Local 208. They retained control of these locals for such a long period and had built such powerful bureaucratic machines that it appeared that their stranglehold on these locals was unbreakable. The defeat they suffered in Plymouth Local therefore acquires tremendous significance. The Stalinists have collected their first installment in the UAW for their open, unabashed capitulation to the bosses.

In the other two locals which they have dominated, East Side Tool and Die Local 155 and Bohn Local 208, important changes have likewise occurred. The election in Local 155 saw the election of three opposition candidates to posts for the first time. The Stalinist leadership, in violation of the UAW Constitution, barred 990 workers of one plant from participation in the election because that plant membership had initiated steps to obtain a separate charter. Other units in this local are also initiating steps to obtain separate charters. In Bohn Local 208 a similar move took place some months ago when the largest plant of the local split away and obtained a separate local union charter.

It should be mentioned that while the Stalinists have suffered these defeats in the various locals, they have managed to retain their leadership of the Wayne County CIO Council. They have been able to do so, largely because of the basis of representation to the Council, which limits the number of delegates of any local regard-

less of size to 12 delegates. Through this provision, Ford Local 600 with its 80,000 members has only twelve delegates, while many small or paper locals of the Professional Workers, State, County and Municipal Workers, and other Stalinist-dominated unions carry a weight far out of proportion to their actual strength or membership. This situation cannot continue very much longer.

Dominant Tendency

While the defeats of the incumbent local union leadership has been the dominant tendency in the current elections, naturally not all the existing local union leadership have been replaced. In Packard Local 190, Matthews and his slate were re-elected by an extremely close margin. Almost 14,000 members participated in the voting. In West Side Amalgamated Local 174, Ed Cote was reelected without opposition. In West Side Tool and Die Local 157, Hammond was unopposed for re-election. In Briggs Local 212 the Mazey slate carried by a margin varying from 200 to 1200 votes, with the exception of two secondary posts, despite the fact that Mazey, the actual leader of the slate was preparing to enter the army and was not a candidate. In Detroit Steel Products Local 351, Silvers, co-worker with Mazey in the internal battles of the union during the past year, was re-elected without much opposition.

One additional factor of considerable importance is revealed by the elections. In many local unions, posts all the way from Chief Steward to the Presidency went un-

contested. In some locals some of the posts had no acceptances at all in the original elections. This can only be understood as a reflection of the growing understanding of the militants that the union is unable to solve even the most elementary problems which confront the workers today with the present program and leadership of the International Union. They want to avoid the responsibilities in what appears to many of them to be an impossible situation.

Active Participation

In the main, however, the elections witnessed an active participation of the membership in the local elections with many locals establishing new voting records. This shows that in spite of the discontent and dissatisfaction with the policies of the top leadership the workers have not reacted against the union but continue to support the union and express their desire for a change.

The elections in no way reflect a shift in relationship of forces in the direction either of the Reuther or Addes camp. The jubilation expressed by some of the Reutherites as the returns came in are without serious foundation. The state of flux which at present exists in the UAW will continue.

In those locals where the policy of the local leadership has been of a different character than that of the top leadership, where the local union leadership has advanced a program of struggle against the program of "sacrifice," the local leaders

were rewarded with continued support of the local membership.

The re-election of the Mazey slate in Local 212 without his direct participation is one example of this tendency. Mazey has been an outstanding spokesman in the UAW during the past period for the retaking of the strike weapon and for the establishment of an independent labor party.

Militant Action

Similarly the re-election of De Lorenzo in Brewster local 365, in spite of the terrific pressure and attacks he has been subjected to in the past year, can be understood only as backing of the program of militant action he has supported in the past year.

The defeat of Thompson in Flint Chevrolet by a slate campaigning on the two point program of throwing out the no-strike pledge and building an independent political party of labor is another outstanding example. The re-election of local leaders who have been associated with this program in Local 351 and Federal-Mogul Local 202 again illustrates this same tendency.

The outcome of the election proves conclusively that the auto workers are looking for and are receptive to a new militant program for the union.

Because the auto workers dissatisfaction is bound to increase with the continued failure of the union movement to make any gains or even to defend the standards of the workers with its present program, the tendency and movement for a new militant program and leadership is bound to gain in scope and strength.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Cotton-rayon textile workers are forced to exist on average wages lower than the federal subsistence relief allowances during the depression, representatives of the CIO Textile Workers Union proved in their testimony before a War Labor Board panel in Atlanta, hearing the union's demands for a general 10 cents an hour wage increase, a minimum wage of 60 cents an hour and other improvements.

A cost of living survey made in five typical textile communities revealed that while the average cotton-rayon textile worker now earns only \$22.80 a week, it would require \$29.33 at present price levels to provide the equivalent of the federal emergency budget for a relief worker's family in 1935. Even to live at an emergency relief standard, it would now require a 76 cents an hour wage for a forty hour week. The rate for cotton-rayon textile workers averages 57 cents.

Testimony of typical textile workers is summarized in Textile Labor, TWU official paper. Here is how they live: "All members of the family sleep usually in one bedroom. The toilet is in the back yard. There is no running hot water, no bathtub, sometimes not even a sink. The cold water tap is outdoors. Overcoats bought from four to six years ago are still being worn. Many clothes are second-hand or hand-me-downs. There is little or no fresh milk for the children, none for adults."

When attorneys for the mill owners protested that the TWU is trying to crack the Little Steel formula the union's general secretary-treasurer William Pollock answered, "We're interested in food, not in formulas. Workers can't eat formulas." Emil Rieve, TWU president, told the board that in demanding a 60 cents minimum now "we want it clearly understood that this is just a stop-gap—and that we'll be back for more."

John L. Lewis, in a letter last week to Secretary Ickes, Administrator of Coal Mines, charged a plot between the bituminous coal operators and the War Labor Board to cheat the miners out of \$18,000,000, or \$40 for each miner, in retroactive portal-to-portal pay as approved by the WLB last October. Lewis demanded that Ickes aid in compelling the payment of this award and thereby "redeem the honor of the President's word."

"Certain groups of coal operators and the War Labor Board are in conspiracy to continuously delay and void the payment of this guaranteed back-wage claim," the United Mine Workers president charged.

Referring to previous similar representations he had made to Ickes, Lewis wrote: "I advised you further that the mine workers of the country need the money they earned to buy food and to pay taxes and that they had been deprived of these back wages for nearly a year; and

"That the mine workers are shocked and humiliated and are becoming increasingly angry at the failure of their Government to redeem its promises; and that

the mine workers could not understand why the Government permitted the political malice of the War Labor Board and the cupidity of the Southern Coal Operators to rob them of the right to receive wages they have earned."

On March 10, Walter Reuther, CIO United Automobile Workers vice president and head of the General Motors Division, sent a letter to all GM locals advising them as to the cause for the undue delay on their wage demands. Reuther "explained" that it was all a clever move to "time" the hearings on the GM demands "so that they are acted upon by the NWLB at the same time that the Steel case is acted upon." While this "will involve a certain amount of delay," Reuther sagely noted, "we must measure the results of our Labor Board case not by, how quickly we are able to clear it through the machinery, but rather by the concrete results obtained."

Not only was the GM case completely side-tracked by the WLB during the steel wage hearings, which began several weeks ago, but these same farcical hearings further confirmed the role of the WLB as an agency for upholding the wage-freeze, backed by Roosevelt's new "hold the line" decree. Reuther is simply pulling a double swindle on the GM workers.

Some 5,000 workers in the Bethlehem Steel ship repair yards in Hoboken, N. J., and Brooklyn, last week engaged in a six-day "coffee uprising," as it was termed in the daily press, refusing to work the regularly scheduled two hours of overtime when management deprived them of their customary 15 minute rest and lunch period between their eight hour shift and the overtime period.

The company halted the rest period practice claiming it was "disrupting" production. The workers require the rest period not only to get a pickup after their hard eight hours stint, but to partially recuperate from the effects of paint and gasoline fumes inhaled on the jobs.

Government conciliators were rushed in, and company officials and the press raised a howl about "sabotaging" war production—although the company showed no disposition to halt the alleged "sabotage" by the simple expedient of conceding to the obviously justified demand of the workers. The matter is now in the hands of government "arbitrators."

NOTICE

The National Office of the Socialist Workers Party is very much in need of a good typewriter for the next few months. If you have a typewriter you can loan for the next period or contribute, will you please communicate with the National Office, SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Reading, Allentown Set Pace In 'Militant' Subscription Drive

Reading has set the pace nationally in the Militant Subscription Campaign for 3,000 new readers to The Militant. During the first two weeks of our three-month campaign, Reading has obtained twenty-seven new readers to The Militant, which is 90 per cent of their quota.

The pace has been set by Reading, but Allentown is not far behind with 40 per cent of its quota fulfilled and a promise from our agent that many more subs are forthcoming. Toledo, Seattle, and Milwaukee are also among those top few who have not lost a moment in getting their local campaign under way.

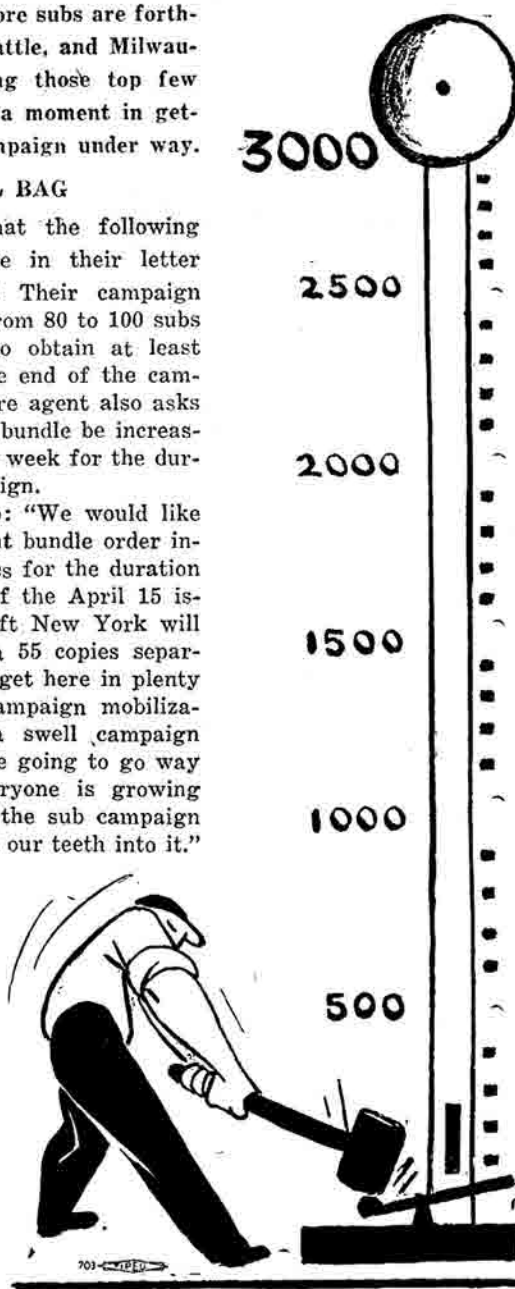
FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Newark asks that the following correction be made in their letter quoted last week: Their campaign quota was raised from 80 to 100 subs and they expect to obtain at least 150 subs before the end of the campaign. The literature agent also asks that their Militant bundle be increased by 50 copies per week for the duration of the campaign.

Libby of Buffalo: "We would like to have our Militant bundle order increased by 55 copies for the duration of the campaign. If the April 15 issue has already left New York will you send the extra 55 copies separately, as they will get here in plenty of time for our campaign mobilization. We've got a swell campaign mapped out and are going to go way over the top. Everyone is growing enthusiastic about the sub campaign and we want to get our teeth into it."

