

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Anxious not to be outdone by the CIO in winning "credit" for opposing the Little Steel formula the AFL bureaucrats have opened their own show before a special WLB panel set up to hear their petition for an upward revision of the wage-freezing formula.

While Philip Murray and his lieutenants of the CIO Steelworkers union were arguing the case for a 17 cents an hour wage increase before a WLB steel panel completely lacking in power to go against Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order, AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany rang up the curtain before another equally powerless WLB panel.

Business Week, which is devoted to telling the real score to its Big Business subscribers, in its April 8 issue jeers at the rival performances of the CIO and AFL officials, stating that "current proceedings before NWLB are but shadow-boxing" and a "two-ring circus." This mouthpiece of the corporations recognizes what every union militant knows. That wage increases are won not by wily pleas and the recitation of voluminous statistics before corporation-dominated government boards, but by fighting union action.

"The South has a 26 per cent lower wage scale than the remainder of the country yet the percentage of increase in the cost of living is higher in the South than in other sections," George Googe, a Southern representative of the AFL, told the War Labor Board last week. 20,000 Southern telephone workers receive less than \$16 a week, Googe stated. Construction workers are paid 49 to 52 cents an hour, in contrast to the 90 cents to \$1.03 paid in other parts of the country. He told of stenographers in New Orleans getting 45 cents an hour; cashiers, 38 cents; hotel mail clerks, \$11.63 per week.

No wonder the poll tax Congressmen are fighting to keep those "damnyankee" union organizers out of the South.

The International Executive Board of the CIO United Automobile Workers has apparently given its answer to the demands of militant Detroit locals, such as the Briggs local and the Ford Aircraft Division, for a special convention to rescind the no-strike pledge. Last week the Board demonstratively reaffirmed its no-strike policy and passed a ruling ordering local unions to withhold all protection and services from members supporting or engaging in "unauthorized" strikes. In effect, this latest Board action is like a special-delivery to the corporations pledging unconditional surrender to their provocations and reprisals against the workers.

Four United Mine Workers local officials have been convicted and fined \$250 each on a charge of violating the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law. The Glen Alden Coal company brought the charges against them, claiming they had promoted a strike in its Truesdale colliery while it was being "run" by the government. The government managers were the regular company officials.

This is the second conviction under the "labor-harness" act, as it is termed by the United Mine Workers Journal, against local

mine union officials. The UMW failed to contest the case, and the defendants were apparently persuaded by the union attorney to plead guilty.

CIO President Philip Murray, in a letter last week to all CIO affiliates, urged them to adopt provisions granting the waiver of initiation fees and dues to all ex-servicemen returning to shops with CIO contracts.

Pointing out that all CIO unions protect the seniority rights and maintain the membership, without dues payment, of all members in the armed forces, Murray declared: "This would simply be an extension of the protection which the CIO and its membership seek to offer to the service men and women."

The United Automobile Workers, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, United Steelworkers, United Furniture Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers, all CIO, have already adopted such proposals.

The Dubinsky machine at the head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL, is "explaining" the "gains" offered in the new three-year contract recently signed for 85,000 dressmakers by the union's New York Joint Dress Board. The contract is hailed by the officials because it contains a "minimum wage" clause.

As explained in Justice, the ILGWU paper, by Julius Hochman, the Joint Board's general manager, the minimum wages "are not intended as a lever to raise piece-rates... or to revise upward existing schedules... (but) to serve as a protection against any declining wage trends that may come after the war." In a word, the minimum wage doesn't help the workers against the 43.5 per cent wartime price rise right now.

Hochman then states: "The union asked for an increase in wages to meet the constantly rising cost of living. But both the union and the employers recognized that under its present rigid wage policy the War Labor Board would not approve any such increase. It was therefore agreed to defer the union's demand until there is a change in any government wage policy or formula.... When such a change occurs, the union will have the right to ask for an increase...."

Here is a real "progressive" union leadership for you! Hochman is not going to fight for any wage increases until the WLB announces a change of policy!

The CIO is fighting the AFL sponsored rider to the NLRB appropriations bill for the coming year, by which the Board is prohibited from hearing appeals on any contract that has been in effect for more than 90 days. This rider is just a set-up for the companies. They can sign agreements with company unions or "sweetheart agreements," keep the contract quiet for 90 days and then use the government agencies to prevent legitimate unionization of the plants.

This rider was passed in last year's NLRB appropriation bill with the open backing of John Frey, President of the AFL metal trades department. In his anxiety to safeguard the AFL "Sweetheart" contract with the Kaiser Shipyards, John Frey was willing last year and is willing today to back this "company union" measure.



The number of workers who depend upon The Militant for answers to their questions, a solution for the problems confronting them, is increasing constantly. A report from Chicago confirms this:

"During a distribution of The Militant one of our comrades visited a coal miner whose family dated way back when the coal miners were not organized. He told the comrade that he was one of the first coal miners to join a union in his district and that he had been fighting for the union ever since. He also told her that he had searched among the socialist papers to see if he could find one to answer his needs. He had read a few copies of The Militant and would like to take out a sub because 'The Militant is the paper I have been looking for.'"

All of our readers appreciate the prompt delivery of The Militant which has once again been

Branches Report Good Results In Drive For 3000 New Subscribers

The first two weeks of the Militant Subscription Campaign for 3,000 new readers already shows excellent progress. The branches have responded in real Trotskyist manner—first making careful preparations and then throwing all their forces and energy into accomplishing the goal they have set for themselves.

The following reports make clear that our agents and readers understand the political importance of introducing their shopmates and friends to The Militant through the 3-month trial subscription offer.

READING LEADS

Reading has already fulfilled 73% of its quota for 30 subs. And it looks as though they will not only hit the 100% mark in the next few weeks but will go over the goal. Rose of Reading has just sent in for an additional 20 self-addressed postage-paid cards.

Detroit also merits special mention, following second to Reading in the number of subs already sent in.

ACTIVITY IN OTHER BRANCHES

The branches have adopted several methods of obtaining subscriptions. We quote from some of the letters.

George Grant, Organizer of Local New York: "The New York Local has raised its quota in the sub campaign by 50%. The quota assigned us by the National Office was 500. We have raised it to 750. The comrades of the New York Local feel that we will have no difficulty in making and even exceeding this quota of 750 new readers to The Militant."

"We plan to get our new readers by two methods. One is the Club Plan. At the branch meetings of last week every comrade took four sub blanks to sell to shopmates, contacts, sympathizers, who have not yet subscribed to The Militant. Comrades have already started to hand in the names of new subscribers on these blanks which they purchased at the branch meetings."

"The Sub Campaign Directors of each branch are laying plans for systematic door-to-door coverage of working-class neighborhoods. This is our second method of securing new readers for The Militant. A map outlining the areas to be covered is going to be put up in the City Office. Teams are being set up which will be assigned areas to canvass. The progress of the New York branches and the individual comrades will be recorded on a huge poster, which occupies one wall in the headquarters."

"The New York Local is preparing to carry out this campaign with Trotskyist zeal and enthusiasm."

ism. The New York local agrees with Comrade Cannon that: 'We should never forget that New York is the capital of the world... With the further development of international events, the resounding crash of all traditional organizations and tendencies will create the biggest vacuum in New York... We must prepare now for things to come there!'

Harry Ring, Organizer for Newark: "We feel that we will be able to get at least 100 subs after looking over the situation and mapping out our plans for the campaign, so we want to raise our quota to at least 80. Our campaign plans include four special mobilizations and thorough canvassing of all friends we have previously made through distribution of The Militant."

R. Haddon, Literature Agent for San Francisco: "On the new sub campaign — our plan is to have everyone out for a six-week period and then continue on alternate Sundays. We know that everyone is expecting big things from San Francisco on this and we'll do our best to come through."

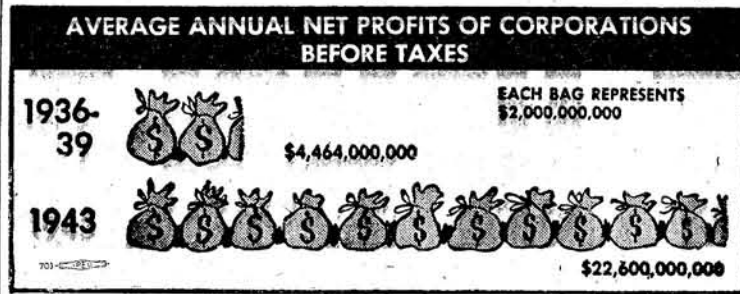
L. Kelly, Organizer for Seattle: "We will cover our quota. Subs will be obtained mainly through door-to-door canvassing."

Mac, Organizer for Toledo: "We are putting a great deal of our effort into the subscription campaign and hope to far exceed our quota. At least 5 subs have already been sent in since April 1."

Betty, Representative for Bayonne: "Of course we will go over our quota of 50 subs. I want to take 20 cards with me. We will sell these in no time and be in for more."

Next week we will run the number of subscriptions sent in from the branches. The results of the first two weeks indicates that the showing will be an excellent one.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant



Wage Freeze Upheld By Administration

(Continued from page 1)

and compiled by the very agency that was supposed to be under investigation — the Bureau of Labor Statistics. To this day there has been no report submitted by the committee as a whole despite the fact that the committee was originally supposed to submit its report within a period of 30 days! The very agency under investigation was thus converted into defendant, judge and jury all rolled into one and now even their original cost of living figures showing an increase of 23.4 or 8.4% above the Little Steel formula is thrown into the discard by Roosevelt's anniversary "hold-the-line" report which broadcasts that: "Wages have been stabilized," and there must be "no change in policy."

There has been no comment from the labor bureaucrats since Roosevelt made his anniversary "hold-the-line" report public. These garrulous windbags were left speechless by the body-blow delivered by their "friend" in the White House. The task of pillorying Roosevelt's cynical report was left to a capitalist politician, Representative Ranulf Compton of Connecticut. "The hold-the-line order," said Compton, "as followed by Administration leaders has stabilized the wages of millions at starvation levels and stabilized prices of thousands of commodities at the highest levels in recent history. The program has created millionsaires among the profiteers and paupers among the people." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, April 9.)

FEW BOUTS

In releasing the report with his express approval, Roosevelt casually remarked "that while there had been a few bouts from time to time the subject covered by the report had been soft-pedaled and very quiet for the last few months." What utter contempt is revealed here by Roosevelt for his labor lackeys! It is precisely in "the last few months" that the wage demands of the steel workers has been before the War Labor Board; that the joint AFL-CIO survey has been released proving that the cost of living has increased over 43 per cent; that a squabble has been going on in the WLB between the AFL and CIO over who was to get the "credit" for breaking the Little Steel Formula, etc. All of this is dismissed by Roosevelt as mere shadow-boxing not worthy of being mentioned in the same class as those "few bouts" which from "time to time" have disturbed the placid course of Roosevelt's "stabilization" program.

Roosevelt knows that he has little to fear from the "labor statesmen" of the AFL and CIO. The harder they are kicked, the more avidly do they lick their masters' boots. This latest rebuff is but the culmination of the farce begun on November 5, 1943, when Roosevelt appointed a tri-partite committee, composed of representatives of labor, employers and the "public," to "investigate" the Bureau of Labor Statistics' cost-of-living figures which had been challenged by the labor representatives on the WLB. The committee was established after one of these "few bouts" mentioned by Roosevelt, (the fourth strike of the coal miners, which breached the Little Steel formula).

COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED

Inspired by the miners' victory, the workers everywhere were pressing forward to smash the Little Steel formula. To divert the discontent of the workers, the President's cost-of-living committee was established and the illusion created that the Little Steel formula would be modified in accordance with the facts unearthed by the "investigating committee." After a lapse of several months, the labor representatives, charging that the committee was making no effort to investigate the BLS statistics, published their own figures proving that the cost of living had risen 43.5 per cent instead of the 23.4 per cent as represented by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Instead of the employer and "public" members on the committee submitting their own report, they presented a reply to the survey made by the AFL-CIO, composed of data written

CIO Textile Union Supports Fight To Free The Eighteen

(Continued from page 1)

and support the 18, for our members well know that he who does not defend liberty everywhere defends it not at all."

