

Kill The Poll Tax!

Less than 100 more signatures are needed for the House Discharge Petition No. 3 to force the anti-poll tax bill out of the Judiciary Committee and thus bring the bill to a vote on the floor of the House.

Every union in the country should act at once to demand that the Representative from its district sign his name to Discharge Petition No. 3 without further delay. Kill the poll tax!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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267

FIVE (5) CENTS

U. S. STEEL FAKED RECORDS OF TESTS

CRDC Meeting Demands End To Ban On 'Militant'

NEW YORK, March 27. — Four hundred defenders of civil liberties gathered at Manhattan Center here last night to protest Postmaster General Walker's revocation of *The Militant's* second-class mailing privileges and to pledge support to this paper's fight in the courts to reverse Walker's order.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, and was addressed by representatives of labor and liberal organizations. The audience responded enthusiastically by contributing the sum of \$426.52 toward *The Militant's* defense, and by adopting a resolution demanding that Attorney General Biddle and Walker restore the paper's full mailing rights.

Greetings of solidarity were also received by the meeting from Louis Nelson, manager of Knitgoods Local 155 of the ILGWU; James T. Farrell, well-known writer; and the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers

Party, which wired \$25 to help finance *The Militant* fight.

GOLDMAN EXPLAINS WHY WE MUST RESIST

Albert Goldman, attorney for *The Militant*, explained the need for challenging every repressive act of the enemies of free speech, despite the obstacles standing in the way of a successful fight against Walker's order in the courts. "If the enemies of our rights see that their actions are not meekly accepted but actively opposed," he declared, "they will hesitate before clamping down on those whose views do not follow theirs."

Goldman also warned against the false and dangerous position taken by such liberal elements as *The Nation*, which failed in its editorial on *The Militant* case to distinguish between fascists and anti-fascists and which, while mildly protesting Walker's order, (Continued on page 3)

Louis Nelson and James T. Farrell Pledge Support

The following telegram from Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Local 155 of the ILGWU was received at the March 26 meeting of the Civil Rights Defense Committee in New York:

"Regret that pressure of union work prevents my attendance at meeting. We strongly condemn the postal ban on *The Militant* as an infringement on our civil liberties. If permitted, it will lead to the suppression of the entire American labor press. The use of administrative measures of suppression is a menace to a free labor movement. You may depend on our support in the fight against any restriction of the basic liberties of the American people."

James T. Farrell, the noted novelist, also wired to explain why he was unable to appear personally, and continued:

"I express my solidarity with you in your struggle to restore *The Militant's* mailing privileges. The high-handed act of censorship of the Post Office Department is a serious menace to freedom of press and expression. Personally and as chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, let me enlist in the effort to eliminate this threat."

Sold Government Sub-Standard Steel Plate

Lock the Door With A Rising Scale of Wages!



Federated Pictures

Deliberately Placed Many Lives In Danger

Faulty Steel Was Sold to the Maritime Commission, Navy and for Lend-Lease Use

By Anthony Massini

The lives of American and United Nations soldiers, sailors and merchant marine seamen have been seriously endangered by U. S. Steel Corporation officials in the Carnegie-Illinois plants who deliberately sold sub-standard steel armor plate to the procurement services of the government.

The whole story has not come out yet, but enough was made public before a hearing of the Truman Senate Investigating Committee in Washington on March 23 to prove that the U. S. Steel officials involved not only sent the government sub-standard plate, but even faked their test records to cover up their tracks.

How long this has been going on remains yet to be discovered; so far it is estimated that fake tests covered at least 28,000 to 30,000 tons of sub-standard plate. Testimony of one witness was that at a single Carnegie-Illinois plant, records were faked on about 5% of its 60,000-ton monthly capacity, resulting in the acceptance by the government each month of about 3,000 tons of steel plate which would normally have been rejected.

Testimony also traced the faking of tests to the higher ranks of the corporation officials. And although some of these officials told their superiors about what was happening, they were told to continue letting the records be falsified.

"MEETING" SPECIFICATIONS
Witnesses at the hearing, either in person or by sworn testimony, explained what had been going on:

Murray E. Stewart, chief specifications specialist for the Irvin plant, testified that he had made fake chemical analyses, putting an "F" in front of the records in the fake book to indicate it was a fake.
Irene T. Pasternak, clerk in charge of the Irvin heat book, (Continued on page 2)

Resolution Of CRDC

We, 400 workers and defenders of democratic rights assembled in mass meeting at Manhattan Center in New York City, protest the order of the Postmaster General revoking the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant*. This first attack upon an anti-fascist labor paper since the war began is a gross violation and serious threat to the constitutional and democratic rights of freedom of the press. It sets a dangerous precedent which can be invoked against other labor and liberal papers critical of administration policies.

We call upon Attorney General Biddle and Postmaster General Walker to revoke this arbitrary ruling and restore to *The Militant* its full mailing rights. Meanwhile we pledge support to this paper in its struggle against suppression and in defense of its legal and constitutional rights of publication and transmission through the U. S. mails.

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Attorney General, the Postmaster General and the press.

March 26, 1943.

Roosevelt Again Intervenes In The Mine Negotiations

President Roosevelt this week intervened for the second time in the mine wage negotiations being conducted in New York, by sending Dr. John R. Steelman of the Department of Labor Conciliation Service, to persuade the Southern mine operators to agree to a 30-day extension of the present union contracts beyond April 1, and to act as the President's personal representative at the negotiations.

The Southern operators agreed to the 30 day extension, as the Northern operators had done previously, and the possibility of a coal strike this week was averted.

Reports are that while Roosevelt intends to stand fast on the "Little Steel" formula, under which the mine workers' wage demands would be automatically rejected, desperate attempts will be made to reach a settlement in the current negotiations through the mediation of Steelman, thus avoiding a show-down on the question of the War Labor Board's jurisdiction and powers. Any agreement reached with the approval of Steelman will undoubtedly have the approval of Roosevelt and of his agencies.

This move shows the fear of the administration to launch an all-out fight against the miners, for in the wake of such a struggle would come the final destruction of the government's labor agencies, already none too secure.

LABOR'S SUPPORT

Every passing day finds the position of the United Mine Workers stronger morally and otherwise. The primary reason for this is the fact that the miners have the sup-

port of the ranks of the whole labor movement.

In Detroit, for example, the local stewards' council of the important Briggs Local 212 of the United Auto Workers last week voted unanimous backing of "the miners' just demands," and its president, Emil Mazey, called for "full and vigorous support to the full demands of the nation's coal diggers." The national leaders of the UAW had previously expressed their support, and the AFL and CIO leaders have also had to give lip-service to this position which is so popular among the union ranks.

Only the Stalinist-controlled leadership of the National Maritime Union has chosen the occasion to try to smear the UAW leaders, and even they could get away with it only in a resolution expressing support for the miners' demands.

The employers hoped at the beginning of the negotiations to be able to dispose of the union's demands by the same kind of threats and lynch-campaigning they have employed so often since Pearl Harbor, but they have for the time being been brought to pause by the firm and determined stand of the mine union.

The course of the negotiations clearly demonstrates that the

Food Situation Gets More Chaotic

From one end of the country to the other come reports of mounting chaos in the supply of food. In numerous cities the workers cannot secure any meat. The little meat on sale is sold at black market prices.