A. West of Toledo: "Please send us twenty additional sub cards—and we have just started our sub campaign here. We hope to at least double our quota."

D. Hillson of Akron: "We are very much impressed with the new six-page Militant..."



The work being done by our new cartoonist is creating a good deal of favorable comment. Comrade Cannon remarked upon hearing of the new addition to our staff that the news "was joyfully received" and that "she has appreciative supporters and ardent well-wishers" among them. On another occasion he said: "I am waiting anxiously for further reports on the work of our cartoonist. It is so important to brighten up the paper, to make it more accessible to tired workers. Our artist should make a number of sketches and drawings of revolutionary heroes and public figures of the day for half-column illustrations of articles appearing in the paper."

A reader in Buffalo wrote: "May I take this occasion to say that the cartoon about the Minneapolis book-burning is absolutely excellent. Neat and to the point. Orchids to Comrade Gray—for that and the other too."

The following excellent report is the first to be received from E. Logan, new literature agent for Detroit:

"At a recent distribution covering a CIO meeting, a Stalinist-dominated faction, one of the men accepted The Militant from one of the distributors and placed it on the wall with the entire front page showing. Upon being asked the reason for this he remarked, 'This is a very good paper. Keep up the good work you are doing.'"

"The following day a person came to our office, bought ten copies of The Militant to pass out among friends, took out a subscription, and told us he'd been at that CIO meeting."

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Reading	30	27	90
Allentown	15	6	40
Toledo	30	11	36.6
Seattle	150	54	36
Milwaukee	15	5	33.3
Detroit	300	49	16
Flint	15	2	13.3
Buffalo	50	6	12
Cleveland	50	6	12
Boston	100	10	10
New Haven	25	2	8
San Diego	50	4	8
New York	500	29	5.8
Akron	40	1	2.5
Minneapolis	200	5	2.5
Newark	80	2	2.5
Members-at-large	355	5	1.1
Los Angeles	400	2	0.5
Bayonne	50	0	0
Chicago	200	0	0
Philadelphia	30	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
Rochester	15	0	0
San Francisco	150	0	0
St. Louis	20	0	0
St. Paul	50	0	0
Texas	10	0	0
Youngstown	50	0	0
TOTALS	3,000	226	7.5

Detroit MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Sunday, April 30, 8 P. M.

Speaker: ARTHUR BURCH

3513 WOODWARD AVENUE - ROOM 21

Refreshments Served After Meeting

New York MAY DAY RALLY

CELEBRATE MAY DAY 1944
WITH THE TROTSKYISTS

Speakers:

C. THOMAS

ROSE KARSNER

MARGARET SHOENFELD

Special program of MAY DAY features

SUNDAY, APRIL 30th, 8 P. M.

MAIN BALL ROOM - IRVING PLAZA

15th Street and Irving Place

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party - New York Local

OHIO STEEL LOCAL IS OPPOSED TO RECEIVER

(Continued from page 1)

their behalf. The millworkers see grievances piling up by the hundreds. They feel that the international's bureaucrats are too secure as they live on the income from the checkoff. Altho international officers are usually heard through when they appear before locals on the question of Political Action, when the members take the floor to ask questions they hammer away on the point of unsettled grievances.

In desperation against this inaction, local 1519 workers have walked off the job several times at the American Works of the American Steel & Wire Company, subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Corporation. These direct action methods brought down the weight of the international against the militants, and the local found the international much quicker and tougher in acting against them than they had ever been in dealing with the companies.

After one of these walkouts, lasting a week in March, the international suspended the leadership of the local and made Jack Ferline, a Stalinist on the district director's staff, receiver. At the next meeting, Ferline, Sponsor, Murray's direct representative in Cleveland, and other international staff men were received with hostility, and left the meeting of local 1519 hurriedly snatching the local's charter off the wall on their way out.

Indignation in the local mounted, especially after members learned that their local funds in the bank had been tied up by the international, and walked out again for

several days until Jablonowski, on the eve of his departure for the navy urged them to go back to work and leave the international.

See More Strikes Ahead in England

(Continued from page 1)

strikes emerge as England's No. 1 domestic problem."

BASIC CAUSES

Among the basic causes the article then goes on to cite the war-weariness of the masses; "the long working hours (still over 50 a week in the principal industries)"; the meager rations; the shifting of "literally millions" by government order, etc., etc. In short, the wartime capitalist conditions are at the bottom of the increasing mass discontent and resentment.

What has kept this rising tide of anger from breaking out with full force has been the treacherous leadership of the British unions and Labor Party. But the workers are becoming more and more aware of the perfidious role of Bevin, Morrison and the whole crew of Laborite and Stalinist rascals.

The coming period in England will surely witness the emergence of gigantic class struggles, which must of necessity pass from struggles for economic demands into expressions of open political discontent and opposition to the rule of the English capitalists and their war.

Chicago MAY DAY Meeting and Celebration

SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 3:00 P. M.

Housewarming of the new headquarters of Chicago Branch, SWP

Room 317, 160 NORTH WELLS STREET, CHICAGO

Speaker:

Lydia Bennett

followed by

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DeLorenzo Tells 'Militant' His Indictment Is Part Of Drive To Smash Brewster Union

By Art Preis

"The labor-haters are out to get me. I recognize the fact. And if they get me on this charge, which is comparable to 'spitting on the floor,' God help those guys in the labor movement who open their mouths and fight for the workers like we've done in the last few years."

That is the warning issued by Tom De Lorenzo, president of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, when I interviewed him last Friday afternoon on the government's attempt to railroad him to jail on a charge of falsifying a civil service application. His indictment by a federal grand jury two weeks ago followed the attempt of the Vinson House Naval Affairs Committee to smear the fighting Brewster local in the course of hearings supposed to investigate the failure of the company to fulfill its war contracts on time.

"The indictment against me was brought specifically at the request of the Vinson Committee, which sent a letter to Thomas Clarke, an assistant to Attorney General Biddle," charged De Lorenzo.

"The Vinson committee has been out to get me one way or another and smash our union. They tried to beat me out in the last local elections. They timed the news about the forthcoming indictment just before the elections. But the members stood behind me, and they couldn't beat me in the elections, so they decided to beat me by putting me in jail."

Next Question

Why are they out to get you, was the next question. The stocky, powerfully-built union president hitched up his blue shirt sleeves and leaned forward.

"We have the only union shop contract in the aircraft frame industry. We have the highest average rate of pay in the industry in America. We're the only local that's had the spotlight on us for strikes and stoppages in defending our rights. . ."

Turning to his colleagues, Gabe De Angelis, financial secretary and editor of the local's paper, Aero-Notes, and Bernie Rifkin, an associate editor who sat in on the interview, De Lorenzo added with obvious pride:

"Strikes—why not a man crossed the picket-lines when we had walkouts. That's right, isn't it, guys? Nobody ever crossed a picket line."

We discussed the Vinson Committee hearings when De Lorenzo testified to the failure of the previous managements to properly organize production and defended the strikes and militant activities of his local.

"It was pretty obvious at the hearing that they were just out to wreck the Wagner Act and smear the labor movement. That's the whole meaning of this indictment against me."

"We contend that the fundamental difficulty with the old managements, which were picked by the Navy, was that they were probably given instructions to break our union. For 18 months they did nothing on production, but they just tried to break our contract every way they could and to bust our union."

He reached forward suddenly and picked up a huge volume lying on his desk. "They're going after me because I'm a union leader and fought for the men. But right at that same Vinson hearing it was brought out that the Brewster officials and other big aircraft company heads had put up a \$65,000 slush fund to influence the insertion of a clause in the federal tax bill which would help them escape taxes they ought to pay. But nothing's been done about indicting them, when they're making millions with that sort of dirty and crooked stuff. It's only guys like me they go after—and we're fighting that sort of thing."

Thick Volume

He handed me the thick volume—the verbatim testimony of the Vinson Committee hearings on the Brewster failure in production—and opened it to a page with which he was evidently very familiar. He stood up and pointed to the open page. "There—you can read it for yourself—it's all there in their own words. But you don't see them being indicted!"

How did his union administration differ from the one he replaced in 1941, when he first became the local's president?

"I came to work in Brewster in July 1939. The highest rate of pay was 65 cents an hour—that's the very top rate—a 50 cents



THOMAS DE LORENZO

minimum for experienced men and a 40 cents hiring rate. There were no vacations with pay—no union maintenance—no paid holidays—no sick leave—no upgrading system. Well, when the local officers came in with a contract for only a 2 cents increase, I took the lead in opposing signing such a contract. The guy who was local president went to the company and asked to have me fired. Three of us were hauled up to be fired, but the company took the position it was an internal union affair and they didn't want trouble with the NLRB. Right then and there we made up our minds to get that old leadership out.

"Today, we've got like I said, the highest rates in the industry, averaging between \$1.10 and \$1.12, with a 77 cents minimum and top of \$1.70. There's no differentials in rates for the same work. We've got equal pay for equal work for women and Negro workers."

At this point, I broke in with a question on the treatment of Negro workers, suggesting that this was an important point in determining the progressive character of a union.

"Do you mean they are forced onto jobs like porters and sweepers? We don't allow that in our union. Nine-tenths of the Negro workers in the Long Island plant are on production—and in the Johnsville plant—that's where we had the strike last year—there's no colored brother on a porter's job."

Long Battle

Speaking on the long battle of the union to defend its contract, De Lorenzo became pretty heated. "They tried to attack our contract as unworkable. We have a contract that says they can't shift anybody around or transfer workers or fire them without the consent of the union. They couldn't arbitrarily move workers from shift to shift or department to department. No moving anybody around unless management can show a goddam good reason for it." He emphasized his words with a hefty wallop on the desk.

The interview was interrupted time after time by phone calls, committee members, stenographers with papers to be signed. De Lorenzo courteously insisted on putting off all other engagements until our interview was completed. Another phone ring.

It was Eugene Teter, president of Local 213, CIO Utility Workers, calling to offer the support of his union in the defense of De Lorenzo. This prompted a question about the support the local is getting to carry on the fight against the attempt to railroad its president to jail.

"R. J. Thomas wired his support to our defense meeting the other night and offered to head the defense committee. Reuther and even Frankenstein have offered support—but we haven't heard anything yet from Addes."

Local Presidents

"All the presidents of the important Region 9A UAW locals met in a meeting and helped to draw up plans for the defense. We

had the representatives of Locals 795, 906, 669, 969 and 260. But we expect to get a lot more unions in on this fight."

"Joe Eccles—he's president of the Ford Edgewater plant where they had the strike over those two speed-up artists the company put to work after the union kicked them out—he was elected president of the regional defense committee."

At the conclusion of the interview I was invited to inspect the local's headquarters—a large suite of rooms on the tenth floor of the Chatham-Phoenix Building out in Long Island City—which at this late hour in the afternoon was overcrowded with union men and women just off the day shift, coming in to discuss their hundred and one shop problems.

Shaking hands before leaving, I took the occasion to assure De Lorenzo that The Militant would back his case and help rally support for his defense.

DeLorenzo And The Minneapolis Case

- An Editorial -

Thomas De Lorenzo, president of Local 365, United Automobile Workers, CIO, has been indicted by the government on charges alleging misrepresentation of his employment record when applying for a job. The charges are so flimsy that no intelligent worker can take them seriously. The real charges, which the indictment does not set forth, is that the De Lorenzo administration of the Brewster Aircraft local has led a number of militant actions in defense of the union contract and the interests of the union membership. In the general election of officers held by the local last February, De Lorenzo was returned to office with his entire slate despite the smear campaign directed against him by the Stalinists aided and abetted by the government threat of prosecution.