An editorial in the Reading Labor Advocate of March 17 declared:

"... the 18 Trotskyites who are now in jail as a result of the infamous Minneapolis Case in which trade unionists who were members of the Socialist Workers Party were railroaded to prison cells for violation of a law against the expression of opinion known to free minded workers as the Smith "Gag" Act. We repeat that the 18 who are now in jail were imprisoned for what they believed and what they said, and not for anything they did. And we join with those liberals and laborites who have denounced the whole business as an outrage. The jailing of these workers is not only an injustice according to established concepts of civil liberty, but also a threat against every minority group that refused to barter its opinions and their civil rights for the good wishes of labor exploiters."

In the March 15 issue of "Proletarian Thought" a left-Zionist publication, Paul L. Goldman wrote:

"The Supreme Court, the highest court in the land, refused even to consider the appeal. This caused great amazement and deep consternation in all liberal circles... the fact that shameful injustice has been committed against the condemned cannot be

doubted... it must be remembered that what is involved is not merely an unjust conviction of individuals but that by this conviction, a dangerous precedent has been created, threatening the whole socialist movement."

In an article on the Bill of Rights in the April 4 PM, Max Lerner admitted that, "In the present war... there is the fact of the arrest and conviction of the Minneapolis group of Trotskyists, who are today serving prison terms for nothing more than anti-war writings. They were convicted not for having any seditious connections with a country with which we are at war, as is the charge against the pro-fascist group now under indictment, but for the nature of their utterances. This is the most flagrant violation, thus far in this war, of the spirit of the free-speech tradition, if not of the letter of the sedition statute."

Among this week's contributors to the CRDC are: Plywood & Veneer Local 9-213, International Woodworkers of America, Willamina, Oregon; Phoenix Brass Local 462, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Newark; United Elec. & Radio No. 301, Schenectady; Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, Local 366, Irvington, N. J., UAW-CIO Local 15, Detroit, UAW-CIO 942, Detroit, Mich., Locomotive Firemen Brotherhood Local 143, Oakland, Calif., Mechanics Educational Society, Detroit, Mich. Recent contributors of the Workmen's Circle are: Branches 223, Portsmouth, Va.; 610, Monticello, N. Y.; 918, Roxbury, Mass.; 806, San Francisco; 392, Brooklyn; 541, Chicago; 150, Philadelphia; 706, Dorchester, Mass.

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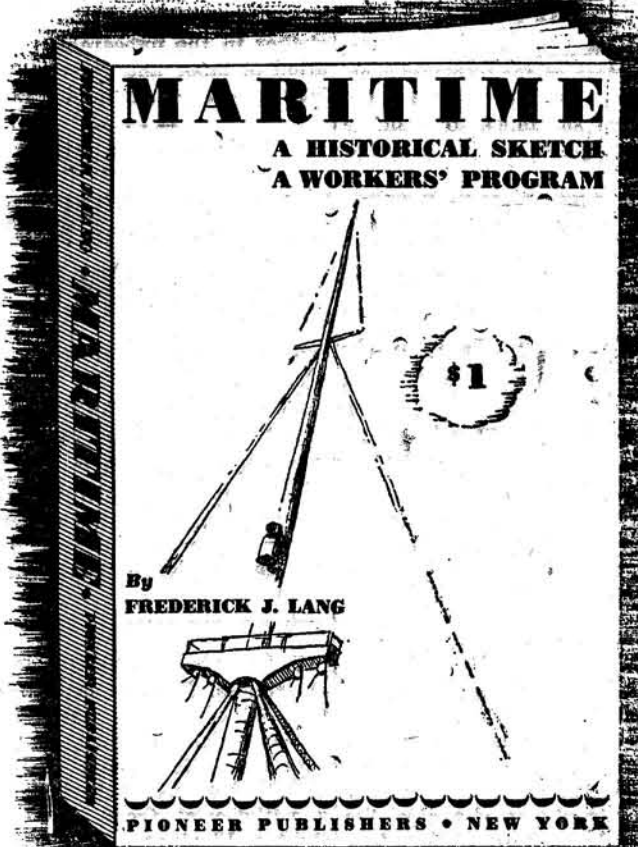
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AKRON RUBBER LOCAL EXPELS URW PRESIDENT DALRYMPLE

(Continued from page 1)

before they were expelled from the local and fired from the company.

Before the trial board of Local 5 was set up, Dalrymple was requested time and again by the local to correct the situation, and to give the expelled workers at General a fair trial. He consistently refused.

When he was informed of the Local 5 charges, Dalrymple chose to ignore them. He even refused to appear before the local union or the trial board to defend himself.

Dalrymple now has the opportunity to appeal the expulsion decision of the local to the General Executive Board of the International Union. Should he do so however, it would be necessary for the Board to call a special convention, under the provisions of the union constitution.

The constitution provides that if the International President is faced with such charges, only members of the board not concerned with the case can form a trial committee. Since the majority of the board voted to support Dalrymple in his action against the General Local militants, none would be eligible under the constitution to try him. In such a case a special convention is necessary to hear the charges and to make a decision.

It is probable that Dalrymple will also "choose to disregard" the expulsion order, rather than risk a special convention. His only recourse will be to have membership granted him by some other local union and prepare to defend himself at the next regular convention of the rubber union.

5 is a real blow against the treacherous policies of the top bureaucrats who have attempted to force their program of surrender to company provocation and intimidation down the throats of the local unions by expulsions and hammer blows against union democracy.

As the Militant predicted immediately after Dalrymple's action against the General Local, the rubber workers, who like the auto workers have been reared in the school of militancy and union democracy, have not taken the attack on their rights lying down.

Meanwhile it is becoming clear to unionists that the rubber corporations are taking full advantage of Dalrymple's sink policy. They are already pushing their planned, deliberate program of provocation. In the Goodrich plant, for example, the company has placed plain-clothes spies around the plant to gather data on alleged infringement of the smoking rules, and to build up cases against militant unionists for other minor violations. There are rumours that the company will try to frame up and fire key union men... thus hoping to provoke spontaneous walkouts which will in turn bring new disciplinary actions or expulsions from Dalrymple.

The rubber unions must be on guard against provocation. Utmost vigilance and union discipline is now required.

The best answer to the corporation campaign, and to the subversion of the union by Dalrymple and his reactionary clique, is a vigorous campaign throughout the international against the cowardly policies and tactics of the top leaders. The opposition to Dalrymple must be organized right now in preparation for the next convention. The no-strike pledge, source of 99 percent of the union's troubles, must be revoked and the Dalrymple leadership which has led the union to its current crisis, must be condemned and removed.

Francisco writes that they "will order some bound volumes soon," which prompts us to remind our readers that the bound volumes of The Militant for 1943 are now ready for delivery. The cost is \$4.50 per volume.

Our literature agent in San

Restless And Angry Steel Workers Assail Low Pay And Rotten Conditions, Want To "Do What The Miners Did"

By Theodore Kovalesky

If you're not a steel worker, perhaps you'd like to make a tour of the blast furnace line in one of the nation's largest steel plants to see what's going on. We'll eavesdrop a little and hear just what the fellows are saying on the floor or in the shanty. Stay close to us, though: blast furnaces are dangerous places . . . even when you know your way around.

Not much conversation on No. 1 Furnace. A gang of sweating, panting men is trying to pull a large, bronze tuyere cooler out of the side of the furnace. A long, thick iron bar with a hooked end is caught in the cooler, while eight men at the other end slide a sort of hammer up the bar and bring it back with terrific force, time after time. From the hole in the center of the cooler, which the tuyere (pronounced "tweer") had occupied, yellow flames shoot out intermittently. When they get this cooler out, put another one in, and then replace the tuyere, they will have the cleanup waiting for them. Tough cleanup, too, this time. The trough is full of red-hot coke that will have to be dug out, and the cinder runners are full of heavy slag and red coke. The iron runners have deep holes that will have to be filled with clay and then dried. You think you wouldn't like to work here?

No. 2 Furnace. The gang has finished the cleanup, and the fellows are in the shanty, eating lunch and talking. Shut the door tight. One of the blowpipes isn't set right: that's what makes that hissing roar out there.

"Reuben didn't come out today?"
"No. His rheumatism's bothering him again."
"I'll keep bothering him till he gets off this floor. Maybe you can get his job, Pete. Want to be second helper?"
"And get all sweated up in that bleedout runner every day? No, thanks. I've got a cold now."
"Who hasn't?"
"That bleedout got Jimmy Wilson. Pneumonia, wasn't it?"
"No. Tuberculosis. You're thinking of Jimmy Mason over on Number Seven. He died of pneumonia."
"That dust helps . . . and the sulphur gas. They say the sulphur don't hurt you none, but nothing that makes your lungs feel that way does you any good."
"Sulphur sure was bad last cast, wasn't it!"

Conditions on No. 3 Furnace

No. 3 Furnace. Here's an illustration of what the boys on No. 2 were talking about. The reason you're coughing and can't catch your breath is the sulphur: you can see it rising in thick, blue clouds from that cinder runner. They're flushing now, and it will take quite a while. Soon your nose will begin to run, and you'll sneeze as though you had hay fever. Still, you get used to it—somewhat—if you work here. That's why a couple of workers are here in the shanty now, talking and smoking. But stick it out for a moment, and listen to them saying:

"I'm going to get the hell off this furnace before I get burnt up. I never did like this keeper's job. Did you see that gate blow when we went into the third ladle?"
"Yeah. That's the way Slim's old man got that scar on his face."
"That's the way I got this scar on my neck."
"What I don't like about your job is messing around the tapping hole after it's drilled out."
"You're telling me! I was working first helper over on No. 2 five years ago when that old Polish fellow, Steve What's-his-name, got burnt up. He was just throwing the coal into the tapping hole to burn it out, and BOOM!—the hole blew out. The iron hit him in the chest and knocked him over backwards off the sheet-irons, right into the trough. One of the guys grabbed Steve's arm . . . but his arm came off! God! That furnace stunk for two days!"
"The whole damn place is a lousy slaughterhouse. Over there in the Open Hearth they kill them just the same way. A guy fell into a ladle, guys are always getting killed by the engines running up and down the tracks, a ladle fell on another guy . . ."
"For the money they pay in this damn place! If I was younger, I'd quit today. Damn if I wouldn't!" . . .
"I wonder how they're coming on our seventeen cents . . ."
"The money this company's making! We ought to close the damn place down . . . like the miners."
So you wouldn't want that keeper's job, even for the money he makes? He'd get a kick out of hearing you say that, because he

The Sordid Living Conditions In The Army Towns Of Today

By Miriam Carter

Crowding into jammed buses and trains; travelling through weary days and nights; living a catch-as-catch-can existence from day to day, from hour to hour—this is the tortuous lot of America's newest migrants, the Army wives.

They are thronging into the towns surrounding the army camps, particularly in the west and south, anxious to join their soldier husbands. They come to snatch what happiness they can before their husbands are transferred, or shipped overseas. They experience hardship and humiliation in the overcrowded towns, for the things they need for bare existence—housing, food—have become the objects of gigantic, conscienceless profiteering.

The *New Leader*, in an article describing the wretched conditions in the army towns, reports that "many western and southern business men are becoming rich quickly . . . In Fresno, California recently, they were talking of putting up tents in public parks. In that city, which is typical of many in California and other sections of the West and South, pitiful sights take place daily when the wives of soldiers who are stationed in nearby camps arrive from all over the country to be with their husbands. Some of them come from as far East as New York and bring with them children, many of them very young.