However, through the entire period of confusion, with its scarcity and in some cases complete lack of meat for the workers, the capitalists have managed to eat and eat well. On Sunday, March 28, when the food chaos had reached new heights of disorganization, when butcher stores in workers' neighborhoods had for days been closed down for lack of meat to sell, the *N. Y. Times* reported that the fancy high priced chop houses, hotel dining rooms, night clubs and restaurants were doing an excellent business. There was no shortage in these places.

What was true about New York, with its dearth for the worker and the rich getting all they need, was equally true for the rest of the country.

NEW MAN APPOINTED

In face of the acute situation, the sole move of the President was to remove Wickard and put Chester C. Davis in the post of Food Administrator. Davis is a former St. Louis Federal Reserve banker. To date Davis' sole action has been to appoint Jesse W. Tapp, vice-president of the Bank of America, as associate administrator of Food Production and Distribution.

This change in personnel does not foreshadow any fundamental change in the course which led up to the present situation.

The appointment of two bankers assures that as before, government policy in regard to food production and distribution will be dominated by the large farmers, wholesalers, packing houses, cannery and chain stores.

power of labor is still alive, if only the workers will exercise it. All unions should follow the lead of the Briggs local, publicly and decisively declaring their support of the miners' demands. And even more important, all local unions having contracts due should open their negotiations in the manner and the spirit taken by the United Mine Workers.

West Coast Seamen Fight Against New Draft Threat

By JOHN CORBETT

West Coast branches of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Marine Firemen, and the Masters, Mates and Pilots have launched a struggle against new draft regulations that would make possible a government blacklist system of all seafaring workers, according to the *West Coast Sailors* of March 19. Regular membership meetings of these unions went on record to instruct members to refuse to sign the new forms issued by the Recruitment and Manning Organization of the War Shipping Administration.

The new draft regulations, decreed by the Recruitment and Manning Organization (RMO) as effective from March 15, were issued ostensibly as a continual occupational deferment plan. Previously seamen had been deferred as workers in an essential industry through the usual forms filed by each individual or his employer with local draft boards. Under the new setup seamen would be deferred in accordance with recommendations of the RMO.

The RMO recommendations, however, would be based upon a continuous record of each seaman's employment as filed in Washington.

HOW THE PLAN WORKS

The RMO plan works as follows: Upon first employment aboard a vessel after March 15, each seaman is required to sign a "green" card containing complete identification data. This card becomes the master card in the Washington file. Upon termination of employment the seaman is required to sign a "white" card which is then sent by the master of the vessel to the RMO.

This "white" card specifies the length of voyage, as well as other information demanded by the RMO, and also the number of days ashore to which the seaman would be entitled as computed on the basis of the number of weeks at sea (4 to 30 days). A duplicate of this card is given to the seaman. The duplicate is to be mailed to the RMO when the seaman begins another voyage.

If this duplicate card is not received by the RMO within the time specified on the original white card, then the RMO informs the local draft board with which the seaman is registered that he is no longer working in the industry and is subject to be drafted into the armed forces.

DANGEROUS TO UNIONS

Thus a seaman who may have spent say a year or more at sea in the most dangerous areas, subject to bombing, torpedoing,

Why the Price Of Bread Keeps On Rising

"An increase in bread prices is inevitable," said F. R. Russell, chairman of the Ward Baking Company, at an annual meeting of stockholders in New York last week. "Higher material costs, particularly flour, and increased wages are the factors which will bring about higher bread prices," he declared.

But the real reason for bread price rises is revealed in the Pioneer Publisher's pamphlet, "Your Standard of Living" by C. Charles, which shows that Ward Baking Co. increased its profits by 23% between 1941 and 1942. The company grossed \$1,241,333 in 1942 profits, after all taxes were paid, as compared with \$1,021,821 in 1941.

And at the stockholder meeting last week Russell announced that profits for the first quarter of 1943 will be "substantially" higher than those for the like period of 1942.

Two days before Russell's statement, 16 flour milling companies, including General Mills and Pillsbury, were indicted by a Chicago Federal Grand Jury, charged with conspiring to fix extremely profitable monopoly prices on family flour.

Family flour is wheat flour sold directly to the housewife as distinguished from bulk flour sold to bakeries.

The indicted companies sell 81% of the nation's family flour. It was charged that the monopoly has existed for 40 years.

E. R. FRANK TO DISCUSS LEWIS AND ROOSEVELT

E. R. Frank will discuss "John L. Lewis and Roosevelt's Labor Policy" at the next Sunday Open Forum of the New York School of Social Science, April 4 at 8 P. M.

Frank, author of many excellent articles in the Trotskyist press, will analyze the relations of Lewis to the Roosevelt administration from the beginning of the New Deal up through the present coal wage negotiations. He will examine in detail the present policies and aims of Lewis and his associates in the light of the road along

which the labor movement is now travelling.

The speaker will also show that Roosevelt's present labor policy depends for its success on the cooperation of the labor leaders; that the opposition of a significant section of the capitalist class to Roosevelt's domestic policies—the "farm bloc," the poll taxes and the Republicans—is upsetting this policy; and that the labor leaders, in fear of losing their base in the union, are forced to battle the growing reaction.

The lecture will be held at 116 University Pl., corner of 13th St.

Profits Of Shipowners Reach Fantastic Heights

A House Merchant Marine Subcommittee was informed last week that U. S. shipping companies in the year 1941 made profits greater than the total value of their ships.

The figures were obtained from reports given to the Maritime Commission of the government by 19 shipping companies, chartered to carry war supplies for Britain to the Red Sea and paid out of lease-lend funds.

Eighty-one boats made 90 trips and collected a total of \$31,364,880 in charter hire, of which \$26,874,176 was admitted to be profits.

Calmar Steamship Corp. — 7 vessels valued at \$695,237. Profits: \$2,639,983.

Isthmian Steamship Co. — 6 vessels valued at \$1,589,581. Profits: \$2,529,292.

Luckenbach Steamship Co.—10 vessels valued at \$1,426,857. Profits: \$3,879,729.

Matson Navigation Co.—4 vessels valued at \$238,770. Profits: \$95,390.

McCormick Steamship Co.—2 vessels valued at \$146,065. Profits: \$743,516.

The contracts were entered into between the British Ministry of War Transport and the owners of the American vessels. The rates were approved by the Maritime Commission.

It was not until the spring of 1942, after U. S. entrance into the war, that rates were established at what the Maritime Commission calls a more reasonable figure. Exactly what that figure is was not given.

While the companies were earning these seldom-equalled fantastic figures, seamen were losing their lives on torpedoed ships. It was only by struggle that the shipping companies were forced to pay war bonuses to the seamen risking their lives.

Another Union Aids In Postal Case

Local 309 of the CIO United Auto Workers in Milwaukee, Wis., is the most recent in a growing series of unions to donate funds toward the appeal of the conviction of Kelly Postal, Minneapolis union leader, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

The International Association of Machinists, the largest union of the AFL metal trades division and the central core of its metal trades department, is conducting a referendum on withdrawing approximately one-half million members from the AFL.

The Machinists' long standing jurisdiction quarrel with the Carpenters Union over whose members should install plant machinery was climaxed last October when the AFL convention favored the Carpenters Union. This typical AFL craft decision hit the industrial setup of the Machinists Union, and created a rift between it and the AFL parent body.

Harvey Brown, President of the Machinists is reported to be holding conversations with Frankenstein, Vice-President of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, on the possibility of merging the two organizations.