Having failed to intimidate the workers into voting the De Lorenzo administration out of office, the Stalinists challenged the "legality" of the elections and when that crude maneuver failed, the government moved in with its indictment of the union leader. The pattern followed by the government in the De Lorenzo case closely parallels the frame-up engineered by the Roosevelt administration against the leaders of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO. In the latter case, Roosevelt's Department of Justice, came to the assistance of Tobin and the Minneapolis bosses who were out to housebreak the Teamster's Local, by indicting the militant leadership of Local 544 on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence."

The Minneapolis case, in which 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO were railroaded to prison, was the first step in the government conspiracy to housebreak and throttle the labor movement. In an editorial in the January 8 issue of The Militant published after the 18 had entered prison, we pointed out the significance of the Minneapolis case to the entire labor movement. "This gigantic labor movement," we said, "undefeated in battle, is every day absorbing more clearly the meaning of this war. Every day greater sections of this working class will come to realize that the jailing of the 18 is part and parcel of the campaign to outlaw strikes, to harass and throttle the trade unions, to freeze wages, to raise taxes, to exploit, starve and enslave the American people, and to saddle them with the full burdens and costs of the criminal war. Ever greater sections of labor will realize that the fight to free the 18 is the fight for the freedom of the labor movement, the fight for the needs and the rights of the whole working class."

The indictment, prosecution and imprisonment of the 18, has as we see, emboldened reaction. When we raised the alarm and called upon the labor movement to rally to the support of the 18, most of the top leaders of labor were stricken deaf and dumb. They could not, or would not, see, hear or speak, because the defendants were Trotskyists. Their treacherous silence has encouraged the labor-baiters.

Today, three months after the 18 Minneapolis defendants have been imprisoned, De Lorenzo, an ordinary militant union official, is under indictment. Roosevelt and his war machine have gone so far that they are no longer able to tolerate even the slightest challenge or protest to their rule of repression and reaction. Any labor leader who doesn't go along, who insists on fighting for the interests of the rank and file, is to be singled out for persecution.

The prosecution of De Lorenzo is a threat to the whole labor movement. Like the Minneapolis prosecution, it is part and parcel of the whole drive of reaction in America. Will the labor movement retain its democratic rights, will it maintain its independence free from the domination of the capitalist government? That is the real issue in this case. The fight for free independent unionism, the fight for workers' rights, the fight for democracy, demands that all labor rally to the support of De Lorenzo and smash this latest government frame-up.

by the WLB, so they "agreed to defer the union's demand" until Roosevelt and his henchmen on the WLB got ready to GIVE it to them, or—until some other union or unions smash the wage freeze by conducting an independent struggle. Until that time, Hochman and his cronies are content to sit back with folded hands and patiently wait for any gifts the gods may bring! The leaders of the Auto Union whose president, R. J. Thomas, is preoccupied with the burning question of drafting Roosevelt for a fourth term, are birds of a feather. They are also sitting back and waiting for their "friend" in the White House to give them a handout. As for the leadership of the Mine Union, their fight for a rising scale of wages is still confined to the editorial pages of the United Mine Workers Journal.

"HOLD-THE-LINE"

The recent anniversary "hold-the-line" report released with the endorsement of Roosevelt, was a calculated blow aimed directly at the struggle of the workers against the wage freeze. The report concluded by saying: "Obviously, too, we should cling to the policies and machinery which have served us so effectively thus far." The policies, as proven by the experience of the last two years, are those of freezing wages in the face of the constantly rising cost of living; the machinery, the War Labor Board, to enforce the wage freeze. To depend on those policies and that machinery to protect the stan-

dards of living of the workers is to betray the labor movement. That is what the whole top union bureaucracy has done—betrayed the labor rank and file. It is up to the union militants to take the lead in demanding a national conference of ALL unions to break the wage freeze by formulating a program of independent action around the slogan: an escalator clause in all union contracts—the rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living!

THREE UNIONS

These three unions together, constitute a powerful bloc of approximately 2,000,000 members. The United Automobile Workers is affiliated with the CIO, the Ladies Garment Workers to the AFL, and the United Mine Workers is independent. Whatever differences may divide the leadership of these respective organizations, they profess to have one thing in common: support of a realistic wage policy which would protect the interests of ALL wage earners against the ravages of inflation. The Militant has consistently advocated the calling of a national conference to which all unions, regardless of affiliation, would be invited to participate to hammer out a program of independent labor action around an effective wage policy for the labor movement. The logical and intelligent action for these labor organizations, confronted as they are, by a common enemy and agreed as they are on a common policy, would be to form a united front of action on the ONE question on which they agree.

CRAVEN SERVILITY

Hochman's "explanation" sums up the craven servility of the union bureaucrats who are terror-stricken at the very idea of letting loose of Roosevelt's cost-tails and embarking on an independent policy. The ILGWU officials "recognized" that the union's demand for an escalator clause would not be "approved"

then it is all the more reason for raising the demand for a rising scale of wages!"

In the two years that have elapsed, the propositions advanced by The Militant have been proven to the hilt. The need for labor's own program to combat the inflationary rise in the cost of living is more urgent than ever before. The experience of life itself has shown that such a program must embody the demand for an escalator clause—a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living—in all union contracts. So transparent has Roosevelt's stabilization fraud become in the two years of its existence that the official spokesmen for a number of powerful unions have been compelled to give lip service to the demand for a rising scale of wages.

SECRETARY ADDRESSES

Writing in the December 15 issue of the United Automobile Worker, Secretary Addes, speaking on behalf of the Union International Executive Board, called upon all local unions to support the union's demand for a clause in the new contracts which provided: (1) "That all such wage agreements entered into should contain escalator clauses calling for higher hourly rates if living costs go up," and, (2) "That escalator clauses contain the provision that wage rates should be reviewed every three months so that when living costs reflect an increase a corresponding increase in hourly wage rates shall become immediately effective."

In the March 1 issue of the United Mine Workers Journal an editorial which sums up labor's sad experience with Roosevelt's "stabilization program" concludes with the warning that: "To protect its interests, labor must con-

centrate on the policy of advancing wages to match advancing prices." In the recent wage negotiations of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL) with the employers, the union included in its demands, "an anti-inflation clause based on the 'escalator' principle fixing a relationship between wages and living costs."

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Ickes Plan Aims To Shield Plunder Of Public Wealth

(Continued from page 1)

cupping the attention of a considerable number of "post-war" planners. Practically all of these plans, including those designed by the "labor statesmen" in the leadership of the AFL and CIO have as their central theme, the preservation of the "free enterprise system." The greatest danger to "free enterprise" as envisaged by the planners, is the potential competition of the Government with private industry. To quiet such fears, the Baruch-Hancock plan was drawn up, endorsed by Roosevelt and an administrative apparatus, composed of Wall Street tycoons was selected to supervise the disposal for a song of Government-owned properties to the corporations.

In commenting on Ickes' sudden conversion to REAL free enterprise, The Wall Street Journal, April 15, reveals that: "Prior to the Baruch-Hancock report, Mr. Ickes had a much different plan for post-war use of the Government's plants. It provided for continued ownership of all plants, leasing of most plants, and Government operation 'at cost' of enough plants to provide a 'yardstick' for each industry." In other words, Ickes plumped for the "free enterprise" disposal of Government properties on 11 y AFTER the Baruch-Hancock plan was put over.

BARUCH PLAN

The Baruch plan to give Big Business free rein to loot the public treasury for the relief of Wall Street is such a rank steal, that many "liberal" supporters of the administration were outraged. But Roosevelt long ago learned that it doesn't take much to quiet these gentry—usually a demagogic speech or article by a representative of what has come to be known as the "New Deal wing of the Administration" will turn the trick.

Apparently, that's where Ickes comes in. To soothe the ruffled feelings of the dejected "New Dealers" Ickes trots out a grandiose plan to have the Government-owned plants be "owned and operated" by the 10,000,000 war veterans, "after the war." When asked by reporters to amplify his plan, Ickes said that so far it was in a "fluid" state, but it would be "a free undertaking within the framework and geared to the objectives of private enterprise."

NEED PROGRAM

The workers can have no faith in those who peddle the poison of "free enterprise" as though it were a recently discovered cure-all for the ailments of mankind. The workers need their own program: Confiscation of all war profits! Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control! And their own political party: An Independent Labor Party. Only under their own party and their own program, will the workers REALLY have something to say about what is to happen to the plants, facilities and other wealth produced by labor.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'



Thomas De Lorenzo conferring with UAW President R. J. Thomas and CIO Regional Director Charles Kerrigan, during the UAW Convention held in Buffalo in August, 1943.

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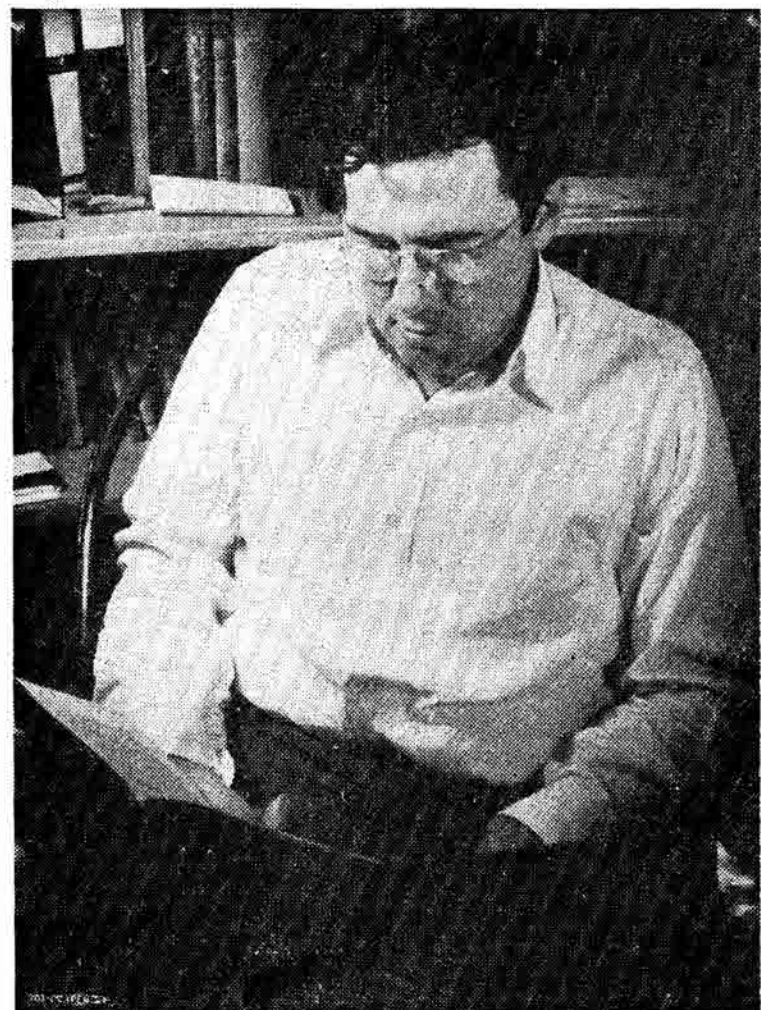
Free Speech And The Fight Against Fascism

[James T. Farrell, noted novelist, author of "Studs Lonigan" and "My Days of Anger," Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, discussed on Radio Station WEVD, April 15, the case of the 18 Minneapolis Trotskyists who are now serving federal prison sentences under the Smith "Gag" Act in an address entitled "Free Speech and Labor's Rights." We are printing below sections of his speech.]

By JAMES T. FARRELL

"Practically all sections of the labor and liberal movement in this country have expressed alarm over the mounting tide of reaction. Today this threat is not distant; it is immediate. And inevitably, the major purpose of reaction is that of destroying the independence of the labor movement, and thereby of being free to forge new chains for the workers. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to abrogate civil liberties, and most especially, the precious right of freedom of speech.