WRETCHED CONDITIONS
"When they arrive, often without previous arrangements made for their living quarters, they have to sleep in the parks or railway stations all night. They then start going from door to door to beg householders to take them in. Sometimes it takes a long time before they can find any accommodations, and often when they do the rates are excessive. The same can be said for the restaurants. Soldiers will go into West Coast restaurants and pay 100 percent more for food than they were paying in the eastern section of the United States. And to top it all, most of the food is inferior."
While the OPA is patting itself on the back, complimenting itself on how it has "kept the lid on living costs," the money-mad profiteers are using the same OPA as a screen for gouging the desperate service men and their families.
"Perhaps after looking around for a time a family of three may secure a room in a third or fourth class hotel at \$4 a night. That comes to a total of \$28 weekly,

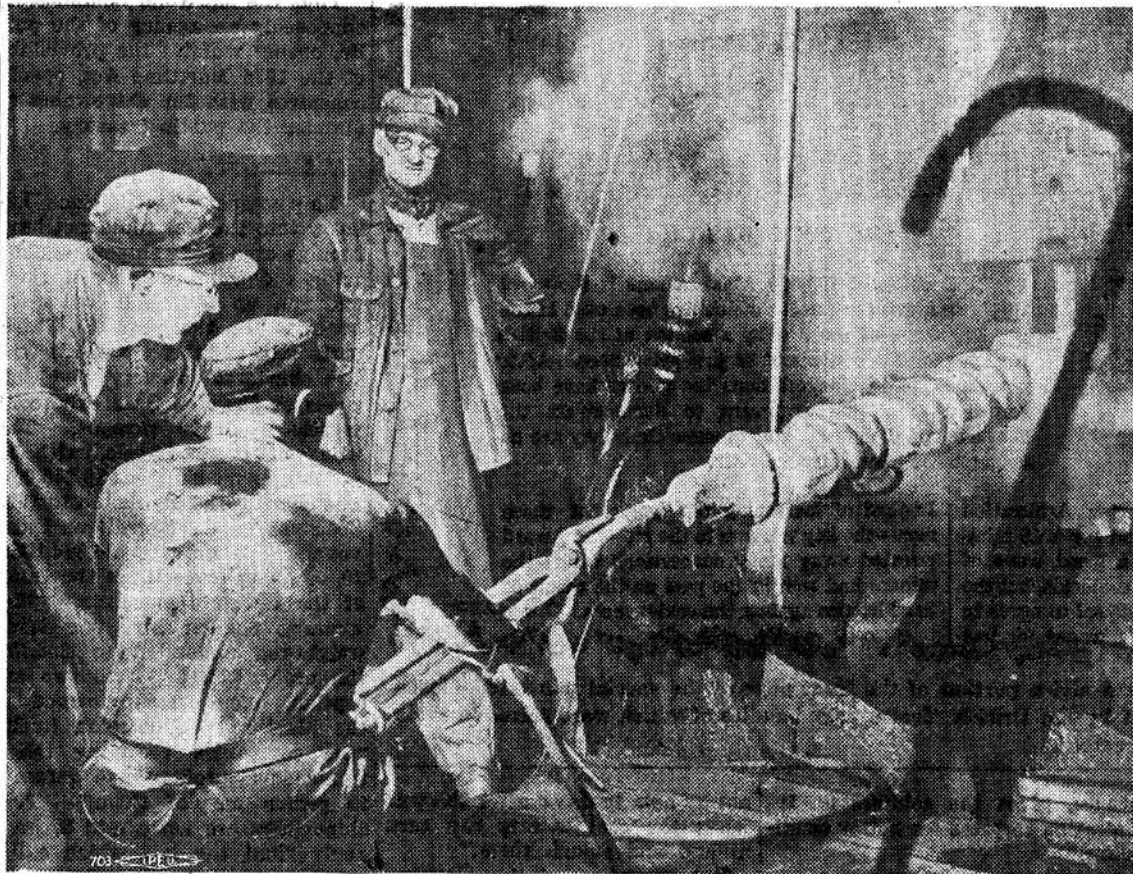
WRETCHED CONDITIONS

and three persons have to sleep in one small room.
"The hotel refuses to give weekly rates, although under OPA regulations that same room would not cost more than \$15 weekly. It is all done according to regulations, and the OPA ceiling rates may even be posted in the room. But when the hotel officials are asked to rent the room on the weekly basis, the polite reply is, sorry, but the OPA allows them to rent a certain number of rooms on a daily basis. Thus many persons, war workers and service men and families, live month after month, often paying more than \$125 a month for one small room. And even these are difficult to get!"

WRETCHED CONDITIONS
"When they arrive, often without previous arrangements made for their living quarters, they have to sleep in the parks or railway stations all night. They then start going from door to door to beg householders to take them in. Sometimes it takes a long time before they can find any accommodations, and often when they do the rates are excessive. The

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Dangerous Work



Amid poisonous fumes and facing glaring white heat, these steel workers are engaged in their hard work, grinding out super-profits for the steel barons. These are the men who are now demanding a 17 cents-an-hour wage increase to offset a 43.5 per cent cost-of-living rise.

and the stove tender each get a little over a dollar an hour including bonus—for the two top-rated, non-supervisory furnace jobs. Surprised? Now perhaps you can see why the boys are so interested in that seventeen cents. They talk a lot about it all along the line. We'll get a good idea of it on No. 4. One of the leading shop stewards, a colored fellow, is first helper up there.

No. 4. There he is, cleaning out the trough. He'll spare us a minute. Johnny climbs out of the trough:

What the Steel Workers Think

"Sure, I'll tell you what the fellows are saying about the seventeen cents. They're saying we'll have to close the place down to get anything. They say Murray's no good, that he's scared, or maybe getting paid off by the company. They're all pretty hot, maybe not hot enough to walk out just yet, but wait till the board turns down the seventeen cents or stalls awhile longer. They sort of expect that, and they say we'll have to do like the miners did—go out if we're going to get anything. My gang, now, they're ready any time."

And so on for the rest of the furnaces, until you've heard them all, all substantially the same. Sweating, begrimed men, colored men and white men, laughing and joking about the dangers and hardships of their jobs in an almost callous way. "Hey, Jake, did you see Slim cut loose when that gate blew? I thought he was lighting right out for home," or, "That bleedout sure got Jones today. Man, he was evil! Say a word to him, and he'd cut your throat!"

You've seen them during cast with death as their constant companion. You've seen their rags, sleeves, pants scorched, rotted through by the intense heat. You've seen their scars, mementoes of great agony and terror on some past, never-to-be-forgotten day or days when the iron and slag flew about them, searing their faces, necks, arms, hands, or bodies. You've heard their comments, angry complaints about their wages and working conditions, their threats of "doing like the miners did." You've seen the American blast furnace worker, and you see what he's up against.

Now what do you think?

The Costs of War

"The present war is on the verge of being a trillion dollar war . . . and there is every likelihood . . . (it) will far exceed this figure," reports the *New York Times*, April 9, in reviewing figures compiled by Dr. Mabel Walker, Executive Secretary of the Tax Institute research bureau. That is a million millions — or a thousand billions — an astronomical figure that makes the stupendous cost of the First World War, 211 billions, shrink to a mere trifle. And those figures do not include the cost of devastated farmlands made unproductive for years to come; of cities demolished by bombing; of irreplaceable art treasures destroyed forever.

"home" and there's nothing to do anyway . . .

"There's amusements," a soldier probably says to himself, "but I'd say it depends on what you're aiming for. Every time I come into town I start to ask myself whatinhell I did it for. Just a change, I guess, but after the first few minutes it ain't no change as I can see. Some fellows wandering up and down; a few with their gals — the lucky ones — but mostly in threes and fours. They've got the paintbrush ready only there's nothing to paint red" (*New Republic*, March 20).

"When the service men and others go into the average bar in California and order a beer, they are given a bottle smaller than the standard size throughout the rest of the country and pay up to 35 cents for locally brewed beer, mostly of a poor quality."

A poster was recently displayed on the walls and in store windows from coast to coast, depicting a family gathered at a sumptuous table. It was entitled "Freedom from Want," and represented one of the "Four Freedoms" for which this war is supposedly being fought. But apparently this freedom is not meant for the Army wives who trudge from door to door, looking for a place to live, or for a job, or for a place where they can get a decent meal at prices they can afford. These young women have been cut adrift, living for just a few brief moments of happiness, despised by the "solid citizens," at the mercy of every hotel manager and store keeper.

The capitalist system stands exposed here in all of its cruelty, its heartlessness, its perfidy. Even in the midst of war, the very men and women who are making the greatest sacrifices, whose lives are most disrupted and often hopelessly wrecked, are in addition subjected to cruel humiliations and exploitations, at the mercy of every landlord, hotel owner and profiteer. In the midst of the war and the greatest human migration in years, the government disdains to enforce price ceilings in the army towns, disdains to provide the soldiers' wives and children with decent housing and living conditions.

The letter I received from an army wife, quoted above, concludes as follows: "Army life in a southern camp is pretty awful. We have a lot of nerve trying to clean up Europe and the rest of the world when we allow these conditions to exist in our own country."

Novack Speaks At CRDC Mass Meetings In Detroit, Chicago

DETROIT, Mich. — Over 100 people, including presidents of several large UAW-CIO locals, stewards, committeemen, and rank and file CIO militants, attended the Civil Rights Defense Committee Spaghetti Dinner held on April 1 at the Bethlehem Methodist Church on behalf of the eighteen Minneapolis victims of the Smith "gag" Act. This dinner, given in connection with the city-wide campaign to win labor and liberal support for the Minneapolis case, was organized by the Detroit branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, accompanying the visit of George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, as part of his national tour to strengthen the campaign to free the 18.

The Reverend Horace B. White of the Plymouth Congregational Church, outstanding Michigan Civil rights fighter and Negro leader, was the first speaker of the evening. Reverend White pointed out that in every war period, the industrialists have attempted to create a false picture of "national unity" by gagging those who oppose them. He warned that if the laws guaranteeing civil liberties can be violated in isolated cases, they can be violated for everyone. He warned that the workers must begin now to guard their civil rights. "Why is it," he demanded, "that they always put workers in jail under these laws, while the fellows from Wall Street are merely fined and reprimanded for their indiscretions?"

Matthew Smith, Secretary of the Mechanics' Educational Society of America, sent a message through Mr. Brady, MESA attorney, as well as a check for \$50.00 to aid the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

MESA SUPPORT

Mr. Brady assured the meeting that the MESA stood wholeheartedly behind the CRDC in its work and understood the importance of the whole labor movement of the fight which the CRDC is conducting. He added that if the \$50 was not enough, the MESA was ready to send whatever was needed to assure justice to the eighteen Minneapolis prisoners and to bring about the repeal of the Smith "gag" Act.

The Reverend Owen Knox, former chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and now a national committee member of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, was the next speaker. Mr. Knox has been an active participant for many years in labor and defense circles. He pointed out that the Minneapolis case differed from all others which he has aided in the past because both prosecution and defense agreed that it dealt only in the realm of thought and expression and ideas — and not in any overt act. He assured the audience that history will place the defendants where they belong, not in jail, but in a place of honor as men of courage who fought in this most difficult period for the preservation of American rights and ideals.

MAIN SPEAKER

Mr. Novack, the main speaker of the evening, warned that the prosecution and conviction of the eighteen was an attempt to introduce totalitarian and dictatorial concepts into this country; that big business, while manufacturing implements for war-

fare against other nations, also was manufacturing laws, such as the Smith "Gag" Act, for its warfare against labor at home; and that the liberty of every American is bound up with the eighteen defendants in the Minneapolis case. "When they were put behind bars, freedom was jailed too."

The remainder of Mr. Novack's speech was devoted to a complete history of the case and of the role played in the labor movement by the defendants which led to their indictment and conviction. Many at the dinner became acquainted for the first time with the full details of the case as well as with the activities of the Trotskyist labor leaders of Local 544, who were the leaders in organizing the entire northwest.

PLEDGE SUPPORT

Mr. Novack's appeal for moral and material aid was met by contributions totaling \$142, as well as many suggestions and offers of cooperation. Many auto workers present pledged to secure the support of their local unions for the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

The Detroit branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee reports that George Novack's visit to this city has proved very stimulating to the work of the branch and has paved the way for mobilizing widespread labor support behind the fight to free the eighteen Minneapolis labor prisoners.

CHICAGO, ILL. — George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, addressed a well-attended mass meeting in Chicago on April 7, held under the auspices of the Committee. Present were a number of workers who heard for the first time the facts of the frame-up of the 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union and the Socialist Workers Party.

Francis Heisler, well-known Chicago labor attorney, introduced Novack as an uncompromising defender of workers' rights for many years, who participated in the defense of Tom

Mooney, The Scottsboro Boys, Sacco and Vanzetti.

Novack related the history of the case against the 18, and explained its significance as a threat to the liberties of the entire labor movement. He convinced those present that the prosecution was from the outset a frameup of workers who had led lifelong struggles on behalf of militant and democratic unionism, for decent living conditions, and for a world fit for human beings to inhabit.

The Smith Gag Act, under which the 18 were convicted, is so broad, he explained, that any expression of liberal opinion can be throttled by prosecution. Labor, he pointed out, must recognize that this case is its own, in order to defend itself.