If the Machinists withdraw from the AFL, it will be a most serious defection, a far greater blow to the AFL than the withdrawal in recent years of the Typographical and Brewery Workers Internationals.

If the Machinists and the UAW merge, the united organization would form the largest union in the world.

The Packard local of the UAW-CIO is the only one of the large locals in the Michigan industrial area that operates under a functioning labor-management committee.

Several months ago, the management threw a banquet for all of the union officers and shop stewards. George T. Christopher, President of the company, patted the union officers and stewards on the back for the wonderful job they were doing in speeding up the workers. He declared that in the coming year, however, still higher goals of production must be reached. But don't worry, he added, we are not going to hold you after the war to the high standards you are now attaining. As for us, the company, we are not getting anything out of it. It is all going to the government and for the war effort.

On March 23 the N. Y. Times carried the news that the Packard Motor Car Company more than doubled its sales and profits in 1942 compared with 1941. They paid 14 cents dividend on a share of stock in 1941. They paid 31 cents dividend in 1942.

These profits represent net earnings after \$9,650,000 have been provided for income taxes, \$2,000,000 for post-war reserve, and over \$3,250,000 for writing off current tools, etc.

The Stalinists have lost another administrative berth when the Executive Board of the CIO's Oil Workers Union eased out

J. G. Wright Analyzes Yugoslav Civil War

At the sixth regular session of the Sunday Open Forum held on March 28, John G. Wright, well-known Trotskyist writer and speaker, analyzed the civil war in Yugoslavia, the foreign alignments of the contending camps there — the Kremlin on the one hand and the "democracies" on the other — and the reflection of this struggle in international diplomacy and politics.

The civil war in Yugoslavia, the lecturer pointed out, flowed inescapably from the expanded resistance of the workers and peasants to the Axis-occupation forces and their collaborators, headed by the native landlords, capitalists and their local state apparatus.

"Just as in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact Leon Trotsky used the events in Poland as the key to the Finnish developments, so today we can use the events in Finland, the northern flank of the USSR, to understand the civil war in Yugoslavia and the meaning of Stalinist intervention there," said Wright. "Stalin took preparatory steps for the sovietization of Finland by trying to provoke a civil war and by establishing his puppet Kuusinen government.

"The Kremlin's intervention in Yugoslavia is an indisputable fact," Wright continued. "Military necessity and the needs of Soviet defense not only against the present enemy, Hitler, but long-term strategic reasons, drive the Stalinist bureaucracy to safeguard the Balkans, the southern flank of the USSR.

Edwin S. Smith, director of the union's organizing committee and Milton Knuffman, national organizer, William Taylor, member of the United Automobile Workers, associated with the organizing drives at Ford's and more recently at Douglas Aircraft, will take over the duties of National Organization Director.

A three-man panel of the War Labor Board rejected the International Ladies Garment Workers' demand for a 15% wage increase and recommended instead a 6% increase on the ground that the union had received 9% in August 1941. The Little Steel formula says wages cannot be raised more than 15% over the January, 1941 levels.

Dubinsky, instead of following a militant policy to obtain his union's demand, in the manner of the United Mine Workers, visited the White House last week to pay his respects and plead for a square deal for labor.

On leaving the White House, reporters asked Dubinsky what were the results of his plea for the abandonment of the Little Steel formula.

"I got a smile, I got sympathy," Dubinsky said ruefully.

It will be interesting to watch which of the two methods — Dubinsky's or Lewis' — will prove more successful in obtaining their just demands for the workers.

The first of the repressive anti-labor bills now pending in a majority of the state legislatures formally became law on March 23 in Kansas. This "labor union control" law, requires the licensing of labor union officials, public financial reports of unions, reports on dues and assessments of members. It also prohibits sit-down strikes and jurisdictional disputes.

The AFL announced that it would test the constitutionality of the new law in the courts. In an effort to stave off the adoption of this law, the AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods all joined in presenting a six-point program to the governor, pledging for the duration: 1) No strikes; 2) to file names of union officials with the state; 3) to file all union by-laws and constitutions; 4) to file all union schedules of dues, assessments, etc.; 5) to give the union membership financial reports; 6) to remove all "irresponsible members" from the ranks of labor.

But this program of cowardice and capitulation availed them nothing. It very probably only emboldened the corporation lackeys of the Kansas State legislature.

It is to be hoped that the labor movement of the other states will learn a lesson from the Kansas experience.

No one ever won a battle in the class struggle by proving how weak and harmless he was.

Seattle Branch SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Announces Opening of New Headquarters 521 Pike Street, Room 7 In Downtown Seattle Phone: Seneca 0453 Hours: 12-3 and 7-9 P. M. Daily Except Sundays Monday Evenings, Open until 10 O'clock

OPENING CELEBRATION DINNER

At the New Headquarters Sunday, April 4, 1943 7:30 P. M. Green Salad Spaghetti & Meatballs Red Wine \$1.00 Subscription

U. S. Steel Faked Records

(Continued from page 1)

said that government inspectors had been deceived by fake analysis reports written into the book to "meet" the specifications.

A written statement by George E. Dye, supervisor of inspection at the Irvin works, said:

"EARS BEAT BACK"

"Since July, 1942 I have been aware that the mill was shipping badly laminated and piped plates to the U. S. Navy and U. S. maritime shipping yards and that defective steel was being supplied on U. S. Treasury lease-lend orders."

Dye repeatedly complained to his superiors that bad plates were being shipped, and finally in November, 1942 he received instructions from William F. McGarrity, chief metallurgist of the Carnegie-Illinois Edgar Thompson works, also near Pittsburgh, to prevent shipment of sub-standard plates.

"Two days later," Dye continued, "John McConnell (sheet mill metallurgist inspector) told me that McGarrity 'got his ears beat back' when he brought the subject up in an operating meeting and I was instructed to go easy on rejections."

The questions naturally arise: Who was it that beat McGarrity's ears back? Obviously it must have been a superior. Who was that superior? How high in the ranks of the company's officials does the blame go?

McConnell told the Committee that he "did not remember" having told Dye what Dye had reported. McGarrity, of course denied the statement altogether and even declared that "responsibility lies within my department for the actions of my men."

The N. Y. Times jumped at this to carefully point out in an early part of its story on the hearing that responsibility was traced "as high but no higher than" McGarrity. But McGarrity's statement appears very dubious on the face of it.

WHY IS MCGARRITY TAKING THE RAP?

What interest does McGarrity have in falsifying test records, if not either (a) because he was instructed to do so, or (b) because he was forced to do so by demands from his production superiors for production rates which could not be attained by accurate tests?

And why didn't McGarrity or Dye go still higher up to complain, if they didn't feel that such action was useless and would result in unfavorable consequences to themselves?

The conclusion is inescapable the source of the order to fake the tests is far higher up than the metallurgical department. McGarrity is willing to be the "fall guy," according to all indications, in order to kill the trail that leads to even higher ranks of the corporation's officials.

"LIMITS INTENDED"

McConnell continued his testimony by admitting that he had told testers of tensile strength how to fake tests to meet the specifications. He said he had learned how to do the faking at the company's Homestead Works.

"There were intended to be limits to the faking, but I was not sure the person making the test knew that," he asserted.

McConnell's assistant, D. B. Ireland, also testified about how records were changed when there were rejections of material as sub-standard. He told of one tensile tester, Robert Kinnard, who was demoted when a Navy inspector caught him faking tests.