"Freedom of speech and freedom of labor are integral. This is why the fascist dictatorships of Europe, when they achieved power, immediately crushed the labor unions and imposed rigid censorship. And in the last few years, there have been a whole series of attacks both on the labor movement and on the Bill of Rights. Congress, largely under the inspiration of poll-tax legislators, has passed the vicious Smith "Gag" Act and the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill. The Smith "Gag" Act, a peace-time sedition law, is in



James T. Farrell

flagrant contradiction with that provision of the Bill of Rights which states unconditionally that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech. According to this law, freedom of speech has not merely been temporarily suspended in the name of an emergency; it has, in essence, been abrogated. As a result of this law, it is possible for American citizens to be convicted and jailed, merely for the expression of opinion. In fact, this has happened as we will see in a few moments. . .

Trade Union Conflict

"As a result of a trade union conflict between Minneapolis trade unionists, who were also members of the Socialist Workers Party, and of Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Minneapolis Labor Case has become an item in the history of free speech and of the American trade-union movement. The Minneapolis leaders opposed Daniel J. Tobin's attempts to impose his authority over their local. Then, after a democratic and almost unanimous vote of nearly 4,000 members of their local, they disaffiliated from the AFL and joined the CIO. Daniel J. Tobin made representations to President Roosevelt. These were not ignored, for the New York Times of June 14, 1941 tells us

that Stephen Early, Secretary of President Roosevelt, told the press: 'When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning, he asked me immediately to have the Government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified.'

"Significantly enough, the Governmental department which seemed most interested in this matter was the one which is described by the word—Justice! Shortly after Mr. Early made this statement, agents of the Department of Justice raided the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, and also of the newly formed Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO.

"The Government indicted twenty-nine persons, charging them with a conspiracy to commit acts to overthrow the government, and with the expression of opinion for the same purposes. The first of these charges was based upon an antiquated Civil War law, directed against supporters of the slave owners' rebellion. The second was based on the Smith "Gag" Act. . .

Argument of Attorney Anderson

"In the government prosecution of this case, one of its attorneys, Mr. Victor A. Anderson, argued that in order to gain a conviction, it was not necessary to prove that the defendants had committed overt acts: mere expression of opinion was enough. Thereby, this case was raised to the level of becoming an important constitutional trial concerning freedom of speech. In passing, one of the proofs presented by the prosecution was The Communist Manifesto, written in 1848 by Karl Marx.

"The jury threw the first charge out of court, and convicted 18 of the defendants on the second count. The conviction was sustained in the Circuit Court, and then carried to the U. S. Supreme Court. The U. S. Supreme Court three times refused even to hear the appeal on this case, despite the fact that it was the first one which tested the constitutionality of the Smith Act. With this action of the highest court in the land, the case is just about closed as far as the government is concerned. As a final action, evidence in the case, such as the seized literature written by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, was burned.

"However, for the labor and liberal movements, this case cannot be closed. It has resulted in the effectual substitution of the Japanese idea of dangerous thoughts in place of the Holmes and Brandeis doctrine of 'clear and present danger.' It has substantially upheld a law which abridges the right of freedom of speech. And the government has already cited this case as a precedent in its latest efforts to deport Harry Bridges, the west coast labor leader. Despite the fact that Harry Bridges is one of the leading labor supporters of the present Administration, despite the fact that he is an unqualified adversary of the Minneapolis defendants, he is not immune to the consequences of this conviction. No more evidence is needed to document the dangerous precedent established here. . .

History of Fascism

"The history of fascism teaches us that the first attacks made by reaction are against the labor movement, and usually against its extreme left wing. This has happened in the Minneapolis Case. Further, the force of law and the police power has now been substituted for the use of reason, persuasion, argument, in the case of those who defend the historic ideas of Marxian socialism. It should be clear that this kind of an attack against socialist ideas, this jailing of socialist leaders can only help pave the way that makes it so much the easier for fascism. This kind of governmental action further has the effect of making men fearful, of helping further to spread that paralysis of will, of morale, of intellect which is already much too apparent in the present period of history. . .

The 18 Defendants

"The 18 defendants in this case refused to sacrifice their views and convictions, even at the price of their freedom. If those of us who are outside of prisons do not continue our struggle in their defense, it is not at all impossible that they will have company in their confinement. . .

"The Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the 18 Minneapolis victims, is now conducting a campaign to appeal to the President for pardon. It is asking the entire labor and liberal movement to support it in this campaign by signing its petitions for a pardon and by writing directly to President Roosevelt, asking that this pardon be granted. The defense of the Minneapolis victims is, itself, an attack on the Smith "Gag" Act. And this law remains hanging over the head of labor like the pendulum over the head of the victim in Edgar Allan Poe's story. The defense of labor's rights, the defense of free speech, the defense of all of us against the danger of fascism requires that this pendulum be put into a museum."



Harry DeBoer (left) and Farrell Dobbs, two of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists and union leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case, conversing in the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party a few days before their incarceration in the Federal Penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn.

TOLEDO AUTO BARONS LAUNCH ATTACK ON UNION MILITANTS

(Continued from page 1)

Most of the men were family men but this factor was given no consideration by the company. The main fact that interested the company was that they were militant union men.

FIVE MEN

The five men were informed that the case was to be referred to a higher body, namely the Executive Board of Local 12, and the management. This "higher body" has been the graveyard of so many grievances, that to the workers this was the same as telling them, to forget their grievances.

Throughout the entire proceedings in this case there has been a noticeable lack of union representation for these members. In fact there is evidence pointing to collusion between the union leadership and the management. The union leadership has confined itself mainly to trying to scare the rank and file with the threat that if they try to fight the case the Navy will blackball them.

There is much talk in Aircraft Division that these firings are not the last; that in every department the management has a list of militants whom they want to fire as fast as they think they can get away with it.

The workers are in an ugly mood and would be ready to fight if they had any leadership. However, the company's policy has been to crack down first on one department and then on another, while the union top leadership has been working hand in glove with the management.

At the Spicer Plant, another unit of Local 12, a Company offensive was initiated against the union at almost the same time. Various jobs were classified as women's jobs and no men were allowed to be upgraded to these jobs. This was in clear violation of the union seniority rules but the company thought it could get away with it by a patriotic song and dance about wanting to help out the wives of servicemen.

PROTEST WAVE

The company proposal was accepted by the union officials and the shop committee. But when the

workers learned of this action a wave of protest spread throughout the plant. The stewards' body met and elected a committee of five to draw up an answer and a set of counter-proposals.

The program of the stewards' committee provided for the strict adherence to the seniority rules. The program included provisions to do everything possible for the wives of servicemen. The union also pointed out that the previous record of the Company, was one of callous disregard for the wives of servicemen or any other employees.

This program was enthusiastically adopted by the unit meeting. This stopped, for the time being, the company's anti-union moves. However, militants in the plant realize that the company is just waiting for another opportunity to make a new attack on union conditions.

SIMILAR MOVES

Company provocations against auto workers in Toledo coincide with similar moves against unionists in Detroit, Cleveland, Akron and elsewhere. The barons of industry, upheld on the one hand by the government and on the other by the lickspittle labor-skates are conducting an all-out drive against the union movement.

On the other side of the ledger, however, more and more workers are beginning to realize that what they need is a program to kick out from under their capitalist masters their two principal props. They need a labor party to retire the power-drunk, anti-labor Congress and an aggressive union leadership which will fight for their demands, repeal the no-strike pledge, and wage a real struggle for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

In Detroit, Mich.

You can get
THE MILITANT
at the
FAMILY THEATRE
NEWSSTAND
opposite the theatre

Capitalist Rulers Busy Making Preparation For Another War

By Harvey Brown

The greatest hope of the people during World War I was aroused by the slogan that the last war was a "War to end War!" Every sacrifice was justified by the legend that never again would the youth of the world be flung into the bloody maelstrom of war—to die before they had even begun to live! In the period intervening between World War I and World War II the illusions so diligently fostered that wars and depressions were "diseases" which could be cured by the capitalist therapy of "free enterprise" was completely shattered. So much so that the ruling powers have been unable to fix a name for this war!

Some time ago, Roosevelt initiated a contest to find a suitable name for this war. His own contribution to the contest was that he named the "War for Survival." No one even suggested that it be called a "War to end Wars" and the contest finally petered out without producing one single slogan that could replace, in the minds of the people, the designation of the war as "World War II." But it was precisely the latter designation that Roosevelt was trying to eliminate. Such an arithmetical designation implied that just as II followed I so would III follow

II. Which meant that capitalism held out no prospect to suffering humanity other than an arithmetical succession of wars interspersed with raging economic crises and depressions.

WAR PREPARATIONS

War is a symptom of the crisis of the social system and as long as capitalism exists there will be war without end. In the very midst of World War II, the capitalists are already making preparations to pave the way for succeeding wars. The House Committee on Post-war Military Policy has begun a study on "post-war military policy and needs." The N. Y. Times, March 15, reports that: "In addition to studying the advisability of a large military establishment after the war, the group would seek to determine whether compulsory military training should be made universal in peacetime."

The N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Jan. 21, reports: "Under present plans the Army and Navy are expected to be scaled down from their present war-time strength of 11,000,000 men and women to somewhere near 2,500,000. This force would be of sufficient size to provide a highly-trained army capable of quick expansion, if necessary, together with a navy and air force of ample strength to patrol American offensive-defensive bases around the world and contribute to any world-wide

policing the United Nations may undertake."

Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military expert, devoted a series of articles to the problem of preparing for the "next war." In his article of Jan. 20, Baldwin quotes a passage from a book written by General Palmer and published by The Infantry Journal stating that, "after our enemies surrender there will be a transition period, and perhaps a long one, before the future world order can be established. During this transition period it will be necessary for the United States to maintain powerful armed forces." To provide the manpower for this "transition period" Baldwin suggests, "it will probably be necessary to continue in effect until two to four years after the end of hostilities the present selective service act." "Peace," under capitalism, will no longer be an interval between wars, but a "transition period" from one world wide conflagration to the next!

CHARLES E. WILSON

Speaking before the Army Ordnance Association, Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Corporation until he left to become one of the heads of the War Production Board, informed an audience composed of Big Business representatives and brass hats that: "Perhaps it is time for some fresh thinking on

this matter of war and peace. Instead of looking to disarmament and unpreparedness as a safeguard against war—a thoroughly discredited doctrine—let us try the opposite: full preparedness according to a continuing plan. The thought may be unpleasant, but thru the centuries war has been inevitable in our human affairs, as a basic element in evolutionary force. We have yet to learn that hard truth, apparently."

The plans to Prussianize the nation in preparation for future wars are being rushed to completion before the decisive battles of this war have even been fought. Mr. Wilson informed his audience that it was necessary to take advantage of the present war psychology to "set the machinery in motion" because "the revulsion against war not too long hence will be an almost insuperable obstacle to overcome."

Only a society free from exploitation and tyranny, from profits coined out of the blood and bones of the people, can put an end to war. The "revulsion against war" will not only lead to upsetting all the finely laid schemes of the war planners but will lead mankind onto the broad road of a socialist society where wars will be relegated to a place alongside of cannibalism as a curio in the history of the progressive march of humanity.

In The Colonies

By LI FU-JEN

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico is without doubt the most grisly of the skeletons in the closet of American imperialism. Each time Roosevelt gets up to prate about the "Four freedoms"—especially the one about "freedom from want"—the fleshless bones rattle in ironic mockery. The small Caribbean isle was wrested from Spain almost half a century ago and it is doubtful whether its inhabitants suffered as much under the prolonged and brutal rule of the Spanish conquistadores as they have under the heel of American finance capital during these past fifty years.