The audience responded very generously to an appeal by Mr. Heisler for contributions to the support of the 18 prisoners and their families, and the campaign to free the 18 now in progress. One worker contributed \$18, one dollar for each of the class-war prisoners.

A number of workers inquired after the meeting how they could help in the fight to free the 18, and a union leader, unsolicited, volunteered to present the case before his joint board, for support.

NEW ALLIED PAL

Filippo Naldi was recently appointed press chief in Naples by the Allied command.

During the last war Naldi was financially linked with an agent of the Kaiser. During the fascist march on Rome, Naldi bought up cheap a victimized paper, published the ultra-fascist *Il Nuovo Paese*, and hired Count Ciano as columnist. He became an intimate friend of Mussolini's general secretary, Rossi, who was one of the chief organizers of the murder of the Socialist leader Matteotti.

Naldi fled Italy when public indignation grew too great. Since then he has lived in Paris, unharmed by the invading Nazis.



Club-wielding Sheriff Richard Wright, of Weirton, W. Va., leading five members of the CIO Steelworkers Union off to jail for handing out union leaflets to the workers of the open-shop Weirton Steel Co., which is openly defying NLRB and federal court orders to recognize the union and has been conducting a vicious reign of armed terror against union men. A total of 25 CIO organizers were arrested before the plant gates on charges of "unlawful assembly" by the Sheriff and his company-paid hoodlum "deputies." Six union organizers have been badly beaten by company gangsters, armed with weapons manufactured in a special department of the plant.

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Churchill Opens Attack Against The Trotskyists

(Continued from page 1)

solidarity with the striking workers. He added: "The government imagines that by closing us down and suppressing our publications they are going to stop the wave of strikes, they are mad."

NATIONALIZE MINES

"If the government nationalized the mines and operated them under committees of workers and technicians, they would settle the problem in twenty-four hours."

Almost all the informed American correspondents in England, while featuring the government's claims against the Trotskyists, have also indicated their scepticism that the strikes are the handiwork of a "small group of trouble-makers," "agitators" and "subversive influences." Drew Middleton in his April 9 London cable to the N. Y. Times, stated: "Labor, that is the man who does his day's work in a mine or a factory is not satisfied with the explanation that the present strikes are the result of a 'Trotskyite' group of a few thousands..." E. C. Daniel writes from London in the N. Y. Times that the mine strikes are "symptomatic of deep social unrest" and the "labor lills of the coal-mining industry go as deep as the dank pits where miners labor under primitive conditions and in constant danger."

The Associated Press reported on April 7 from London that "the whole volcanic labor situation... is erupting in this fifth year of the war with every indication that 1944 will be the worst strike year since the paralyzing 1926 general walkout." This dispatch reveals the real source of the strikes in the government's awards to the miners of a minimum weekly pay of \$20 for underground workers and \$18 for surface workers, while "the average of male factory workers is \$22.78, the average for woman factory workers \$11.72. On this they pay an income tax of roughly 50 per cent."

BRITISH STRIKE

The British strike wave has been growing in scope and fury for months, spearheaded by the struggles of the coal miners. Churchill has resorted to every conceivable maneuver to forestall and then subdue these strikes. The miners' demands were first shunted through the endless red-tape of compulsory government arbitration. The miners were stalled off by the empty promises of their own treacherous leaders, who acted as mouthpieces for the Tory government and mine operators.

When in January these union leaders tried to foist the infamous Porter wage awards on the miners, a furious resistance began. Strikes broke out, which were called off when the government and union officials promised to undertake further arbitration to iron out the innumerable so-called "anomalies" of the original award. Subsequent "concessions" gave the miners nothing. The strikes began to rage once more, culminating in a walkout last month of 100,000 miners in South Wales and Scotland.

TWO WEEKS

This strike was continued for two weeks in the face of tremendous government pressure. The top union officials issued patriotic ap-

peal after appeal without avail. Churchill's Stalinist flunkies, some of whom occupy important posts in the miners unions, outdid all their previous efforts in strike breaking. Harry Pollitt, head of the British Stalinists, toured the mine fields in an effort to drum up a back-to-work movement. The South Wales miners finally returned to the pits with some meager concessions, but a new series of mine strikes broke out in South Yorkshire, coupled with a strike of shipyard workers resisting government efforts to draft them for work in the mines. The union officialdom proved powerless to break the strikes. "Recent strikes resulted from the inability of the workers' own leaders to control them," E. C. Daniel stated in the N. Y. Times. Helen Kirkpatrick, London correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, reported, "The miners have a decided lack of confidence in their leaders."

LABOR BUREAUCRATS

Unable to rely on the impotent labor bureaucrats to curb the workers, having exhausted all his maneuvers, tricks and subterfuges, Churchill was compelled to fall back on direct and brutal compulsion. He threatened to draft the strikers into the armed forces. And when this proved unsuccessful, particularly against the miners, he issued his threat of imprisonment.

Responsibility for provoking the mine strikes is placed squarely upon Churchill's government. "The rejection by the Porter Arbitration Court of the miners' demand for a 6 lb minimum had already caused a great wave of resentment throughout the coalfields, but the Government, by its blunt refusal to cover additional cost of wages for bad working conditions and other anomalies — which are not covered in the Award — is primarily responsible for the present strike."

Reprint from Socialist Appeal
British Mine Boss: "The Miners Are Living Too Well Already!"

ment for strike "incitement" and engineered the attack on the Trotskyists.

In lashing out at the Trotskyists, Churchill is seeking to stifle and silence those who have most clearly and consistently voiced the real needs and demands of the miners, and most conscientiously defended the workers' interests. Above all, the Trotskyists through their press, which circulates widely in the coal areas, have pushed to the fore the fundamental issue of the strikes, nationalization of the mines. That, as even the capitalist N. Y. Times admits, is "the miners' own cure for their recurrent ailments."

The position of the British Trotskyists was openly and unambiguously stated in a special Mid-March supplement to the Socialist Appeal, devoted entirely to the defense of the miners' struggle during the Welsh strike.

"100,000 Miners Can't Be Wrong," is the headline over the statement, written by Jock Haston. And the second head warns, "Horner Selling Out." Arthur

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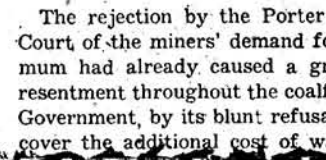
100,000 MINERS CAN'T BE WRONG

HORNER SELLING OUT

BY JOCK HASTON



THE strike of 100,000 Welsh miners is the most powerful argument which has been used in the course of the war by a section of the British workers for the settlement of just grievances. After months of patient negotiations the miners have been forced to use this argument to demonstrate the character of their case, and to show that they are no longer to be played around with.



Reproduction of the mast-head and a portion of the front page of the special mine strike issue of the Socialist Appeal, published by the British Trotskyists, bundles of which were seized in raids last week by Scotland Yard inspectors.

Horner is the Stalinist head of the South Wales Miners Federation, 100,000 MINERS

"The strike of 100,000 Welsh miners is the most powerful argument which has been used in the course of the war by a section of the British workers for the settlement of just grievances. After months of patient negotiations the miners have been forced to use this argument to demonstrate the character of their case, and to show that they are no longer to be played with," the statement reads.

Responsibility for provoking the mine strikes is placed squarely upon Churchill's government. "The rejection by the Porter Arbitration Court of the miners' demand for a 6 lb minimum had already caused a great wave of resentment throughout the coalfields, but the Government, by its blunt refusal to cover additional cost of wages for bad working conditions and other anomalies — which are not covered in the Award — is primarily responsible for the present strike."

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Referring to the concessions granted the strikers, the Socialist Appeal points out: "The haste with which the Government capitulated once the miners were on the streets demonstrated not only the soundness of the miners' demands but the strength of the strike weapon in getting an immediate answer to these demands."

An indication is given of the real sentiment of the soldiers toward the strikers. "Far from the soldiers being hostile, the miners' case is receiving a sympathetic hearing, and indeed, coming as it does at a period when the soldiers themselves are asking for better

wages, gives the soldiers an inspiration to press for better conditions."

A devastating indictment is leveled against the Stalinists who "made insidious attacks against the miners and tried to destroy the morale of the strikers." The activity of the "renegade Communist Party" is described as the "most reactionary form of splitting which we have seen practiced in the labor movement for many years."

"The failure of the miners' leaders to take a hard and determined stand behind the men has aroused a bitter criticism throughout the pits. The jingoist statement issued by the Executive that the strike... places in jeopardy the lives of our colleagues on the fighting front," is deeply resented. "For the miners know that it is precisely they who are fighting to keep the soldiers from being betrayed by the boss-class on the home front when they fight for better wages..."

FUNDAMENTAL DEMAND

The statement concludes by formulating the fundamental solution to the miners problems as follows: "In the long and bloody history of coal mining the employers have never been so fully exposed and in as weak a position as they are at the present time. It has been clearly demonstrated to almost the entire population that they are sabotaging coal production in the interests of private profit. But instead of using this situation to nationalize the mines and operate them under workers' control as a guarantee of efficiency, the Government covers up the coal-owners and protects them from the public gaze and public wrath. In such a situation if the miners fail to press their claims and gain their demands now, they will certainly

not be able to do so after the war when the coal owners can turn around and smash them."

It is certain that this Trotskyist statement struck a responsive chord in the miners as well as workers generally, and contributed to Churchill's anxiety to suppress the British Trotskyists.

"MAD" RULERS

The British ruling class is indeed "mad," as Comrade Haston stated, if it thinks these ideas can be kept from the miners or suppressed.

Churchill and the traitorous labor leaders are fearful of a break in the political truce which has bound the workers to the war machine and placed them under the domination of the Tory forces. Drew Middleton in the N. Y. Times, April 10, reports "an increasing number of signs that the political coalition on which the British government is based is beginning to break up... millions of young men and women... are open to the blandishments of any new seemingly dynamic party."

Resolutions calling for the Labor Party to break the electoral truce have been submitted by more than 40 party units to the forthcoming annual party convention.

These are a political reflection of the class struggle now developing in Britain, reminding Churchill of the instability of his regime and of capitalist rule. Churchill is beginning to understand the potential power of the "new dynamic party" which has the program of effective struggle against his power and that of his class. And that is why, in seeking to beat down the rising forces of militant British labor, Churchill is aiming his blows at the Trotskyists.

Seamen's Bonus Is Cut As Profits Skyrocket

(Continued from page 1)

20,000 contracts signed, the recapitulation clause has been inserted in "only about 25 or 30 of said contracts."

Thus the Maritime Commission, supposedly an agency of the public, openly violates the provisions of the 1936 Maritime Act, openly conspires with the shipowners to plunder the public treasury.

WAR PROFITS

Ship company profits since U.S. entry into the war could not have been greater if the shipowners had hauled down their house flags and run up the skull and cross bones. "In the year 1941," reports Aiken, "there were 81 vessels chartered to carry lend-lease goods to the Red Sea. These 81 vessels made 90 voyages. The value of these vessels, with 11 valuations missing, was \$8,256,000. The charter hire amounted to \$31,364,880.11, and the profit on these voyages amounted to \$26,874,186.70, or about three times the value of the vessels themselves." The average charter hire per deadweight-ton amounted to \$36.73; the profit, \$31.47. With two exceptions, one a company owned by the Maritime Commission itself — the companies receiving these tremendous profits have refused to return any of them.

In order to refute the argument of these pirates that they "needed the profits" they had shaken down from the Red Sea run, Senator Aiken placed in the Congressional Record condensed balance sheets of some of the operators. These sheets should provide instructive reading for American seamen on the long nights they lie in their bunks awaiting torpedoes, puzzling out how their families back home can make ends meet since the slash in bonus rates.

Lockenbach Steamship Co., Inc., for instance, owned by Edgar F. Lockenbach, under the solicitous care of the Maritime Commission raised its total assets from \$14,822,848.67 on December 31, 1938, to the sizeable nest egg of \$22,101,190.79 by December 31, 1942. With a capital stock of \$5,228,250, December 31, 1938, the total capital by December 31, 1942 amounted to \$12,902,187.23.