"He went beyond his instructions," Ireland explained. "He changed elongation valuations approximately 10%."

"You mean that he cheated more than he was supposed to cheat," Senator Truman remarked.

A written statement by Kinnard told how he had been put back on the job later, and how he had objected when his plant foreman, Michael A. Terella, had told him to "pull up" values "not more than 2,000 pounds," to bring steel hull plates testing 56,000 pounds per square inch up to 58,000 pounds, and thus "meet" the requirements of the American Bureau of Shipping.

A statement by Terella asserted that he had been instructed to do this by McConnell and Ireland.

OFFICIALS' STATEMENT

Naturally, when the cat was out of the bag, top Carnegie-Illinois and U. S. Steel officials "deplored" the situation, stated that it was "so unnecessary," declared that they had of course been ignorant about it, blamed it all on "a few individuals" with good intentions who had grown "lax," and promised to clear the whole matter up.

Senator Truman stated, however, that Carnegie-Illinois president Perry and other company officials had "not given very strong cooperation in uncovering the facts, and his committee turned the case over to the FBI.

(See editorial on Steel Test Faking on Page 3 of this issue.)

West Coast Seamen Fight Against New Draft Threat

(Continued from page 1)

thing the Washington bureaucracy is master at doing."

The resolution of the West Coast maritime unions to refuse to sign the RMO ink cards is an encouraging sign that the union seamen will not give up their hard-won gains without a fight. But there is grave danger that their fight can be lost before it is fairly begun.

In this same issue of the West Coast Sailors, a joint telegram of the Pacific Coast unions to Paul McNutt, Chairman of the War Man Power Commission indicates that the union leadership would accept the card system provided the cards were sent to the local draft boards rather than a central file in Washington. They even propose that the union dispatching halls "notify draft boards with suitable cards on assigning men to vessels."

It may well be asked, if such a concession were made to the RMO, would it not be possible for the local draft boards to send the cards on to Washington where a centralized card index system could be set up? The telegram likewise proposes that the "RMO confine its activities to draft status of men supplied to companies not under union contract"; that is, it would be O. K. to set up the RMO black list system for unorganized seamen. In turning over the unorganized seamen to the tender mercies of the RMO, do not the unions set up a dangerous precedent and make more difficult the recruitment of these seamen into the unions?

These latest maneuvers strikingly confirm the thesis of Pioneer Publishers' latest publication, MARITIME, A Historical Sketch and a Workers' Program, that the government program for the maritime industry is total warfare against the unions, benevolent paternalism toward the shipowners. In the same month that the shipping companies, blessed by enormous government subsidies, report profits running into tens of millions of dollars, the seamen are confronted with an intensified drive against their unions.

Likewise confirmed is the urgent necessity to institute the program of action suggested by the book, that the unions in order to defeat the aggressive attack of their

enemies must resort to organized political action.

At present the maritime unions confine their political activity to a kind of primitive guerilla tactics. In place of organizing an Independent Labor Party which would elect representatives of labor to take the side of unionism on the floor of Congress where they would be most effective, the unions limit themselves to isolated lobbyists stationed in the Washington corridors. These union delegates can do little beyond buttonholing representatives of the shipowners on the government payroll and trying to gain a favorable hearing before the biased government bodies set up by these same shipowner representatives.

The proposal of MARITIME, A Historical Sketch and a Workers' Program, to end company unionism in politics and build an Independent Labor Party to fight labor's battles on the political field seems timely indeed.

4,000 N.Y. Workers Meet In Erlich-Alter Protest

With Mayor La Guardia, Senator James Mead, AFL President William Green and CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey as headlined speakers, a mass meeting, sponsored by 250 labor leaders in memory of Henryk Ehrlich and Victor Alter, Polish Jewish Socialist labor leaders murdered by Stalin, was held in Mecca Temple Tuesday March 30. About 3000 people packed into the hall and several thousand more were unable to gain admittance.

The list of speakers also included Adolph Held, Chairman, Jewish Labor Committee; David Dubinsky, President, ILGWU; Abraham Cahane, editor, Jewish Forward; M. Mendelsohn of the Polish Jewish Bund; Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman, Union for Democratic Action; and J. B. S. Hardman, editor of the ACWA Advance. Rep. Jerry Voorhis of California sent a message to the meeting. Matthew Woll, Emil Rieve, William Collins, State AFL Representative, and many other prominent trade-union officials were introduced from the platform. The speakers' list, of itself, was a clear indication that the meeting was in fact sponsored by the official leadership of the AFL and CIO with the blessing and approval of Washington.

All the speakers, without exception, condemned the executions of Alter and Ehrlich and defended their anti-fascist reputations against the false Stalinist accusation that they were in the service of the Nazis. The charges against Alter and Ehrlich were branded as "incredible," as "insults to the intelligence," and as incompatible with everything that was known about these Jewish Socialist leaders. Luigi Antonini, vice-president of the ILGWU, read a letter to the meeting from Margaret DeSilver Tresca, calling attention to the belief held by Tresca's friends that he, like Alter and Ehrlich, fell victim to Stalin's assassins.

The speakers — also without exception — seized the occasion to extol the bourgeois "democracy" of the United States in contrast to all "dictatorships," in particular what Dubinsky and others characterized as the "Com-

munist dictatorship of the Soviet Union."

All the speakers from Mayor La Guardia down to Hardman utilized the occasion to beat the drums for the war aims of American imperialism and called for the vigorous prosecution of the war "to complete victory." Senator Mead, who spoke by telephone from Washington, even represented the dead Ehrlich and Alter as thoroughgoing champions of Roosevelt's "four freedoms."

The resolution presented by the sponsors and approved by the meeting followed the same ultra-patriotic line.

While the speakers emphasized the necessity for continued military cooperation with the Soviet Union in the war, they made it clear that this collaboration must proceed upon the basis of Anglo-American policy as laid by Roosevelt and Churchill and outlined in the "Atlantic Charter." In keeping with the diplomatic line of the State Department — which obviously approved the meeting — the speakers attributed the murder of Ehrlich and Alter to the "Soviet Government" and carefully refrained from mentioning the name of the executioner-in-chief, Stalin.

Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Boston—Adelman's Newsstand 284 Tremont St.

Chicago—Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.

Detroit—The Saturday Bookshop, Room 5, 3513 Woodward Ave., open Saturday evenings from 6 to 9 o'clock.

Minneapolis—Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.

Newark (Downtown)—Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House.

New Haven—Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St., near Chapel.

New York (Harlem)—Newsstands north west corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox Ave. and 135th St.

New York (Garment Area)—Newsstand, corner of 38th St. and 7th Ave.

New York (Manhattan)—14th St., between 4th and 7th Aves.; Newsstands on 42nd St., between 4th and 5th Aves.

Rochester—Newsstand, Main St. and Clinton Ave., southeast corner.

San Francisco—Duncans Smoke Shop, 1986 Sutter St. Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St. MacDonald's Book Shop, 867 Mission St. Golden Gate News Agency, 81 Third St. Fitzgerald News Agency, 21 Fourth St.