Since the war for "democracy" and the "Four freedoms" got under way, the conditions of these victims of imperialism have grown progressively worse. Real starvation stalks the island. "One does not need to go to India to see naked babies with the swollen bellies of the pitifully starved, with eyes blurred by hunger, bodies stunted so that twelve-year-olds look but six, with the saddest of faces," writes Oswald Garrison Villard in La Follette's paper, The Progressive.

Villard is in San Juan, capital of the American colony, writing a series of articles. His first article contains facts sufficient to indicate that the territory and its people have been handled by Wall Street just as the British imperialists have handled India. Instead of developing an industry, they have kept the island a plantation. They plunder its natural riches—mainly sugar and coffee—and keep the people poverty-stricken. With a present population of about two millions, and an annual population increase of about 30,000, the island possesses no economic undertakings which can utilize the available labor-power. Unemployment is chronic. At one time it reached the figure of 300,000—one-sixth of the population!

SUGAR MILLS

Workers in the sugar mills, which are the property of American corporations, receive wages averaging 30 to 38 cents an hour. But work is seasonal and they work full days only part of the year. Workers in the sugar and coffee plantations receive about half of these miserly sums.

Villard's investigations show that 300,000 families have a net average wealth (as distinct from income) of only \$341. Some 40,000 possess worldly goods to the value of \$3,500, while 10,000 possess \$9,500 or more. At least 250,000 people live in the vilest of slums, and, says Villard, these slums "are worse than I found them seven years ago. There is no sewerage; no garbage removal, nothing but an occasional water pipe line. And the people starve." The death rate per 100,000 of the population is 415.5 in diarrhea and enteritis, 266.5 in tuberculosis, 107.3 in malaria. The corresponding figures in continental United States are 14.2, 44.7 and 1.8!

As long as the island remains under the heel of the American capitalists there will be no hope of economic development and no relief from the grinding poverty which is the lot of the vast majority of its inhabitants. It is against the interests of the imperialists to develop the island industrially, and it pays good dividends as a mere producer of foodstuffs for the United States.

There is a widespread movement for independence among the Puerto Ricans. They understand very well the cause of all their woes. The American working-class should support this movement by joining in the demand for the island's political independence. We should also demand that Washington furnish funds to feed and house, clothe and educate the population—which would merely be returning a part of the wealth stolen from them—until the time when the territory can be developed economically.

BELGIUM

Belgium, the smallest and least influential of the imperialist powers, now occupied by the Nazis, also has its skeleton in the closet—Belgian Congo in the heart of Equatorial Africa. When rubber first became a source of profit, the late King Leopold staked out for himself large plantations in the Congo and his colonial administrators employed the most frightful cruelties to compel natives to work in them for the aggrandizement of this alien monarch. Armed gangs of white bullies roamed the dense forest areas, "recruiting" Negroes by violence and intimidation. The Negroes were then indentured

under a system that was slavery in all but name. White overseers kept watch over them at work, whether caring for the plantations or tapping the trees. Recalcitrants were brutally flogged.

Word of the monstrous cruelties that were practiced in the Belgian Congo reached the outside world and E. D. Morel, a British socialist, investigated charges made against King Leopold. He published his findings in a now-forgotten book entitled "Red Rubber." That was before the first World War for "liberty and democracy" in which Belgium was one of the high-minded Allies. Morel disclosed the presence of an abysmal sink of cruelty and barbarism in Leopold's African colony. Every pound of rubber brought out of the Congo, he proved, was dyed in the blood of beaten and murdered Negroes. "Red Rubber" aroused such a furore among the workers of England that the British imperialists, who were perpetrating similar cruelties in India, were compelled to cancel a projected visit by the Belgian monarch.

MORE REFINED

Since the days of Leopold, the old crude and barbaric methods of colonial robbery have given way in the Congo to a more refined system of exploitation. Since Japan captured the rubber-producing regions of the Far East, rubber output in the Congo has been greatly increased. This fact we learn from the bulletin of the Belgian Information Center, which reveals that 8,000 tons were exported in 1943, exceeding the exports of the seven preceding years put together. A further increase is expected this year.

"These results," says the bulletin, "have been made possible thanks to the strenuous efforts of the stout-hearted producers of the labor front to beat their own records." The Belgian imperialists continue to plunder the wealth of the Congo and exploit its inhabitants—to whom, incidentally, the benefits of the Atlantic Charter do not apply.

INDIA

When early this year L.M.S. Amery, his Majesty's Secretary of State for India, announced that the famine in Bengal was over, he was lying. Reporting from New Delhi on Feb. 21, a correspondent of the London News-Chronicle stated that not only was the general hunger not at an end, but that a recrudescence of the famine in full severity was in prospect in May "when the Himalayan snows will have melted, bringing torrents of water down the Ganges to flood thousands of acres in Bengal and dislocate transport. . . . May 15 is the date given by which the authorities will know whether their schemes have succeeded or whether there will be another famine in Bengal. After that it will be impossible to move food to districts which by that time have no adequate supplies."

Meanwhile the hunger, though mitigated for some, continues for numberless others. The London "Save the Children Fund" reported a little girl being offered for sale as late as Feb. 9 in the Bengal famine area. The child was bought by a British officer for one rupee and taken to a welfare center. According to the same source, the number of deaths due to famine and concurrent diseases in Bengal alone may be anywhere between 3,500,000 and 5,000,000.

At a meeting of the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association), the head of the British delegation informed the press that no resolution on relief for India would be entertained, although other delegations gave assurances that their governments would take part in a relief project. The reason given was that UNRRA activities were intended only for countries taken from the Axis.

The last thing Churchill and his crew desire is any intervention in Indian affairs by Britain's allies of today—but probably her rivals of tomorrow. They prefer as far as possible to keep the curtain drawn over the pestilential plague-spot that India has developed into under British rule. Better that more thousands and millions of Indians die rather than risk revealing the ghastly mess to the world at large. After all, we have Churchill's own word for it that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India—particularly that part of the Charter which refers to "freedom from want."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Significance of the Supreme Court Decision

Although the Supreme Court decision to outlaw the lily-white primary in Texas was hailed throughout the Negro and liberal press as a great triumph for democracy we are being neither overly pessimistic nor narrowly cynical when we declare that the Negroes in Texas will not benefit from this decision to any measurable degree.

The ruling class has become so adept at playing their hand close to the chest while feigning weakness, that we are apt to call and raise, without properly evaluating the potential value of their hole card. In this case they have granted us the right to vote in an election where none of the candidates will want to or be able to better our condition in any practical way.

That is because neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties represent the interests of the working class of people which includes the great majority of Negroes not only in Texas but throughout the country. Any nominee of this democratic party will have to serve the interests of the ruling capitalist class. This class exists by its parasitic exploitation of the laboring man and is therefore the irreconcilable enemy of the masses of Negroes.

INDEPENDENT ACTION

Only a genuinely independent candidate of organized labor would be in a position to work for our interests. Putting our vote in the capitalist ballot box accomplishes about as much as sticking it in a hollow log.

In time every Negro will come to understand this fraud for what it is. Granting us the "right" to decide who will be the nominee of the capitalist party is not only throwing a clay bone to us; it is throwing one at us. True, we will see political big-wigs built up among Negroes. There will be the standard practice of passing out political plums to "leading" citizens as a reward for their corraling the Negro vote for the winning clique. In return for their petty positions of authority these quislings will be forced to function as Uncle Toms to betray the Negro people and their struggle again Jim Crow.

These Negro fakery will soon be seen propounding the lies that this or that candidate will "do something" for the Negroes, where the truth of the matter is that no representative of a capitalist party can or will do anything for the masses of people except to make it easier for the capitalists whom he represents to exploit the people.

NEGRO FAKERS

From the domestic point of view the liberalization of the democratic primaries in the South will only mean the opening of the door for the Negro fakery to swarm in and suck the blood of the workers while betraying them in their real social struggle against the ruling class. In fact, the more experienced capitalists have known all along that they could more easily and more efficiently exploit the

Negroes of the South, or any other oppressed group for that matter, through the agency of quislings from among the oppressed races.

Such tactics might have been utilized sooner had it not been for the rabid opposition of the reactionary Southern bourgeois who still contend in their arrogance that the Negro can best be handled by the methods of open terror and dictatorship: such as lynchings, denial of the right to vote and segregation to the point of ostracism.

The reactions of the ignorant southern blowhards to this move by the more suave capitalist brothers of the north were pretty explosive. They set up a howl resembling that of a suckling baby when you take away his bottle. The editors, party bosses and political hacks threatened almost everything up to another civil war. Their spewings are not worth quoting here.

DIFFERENT METHODS

The fight however, over what types of methods should be employed in dealing with the Negro will certainly grow more intense. The method of the Rankins and Bilbos—the method of open terror and violence against the Negro people—is becoming more and more difficult to continue, in the face of growing Negro militancy and labor solidarity. New methods, more subtle, more treacherous, more deceitful are necessary. We already see this trend thoughtlessly being hailed in some quarters as a "victory for democracy."

From this vantage point, we can better understand what Earl Browder had reference to when he recently attempted to vindicate his servile support of Roosevelt by saying he chose "progressive" capitalism over reactionary capitalism.

No, for the Negro just as for the white workers, the only way the term "progressive" can truthfully be applied to capitalism is to state that under such a system their lot will become progressively worse. What Browder calls "progressive" capitalism is, in reality, only decadent capitalism faced with so many contradictions that the capitalists themselves disagree on the best methods of further suppressing the Negro people. His "progressive" capitalism is much more treacherous because his policies, such as the Supreme Court decision, make it more difficult for the politically immature Negro to distinguish friend from foe.

The Trotskyists, however, will continue their determined and unwavering struggle for the liberation of the exploited peoples of the world. They will continue their relentless fight against all forms of the repressive capitalist system. Their head and that of every class-conscious worker will consistently be drawn not only on the openly reactionary elements but also on the numerous quisling-type political fakery who make their appearance under the "democratic" two-party system of American capitalism.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

THE TROTSKYIST PARTY IS A PARTY OF 100 PERCENTERS

These comrades who stood before the court are typical of the kind of people that make up the membership of the Socialist Workers Party. We are a party of one-hundred percenters. We have made up our minds that the great cause to which we have dedicated our lives is more important than anything else in this world. We place it before every other consideration. Nothing else is dearer to us. And we laugh with disdain at the capitalist tyrants who try by their persecutions, by their legal frameups and their prisons to swerve us from our path, try to frighten us away from the fight for the great goal for which we struggle. We understand — every one of us — that nothing is more important than the working class cause to which we dedicate our lives.

Some of the newer comrades, now coming into the party, are only just beginning to assimilate this knowledge. But, comrades, as you live, as you learn, as you go forward in our party waging the great struggle, you will draw to yourselves strength and reassurance and courage and confidence from the comrades who will be standing at your side, fighting shoulder to shoulder with you. And each of us draws from our group collectively, our party as a whole, that strength to stand

in the face of all persecution, that strength to go forward and fight against all obstacles and against all odds.

Now our case—the case of the 18—perhaps seems more dramatic than the struggle, the life, the work, the role of other comrades in the party. But, in truth, that is not so. We are the kind of dynamic organization that we are because each and every member of the party stands in his appointed place and serves as best he can in accordance with his capacities, and serves in a greater capacity as he or she develops in the course of his or her training and experience. Collectively as a party, we march forward with the working class, in the ranks of the working class, standing in the vanguard of the working class. And while it may seem a great sacrifice for some of us to go to prison, risks just as great are taken, sacrifices just as great are made by other comrades every day in carrying our struggle forward. The comrades fighting shoulder to shoulder with the workers in the unions, in the factories, on the picket line are always in the forefront of the struggle, taking all the necessary risks.