MATSON COMPANY

Another concern enjoying the friendship of the Maritime Commission the Matson Navigation Co., upped its total assets from \$42,716,914.50 on December 31, 1938, to \$69,679,504.64 by December 31, 1942. Starting with capital stock of \$33,204,053.34 on December 31, 1942, the total capital by December 31, 1942 stood at \$49,568,126.51. Dividends were consistently handed to the stockholders, 5 percent in 1938, 6 1/2 percent in 1939, 6 percent in 1940, 7 1/2 percent in 1941 and 7 1/2 percent in 1942.

The American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. likewise found that the friendship of the Maritime Commission is a paying proposition.

On December 31, 1938, its total assets amounted to \$12,494,682.25. By December 31, 1942, these assets had soared to \$24,621,002.24. With a capital stock on Dec. 31, 1938 of \$4,370,000, the total capital by December 31, 1942 had reached \$18,819,579.82. Dividends shoveled into the pockets of stockholders amounted to 10 percent in 1938, 15 percent in 1939, 35 percent in 1940, 50 percent in 1941, and 30 percent in 1942.

The Isthmian Steamship Co., owned by the United States Steel Corporation, has also with the aid of the Maritime Commission found the second World War a not unprofitable proposition. Total assets on December 31, 1938, of \$18,784,265.84 multiplied by December 31, 1942 to \$41,147,420.30. With a capital stock of \$10,000,000, the total capital by December 31, 1942, reached \$19,014,354.24. Dividends sluiced into the bank vaults of stockholders were 10 percent in 1938, 5 percent in 1939, 20 percent in 1940. The war upped dividends to 40 percent in 1941 and 40 percent in 1942.

MAKING HAY

These shipowners made hay while the sun was shining, but there were others who enjoyed a still more lucrative relationship with the benevolent Maritime Commission and who wrote up fantastic gains on their profit sheets while seamen went down with the heavily insured ships, suffered agonizing days and weeks on life rafts, struggled painfully back to home shores maimed or nervous wrecks.

The Calmar Steamship Corporation, for example, owned by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, starting with total assets of \$3,870,275 on December 31, 1938, by December 31, 1942 showed on its books total assets of \$10,073,408. Its capital stock of \$3,000,000 as of December 31, 1938 paid dividends in 1939 of 15 percent, 30 percent in 1940, 45 percent in 1941, and 60 percent in 1942; and still left on the books \$670,303 of earned surplus.

This pet of the Maritime Commission, however, was far from being the most pampered on the list. American Export Lines, Inc., which is owned by the banking house of Lehman Bros., on December 31, 1938, showed total assets of \$9,667,078.54. By December 31, 1942, with the help of the Maritime Commission, total assets amounted to \$43,437,451.68. Capital stock in this concern amounted on December 31, 1938 to only \$480,000. By December 31, 1942, however, the total capital amounted to \$31,119,147.75. This was after a fat melon of dividends had been carved up for the common stock holders: 55 percent in 1938, 90 percent in 1939, 100 percent in 1940; 150 percent in 1941; 200 percent in 1942.

LYKES BROS.

Another outfit occupying a warm spot in the generous heart of the Maritime Commission was Lykes Bros. Steamship Co. Inc. Its total assets of \$6,288,527.82 as of December 31, 1938 by December 31, 1942, four years later, had mushroomed to \$49,092,033.92, an increase of almost 800 percent. With a capital stock of \$3,

500,000, the total capital by December 31, 1942 amounted to \$39,644,438.66. Declared dividends amounted to 5 percent in 1939, 23.7 percent in 1940, 47.1 percent in 1941, and 26 percent in 1942.

Of all the well-greased members of the Maritime Commission's happy shipowner family, one of the most favored in its handouts of public funds was the Waterman Steamship Corporation. On December 31, 1938, this company showed total assets of only \$3,386,453.03. By December 31, 1942, under the tender ministrations of the Maritime Commission, total assets had expanded to \$29,983,503.22, an increase in four years of almost 900 percent. With a capital stock of \$1,102,800 on December 31, 1938, total capital by December 31, 1942, amounted to \$15,411,144.70. Dividends on preferred stock ranged each year between 7 and 8-3/4 percent. This item, however, was only an appetizer in the stockholders' banquet. For the main dish, Waterman paid holders of common stock 25 percent in 1938, 10 percent in 1939, 59 percent in 1940, 120 percent in 1941, and 16.8 percent in 1942. The apparently modest dividend of 1942 is explained by the fact that on May 21, 1941, this company presented its stockholders with a gift of 10 shares of stock for one share of old issue, so that the real figure to be compared with previous figures is not 16.8 percent but 168 percent.

NOT SATISFIED

Commenting on the record of the American Export Lines, Senator Aiken declared: "If ability to increase its assets 450 percent during these years, and to pay 200 percent dividends on common stock, indicates need of greater profits, then I wonder what these people would be satisfied with."

The union-conscious seaman, however, doesn't wonder. From bitter experience he knows that "these people" are never satisfied. No matter how enormous the profits dumped by the Maritime Commission into their trough, they lift their snouts only to demand still more. After all isn't this their war? Their demand to reap profits still higher did not fall on deaf ears. The Maritime Commission obligingly ordered another drastic slash in the bonuses of the men who sail the ships, for it is well known that a cut in wages is immediately reflected by an increase in profits.

NO ACTION

As for action against these plunderers of public funds, neither Congress nor the Roosevelt Administration has lifted a finger. Attorney General Biddle, who mobilized the entire FBI to throw 18 unionists and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party into prison, suffers from a convenient blind spot when he looks at the tens of millions of dollars illegally flowing into private bank accounts. The politicians of the capitalist class understand precisely the meaning of Roosevelt's war slogan, "Freedom from Want." They understand that the shipowners and the Maritime Commission have applied it consistently to themselves and only to themselves.

England's Policy For Palestine

By Dan Shelton

The 1939 British White Paper, shutting off immigration and prohibiting land purchases in Palestine, went into effect on March 31, 1944. This vicious product of English colonial policy bars the doors of one more country to the Jews at a time when places of refuge are needed more urgently than ever.

Drawn up by the Chamberlain government in May 1939, the White Paper is not a "blunder" of English diplomacy, as the Zionists pretend. It is an integral part of a deliberate policy. It flouts the League of Nations mandate under which England presumably rules Palestine. This mandate requires England to bring about the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, and prescribed in Article 15 that "no person shall be excluded from Palestine on grounds of his religious beliefs." Today, the "Jewish homeland" bears the sign: Jews Forbidden! England assumed "protection" over Palestine not in order to establish a haven for the Jews, but in order to increase the power of her empire. Strategically located with respect to the Mediterranean; controlling the Suez Canal, and thus the shortest route to India; representing the terminal point of the British pipelines from Arabia, Palestine is a vital link for the empire.

USED AS PAWNS

In the first World War, the British found it expedient to use Jews as pawns against the Arabs. Hence the Balfour declaration "promising" Palestine to

the Jews. In the second World War, the English colonial despots find it most expedient to pose as the saviors of the Moslems.

Disillusionment awaits the Arabs who expect an Arab state as a result of the White Paper. The goal of English policy in Palestine remains today what it was in 1917, namely, neither a "Jewish" nor an "Arab" but a British Palestine. The text of the White Paper, which presumably provides for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, contains two tell-tale qualifications. The first postpones this "independence" to a period "within 10 years." And the next clause reads:

"His Majesty's Government will do everything in its power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestinian state to come into being within 10 years. If, at the end of ten years, it appears to his Majesty's Government that, contrary to their hope, circumstances require postponement of an independent state... they will... frame plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date." This diplomatic doubletalk means that the creation of an independent Palestinian state is to be postponed on an indefinite future, so long, that is, as England has any say in the matter.

WHITE PAPER

The White Paper has dashed the utopian hopes of the Zionists, but that does not hinder them from continuing their grovelling at the feet of the "democratic" imperialists. Some still want to cling to the already dissipated

mirage of a "Jewish Palestine" as part of the British empire." Others disillusioned with England clutch at the coattails of a new "savior"—Washington.

What is there for the blindest to hope for in Washington? The Wagner-Taft resolution designed to express the platonic Congressional opposition to the British White Paper never got past the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This action came as a direct result of the intervention of Chief of Staff, Marshall; Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Secretary of War Stimson. "Military reasons" were given as the excuse. Roosevelt used the same pretext in order to backtrack in the space of 48 hours on his own approval of opening Palestine to Jewish immigration.

Washington, it will be observed, orients itself on the question of Palestine precisely in the same way as does England, and for the self-same reasons. U. S. capitalism has sunk its first roots into the Middle East. Preparing to lay a 1000 mile pipeline across Saudi Arabia, Washington intends like England to use the Arabs as pawns in the struggle for imperial domination.

Meanwhile, Palestine — one of the few remaining havens of refuge — has been hermetically sealed precisely at a moment when Hitler's sweep into the Balkans has threatened many

thousands more victims with destruction. Between 1933 and 1938 Palestine — with a territory the size of the state of Vermont — admitted more refugees than the U. S. during the same period. The tragic plight of the refugees is illustrated by the fact that by letting in 11,000 immigrants during the last six months, Palestine has admitted more refugees in this interval than all the other countries of the world combined. It has become literally a matter of life and death to reopen the gates of Palestine — and not only of Palestine.

The challenge of the White Paper can be met only in one way — through the socialist road of struggle. Palestinian independence it is clear cannot be achieved except through an anti-imperialist fight. The road to independence and freedom of the Arab and Jewish peoples, like the destinies of all the oppressed, lies not in internecine strife or subservience to imperialists, but in a joint struggle with the British and American working class against the imperialist oppressors.

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Bilbo Gets In Trim To Lead Senate Filibuster Against Anti-Poll Tax Bill

(Continued from page 1)

isn't going to risk losing his major stronghold in an election year by seriously antagonizing his Southern political machine. But still the Bilbos aren't taking any chances. He's been touring his native state exercising his new snappers for all his worth, and getting in trim for his coming act on the "big-time" Washington circuit. The poll tax is a life-and-death political issue with the Southern Bourbons, and the plutocrats of Wall Street, who use the Southern bloc to spearhead every one of their anti-labor drives.

SPECIAL SESSION

Just how seriously the Southern rich whites take the poll tax issue is demonstrated by the unprecedented action of the Mississippi Senate and Legislature in holding a special joint meeting to hear Bilbo rant through a 36 page speech rousing the wealthy landowners and capitalists against the menace to the "color line" contained in the "implications" of the anti-poll tax bill and general "conditions existing in Washington."

Bilbo gave the howling Mississippi politician a rip-roaring dress rehearsal of the kind of performance he intends to put on under the "Big Top" in Washington. He started with a blast against giving the residents of the District of Columbia the vote, because "the race situation has for some time been tense in Washington" and "Negroes already compose 30 to 40 per cent of the population of the capital city and efforts are made by their leaders to get as many Negroes as possible on the Government payroll."

Why, raved Bilbo, if the people of the District of Columbia were given the franchise "the alleys would outvote the avenues." Bilbo knows what that means, because he himself is kept in office by a poll tax that permits only 7 per cent of the population of Mississippi to vote, thus enabling the mansions to outvote the shacks.

COLOR LINE

Warming up to his subject, Bilbo hurled fire and brimstone at Northerners who "may lightly dismiss instances of social equality practiced by them." But "this the South cannot do. We people of the South must draw the color line tighter and tighter and any white man or woman who dares cross that color line should be promptly and forever ostracized."

Then this midget-mind, who wouldn't have enough brain power to get himself elected floor-sweeper in any respectable organization of workers, expounded a race doctrine such as a Goebbels might dream of.

"The superior ability of the white race has been proved both craniologically and by 6,000 years of planet-wide experimentation. If you do not accept

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

"OUR PARTY ALONE DID NOT BETRAY, DID NOT SELL OUT"

In this time, when the people of the world, and the people of America among them, needed one thing more than anything else — to know the truth — they were fed on lies. All those in public life, all the political parties, all the preachers, priests and rabbis, the intellectuals who had promised to instruct and educate and inform the youth — they all betrayed the people of America, they sold them out and went over to the camp of the liars and deceivers. Our party alone did not betray, did not sell out. We Trotskyists told the truth. That is the reason, and the only reason, we are on our way to prison. We obeyed the first commandment in the decalogue of Trotskyism, which reads: "Thou shalt not lie."