Seattle—Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

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THE THIRD IN A SERIES OF SIX LECTURES ON "THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD: 1917-1943"

by FELIX MORROW Editor of Fourth International

Title: "THE THERMIDORIAN REACTION AND THE DEFEAT OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION"

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A Short History Of 'The Militant'

By HELEN RUSSELL

With the entry of the Trotskyists into the Socialist Party, *The Militant* temporarily suspended publication. During this period, from June 6, 1936 to August 14, 1937, the Trotskyist views were presented in an internal party publication, *Socialist Appeal*, and a weekly, *Labor Action*, published by the California local. Upon the bureaucratic expulsion of the Trotskyists by Norman Thomas and Co. the *Socialist Appeal* became the official organ of the revolutionary left wing and, later, of the Socialist Workers Party that was officially organized in January 1938.

The *Socialist Appeal* was the only paper in America that told the truth about the Spanish Civil War, exposing the treachery of the Stalinist, Socialist and Anarchist leadership in Spain that paved the way for Franco's victory. Instead of leading the struggle for socialism they sought to prop up the bankrupt "democracy" of Spanish capitalism. As Leon Trotsky warned in the *Appeal* at that time: "It is impossible to lead the actual struggle against fascism other than by the methods of the proletarian revolution."

The menace of fascism was rising not only abroad but also at home. The Bundists, directed by Berlin, and native fascist formations like the Coughlinites, Pelley's Silver Shirts, Vigilantes etc., were becoming more bold. Through the *Socialist Appeal*, the Trotskyists brought home the lessons of Germany and Spain that in the struggle against fascism the workers could rely on no force other than their own organized strength. The *Socialist Appeal* advocated the formation of workers' defense guards to protect labor unions, meetings and halls from hoodlum attacks.

The Bundists decided the time ripe for mass public demonstrations. They were thwarted by the vigilance of the Socialist Workers Party. The climax of this struggle came in February, 1939 when the Bundists announced a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York. Answering the call of the SWP, the only party capable of struggle, 50,000 workers staged the most militant anti-fascist demonstration ever held in this country. The Trotskyists led similar demonstrations in Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

Later when the Coughlinites attempted to stage a march through the streets of New York and into Union Square, the Trotskyists again were the only force to mobilize against them. This time the very threat of a counter-demonstration launched through the *Appeal* sufficed to thwart the thugs: They called off their demonstration.

The fight against Fascism is an integral part of the struggle against capitalism, just as is the struggle against imperialist war. The *Socialist Appeal* warned the American people that war flowed from the contradictions of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, the stage of its decay and death agony. The way of socialism, warned the *Socialist Appeal*, alone could avert our country's participation in the Second World War. The position of the *Socialist Appeal* made it the only genuine anti-fascist force in the land.

On February 1, 1941 the name of the paper was changed back to *The Militant*, the original name for this most courageous and consistent fighter for the working class.

In July, 1941 the FBI raided the Minneapolis headquarters of the SWP. Indictments were handed down against Trotskyist leaders and militant trade unionists of Teamsters Local 544-CIO.

The Militant played a leading role in mobilizing support for the defendants, gave a full report on the historic trial and was the first to publish the verbatim testimony later issued as the pamphlet, "Socialism On Trial" by James P. Cannon and "In Defense of Socialism" by Albert Goldman. On the day war was declared, the defendants were sentenced to prison for terms up to one and a half years.

The concluding article of this series will discuss the history of *The Militant* from U. S. entry into the war up to the Bidle-Post Office attack on this paper.

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by JAMES P. CANNON 48 Pages 10 Cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Albert Parker

Layle Lane's Speech at CRDC Meeting

Layle Lane aroused particular interest when she touched on the struggle against Negro discrimination in her speech at the March 26 meeting of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, called to protest the revocation of *The Militant's* second-class mailing privileges. The reason for this is that she has a long record as a respected leader in the fight against Jim Crowism and as a militant in the March-On-Washington Movement.

Miss Lane took up — and effectively answered — Attorney General Biddle's letter to the Postmaster General in which he called for repressive action against *The Militant* on the ground, among others, that its articles include "stimulation of race issues."

"But," she said, "in my opinion the government itself is the greatest offender in this respect. For it is the government which segregates Negroes in the armed forces. It is the government which discriminates against Negroes in its government departments. Indeed, in Washington, the capital of the government, Negroes are not even able to travel freely and on an equal basis.

"I don't know how anyone can do more to 'stimulate race issues' than is constantly done on the floor of Congress by people like Representative Rankin who launch into the most insulting and provocative attacks upon the Negro people or by the Congressmen who refuse to pass anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation."

Miss Lane went on to demonstrate that racial discrimination as practiced by the government is not confined to Negroes alone. Referring to the treatment by the administration of Japanese-Americans as "a disgraceful blot" on this country's record, she cited figures to show economic discrimination too, as for example in the salaries of teachers in the concentration camps where the Japanese-Americans are confined: A Japanese-American teacher, she declared, receives \$19 a month, while white teachers doing the same work receive \$150 a month.

"That is why I believe," she said, "that when it comes to the stimulation of race issues, the government is unquestionably the greatest offender. And any paper which opposes such practices — as *The Militant* does — is doing a service to the people of this country."

This testimony by Miss Lane is all the more valuable because she is not a Trotskyist and because she is not in full agreement with the line of *The Militant*. It is merely the recognition by a responsible and respected Negro leader and trade unionist that the fight in defense of *The Militant* is the fight of all workers and defenders of civil liberties and democratic rights.

The truth is, of course, that *The Militant* does not "stimulate race issues" at all. Biddle's use of that phrase is a deliberate distortion of our policy. Every reader of this paper knows that *The Militant*, far from stimulating racial conflict, is constantly fighting to eliminate it altogether.

Racial antagonisms are not fostered by us but by the capitalist system and by those who benefit from setting one race against another because it enables them to divide and rule. To "stimulate race issues" would be to defeat our purpose, which is to unite white and Negro workers in struggle against their capitalist oppressors. Everyone acquainted with the work of the Trotskyists in the labor movement knows that our members in the plants are always in the forefront of the fight to convince the white workers to accept the Negro workers into the unions and to accept them moreover as members with complete and equal rights.

As Layle Lane indicated, we should hurl Biddle's charge back into his own teeth. We should answer his lie and his attack by intensifying the struggle against capitalist-inspired racial antagonisms and for the abolition of Jim Crowism. A necessary part of this struggle today is the defense of *The Militant*.

Importance Of The Struggle On Behalf Of 'The Militant'

By Albert Goldman

Excerpts from his speech at the Civil Rights Defense Committee protest meeting, Manhattan Center, New York, March 26, 1943.

It may seem to some people that in any legal contest against the decision of the Postmaster General to revoke the second-class mailing privileges of *The Militant*, the chances for winning at the present moment are too slim to justify such a proceeding. I would consider this attitude a serious error. Not because I claim that the chances are very good but because such a theory fails to take into consideration the effect of a struggle on the government forces and on the progressive forces.

In truth the chances in our favor are not very great. I assure you that the Postmaster General, who filed the petition to revoke the second-class mailing privileges before a board composed of three of his assistants, did not spend any sleepless nights worrying lest his assistants rule against him. And after having hurdled that tremendous obstacle, he has thereby placed himself in an exceedingly favorable position with the courts should his decision be challenged there. For it is a general rule that the decision of an administrative body is given great weight by any court. We can also assume that the courts are not uninfluenced by the war atmosphere which places a paper like *The Militant* under a tremendous handicap.

On the other hand the forces that can be mobilized to struggle for the rights of a paper expressing minority sentiments are not very imposing.