We have in the hall here tonight a picture of Kelly Postal, one of our trade union fighters,

Stalinists to the Rescue!



Stalinists Rush To Aid Bankrupt Badoglio Rule

By Ralph Graham

For seven long months since the Italian armistice, the people of southern Italy and Sicily—workers, farmers, small shopkeepers—have been demonstrating their firm refusal to submit to the reactionary regime of Badoglio and the King. By meetings and demonstrations they have manifested their opposition to this paper mache government which exists solely by virtue of the support it gets from the Allied invaders.

Every attempt of the Allied powers to make the regime acceptable, and to furnish it with a basis of popular support, has failed utterly. What Roosevelt and Churchill have failed to accomplish, is now being attempted again with the aid of the Stalinist traitors.

The Stalinists stand in the forefront of the new counter-revolutionary plot to deceive and swindle the Italian masses. They have become the principal agents of capitalist-imperialist reaction in a scheme to give the Badoglio regime a "democratic" face-lift, to side-track the Italian revolution, to confuse the masses and to subject them to permanent slavery under the rule of capitalism.

ALLIED ADMISSION

How completely abhorrent the Badoglio government is to the masses was revealed last week by an American member of the Allied Control Commission, Col. G. H. McCaffrey, who declared in an address before that body that "in 24 hours, without the Allies' control, the people of at least nine provinces... would throw out the Badoglio government."

He went on to say that in these nine provinces, over which he had served as regional commissioner, there was "widespread evidence of a revival of fascism." The fascists honeycombed every department of the administration, he pointed out, and "various ministers are putting back the people we fired on the payroll and under the circumstances I cannot very much blame the Italians for saying the old Italian is back in control." He added the further revealing information that local governments were "ridden with grafting and looting."

This sordid mess, it must be emphasized, has developed under the military rule of the Allies who promised "liberation" to the Italian people. What remedy do they now offer? Do they now propose to clean out, or permit this vile cesspool of reaction and graft? By no means! According to Col. McCaffrey, "the most likely thing to help is to broaden the base of the government so that it will not consist of former civil servants who grew up under fascism." He sees a hopeful sign in the fact that the Stalinists have taken the "lead" in a scheme for swindling the people by refurbishing the regime and "broadening" its character.

But the regime—and herein lies the essence of the matter—is not an independent, arbitrary now serving a sentence in the Stillwater penitentiary in Minnesota. Kelly Postal was framed up by Tobin in the same fight in which we were framed up.

Day after day, week after week, the comrades do their duty, stand in their place in the ranks of the working class and carry forward their tasks regardless of risks.

(Speech of Farrell Dobbs from "Why We Are in Prison," Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y. 56 pages, 10c.)

structure. It is the representative and the political expression of the interests of the Italian capitalist class, the same rotten crew which spawned the fascist regime of Mussolini, Badoglio and the King both were among the principal adornments and agents of fascism.

The Allied imperialists, in their desperate need to protect Italian capitalism against the revolutionary onslaughts of the masses, can find no other native tool than the Badoglio regime. This explains their dogged persistence in holding fast to this discredited clique and trying to force this regime upon the country.

Even the Liberal capitalist politicians, such as Benedetto Croce and Count Sforza, have all along hesitated to identify themselves with the malodorous Badoglio clique, for they feared such a step would destroy whatever influence they still possess with the masses. The Badoglio government, in spite of all its efforts, remained isolated and helpless.

SECRET DICKERING

Now the Stalinists, by their own admission, have taken the lead to "break the deadlock" for

Akron CIO Backs URW Militants

(Continued from page 1)

provides that any expelled member has full rights to appeal his case to the International board and subsequently to a convention.

There is a further provision that in the case of the International President facing expulsion or charges, wherein the General Executive Board is involved, a special convention shall be convened to hear and act upon the charges.

But Dalrymple, hell bent upon assuming absolute dictatorship over the union, has disregarded all these democratic provisions.

The basic source of this crisis in the rubber union is the no-strike pledge. Dalrymple, like so many of the other top CIO leaders, has been faced with the growing difficulty of preventing "out-law strikes." The provocations of the corporations are being met by the rank and file with short, but increasingly numerous walk-out and departmental stoppages.

The cause of these walkouts is understood by all. In a statement issued April 16 by the URW General Executive Board, it was pointed out that "there is evidence of wage cutting through the practise of chiselling on piece-work rates and the imposition of unfair work standards." This practise is "putting the international right in the middle when work stoppages result."

VIOLENT COURSE

How does the URW board meet this deliberate campaign of company provocation? By cracking down on the union militants! "Violators (of the no-strike pledge) are being expelled from the union," the board asserted. Dalrymple's violent course against the membership is full of serious dangers to the union.

It is possible that unless he is stopped he may lead the union toward a catastrophic split. Militant rubber unionists are already aware of this danger and are on guard against it. They are determined to smash any attempts to split the union. That is why they are pressing for a special convention to freely air the controversy and decide the burning issue that confronts the rubber union today.

reaction. They have provided Badoglio with a new breathing spell by their announcement that they stand prepared to enter his government under the Savoy monarchy.

Behind the scenes in Naples secret dickerings are now in progress between the Allied authorities, the Social-Democrats, the Liberals and the Stalinists—with Badoglio and the King hovering in the neighborhood. In these secret conclaves the Stalinists rank high, for they still have a mass following and still clothe themselves with the authority of the Russian Revolution. They have become the important bulwark of Italian reaction.

Out of the secret dickerings is scheduled to emerge a dressed-up regime, which, the conspirators hope, can be presented to the Italians as something substantially different from the junta which now struts on the political stage. King Victor Emmanuel has already announced that after the Allies conquer Rome, he will turn over active administration to a lieutenant, his son Prince Umberto, and the Sforzas and Croces and even the Stalinists may be permitted to take more of the limelight.

But in essence nothing will be changed. Not only will capitalism remain, with its exploitation, oppression, graft and corruption, but the new regime will by no means even be a coalition "democratic" capitalist government. It will be the same military dictatorship, resting on foreign bayonets, ruling by autocratic decrees and the power of Allied arms simply coated over with a little "democratic" veneer.

INDEPENDENT ACTION

The only effective counter to the plottings of these combined elements of reaction is independent organization and independent action by the masses. Workers' councils need to be set up everywhere to mobilize the broad masses for the struggle for bread, for freedom, for peace; to coordinate the activities of the workers in every town and locality, to repel every advance of the forces of reaction, to struggle for the true interests of the people.

Above all it is necessary for the Italian workers to burn out of their ranks the virulent danger of Stalinism, whose treacherous role as the savior of capitalism becomes clearer every day. Stalinism has become the important prop and support of capitalist counter-revolution, a deadly viper in the ranks of the working-class. The strangling of this viper is the pre-condition for the success of the socialist revolution in Italy.



by C. Charles

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The De Gaullist Plans For A Capitalist France

(Continued from page 1)

ous designs on the French colonial empire in Africa and the Far East. De Gaulle is pursuing a program designed to preserve the integrity of the French empire and to unite the entire French capitalist class for this purpose. Here is an added reason why Washington and London, desiring to keep their hands untied for all eventualities, refuse to treat with de Gaulle as the sole representative of a "liberated" France.

"Gen. de Gaulle is angry," the N. Y. Times correspondent reported from Algiers April 8, "toward those in Washington and London who treat him as a claimant who does not have a profound, unshakable conviction that he has a mandate from the French nation for the mission he assumes. . . It is the contention of Gen. de Gaulle and his supporters that the only hope for an orderly regime without delay lies in him and the prestige he enjoys with all groups in France save the small group who sold out to the Germans."

Here we have the essence of the de Gaulle program. Not a word about "self-determination," "freedom," "democracy" and all the rest, but just a promise of an "orderly regime," meaning a regime of capitalist "order" which, with the help of Allied bayonets, will resist all attempts by the French masses to make a clean sweep of the hated system of exploitation and oppression which plunged them into the carnage of war.

DE GAULLE'S AIM

De Gaulle is trying desperately to strengthen the position of his camp vis-a-vis the capitalist clique in metropolitan France and thus demonstrate to his Anglo-American allies the superiority of his claim to their exclusive patronage. He has been purging his camp of Vichy-tainted elements and also those who appear as rival claimants to the affections of Roosevelt and Churchill. This was the meaning of his giving sanction for the execution of Pucheu, a prominent French capitalist who became minister of interior in the Vichy government, and his latest act in removing General Henri Giraud from supreme command of the French armies.

But where in this picture do the French people figure—the people who are to be "liberated"? They don't figure at all except as a menacing background to the sinister intrigues and plottings of the imperialists, including the French imperialists—not forgetting the Stalinist traitors who in the case of France, as in the case of Italy, are working to prevent revolution and frustrate the popular will.

De Gaulle, the N. Y. Times reported, has broadened his Committee so as "to include in responsible posts virtually all the major political groups, from the extreme right to the extreme left." And this, the dispatch added, "is expected to serve as a stimulus to the unity that has been hitherto somewhat lacking and as a symbol of the representative nature of the Committee."

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

The Committee is neither representative nor in any sense democratic. Its members have not been elected by any popular vote, nor do its policies reflect the interests and desires of the French masses. The de Gaulle junta is not a coalition that represents a traditional democratic capitalist government. It is simply a hand-picked selection of capitalist politicians and military men, with a light sprinkling of social-democratic, liberal and Stalinist lackeys of capitalism. It is a military dictatorship barely covered with a thin veneer of "democracy."

The anti-working-class, counter-revolutionary character of this junta is sufficiently exposed by de Gaulle's reference to the need for an "orderly regime without delay." These words should

be understood. Not a popular regime, nor a democratic one—but an "orderly" one. The role of the Stalinists has been expressed in a similarly meaningful manner by the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, which declared that the party's participation in the de Gaulle committee would have significance only if there was a "firm and resolute application of measures intended to:

"1. Concentrate all the resources of France and her empire for the war effort. . .

"2. Punish all traitors already in the hands of the French Committee of National Liberation and energetically weed out all fifth-column elements from government agencies;

"3. Develop a democratic social policy to galvanize all the energy of the French people and stimulate enthusiasm for participation in the war of liberation;

"4. Carry out a policy of French national unity by understanding and granting the legitimate demands of the colonial peoples;

"5. Develop the role of France in the United Nations bloc, for the foundation of the independence of our country and the restoration of her greatness rest in the maximum development of French participation in the common struggle of the Allies."

STALINIST BETRAYAL

This program shows what is brewing. It means that in France, as in Italy, the Stalinists will do all in their power to prevent revolution and to harness the workers to the war machine of the "democratic" imperialists, heedless of the fact that what the workers want most is an end to the mad imperialist slaughter and the system that gave it birth.

The situation as regards France can be understood only in terms of class antagonism and class conflict. The Vichy regime and the de Gaulle committee are merely the political representatives of temporarily antagonistic sections of the French capitalist class. On the fundamental question of preserving the system of capitalist exploitation, they are united. Washington and London

are similarly united on this fundamental question. Their hedging on the question of exclusive recognition for de Gaulle, and Washington's decision to give Eisenhower a free hand, reflects merely the intention to recognize and sustain whatever capitalist clique proves most capable of preserving capitalist "order" when France is invaded. The Stalinists, reflecting in their policies the Kremlin's fear of what a French revolution might mean for the Soviet bureaucracy, are equally averse in their desire to see French capitalism preserved.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Here, despite the contradictions between the separate cliques, we have the elements of an unholy alliance whose purpose it is to strangle and destroy the coming French revolution.

Roosevelt stands at the head of this nefarious conspiracy. At a recent press conference, when questioned about American policy with regard to de Gaulle, he said "he was not prepared to say whether anybody outside France knew what the French people wanted."