We are not criminals, as you know, and as all of the others know. We are not going to prison for any fault or injury committed against unoffending people. We didn't kill, we didn't steal, and we didn't lie. On the contrary, we have been just and truthful. All the criminals are on the other side. And all the liars are on the other side, beginning with the judge and prosecutor in Minneapolis and ending with the highest court in the land. That is where the criminals are. I say that those nine black-gowned justices of the Supreme Court in Washington are just as criminal as any of them. They are on a level with Roosevelt and Biddle who started the prosecution and the lesser figures who carried it through. The au-

this, as true, then you brand as false both history and biology. The white race is the custodian of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Anyone who would in the name of Christianity make us a Negro people betrays his religion and his race."

Thus spake Bilbo, in words as phony as his mail-order molars. He even wants to put a "For Whites Only" sign on the Pearly gates.

"FOUR FREEDOMS"

Bilbo, who is all for the "war for democracy," gave a description of how he would apply the "Four Freedoms" after this war. "When this war is over and the 2,000,000 Negro soldiers whose minds have been filled and poi-



SENATOR BILBO

oned with political and social equality stuff return and hell breaks out all over this country, I think I'll get more help in settling the Negroes in Africa. Are our soldiers and sailors fighting to save this nation or are they fighting so that we may become a mongrelized people," cried this degenerate political offspring of Southern Bourbonism, with his staring eyes of a maniac and a natural expression as though he had been suckled on lemons.

Bilbo isn't going to let himself be "mongrelized," not even if the 13,000,000 Negroes in this country, including the 2,000,000 fighting his war for "democracy," have to be "voluntarily resettled" in Africa, "their fatherland."

And above all, the Negro in the South isn't going to vote, not even if he, Bilbo, has to filibuster against the anti-poll tax bill "for 18 months if necessary."

BACKS ROOSEVELT

And then, as a pay-off, Bilbo reaffirmed his support of Roosevelt, urging Southern Democrats to continue to back Roosevelt whatever they might think of some of his "Yankee" associates.

This is the sort of poison gas that will be sprayed all over the Senate, when the anti-poll tax bill comes on the floor for open debate. Last year, it went on

for days, while "liberal" Rooseveltians and Republicans alike refused to invoke the cloture rules, which would have limited debate to permit the bill to come to a vote before it was killed by adjournment. They didn't want to set an "undemocratic precedent," preferring to let a minority gang of vicious and ignorant Negro-baiters and political lynch-leaders monopolize the Senate floor rather than give the federal vote to 10,000,000 disfranchised American citizens.

The same farce can be expected this year, possibly on a bigger and more extravagant scale, in view of the increasing boldness of reaction. Roosevelt made the record by another empty statement "deploring" the poll tax as he did before. But he has already shown by his recent refusal to veto the infamous Soldier Vote Bill, which disfranchises the ten million men and women in the armed forces, that his position is purely platonic.

BURLESQUE

The most reprehensible part in this whole obscene burlesque, as in the past, will be played by the pro-Roosevelt labor and liberal leaders. They will try to represent the poll tax farce in Congress as a serious drama, with Roosevelt as the white-haired hero and the "Tory bloc" as the deep-dyed villains, who unlike those in the movies, always manage to come out on top.

The disfranchised millions of the poll-tax Southern states will never win the right to vote as long as labor depends on a capitalist politician like Roosevelt and his machine, which is completely dependent for its strength on the "Solid South," to conduct the battle. The "Solid South" of Jim Crow politicians, elected to power exclusively by the propertied class, is the very spearhead of Roosevelt's and Wall Street's onslaught against labor, those who have put over the legislative sanction of the wage freeze, and the anti-strike law, and who are the most energetic advocates of Roosevelt's forced labor draft.

It is up to the nation-wide independent political organization of labor in its own party, fighting for political power against the whole ravenous anti-labor pack in the government, and the militant mass pressure of the organized working class, to wipe out the poll tax and pave the way for the political and economic emancipation of the impoverished masses of the South.

Southern Bourbons Defy Court Ruling

(Continued from page 1)

tainly a concession when viewed in the light of the fact that less than 10 per cent of all the people in the poll-tax states are permitted to vote. Yet even this concession, we can be sure, was not dictated by social enlightenment or genuine concern for the Negro's rights. Partly it reflects an administration attempt to offset the anticipated Republican grandstand play for the Negro vote. But even more, this ruling was dictated under compulsion of the growing organized power of the Negro people and the militant labor movement of the North. During this "war for democracy" the Negro people have been mobilizing their forces and demanding, with increasing urgency, their full democratic rights here and now.

Hundreds of thousands of Negro workers have joined the unions and together with the white workers are fighting for economic and social equality. The rise of such organizations as the March-On-Washington Movement directly reflects the increasing desire of the Negro masses for a bold and independent program of struggle against discrimination and segregation. The pussyfooting and servile Uncle Toms are being scorned. The Negro everywhere, in the armed forces and in civilian life, is expressing his dissatisfaction and unrest more and more openly. The challenging assertion is current and wide-spread: "We're not taking it lying down anymore."

Moreover, the Negro is acquiring a realization that he will not win his freedom by "favors" from the white capitalists, politicians or judges. More and more he is becoming aware that a government which refuses to pass the anti-lynch and anti-Poll Tax bills, that utilizes the Southern poll-tax Congressmen to spearhead its anti-labor drives, that enforces a vicious Jim Crow in the armed forces — such a government will never

The 'Gimme Boys' and War Profits

After the fall of France in 1940, when the President and Congress laid down a program for arming the nation, Big Business was asked to get busy. But Big Business went on a strike and would not start the necessary war industries until Congress granted it the right of amortizing its defense investments in five years—writing them off by keeping enough profits free of taxation to pay for them. By 1946 Big Business will own the war plants, scot free, and will have paid for them out of earnings made by selling its stuff to Uncle Sam on a cost-plus price basis.

On those terms one might have thought that private money would have been enough to finance war industry—but it didn't work out that way, for Uncle Sam himself had to put up 15 billions of the 27.5 billions of capital that went into the new factories, shipyards, power dams, aviation fields and the like.

Meanwhile, Big Business corporations have plowed back billions into their capital funds through their ordinary depreciation allowances. But even that isn't enough. They now want additional money reserves for post-war requirements, money to reconvert plants to peacetime uses.

The new tax bill is being written to take care of the "gimme boys" again. This plan, says one senator, means that "any taxpayer, individual or corporate, who expects a termination or post-war reserve requirement may, in his own discretion, set up a reserve of whatever amount he thinks he will need, as long as it does not exceed 20 percent of his normal taxable net income. He may, in that event, claim a credit against his normal net taxable income, his surtax net income and his excess profits tax net income in the amount of the reserve which he decides upon within the 20 percent limit."

The idea is to enable the Big Business taxpayer to spread his huge war-time income after the war to cover any extra expenses caused by the end of the war, and by the necessity of changing over to peacetime industry.

This amounts, in effect, to an advance or subsidy by Uncle Sam to the capitalist, long before he actually needs the money. Under the old rules of the business game, a capitalist needing money went to the banker for it, or sold stocks or bonds to the public. The new plan of post-war reserves is much nicer. It is not tax-dodging. It is just a special favor from Uncle Sam to big taxpayers who promise, in effect, to put some of their war profits to work after the war.

Uncle Sam is mighty nice to some of his nephews and nieces. Some of his little boys and girls have been getting subsidies, tariffs, land grants and other tips for 150 years. Others have been left out. How about allowing a workingman income tax payer to set up a post-war reserve to build a house — or maybe buy a car?

(Reprinted from the Feb. 1 United Mine Workers Journal, official publication of the United Mine Workers of America.)

Kravchenko's Break With The Kremlin

By John G. Wright

On April 4, the N. Y. Times featured on the front page the story of the resignation of Kravchenko, a Stalinist functionary attached to the Soviet purchasing commission in the U. S. for the last seven months. In breaking with the Kremlin, Kravchenko comes forward as a belated convert to capitalism and capitalist "democracy." He parts company with Stalin's regime not for its betrayal of the proletarian revolution but for its "double-faced" policy toward the Anglo-American imperialists. Kravchenko also assails the Kremlin for its failure to grant at home "political and social reforms cherished by the Russian people."

Deserters from the camp of Stalinism to that of capitalism are neither a new nor unexpected occurrence. Kravchenko is only the latest in the ranks of former foreign representatives of the Kremlin who refused to return to Moscow. For example, in 1930, during the critical period of the first Five Year Plan prominent agents of the GPU like Agabekov, in charge of the Middle East area, and diplomats like Bessedovsky broke with Stalin. These gentlemen believed at the time that they were leaving a sinking ship. Another wave of Stalinist desertions to capitalism coincided with the period of the greatest economic successes in the Soviet Union which marked at the same time the most acute internal crisis of Stalinism. This was the period of the infamous Moscow trials and the monstrous blood purges. While Stalin was murdering the entire generation that made the October revolution, it was revealed that the Kremlin had in its ranks outright fascists like Butenko who took the occasion at the time to openly embrace Mussolini.

At the same time the impatience of individuals like Kravchenko serves to underscore the fact that the capitalist counter-revolution has by no means conquered in the USSR. All great social issues are decided only in the struggle of the basic classes. And that is how the fate of the Soviet Union will be decided. In the great decisive battles that lie ahead it will be fully revealed that the Stalinist bureaucracy does not represent a "new class" or a new social system but an episodic malignant formation whose role has been to undermine the workers' state founded by the Russian revolution and to give sustenance to the forces of the capitalist counter-revolution.

Rising Scale Of Wages Is Answer To Inflation

By C. Thomas

In April 1942, two years ago this month, William Green, president of the AFL made public a memorandum which he submitted to the Roosevelt Administration on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. In dealing with the question of the widening gap between wages and the rise in the cost of living, the memorandum pointed out that:

(1) During the past year the cost of living, as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has risen at least 12 percent; in most war production centers the increase has been far greater. In single war industry towns the prevalent rise in the cost of living has ranged between 15 and 20 percent and in individual communities it has been far greater. This situation which is spelling disaster to war workers has resulted from the failure of the Office of Price Administration to enforce effectively and vigorously price ceilings on consumer goods and to institute fair and democratic rationing.

(2) There is incontrovertible evidence that the inflationary rise in prices and increases in the cost of living have not been caused by wage increases. For a period of a year there have been no general or substantial wage increases in any basic manufacturing industry engaged in war production. This, considered together with the fact that wage costs have remained stable in the increasing war production, proves conclusively that rising prices have not been brought about by the cost of wages. During the past year real wages have decreased because of the rise in living costs with the result that workers have suffered from wage cuts during that time.

(3) In the absence of an integrated and decisive tax program corporate profits, even after taxes, have shown a tremendous rise during 1941." (AFL Weekly News Service, April 21, 1942).

IRREFUTABLE FACTS

The facts presented in this memorandum could not be refuted. Every worker was aware that his real wages had decreased because of the sharp rise in the cost of living. It was also no secret that corporate profits in the year 1941 had soared to record heights. These conditions stirred the discontent of the workers and gave rise to widespread demands for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. It was the pressure from the ranks which prompted the AFL to present its memorandum and prompted the CIO to make similar representations. Roosevelt announced his "7-point economic stabilization program" on April 27, 1942 in an attempt to befriend the labor rank and file and allay their growing discontentment.

Roosevelt presented his 7-point program as one "indivisible" whole. The "program" contained three key points: Point 1—Personal and corporate profits to be kept at a low level through heavy taxes and a \$25,000 limit on all incomes after taxes. Point 2—Fixed ceilings on prices and rents (cost of living to be stabilized). Point 3—Stabilization of wages at existing levels. In his message to Congress accompanying his proposal Roosevelt proclaimed: "In respect to the third item, seeking to stabilize remuneration for work, legislation is not required under present circumstances. I believe that stabilizing the cost of living will mean that wages in general can and should be kept at existing scales." Whereupon, Congress proceeded to scuttle all the important points of the "indivisible" 7-point program.

FREEZES WAGES

Roosevelt then blandly proceeded to freeze wages as if the "7-point program" had been carried out! This was the sleight-of-hand employed to justify the War Labor Board's imposing the Little Steel formula which limited wage increases to an estimated 15 percent rise in the cost of living for the period from January 1941 to May 1942. As its premise for establishing the wage freeze, the WLB advanced the arbitrary contention that: "The board acts on the assumption that prices and living costs are now stabilized under the President's 7-point program."