The Effects of Resistance

In spite of the unfavorable outlook, it would constitute criminal negligence on the part of those who believe in the right of social revolutionists to freedom of expression not to utilize every legal possibility to reverse the decision of the Postmaster. For to accept, without a struggle, any limitation of freedom is to encourage the enemies of freedom and to demoralize its friends. If the enemies of our rights see that their actions are not meekly accepted but actively opposed, they will hesitate before clamping down on those whose views do not follow theirs.

It is my opinion that already our refusal to accept quietly the action of the government against *The Militant* has resulted in a retreat on the part of the authorities. *Labor Action* has thus far been saved the fate of *The Militant* and issues of *The Militant* have been permitted to go through third-class mail. Had we not raised our voices in protest, had we not mobilized the really progressive forces behind the fight of *The Militant*, it is quite likely that neither *The Militant* nor *Labor Action* would be permitted to go through the mail at all.

Certain liberal elements have not at all given serious thought to the significance of the government action with reference to *The Militant* and to the motives which should actuate them in protesting against that action. The best example of a very superficial and dangerous attitude is the editorial comment of *The Nation* of March 13.

The Attitude of 'The Nation'

Without taking the trouble to analyze the contents of *The Militant* or even the excerpts upon which the Post Office relies for its decision, the editorial writer of *The Nation* declares that "we find it easy to believe that *The Militant* entertained such gaudy ambitions," referring to the government's charge that *The Militant* had attempted "to embarrass and defeat the government in its effort to prosecute the war."

The fact is that not one single excerpt cited by the government can be interpreted to indicate that *The Militant* aims at defeating the government in the war. *The Militant* does not sup-

port the war but it does not aim at the defeat of the U. S. government by any of the enemy governments in the war. That is not such a difficult distinction to grasp, even by government officials, let alone liberals.

The fact is that *The Militant* is politically opposed to all people who would resist the draft or take any action with the intention of bringing about the defeat of the government by the enemy governments. The authorities base their conclusion that *The Militant* is attempting to defeat the government in the war on the theory that the articles of *The Militant*, critical of the government's policies with reference to labor, the Negro people and other matters, might lead some people to interfere with the war effort.

To say that this is an imperialist war or to criticize the government's policies with reference to its dealings with Darlan, or to state that the government's policies place the burden of the war on the working masses and favor Jim Crowism, constitutes, in the eyes of government authorities, obstruction of the government's war efforts.

It is true that the criticisms of those who support the war have not as yet been designated by the government authorities as seditious. But let the democratic supporters of the war remember that their criticism also can be said to interfere with the war effort. It is to protect their own right to criticize that the liberal forces must rally to the defense of *The Militant*.

"If *The Militant* represented anything like the menace of, say, *Social Justice*, we would witness its complete suppression without a qualm." Does the above expression from the editorial of *The Nation* mean that the editors make a distinction between *Social Justice* and *The Militant* on the ground that the former was a fascist paper and the latter is an anti-fascist paper? That would certainly be a valid distinction upon which a liberal could refuse to defend *Social Justice* and wholeheartedly defend *The Militant*.

But *The Nation* proclaims its adherence to the "clear and present danger" doctrine of the late Justice Holmes, and it is because *The Militant* has a small circulation that it very mildly disapproves of the government's action.

Naturally, as an attorney, I have frequently raised this clear and present danger doctrine in defense of those charged with revolutionary activities. Any legal proposition in favor of a defendant should be raised. But that does not mean that a liberal interested in democracy and freedom of expression should utilize it in a way which would justify the suppression of a revolutionary paper if it had a large, instead of a small, circulation.

What kind of democracy is it which permits a revolutionary paper to exist only when and because it has a small circulation? I can understand the position of those consistent democrats who would defend the right of the revolutionists as well as the fascists to free speech. But I cannot understand the position of one who considers himself to be democratic and who would give a group freedom of expression only when it is small in numbers and influence.

'Nation' Ignores Basic Distinction

To *The Nation* the fact that *Social Justice* is a fascist paper and *The Militant* a fierce and devoted anti-fascist paper seems to make no difference. And it is this basic distinction which should be recognized by all labor people and liberals. I do not want it believed that I advocate the idea of having the government prosecute the fascists. I would not defend them but I would not call for their arrest and prosecution. First, because I do not believe that the government would prosecute the real powers behind the fascists and second, because I think that for us to demand the prosecution of fascists gives the government a justification for the prosecution of revolutionary Marxists. The working class must struggle against fascism in its own way and with its own methods. The best and the only effective method of struggling against fascism is by solving all of the basic problems of society and that can be done only through socialism.

The liberals may not agree with the idea that socialism is the only effective weapon against fascism but they will certainly agree that *The Militant* is an anti-fascist paper. If they do not want to carry their ideas of democracy to an extreme where they would defend the right of the fascists to freedom of expression, it is certainly in their interests as anti-fascists to protect an anti-fascist paper.

The Militant does not support the war because it does not believe that it is a war for democracy against fascism, but the slightest acquaintance with its character would convince anyone that in any real struggle against fascism, such as in the civil war in Spain, it would throw all its power against the fascists.

To permit the government to go unchallenged in its arbitrary action of depriving *The Militant* of its second-class mailing privileges is to accept the interpretation of the government that criticism of its policies is equivalent to an attempt to defeat the government in the war. Labor and liberalism must fight against such an interpretation.

To permit the government to go unchallenged in its action means also to weaken the anti-fascist forces. Labor and liberalism must not, in their own interests, permit a single anti-fascist voice to be silenced.

ALP Leaders Prepare for Coming Political Fights

Over 250 state labor leaders, representing 110 CIO, AFL and other unions, met on March 25 at the Hotel Astor in New York City to complete formation of the Trade Union Council of the American Labor Party. These leaders, official representatives of nearly a million New York trade unionists, pledged support to the ALP's plans for political activity in the 1944 presidential campaign.

Permanent officials of the ALP's Trade Union Council include Charles S. Zimmerman, ILGWU Vice-President, Chairman; Charles Kerrigan, regional director of the CIO United Auto Workers and Galvin McPherson, national representative of the CIO Shipyard Workers Union, co-chairmen; Jack Altman, manager of the New York Joint Board of the CIO United Retail & Wholesale Employees of America, secretary.

According to reports in the press, this Council, in cooperation with the ALP, will express trade union opinion "on all important political issues and legislation affecting labor," serve "as a general agency for public relations be-

The Tory-Labor Coalition And The British Masses

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

Since the start of the war the domestic political life of England has been dominated by a truce between the ruling Conservatives and the top leaders of the Labor Party. Although different in form, because organized labor in this country has as yet no party of its own, this Tory-Labor coalition has been similar in effect to the collaboration between Roosevelt's administration and the American trade-union officials. Under cover of "national unity," the official labor movement in Britain as in the U. S., has been subordinated to the capitalist class whose interests are protected and promoted by the government.

Despite the world-shattering events which have occurred, there has been no general election in England since 1935. The reactionary policies of Churchill's regime and the political truce concluded by the Labor Party leadership have never been submitted to the democratic test of a national vote. Millions of workers, soldiers and the youth have never had the chance to cast a ballot!

MASS SWING LEFT

Meanwhile, under the impact of the war, the working masses, soldiers, and middle class elements have been swinging steadily leftward. They are manifesting strong dissatisfaction with Churchill's foreign and domestic policies. The workers are striving to regain freedom of class action on both the economic and political arenas. In England the precondition for this emancipation is a breakup of the Tory-Labor coalition.