This great champion of liberty and self-determination also professes not to know what the Italian people want. No one had the temerity to remind him that at least he knew what the Italian people DID NOT WANT—that they did not want Badoglio and the King, but that Roosevelt and his allies have nevertheless insisted on ramming this hated pair down the throats of the people. Roosevelt also knows that the French masses will not tolerate the Vichy regime or any of its members, who even now live in constant fear of their lives.

The "do not know" formula represents the ideological preparation for a Badoglio-King deal in France. But the French workers, having observed how Italy was "liberated" by the Allies, will not be caught unawares. If they are united and determined, and arm themselves with a revolutionary socialist program, they can bring all the dirty schemes of their enemies crashing to the ground.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 21, 1934

FRANCE—A deportation order issued against Leon Trotsky by the French government brought to a new climax the struggle of reactionary forces to silence "the leader who personified revolutionary struggle and the victory of the proletariat," The Militant reported. It quoted a United Press dispatch: "there was some indication that the government was anxious to get Trotsky out of France before May Day. . . Though secret police said they believed that the Fourth International was largely in the formative stage, European governments seemed to fear it, and were reluctant to give the exiled Communist shelter."

A second article in The Militant told in detail of the long years of persecution Trotsky had endured, since his first arrest by Czarist police at the age of 19, for his leadership of the South Russian Workers Union.

NEW YORK—James P. Cannon was announced as the speaker for a New York mass meeting to be held on April 22, as the first step of a campaign to fight for the right of asylum in the United States for Leon Trotsky. Said The Militant: "Despite the imposing combination against the admission of Trotsky to the United States, we intend to start the fight and to broaden it, with the help of other organizations, into a united front movement for the reestablishment of the right of asylum for political refugees generally."

PARIS—In an historic meeting in Paris, four organizations—the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist), the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, and the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland, issued a declaration obligating themselves "to direct all their forces to the formation in the shortest possible time of this (Fourth) International on the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin." The declaration, reprinted in The Militant, said in part: "The position of world capitalism; the frightful crisis which plunged the working class into unheard-of misery; the revolutionary movement of the oppressed colonial masses; the world danger of fascism; the perspective of a new cycle of wars which threaten to destroy the whole human culture. . . demand the welding together of the proletarian vanguard into a new (Fourth) International."

FREE THE 18! San Francisco Meeting

HEAR

Warren K. Billings
Famous Labor Defendant

Joseph James
President San Francisco NAACP

Ernest Besig
San Francisco ACLU

Clarence Rust
National Committee CRDC

George Novack
National Secretary CRDC

Wednesday, May 3 - 8 P. M.

RED MENS HALL

240 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE

Auspices: San Francisco Civil Rights Defense Committee

THE MILITANT

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at the post office at New York, N. Y., under
the Act of March 3, 1879."



To defend the USSR as
the main fortress of the
world proletariat, against
all assaults of world im-
perialism and of internal
counter-revolution, is the
most important duty of
every class-conscious
worker.
— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed
by the government, but under control
of the trade unions. Special officers'
training camps, financed by the gov-
ernment but controlled by the trade
unions, to train workers to become
officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers
drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed
forces and the war industries—Down
with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expro-
priation of all war industries and their
operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the
rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vig-
ilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on
the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Govern-
ment.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union
against imperialist attack.

War Aims

The secrecy shrouding the "United Nations" pro-
gram for Germany is being gradually lifted. We
are now informed that the country is to be dis-
membered. The full extent of the projected par-
tition still remains unknown, but the capitalist press
has already revealed that secret agreements were
made at Teheran which provide for Stalin's grab
of Eastern Poland and East Prussia as far as
Koenigsberg, while Poland is to be "compensated"
with the rest of East Prussia, Silesia and Eastern
Pomerania. Correspondents have further disclosed
that tentative agreements have been concluded for
tripartite military rule of Germany. The troops
of each of the three participants at Teheran are to
occupy a designated area for an indefinite period.

The AMG, fresh from its infamous labors of
propping up the military dictatorship of Badoglio
in Italy, is now getting set to enter Germany. In
Italy, which comes under the provisions of the
Atlantic Charter, the AMG has by naked military
force imposed a regime of the same rotten capi-
talist monarchist clique which for 20 years has
backed Mussolini. It requires no great effort of
imagination to picture the reign of unbridled reac-
tion being planned for a defeated Germany which
has been explicitly excluded from the provisions
of the Atlantic Charter. The post-Mussolini re-
gime in Italy will appear beneficent compared to
the post-Hitler rule, which Roosevelt and Church-
ill envisage for Germany.

Stalin is projecting a program no less savage and
reactionary. The reparations exacted by the Ver-
sailles Treaty are trifles compared with the tribute
Stalin hopes to grind out of the German masses.
Millions of German workers are to be turned into
slave laborers; Germany's industry and agriculture
are to be pillaged through the removal of "mach-
ines, apparatus and equipment for industrial enter-
prises, locomotives, railway cars, motor transport,
ships, cattle, seed and other agricultural products,
coal, metal and similar goods." This is the plan
tentatively sketched out in the October 1943 issue
of *War and the Working Class*, Stalin's organ of
foreign policy.

The darkest pages of modern history, do not
provide parallels of such vast economic and cul-
tural depredations. For historical precedents, one
has to go to the most sanguinary records of the
barbaric hordes of the dim past.

In point of fact, all these proposals spell disaster

not only for the population of Germany but for
the peoples of continental Europe as a whole. The
restoration and well-being of Europe is impossible
without the planned participation of its most ad-
vanced technological sector and its greatest single
productive force, represented by German industry
and the German working class respectively. If this
criminal program of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stal-
in ever goes into effect, Europe faces the danger
of being plunged into barbarism.

The programs of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin
are worth more to Hitler than dozens of divisions.
These public proclamations that the German peo-
ple will be enslaved, the country carved up, the
country's economy decimated help drive the Ger-
man masses into Hitler's arms. What need is there
for a Goebbels to manufacture propaganda? A
candidate for the role of Sforza in Germany, Prince
Hubertus zu Loewenstein laments that the Nazis
are now well able to afford to lift their prohibition
on listening to foreign broadcasts. He correctly
says that "the Nazi may simply turn on the loud-
speakers at the street corners" and let the Allied
statesmen do a job that Nazi propaganda itself
could not hope to achieve.

The revelations of these aims come on the very
eve of the projected invasion of Europe, admitted-
ly the largest, most difficult and sanguinary oper-
ation of the entire war.

The enormity of the crimes already perpetrated
in the course of the second world slaughter fades
into the shadows in the face of the crimes that are
in preparation. It is as if the capitalist rulers,
"democratic" and fascist alike, were consciously
seeking to demonstrate to mankind once and for
all that capitalism has nothing left to offer except
political reaction, police suppression, starvation and
degradation and that there is no way out of the
bloody chaos except through the road of the strug-
gle for socialism.

Balkan Federation

In an interview granted to the correspondent of
the N. Y. Times, Dr. Josip Smolaka, the Minister
of Foreign Affairs in the Stalinist-dominated Par-
tisan government of Yugoslavia, came out in favor
of establishing a Balkan federation as the new
structure for south east Europe. In the same breath,
he declared that the "question of monarchy (in
Yugoslavia) will not be decided until after the
war." These statements are important because they
express not Smolaka's personal opinion but the
policy of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. And they
also reflect the policy of the Kremlin whose agent
is Tito.

The idea of a federation of all the Balkan peo-
ples is indeed a progressive one. It was one of the
ideas sponsored by the old revolutionary socialist
movement in the Balkans before the first world
war. It was advocated by the Communist Interna-
tional in Lenin's lifetime, as an integral part of
the struggle for the establishment of the Socialist
United States of Europe. It undoubtedly represents
the aspirations of the masses of Yugoslavia and
the rest of the Balkans who have paid a terrible
price both in times of peace and war for the per-
petuation of the artificial and outlived state bound-
aries.

But who has stood all these years in the way
of the achievement of a Balkan Federation? The
reactionary monarchial, military, capitalist and
landlord cliques who have exploited and subjug-
ated the Balkan masses, and the major imperialist
powers who have supported and bolstered up these
discredited rulers. A European federation, or even
one of a narrower scope in the Balkans is a utopia
under capitalism. Neither the upper class scum of
the Balkans nor the imperialist powers will permit
it. This has been demonstrated over and over again
since the beginning of the century. The Balkan
federation can be realized only by the creation of
new workers and peasants governments in the Bal-
kans and the struggle for a Socialist Europe.

Anyone who pretends to the contrary is either
ignorant or merely seeking to deceive the Balkan
people. But Dr. Smolaka, who served the gang-
ster monarchy of Yugoslavia as Minister to the
Vatican and Spain cannot plead ignorance. In the
name of the Tito government he proposes to hold
in abeyance not only the question of the capitalist
order but even to leave open until after the war
"the question of monarchy." The federation he en-
visages has room apparently even for the Yugo-
slav gangster regime now represented in exile by
Peter II. What is now obviously in progress is that
Tito and his clique are working under the guid-
ance of the Kremlin toward the establishment in
the Balkans not of a genuine federation, but the
creation in alliance with the old ruling groups, of
a South Slav entente, within the Kremlin's sphere
of influence.

Smolaka's proposal is still another proof that
Tito and the Stalinists seek to betray the revolu-
tionary movement of the Yugoslav peasants and
workers.

The Balkan federation, like the Socialist United
States of Europe of which it must form a part in
order to survive, can and will be built only in im-
placable struggle against all the imperialist powers,
the Balkan capitalist and landlord cliques and their
Stalinist henchmen.

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By LEON TROTSKY

(A Compilation — 1927-1937)

10 CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK

5,000 Chicago Strikers Fight Montgomery Ward's Open Shop

(Continued from page 1)

tion on Dec. 8, 1943 of what the
company termed the "so-called
agreement," the union was in-
formed that the company did not
intend to negotiate a new con-
tract. The company offered the
pretext that the union no longer
represented a majority of the
employees. In the meantime the
company openly called meetings
of the workers inside the mail
order house and attacked the
union. It initiated a million dol-
lar suit for "libel" against Spot-
light, the mimeographed paper of
Local 20.

As soon as the contract expir-
ed, a union statement charges,
"the Company instituted a wave
of wage cuts, demotions, layoffs
and firings. Established policies
such as Holiday pay for New
Year's were discontinued. The
Company furthermore stepped
up its campaign of persecution of
union members, and fired the
Secretary-Treasurer of the Union
for alleged 'insubordination' and
'violation of company policy.' In-
creases in the rate of production
and job-loads were widespread
throughout the plant."

On January 15, the WLB is-

sued a directive order extending
the previous contract for 30 days,
while the union was required to
file for a new NLRB election.
The company immediately stated
that it intended to defy the ex-
tension order. Finally on March
29, the WLB after holding a com-
pliance hearing, issued a second
order. But the company, having
successfully defied the first or-
der, ignored the second directive.
The Board then did absolutely
nothing until after the strike was
underway.

The strikers have been very
militant. Hundreds of them have
helped to maintain a 24-hour a
day picket line around the struck
buildings. "Hold that line," was
their battle-cry as large squads
of police sought to escort scabs
through the strikers ranks dur-
ing the first three days of the
walkout before the injunction.
Two strikers were arrested dur-
ing the first day of the strike.
The police deliberately man-
handled picketers, including wo-
men, and attempted all sorts of
provocations. The picket banners
proclaim: "United We Stand
Against SLAVERY (S. L. Avery,
head of the company)" and "We
Strike Today That We May Live
Tomorrow."