While the WLB continued to enforce the wage freeze "on the assumption" that Roosevelt had stabilized the cost of living, the flood of corporate profits, income, prices and rents, thawed out by Congress flow merrily onward. Appearing last month before the Senate's Banking and Currency Committee, Chester Bowles, head of the OPA, testified that: "Earnings of corporations, after taxes were deducted, were the highest last year ever attained by American Busi-

ness." In the two years that have elapsed since Roosevelt promised to stabilize the cost of living the inflationary curve has continued a steady upward spiral. Roosevelt's "indivisible 7-point stabilization program" has never been anything but a one-point wage freezing device!

LABOR REPORT

The recent report submitted by a joint committee of the CIO and AFL proved that the cost of living has gone up 43.5 percent since January 1941 or 28.5 percent above the 15 percent established by the WLB under the

Little Steel formula. Neither Roosevelt nor his WLB agents have the temerity to attribute this advance in the cost of living to wages — which have been frozen tight by executive decree.

Today, Roosevelt has the nerve to try to duck responsibility for this situation by passing the buck to Congress. Roosevelt, who on April 27, 1942 proclaimed that for this situation "legislation is not required" to freeze wages at existing levels, now declares that "wage stabilization is a matter for Congress and not the Chief Executive." The WLB, which has been enforcing the wage freeze for two years "on the assumption" that Roosevelt's 7-point "indivisible" program had stabilized prices and living costs, places ditto marks under that cynical declaration.

The American workers have been cruelly deceived by Roosevelt. They have been led into abandoning their independent struggle to keep wages abreast of the advancing cost of living by depending on "labor's friend" in the White House to protect their interests. Of course, this deception would never have succeeded, except for the treachery of the labor bureaucrats who steered the workers into the administration's wage freezing trap. The whole "stabilization" question is again coming to a head today, climaxed by the demand of the steel workers for wage increases.

No Effort Made To Track Killers Of Carlo Tresca

Danton Walker wrote in his column in the New York Daily News on March 24: "The long-expected break in the Tresca murder case is just around the corner." But the corner has not yet been reached.

Although 15 months have elapsed since the Tresca murder no real effort has yet been made by the police department to track down the killers.

Only two persons are known to have been held by the police in this case at any time, both as "material witnesses." One was Carmine Galente, ex-convict,



CARLO TRESCA

picked up as a suspect two days after the killing with the explanation that, two hours before Tresca was shot he was seen getting into a sedan found abandoned the same night a few blocks from the crime scene. After being held in the Tombs for months on high bail, Galente was returned to Sing Sing prison as a parole violator.

The other "material witness" was Frank Nuccio, "small-time racketeer" and "petty bootlegger," taken into custody last September and at first held on \$25,000 bail, but freed in November on a \$5,000 bond. According to the New York daily press, Nuccio was found by the police to have been the lessee or owner of the garage in which the "murder car" was kept up to the night Carlo Tresca was slain.

Danton Walker in an earlier column stated that "Governor Dewey will soon get an interesting report on why the Carlo Tresca case has never been broken."

But nothing has since been heard of on that score. And since the release of Nuccio on bail virtually nothing has appeared in the New York press on the Tresca case.

Can it be that the authorities would just like to quietly forget the Tresca Case?

CLING TO ROOSEVELT

The labor bureaucrats continue to cling to Roosevelt, mark time, and wait to see what congress does. This course will bring labor only disaster. Organized labor must formulate its own wage policy and carry on an independent struggle for its realization. The entire labor movement is tied down by the wage freeze in the face of the inexorable rise in living costs. Neither Congress nor Roosevelt have shown the slightest inclination to yield to the wage demands of labor. Pleas, memorandums, resolutions, statistics, have no effect on these gentry. They will sit up and take notice only when they are convinced that the workers mean business. The first step in preparation for a serious struggle for wages must be the calling of a nation-wide conference to which all bona-fide labor unions, regardless of affiliation, are invited to participate. Such a conference can formulate a program of ACTION based upon a realistic wage policy which is simple, effective, easily understood and which will enlist the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers. Under conditions of war time inflation of prices, the only effective wage program is the demand for an escalator clause in all union contracts: a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. For each increase in the cost of living—a corresponding increase in wages. Substitute labor's "escalator clause" for Roosevelt's "Little Steel" formula! For the American workers, that is the road out of the wilderness of capitalist inflation.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 14, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS—10,000 unemployed workers surrounded the Minneapolis Court House to protest the starvation program of Federal "relief" on April 7. The Militant carried a full report of the city's earlier refusals to hear demands presented by 23 elected delegates of the United Relief Workers Association for "40 percent increase in relief; no discriminations; no Relief Works Administration or other forced labor schemes; immediate relief for all dismissed Civil Works Administration workers." The orderly demonstration of the workers was soon interrupted by the police who "began to push through the crowd. . . Suddenly a shower of tear gas bombs came sailing down from the courthouse windows." With bare hands, the workers threw the hot bombs back into the ranks of the cops. The committee of 23 which had won all its demands from the frightened city council, while the struggle went on outside, was arrested as it left the building.

NEW YORK—The Militant announced that James P. Cannon was to deliver his first of a series of lectures on "War and the 4th International" on April 22 at Irving Plaza. "War," the announcement stated, "is the primary touch-stone of a revolutionary party. The Second International was put to test in the World War and it revealed its complete bankruptcy. The policies of the Third International, in combating the danger of war through the so-called antiwar congresses, in which it uses all sorts of liberal intellectuals and pacifists as its front, reveal that there is nothing to be expected from this quarter in the fight against the impending war."

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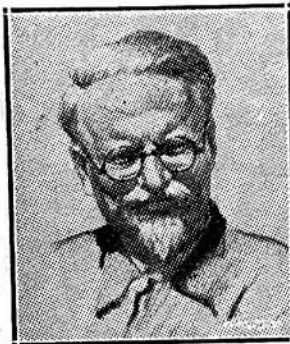
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

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

The WLB Hearings

The Murrays and Greens are running a two-ring circus down in Washington. These hot-air artists are making a farce out of labor's struggle against the Little Steel formula.

All of last week, a battery of CIO statisticians, research directors and what not, led by Philip Murray himself, engaged in verbal fireworks to prove that the steel workers are entitled to wage increases of 17 cents an hour. This week the AFL trotted out its statistical big guns to lay down another barrage against the Little Steel formula, before a different panel of the WLB. The fact that the WLB has publicly announced that it has no powers to revise the Little Steel formula, that it is merely an agency to enforce the wage freeze, did not deter these "labor statesmen" from continuing with the gabfest. The steel barons must certainly be quaking in their boots before this statistical onslaught, especially after Murray thundered: "I do not come before the Board for the purpose of wielding a stick or threatening a strike."

Roosevelt is so contemptuous of his labor lackeys, he is so certain that regardless of what anti-labor action he takes, he will retain the loyal services of these pigmies, that he had his four lieutenants, Davis, Jones, Vinson and Bowles release a statement, right while the WLB "talking shop" was in progress, that the Little Steel formula was OK, that everybody's "pocketbooks are bulging with money" and that the wage freeze must be continued.

As a matter of fact, the gabfest put on by the Murrays and Greens dovetails perfectly with Roosevelt's own plans. His whole strategy is to stall and delay, until the relationship of forces, he hopes, changes sharply in labor's disfavor. *Business Week*, authoritative voice of Big Business, pointed out: "President Roosevelt is counting on the coming invasion. . . His strategy is to stall home-front issues in the hope that the exaltation, anxiety and grief of decisive battle will make 'win the war' a completely effective answer to the clamor for relaxation of (wage) controls."

Roosevelt's labor lieutenants continue to perform their stooge roles like trained seals. As the projected invasion draws closer, Roosevelt is becoming more bold and outspoken against any relaxation of the wage freeze. When the realization sinks home to the steel workers and their brothers in auto and rubber, that the WLB does not intend to permit any wage increases, the labor bureau-

crats' sham "battle of statistics" will give way to the real battle of the workers to smash once and for all the vicious Little Steel formula.

The labor bureaucrats have shown their hand; they have made it clear that they do not intend to fight. It is now up to the rank and file to force these bureaucrats into action. Every local union, especially in the steel industry, should raise the demand for the calling of an immediate conference of ALL bona-fide unions, to map out a program of independent labor action to smash the Little Steel formula and defend the living standards of the working class.

Forced Labor

For a number of weeks the capitalist press has carried scare stories in banner headlines of drastic orders by Selective Service to draft all men between the ages of 18 and 26, no matter what the effect on war production. From the national headquarters of Selective Service has come a stream of daily communiques, contradictory directives and hysterical pronouncements. At the same time, the House Military Affairs subcommittee on the draft, has contributed its share to whip up a campaign to convince the people that an acute manpower shortage existed which requires drastic forced labor legislation.

As in the initial campaign to regiment the American people under a universal forced labor draft, logic, reason, argument, facts, have nothing to do with the matter. The sole justification that emerges from the welter of confusion surrounding the demand for labor conscription, is that the brass hats "want it" and if they want it, "who are we to object." That is precisely the position that Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, arrived at after testifying that there was no manpower shortage or any other valid reason for imposing a labor draft.

Under cover of this spurious manpower shortage and the campaign of hysteria whipped up around it, the proponents of the Austin-Wadsworth national service act, are putting on the pressure to break down labor's resistance to forced labor. Senator Austin announces that conferences have been held with top union leaders looking toward a compromise on his measure. The top labor leaders have remained silent on the nature of the conferences, and have thus far failed to speak out publicly against the so-called modified version of labor conscription. There is real danger that the labor bureaucrats are cooking up a rotten "compromise" agreement on the labor draft. Every local union has the duty to adopt resolutions demanding that Murray and Green speak up right now against any and every form of labor conscription! There can be no compromise on the question of slave labor!

No-Strike Pledge

Meeting in Miami, Florida last January, the fossilized executive council of the American Federation of Labor, in reaffirming their no-strike pledge, declared that, "we have decided that no matter what the character of the grievance, no matter how feelings have been stirred nor what the aggravations are, there can be no justification for strikes or local stoppages." This abject policy of non-resistance to the violent attacks upon organized labor by the employers and their political agents in Washington has also been wholeheartedly embraced by the spineless bureaucrats in the leadership of the CIO. The conversion of the labor bureaucrats to the philosophy of "non-resistance" in the face of corporatism and government attack entitles the AFL and CIO top leaders to a historic niche alongside of Mahatma Gandhi, whose gospel of "non-resistance to violence" has served to keep the Indian masses in subjection to British Imperialism.

But the American workers, particularly those union militants who pounded the pavements in picket lines through many a bitter struggle to build their unions, were never much impressed with the philosophy of non-resistance. They are coming to realize that the unconditional no-strike pledge, foisted on the unions by the top bureaucrats, has disarmed labor in the face of wage and job freezing by the government and open provocation and violation of union contracts by the corporations. Today, there is a growing sentiment in important sections of the labor movement to rescind the no-strike pledge.

The powerful Briggs Local of the CIO Auto Workers Union has voted unanimously to request the International Executive Board to call a special convention for this purpose and has sent letters to all other UAW locals asking them to follow Briggs' example. The action of the Briggs local comes on the heels of a call sent out by the Aircraft Unit of Ford Local 600, for a conference of all UAW locals in the Detroit area, to demand a special convention to rescind the no-strike pledge. The militants in the UAW are especially incensed at the conduct of their top officials who have used the no-strike pledge as a pretext for joining with the corporations in cracking down on those militants who resist company provocation.

As a matter of fact, the union bureaucrats practice the doctrine of "non-resistance" only 50 percent of the way. They practice non-resistance towards the corporations and their political agents in the government. But towards their own membership, they employ violent methods of bureaucratic repression. The fight to rescind the no-strike pledge is thus intimately bound up with the struggle for internal union democracy. It deserves the support of every militant union member, of every genuine labor progressive.

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.

Militant Action

Editor: That militant action is still the best and most effective way to settle major grievances was again demonstrated in the Plant No. 4 of the Mack Manufacturing Corporation's Allentown assembly plant when 1,000 unionists walked out of the plant at noon on March 21.