The militant mood of the workers is indicated by the outbreak of numerous "outlaw" strikes which have been initiated against the top leadership and against the Stalinists by miners, shipbuilders, dockers, aircraft workers and others.

These independent economic actions are being paralleled by a growing opposition to the continuance of the coalition as demonstrated by the results of recent by-elections for individual replacements of Members of Parliament. In West Belfast, formerly a stronghold of the worst Tory reaction, the voters have just elected the first Labor M. P. ever sent from Ulster to Whitehall. In the Midlothian section of Scotland in what was regarded a safe Tory seat, the Tory candidate scraped by thanks to a few hundred votes.

BEVERIDGE PLAN VOTE

The disgust, disillusion and discontent of the masses with the Churchill government and its supporters was accentuated last month by the Tory-controlled Parliament's rejection of a demand for some immediate action on the

Beveridge Plan. By a vote of 335 to 119, the government majority cynically showed it had no intention of enacting even these modest reforms.

This has provoked a crisis in the upper circles of the Labor Party. Such leading Labor Ministers as Bevin and Morrison defended the government's sabotage of the Beveridge plan against the bulk of the Labor M.P.'s and certainly against the desires of the rank-and-file. They openly solidarized with the reactionary anti-labor position of Churchill and his Tory gang. Bevin appears to be preparing to follow the path of Ramsay MacDonald who, after selling out the Labor Party, went over body and soul to the capitalists.

Churchill's speech a week ago Sunday was obviously designed to allay the bitterness created by these events. The Prime Minister wants to strengthen the Tory-Labor dike against the rising tide of discontent which threatens to sweep away the coalition. But Churchill's post-war promises cannot stave off increasing resentment nor the further development of the crisis within the Labor Party.

C.P. SEEKS AFFILIATION

At this juncture the Communist Party has stepped up its campaign for affiliation with the Labor Party. In February the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party turned down its request for affiliation. But the question is bound to be brought up again by the Stalinists on the floor of the Labor Party convention to be held early in May.

The resentment of the British workers against the Tories and against the betrayals of the Labor minister-captives, their admiration for the deeds of the Red Army, their mistaken identification of the Stalinists with the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and communism will undoubtedly induce considerable numbers of workers to welcome our party's demand against the Labor bureaucrats.

In their attempt to enter the Labor Party the Stalinists aim to maintain the political truce with Churchill and the English capitalists, to cement the cracking Tory-Labor coalition, and to block the road to independent class action in industry or in politics. The Stalinist machine seeks more favorable ground to manipulate the leftward movement of radicalized workers in the interests of the reactionary foreign policy of the Kremlin.

These policies of the Stalinists can most effectively be combated by revolutionists inside the ranks of the Labor Party where the Stalinists propose to operate.

JOHN L. LEWIS DEFENDS THE MINERS' DEMANDS AT TRUMAN HEARING

The members of the Truman Senate Investigating Committee may have hoped to intimidate or smear the United Mine Workers' fight for wage raises when they subpoenaed John L. Lewis to appear at an open hearing on March 26, but if that was their hope, they were sadly mistaken. For Lewis gave more than he got, and he used the three-hour hearing as a forum for justifying the miners' demands in the current coal wage negotiations.

Lewis pointed out that the government had one policy for the "profiteering" corporations and another for labor, that it was really contributing to inflation "by excessive rewards to industry" while telling 50,000,000 workers that "we can't do anything for you." Declaring that the government had given the employers 49 billion dollars in war contracts, of which 10% was profit, he asserted that "all of those profits are inflationary."

The Senators at the hearing tried to commit Lewis on the question of a coal strike if the union does not secure its demands. Lewis replied that the no-strike agreement made by the labor leaders after Pearl Harbor was "not necessarily binding" because the War Labor Board through its "Little Steel" formula had violated the government's part of the agreement, and that the unions are under no compulsion to accept the Board's decisions.

"PORTAL TO PORTAL"

Lewis also called attention to a ruling by the New Orleans Circuit

Court of Appeals last month that ore miners must be paid on a "portal to portal" basis, that is, they must be paid from the time they enter until the time they leave the mine, instead of, as at present, from the time they reach their working place until they leave it. He said that the WLB wage formula was in conflict with this court decision, but that the miners would still insist on the "portal to portal" basis.

Lewis caustically rejected the worthless promises about stabilizing the cost of living which have been made so often by government officials and which were repeated at the hearing by some of the Senators.

Senator Burton promised that Congress would deal satisfactorily with profits and taxes, and asked:

"If we stop these undue profits and costs from rising, will you help keep wages down?"

"Will you phone me?" Lewis replied.

By taxes and the renegotiation of contracts, "we will hope the rich will not get richer out of the war," said Senator Brewster.

"We all hope with you, but hope deferred maketh the heart sick," Lewis remarked.

Lewis also expressed willingness to have a new labor board to replace the WLB. He declared a board like the one set up in World War I would be better than the present board.

(See Page 4 for editorial on Lewis and the War Labor Board.)

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

There is no doubt that the election returns in Denmark, where 95% of the electorate voted against the Nazi oppressor, was an expression of the Danish masses' hatred of fascism.

But the election was far from being a "colossal blow to German prestige" as Danish officials in London are asserting.

The "democratic" ticket was made up of a coalition of the five parties participating in the government—the Conservative Party, the Social Democrats, the Liberals, the Radicals and the Right Union. This coalition won out in the name of "democracy" over the Danish Nazi party and the sympathizing Farmers party.

However, Nazi collaborator Erik Scavenius still remains Premier. And, it is from these very parties making up the "democratic" coalition that he derives his support. Through Scavenius' policy of collaboration, Danish industry and agriculture has become one of the main bulwarks of the Nazis. The masses, being against collaboration, and having no other way to voice their opinion as yet, voted for the coalition, which claimed to be for "democracy."

It costs little to stage an election—Hitler has his plebiscites—for the purpose of bolstering the faith of the masses in the capitalist government. As long as the spokesman for that government is able to continue protecting the privileges of his real constituents, the Danish capitalists, these masses can keep going to the polls till doomsday.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek's welcome by the masses of the United States is a salute to the heroic struggle of the Chinese masses against Japanese imperialism. To the American workers, this struggle is something like the Soviet workers' defense against the Nazi imperialist invader.

The American ruling class, however, understanding that the Chinese capitalists are vitally interested in preventing the Chinese struggle for national liberation from breaking bounds and establishing a workers' and peasants' government, welcomes Madame Chiang as a representative of the Chinese capitalists.

effort. (Li Fu-chen has told the facts about the role of the capitalists in China's war in the Feb. 1941 *Fourth International*.)

Further testimony on the role of the Chinese capitalists and landlords comes in an unusually frank dispatch from China to the Mar. 22 *Time* magazine.

In Honan province, an area vital to the war effort, it is estimated that five million people will have died from starvation by spring.

The most terrible thing about it, says the correspondent, "is the knowledge that the famine might have been averted."

Chiang Kai-shek has made so many concessions to the bureaucrats and landlords of the provinces that, being completely removed from any responsibility to the masses, they have no feeling whatsoever for the needs of the masses.

"By a tremendous miscalculation," the reporter states, "no grain was sent to the famine land in autumn when it might have arrived in time." A "miscalculation," that is, of the callous dictator.