Last Friday, Judge Lupe of the
County Superior Court issued a
sweeping injunction limiting the
total number of pickets at all
gates to 42, with a maximum of
25 pickets at the main building,
the catalogue and mail order
house. The injunction even pro-
hibits the strikers from talking
to non-strikers in order to peace-
fully persuade them to support
the strike. Despite the injunction,
few scabs are entering the plant
and the strike ranks remain solid.

The issues are clearly drawn
and the battle is now joined. All
the forces of capital and the gov-
ernment are out to smash this
strike. If they succeed, employ-
ers everywhere will be embold-
ened to violate contracts, refuse
union recognition, and ignore
compliance with labor laws.

All organized labor is confront-
ed with a serious challenge. Every
union must rally to the support
of the Ward strikers. The strike
must be extended throughout the
hundreds of Ward outlets and
warehouses. CIO President Philip
Murray is duty-bound to speak
out in defense of the strikers and
to mobilize full CIO support on
their behalf.

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.

Cramp Ship Local Elections

Editor:

Being a constant reader of your
paper, I am writing to ask you
to devote a small column in your
paper for the interest, I believe,
of the whole labor movement,
especially that of Cramp's Ship-
building workers and Local 42,
IUMSWA-CIO.

This coming Sunday there will
be nominations for an election
of a new official board. I do not
know if William F. Schaffer will
run for President or not, as up
until now he has made no com-
mitments. But I feel that a fighter
like Brother Schaffer will not let
the membership down by declin-
ing.

I was happy to note that in
both major crises, namely in Oc-
tober and January, The Militant
came out 100 percent in back of
Brother Schaffer's actions.

The three candidates who are
going around the yard campaign-
ing for the position of President
are attempting to tell the mem-
bership of Local 42 that Brother
Schaffer is a radical, who took
money out of their pay-checks
and that if the membership
elected any one of these three,
they won't have to worry about
losing any money out of their
pay-checks through strikes. I
agree with them because the
whole three of them don't have
enough nerve to defend them-
selves, let alone 17,000 members.

They do not tell the mem-
bership that when Brother Schaffer
became President of Local 42, the
local was a beaten-down union
and practically dominated by the
executives of Cramp Shipbuilding
Company.

It is through the courage of
Brother Schaffer in telling the
Navy Department, the War Labor
Board, the Cramp Shipbuilding
Company and our own National
office in October, what the hell
he thought of them and demand-
ing a Truman investigation that
we had Admiral DuBose, who
was then President of the Com-
pany, removed along with a few
other officials.

In January at the Broadway
Hotel, Brother Schaffer again

told certain high officials what
was wrong with the management
and also told John Green what
he personally thought of that
statement that Mr. Green put in
the papers about the members of
Local 42.

After a meeting with high of-
ficials of Government Agencies,
Mr. Ellis, the labor relations ad-
visor of the Company, along with
five foremen, was immediately
discharged and a new labor re-
lations advisor sent into the com-
pany.

Our President, Brother Schaf-
fer, sent us 17,000 members back
into Cramp Shipyard with our
heads held high and damn proud
to say we had a President that
had plenty of what it takes.

When the case of the 52 painters
that were fired in January went
before arbitration, the official
board would not allow Brother
Schaffer to present the case. The
Executive Secretary who is
Johnny Green's boy and the
chairman of the Grievance Com-
mittee, who is now running for
President, presented the case for

the union's side while the com-
pany lawyers presented the case
for the company's side, so you
can easily see why we lost the
case. But the facts remain that
after the case was lost, Brother
Schaffer got the Company after
two weeks of arguing with them,
to reopen the case and allow him
to present his side of the story.
The new labor relations advisor
after hearing Brother Schaffer's
story, agreed to rehire the
painters with the consequence
that the majority of us fired
painters are again drawing a
paycheck and supporting our
families.

I am not only expressing my
opinion but the opinion of 1000
shipyard workers. The election
will be held on the 24th and 25th
of April.

Knowing that a lot of my
brothers and sisters read The
Militant, we would appreciate it
if you would give us your opinion
of Brother Schaffer, the same as
you did in October and January.

One of the Painters

Philadelphia, Pa.

Federal Ship Workers Fight WLB Award

Editor:

At a mass meeting of Federal
Shipyards workers employed at
the Port Newark and Kearney
shipyards, where 40,000 workers
are employed, an aroused mem-
bership of Local 16 of the CIO
shipbuilding union, almost un-
animously voted to take a strike
vote under the Smith-Connally
Act.

The workers had previously re-
jected a Shipbuilding Commission
(WLB panel) directive which
granted increases averaging 33c,
a day to one-third of the workers.
The Shipbuilding Commission had
kicked the case around for ten
months. Last June the WLB had
rejected the union demand for a
general increase of 9 percent for
workers on the west coast.

Not one worker at the meeting
defended the present award. It
was evident that the rank and file
wanted militant union action, and
were sick and tired of running
from one government board to
another.

Another fact evident was that
the rank and file had thrown up
a whole new group of spokesmen.
Worker after worker who had
previously seldom spoken took
the floor to denounce the dirty
deal that had been given them.
They pointed out that the miners
and railway workers got their
increases by action and why
couldn't the shipyard workers do
the same.

The Stalinists attempted their
usual game of steering the work-
ers into some harmless con-
ference which is to be held by
President Green. But the rank and
file showed they were wise to
these shopworn tricks. They booted
down the various proposals put
forth by the Stalinists.

We can be sure that Green and
the top bureaucrats of the union
will not support us as they are
all tied up with Roosevelt and the
WLB. We must start the fight to
rescind the no-strike pledge and
make the international union
again a fighting industrial union.

S. P.

Jersey City, N. J.

International Notes

A special cable to the N. Y.
Times from Stockholm reports:

"Following earlier reports of or-
ganized Communist activity in
Germany, stories of the first
underground Communist conven-
tion 'somewhere in Germany'
have been heard.

"The convention's aim was to
establish a Communist trade-
union central body. This is re-
ported to have been done. Com-
munist 'cells' have been formed
in many German industrial cen-
ters... the German Communists
are said to be internationalists,
or as they would be called in
Moscow, Trotskyites."

An article in the April 8 *Unità
del Popolo*, entitled "Towards a

new general strike in Northern
Italy" states:

"Following the opening of a
wide campaign of repression,
primarily aimed at the working
class, thousands of workers have
been arrested by fascist bands.
Trains filled with workers are
leaving continuously from Genoa
and Milan. The paper *Libera*
Stampa published in Lugano
writes 'the aim of the arrests is
to break the unity of the work-
ing class, whose tremendous
solidarity makes it impossible to
discover the leaders of the recent
strikes.'

"The German authorities have
ordered that one million Italian
men and women workers be
transported to Germany to work
in the German war industries.

The workers were not given
time to communicate with their
families. This situation has pro-
voked tremendous resentment
among the workers... 'a new
general strike is shaping up be-
fore long' writes the underground
paper *Avanti!*'
"In Rome the situation be-
comes more serious every day.
The life of the city is completely
disorganized because numerous
public services are interrupted.
The kinds of food one can find on
the market are extremely limited.
Cauliflower and a piece of bread
is the daily ration of those, who
being without means, cannot buy
on the black market. Rations of
flour, bread, oil, sugar are dis-
tributed very irregularly."

Knox Spills the Beans About Arabia Oil Deal

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox has a propensity
for spilling the beans about the war aims and deals
of the Roosevelt administration. Knox, who once
disclosed that American imperialism intends after the
war to "police the world for 100 years," last week
tipped his mitt on the administration's much-publicized
Saudi Arabian oil pipe-line project, which the ad-
ministration has defended as an urgent war "nec sassy"
and dictated by a "shortage" of oil reserves in this
country.

Testifying on April 12 before the House Appropria-
tions Committee, Knox revealed that the government's
concern over oil "shortages" was aroused only after
Standard Oil of California and Texas Company in
1941 came begging government assistance to meet
British competition over Middle East oil concessions.

These companies "were unable to operate to any
great extent, or to any extent at all, I suppose,"
Knox related, "but they made some prepayments to
the Arabian government in anticipation of royalties
running up to several million dollars. The Arabian
government, at the same time was, I believe, calling
on the British for help and they advanced considerable
sums of money. Eventually the American companies
became a little alarmed over the situation."

The American oil monopolies then asked the U. S.
government to protect their Arabian oil concessions
arguing that the British companies had "all the sup-
port and prestige that the British government could
bring."

At that time, Knox admitted, the administration
offered to buy up the rights of the American com-
panies, but they weren't "alarmed" enough to accept
that proposition. This confirms the charge of Repre-
sentative Jerry Voorhis that this "war-vital" pipe-line
project was held up almost three years until the gov-
ernment agreed to build the line with guarantees to
the oil corporations of full profits as well as the right
to acquire outright ownership of the government
properties within 25 years.

Knox's statement completely exposes the administra-
tion claim that the \$165,000,000 pipe line is "needed"
because of alleged depletion of American oil reserves.
This situation was "discovered" only after the Ameri-
can oil imperialists came crying for a government
hand-out. And the urgency was not so great that the
project could not be held up for three years until the
companies received the guarantees they demanded.

Profiteers Line Pockets In Name of "Sweet Charity"

"Contributions to charity" is another racket being
worked by the war profiteers as a further means of
looting the public treasury.

In his recent testimony before the House Naval
Affairs Committee, Comptroller General Lindsay C.
Warren disclosed that war contractors have handed
out millions for "charity" which are then deducted
from their personal income taxes. Warren gave a
number of examples.

"In a little town in Ohio, where a contractor set up
a plant at government expense, he made a handsome
contribution to the Community Chest and the local
newspapers lauded him as a paragon of generosity.
The editor and the people didn't know that the con-
tribution was being paid in full by the government
and also that the contractors sought a deduction for
it on his income return."

Warren further disclosed that the War Department
was supporting this practice of charging "charity"
to the government, as well as millions for advertising,
much of it including attacks on organized labor.

Sick Soldiers Face Ouster From Palm Beach Hospital

Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell's sup-
pressed report recommending retention of the Palm
Beach, Florida, Breakers Hotel as an Army hospital
for the treatment of wounded World War II veterans
was subpoenaed and made public last week by the
Truman Senate Investigating Committee, while Army
officials sat in secret session "reconsidering" an order
to evict over 1,000 injured and sick soldiers by
April 30.

The order to evacuate the Reams Hospital, which
was converted at an expense of \$500,000 from the
former \$50 per room per day luxury hotel and rented
by the government for \$250,000 a year, was issued
by Lieut. Gen. Brehon Somervell, chief of the Army
Service Forces. The eviction was originally scheduled
for March 31, but was changed to a month later
after wide-spread protest against the ouster order.
Somervell is reported to be a member of the secret
Army committee now "reinvestigating" the matter.

Somervell's evacuation order followed a high-
pressure campaign, conducted through Senator Charles
Andrews, of Florida, and Rep. Pat Cannon, of the Palm
Beach district, who were acting for big real estate
and railway interests, connected with the duPonts,
trying to resecure the hotel in order to accommodate
the wealthy play-boys and socialites desirous of
recuperating on Florida's sunny beaches from the
strain of hauling in war profits.

The War Department used the pretext of "excessive
cost" in defending the eviction order, although Sur-
geon General Norman T. Kirk had stated that "it
would be a distinct financial loss to dismantle this
excellent hospital unit when there seems every
prospect that it will be needed and would in all
probability have to be replaced at a later period."

In a statement last week, Senator Claude Pepper,
of Florida, admitted that "there is a deep feeling that
the action of the War Dept. has been influenced either
by the present management of the corporation which
owns the hotel, or by a mistaken policy in economy
by the War Dept."

The Littell report, which was withheld by Attorney
General Biddle, also discloses the tremendous general
shortage of hospital beds and facilities for the war-
wounded.