The management had an agreement with the union that the men in Plant 4 could stop work at 5 minutes before quitting time to get ready to go home. However the plant supervisor interpreted this agreement as merely allowing the men to put their tools away and stand at their positions until the whistle blew, and then only were they allowed to wash their hands and change clothes. When 5 men were laid off for 3 days for violations of the rules and the management could not be contacted the following morning to have these men reinstated immediately, the walkout occurred, shutting Plant 4 down tight.

It took the management two hours then to get in touch with the union and agree to take back immediately the laid-off workers and pay them for lost time, clarify the agreement on the five-minute allowance and extend the five minute period to all shops covering 3000 employees. The men returned to work the following day, smiling and happy with the feeling that again they had gained a victory through united militant action. They wonder why Murray, Thomas, Addes and Co. cannot realize that that is the way to get results, and why they are forbidden to use similar means to force a WLB decision on classification that has been hanging with the WLB since April 7, 1943. They feel that these leaders have sold them down the river.

J. H. Allentown

Freedom from Want

Editor: "Freedom from Want," to all peoples of the world? This is what we fight for. O. K. How can we then permit colored Americans to live without adequate housing? I have read somewhere, that "there are only four types of blood; no races." I don't know, as I am not a biologist.

However, all human beings must have a chance to live as human beings. The workers created the wealth in the world, and therefore have the first right to all of it, regardless of color. We can use the Bible too, if we choose, and say, "inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto

me." A few lines from a song, freely translated: "The rich man I saw, but his riches, at the call of death, disappeared, and the 'angel' who opened the books, no sign of his grandeur found there." I can see in my mind's eye, the workers of the world, down through the ages, with visible and invisible chains, generation after generation (driven with the slave whip, threatened with harsh words, mocked with good words, promised heaven after death, if they are "true" to the masters, and hell if they dare to talk, or lie down on the job). Sick or well, they have been producing wealth for the "upper class." And to keep that damnable system up, we go to war, and with the blessing of those who claim to represent God.

M. M. Minneapolis

Free Enterprise

Editor: The United Christian Council for Democracy which met late in March charged that the real purpose behind the current ballyhoo about free enterprise is "to lower the taxes of corporations and raise them for ordinary people; the destruction or weakening of labor unions; and the slaughter of every government agency that seeks to curb the rapacity of business men."

The Council is composed of unofficial church organizations including several Protestant denominations. Its members are not opposed to capitalism, but only to such openly reactionary sections as the National Association of Manufacturers. The meeting was reported in detail by Labor, weekly paper of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

According to the Council, the present campaign is directed by the National Industrial Information Committee subsidiary of the NAM supported by 4,300 large corporations including duPont and General Motors. It has set up a slush fund of \$1,300,000 for the campaign, "but much more is available, including the free newspaper space and radio time it gets because its members are heavy advertisers."

The NAM was organized in 1903, mainly to fight organized labor, the Council pointed out. "The Mulhall congressional investigation of 1913 reported in 60 volumes how the NAM corrupted and intimidated members of Congress. . . It ran a big drive after the last war to bring back the open shop. . . it tried to stop New Deal legislation. . . in 1937 it created the Informa-

tion Committee under the chairmanship of E. T. Weir, die-hard anti-labor employer." The Information Committee is thriving. Fulton Lewis and Lowell Thomas broadcast its views. Weekly news services go to 10,000 of the 13,000 newspapers in the country, and to corporation papers given to employees; 2 million booklets were distributed to high schools in 1943; lecturers tour the country; there's even a comic strip, Uncle Abner Says, for children! As a final touch, corporations producing only government equipment are using newspaper and magazine advertising space to spread the campaign, and deducting the cost from their taxes!

"Add this all together," the Council report concluded, "and it makes a propaganda machine whose extent and power might well make Goebbels green with envy."

E. C. Washington, D. C.

Italian Communists

Editor: An Italian correspondent from Naples reports in the March 11 issue of La Parola, Italian paper published in New York, that a new party has just been organized in Naples.

After discussing the general political situation, he reports the following on what he calls the "dissenting communists:"

"At the other extreme has recently come to light a newspaper which calls itself Bandiera Rossa (Red Flag) and carried on the right hand of the front page the slogan of Karl Marx, 'Revolution is the locomotive of history.'"

"Bandiera Rossa declared itself the organ of the 'Partito Socialista Rivoluzionario Italiano,' the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Italy. Bandiera Rossa informed us that its center is at No. 12 Vico Papa, Naples. The following are members of the Central Committee: Armando Puglia, Giusto Cimmino, Vincenzo Matecela and Ugo Margiatta."

The Italian correspondent continues: "Who are the members of the P. S. R. I.? The Stalinist Communists label them as Trotskyists, others as Maximalists, and others as Bordighists. In reality they reveal themselves by their statements to be indefinable. We shall see what they can do."

The same paper carries an item on March 18th that L'Avanti, the Socialist Party publication, is beginning to perturb many of the old socialists, because it publishes Lenin's slogans and is planning the publication of Lenin's works.

R. C. Detroit

Maritime Commission Hands Fat Profits To Shipowners

Roosevelt's Maritime Commission, which is headed by Admiral Emory Land who once publicly asserted that union organizers should be shot at sunrise, was charged by Senator George Aiken, Vermont, with handing out money to the ship lines and shipbuilding companies like a "drunken sailor."

Senator Aiken reported the failure of the Maritime Commission to carry out the directives of a Senate investigating committee to renegotiate its contracts and demand refunds of millions. The committee acted after investigating charges of Comptroller General Warren that the Maritime Commission was making "extravagant" payments to ship lines under government charter.

Eighty-one vessels carrying lend-lease goods netted private companies \$26,874,176 profits on their voyages, although the ships had been purchased for a "song" and had an actual value of \$8,256,000, Aiken stated. The Commission justified these payments on the grounds that the companies "needed the money." And how!

The American Export Lines, for instance, between 1938 and 1943 increased its assets from \$9,000,000 to \$43,000,000, its capital from \$4,000,000 to \$31,000,000, and its dividend payments rose 601 per cent. Other companies, Aiken reported, did even better.

Admiral Land himself revealed to a Senate investigating committee that 19 shipbuilding companies, operating yards built at government expense of \$371,960,000, have received fees totaling \$174,944,051, and the balance due will raise it to \$228,234,832, or ten times the amount of \$22,879,276 which the companies themselves invested.

The Admiral blandly told the Senate committee he saw nothing wrong with these titanic profits, which he termed a proper "percentage on brains."

Labor, weekly paper of the Railroad, Brotherhoods, comments: "The wages of workers — that is, the 'percentage on brains' — are 'frozen.' The compensation of gentlemen who were fortunate enough to be permitted to build shipyards with government money is permitted to soar to the moon and is described as 'percentage on brains.' . . . we suppose that is 'encouraging free enterprise.'"

Grade-Labeling Opposed By Big Food Profiteers

In their fight to prevent compulsory grade-labeling, the food monopolies have thought up lots of weird reasons why labels telling the quality and contents of canned and packaged foods are "bad for the consumers."

The latest and weirdest reason was supplied last week by Emil Brisacher, head of a big advertising firm, in speaking before a meeting of the American Marketing Association. Brisacher opined that "grade labeling would destroy a high percentage of jobs normally needed for the distribution and servicing of merchandise, thereby lessening the buying power necessary to keep production at a high level." The "right" to sell unlabeled poison as food is all to "prevent unemployment."

For pious hypocrisy, this ranks with the argument against grade-labeling offered by Congressman Halleck, of Indiana: "If in the end I poison myself by eating the wrong kind of food, or cut my throat by using the wrong kind of razor blade, or freeze to death by sleeping under the wrong kind of blanket, I shall go to my reward secure in the knowledge that I have lived and died as a free-born American should."

Defective Wright Engines Sold To Army Air Corps

How many flyers have died as the result of the failure of defective Wright motors may never be established. But a series of civilian inspectors of the huge Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant at Lockland, Ohio, last week testified, at the court-martial of three Army Air Corps officers charged with negligence and conspiracy to defraud the government, that defective parts and motors rejected by the civilian inspectors were deliberately accepted by the Army officials in collusion with the company.

The officers on trial are charged with transferring or threatening to transfer inspectors who "made trouble," delivering defective parts and engines, falsifying test records, impeding the work of the inspectors, failure to report improper inspection practices or to take corrective action.

One former inspector, Robert Yankey, who was told to "keep my hands off engines the army had passed," related how a war plane engine which had just been labeled "all right" blew out a piston. He likewise described how rejection marks he had placed on other defective parts had been erased.

Another inspector, James R. Baker, testified to discovering thousands of piston rings, "rusted beyond acceptance," packed and ready for shipping. On one occasion he refused to obey a superior official who ordered him to use his personal inspection stamp to validate 25,000 acceptance tags. Another stamp was secured and the tags were validated by a non-inspector.

William Ratchford, who was "sent back to the sticks" for his conscientious attitude, testified that as many as 16 cracked master rods were turned out on an eight-hour shift and that acceptance of engines with oil leaks was a daily occurrence. 250 engines which "pumped oil" were accepted "so the plant could meet its production quota."

The Army officers worked in collusion with the company. "Inspectors were twisted and switched around to work in the interest of the company. It was a case of production overriding inspection, regardless of directives."

That is, it was a question of profits "overriding" the lives of Army flyers. The Wright corporation has received over a billion dollars worth of war contracts.

International Notes

CHINA

China, despite the just war it is waging against imperialist Japan, remains, under Kuomintang domination, a country from which little real news of internal affairs emanates to the outside world. Chungking is regarded by press correspondents as one of the least desirable assignments because of the rigid censorship of Chiang Kai-shek's government. This censorship was the cause of a heated exchange between correspondents and the Chinese Minister of Information on March 30. The former complained that they were being prevented from giving a true picture of China's internal situation and were especially critical of the Chinese authorities for preventing them from visiting the Eighth army-dominated areas in the northwest.

The reactionary rulers of China have very good reasons for wanting to keep the so-called "Red Districts" sealed off from the rest of the world, because in all important respects they compare more than favorably with the rest of China. In these districts the burdens of landlord parasitism have been lightened, taxation has been eased, educational facilities extended and improved, cooperatives established, and some social services instituted.

In the China of Chiang Kai-shek, the conditions of the masses go continually from bad to worse. Runaway inflation has reduced the Chinese dollar to the value of less than a quarter of

an American cent since 1937, when it had a value of about 30 cents. Average prices are more than 200 times greater than they were six years ago and in the case of some manufactured articles prices are up 500 times. And prices are still mounting at the rate of 10 percent per month. Because of the instability of the currency, the government collects taxes from the peasants in kind. While the peasant must yield up whatever part of his crop the government assesses as his tax (and this is rarely less than 50 percent of the harvest), the government markets surpluses (grains, etc. left over after feeding the troops) at prevailing market prices.

Not only the peasants (who form more than 80 percent of the population), but the workers in industry, school teachers, minor officials with small fixed salaries, and hordes of small shopkeepers are suffering from the inflation. Malnutrition and real starvation stalk the land from end to end. The worse things become, the more repressive are the policies of the ruling clique. The prisons of Kuomintang China are crowded with real or potential leaders of the harassed masses. There exists not the faintest semblance of any democratic liberties.

Little wonder that the rotten regime of Chiang tries to keep the facts from the rest of the world and to prevent correspondents making comparisons between Kuomintang China and the "Red Districts." Powerless to halt the economic ruin in his

own territory, Chiang continues to plot the destruction of those districts because, despite the political subservience of the Stalinists, the "Red districts" are a challenge to landlord-capitalist rule in the rest of the country.

ITALY AND SICILY

Charles Poletti, former New York governor and now Allied civil administrator of "liberated" Sicily and southern Italy, is finding his new bailiwick a very uncomfortable one, according to the Washington columnist of the N. Y. Daily News. The job of ruling the people has become a "nightmare," says the writer, because they took the Allied promise of liberation seriously and now find themselves held down, denied democratic rights, and placed on starvation rations by the "liberators."

"Fact is," the writer continues, "that violence, with a disturbing number of night-time, dark alley stiletto stabbings with U.S. servicemen on the receiving end, is the Number One headache of the Poletti regime. In other words, the honeymoon of liberation is over in Italy — just as it has been in North Africa for many months."

Poletti is reported to have complained that "OWI propaganda promised more than we could perform" — the usual contradiction between imperialist promise and performance.

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