In order to crush the Chinese revolution in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek had to make tremendous concessions to the landowners. Thus nearly the entire burden of taxation is on the shoulders of the peasants. Through the grain taxes imposed on them, the peasants must feed the civilian officials and the whole army.

While the toiling masses are driven to eat the flesh of those who have already died from starvation, the official bureaucracy manages to maintain its privileges. *The Time* reporter emphasizes:

"Before we left Chengchow [Center of famine] the officials gave us a banquet. We had two soups. We had spiced lotus, peppered chicken, beef and water chestnuts. We had spring rolls, hot wheat buns, rice, bean-curd, chicken and fish. We had three cakes with sugar frosting."

The hope for China's national struggle is the reawakening of mass activity. Only the participation of the masses in control of their war can guarantee the outcome. Only if the masses wrest leadership of the war from the capitalists and landlords, along with the corrupt officials who represent them, can China's struggle for national liberation come to a victorious conclusion.

CRDC Meeting Demands End To Ban On 'The Militant'

(Continued from page 1)

implied that it would not support *The Militant's* fight if this paper were not the organ of a comparatively small group.

(Excerpts from Goldman's speech will be found on Page 3 of this issue.)

LAYLE LANE'S SPEECH

Layle Lane, member of the National Committee of the Negro March-On-Washington Movement and former vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, drew applause from the meeting when she charged that "the reason *The Militant* is under attack is because it indicates a better way of life for the masses."

Miss Lane briefly reviewed the "crimes" with which *The Militant* had been charged by Biddle and the Post Office—its articles exposing Big Business profiteering, the government's collaboration with the fascists, Washington's approval of Jim Crowism, etc.—and then she read excerpts from the capitalist press to corroborate the truth of the articles in *The Militant*.

(See Albert Parker's column, "The Negro Struggle," on P. 3 of this issue for further comment on Layle Lane's speech.)

ACLU SPEAKER

Clifford Forster, speaking on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, told why that organization was backing *The Militant's* fight in this case. He declared that it was in reality a continuation of the government's attack on the Trotskyist movement begun in 1941 in the Minneapolis trial of 28 Socialist Workers Party and Local 54-CIO members.

"If *The Militant* can be suppressed merely because one or two officials disagree with its contents," Forster said, "then censorship has indeed reared its ugly head in this country."

"It is the duty of each of us to protest and fight against the Post Office order, and to support the fight all the way up to the Supreme Court," Forster concluded.

ed, "and that is the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union."

Emanuel Garrett, editor of the weekly, *Labor Action*, which has until recently also suffered interference from the Post Office, expressed opposition to the Biddle-Post Office move "because it is an attack on the democratic right of free press for which labor has fought so many years, because in essence it is an attack on all democratic rights."

"100% Solidarity" The reactionaries are making a test case of *The Militant*, he continued, and if they win, it will be a signal for an all-out attack on all other outspoken labor and liberal papers. "Our course, therefore, is 100% solidarity with *The Militant*, 100% hostility to the reactionary practices and procedure of the Post Office and the Roosevelt administration."

John Finerty, Workers Defense League attorney who played a prominent role in the fight to save Tom Mooney, Sacco-Vanzetti and Odell Waller, declared that second-class mailing privileges are not privileges but rights, which cannot be legally withdrawn by arbitrary decree of Washington bureaucrats.

He expressed "the hope that when the case reaches the courts, there will be no pussyfooting and that *The Militant* will fight out the fundamental issue," which he described as the right to say what it wished, except material which would give military information to the enemy.

George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, acted as chairman of the meeting, and briefly outlined the main facts in the history of the Biddle-Post Office attack on *The Militant*.

Since this was the first public meeting of the CRDC in New York since the assassination of Carlo Tresca, vice chairman of the Committee, the audience rose for a minute in honor of the memory of this life-long defender of civil liberties.

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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. For 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. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Steel Test Faking

Two vital issues are involved in the exposure that an important subsidiary of the U. S. Steel faked its records on steel tests and deliberately sold the government of this country and its allies sub-standard steel armor plate. (See article on Page 1.)

The first is the contrast in the treatment accorded by capitalist propagandists to the Steel Corporation on the one hand and to the coal miners on the other. The exposure of the steel barons' conduct takes place while the miners are fighting for an increase in their wages to defend their standard of living. The full barrage of capitalist slander has fallen on the miners, including the lynch-inciting cry of sabotage.

Assuredly, the sale of sub-standard steel could have resulted (if it has not already done so) in the loss of lives of sailors and merchant mariners. Yet the same capitalist propagandists who cannot find charges vile enough to hurl against the miners, have joined almost unanimously to

whitewash the U. S. Steel in this flagrant case. The second issue raised by the exposure is even more important. The U. S. Steel case is the second such scandal brought to light recently. In January of this year it was shown that the Anaconda Copper Company had sent millions of dollars worth of sub-standard wire to the armed forces of the United States and the Allies.

What motivated the company officials to engage in these criminal frauds? The most valid explanation touches the heart of the main economic and political problems of our day: the monopoly ownership of the means of production and their operation for profit.

Dominated by the profit motive, the capitalists seek to increase their profits, either directly by such practices as revealed before the Truman Committee, or indirectly by placing pressure on their underlings to speed up the output to such a degree that production of sub-standard articles results. The minor corporation officials frequently resort to such methods as faking to hold their jobs.

These frauds automatically pose the question: Are the capitalists fit to control the lives and livelihoods of the workers? This question was inadvertently touched upon in the following dialogue that took place before the Truman Committee:

Senator Ferguson: "Do you consider the testimony and evidence as showing good management?"

Benjamin Fairless: "I do not. I consider it very poor management."

Mr. Fairless, President of the United States Steel Corporation, heads one of the most powerful monopolies in America. If he is forced to describe the management of his concern in such terms, the case for capitalism is bad indeed.

In the light of the latest crimes committed for the sake of profits, *The Militant's* program for "Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control" takes on urgency. Under workers' control industries will be operated not for the profits of a few capitalists, but in the interests of the great masses of the country.

Lewis And The War Labor Board

John L. Lewis stoutly defended and completely justified the mine workers' wage demands at the Truman Senate Investigating Committee hearing held in Washington on March 26.

But when he declared that he favored the establishment of another labor board to take the place of the present War Labor Board, he showed that he was still committed to the course that hog-tied the labor movement and led to its present crisis.

It must never be forgotten that Lewis, like the CIO and AFL leaders, was one of the sponsors of the present War Labor Board. When its predecessor, the National Defense Mediation Board, voted against the demands of the "captive" miners in the fall of 1941, the CIO leaders, under Lewis' pressure, denounced and resigned from that Board, blowing it sky high.

But instead of acting on the lesson that the very function of such agencies is to bind the unions to the war machine and to prevent their independent action against the employers, Lewis and the other labor leaders helped Roosevelt set up the present Board after Pearl Harbor.

Despite the fact that the War Labor Board's policies and activities have made it necessary for the miners to denounce it and refuse to submit to its jurisdiction, Lewis right now, in the midst of the present coal controversy, proposes the setting up of still another board. Apparently he does not break with the idea of labor being imprisoned in such bodies, but has a quarrel merely with their personnel. He is only asking that these boards grant slightly greater concessions to labor and especially to its officialdom.

The trade union militants, in absorbing the lessons of the miners' struggle for decent wages, will not consent to play blind man's bluff first with one board, then another. They will demand that labor cease its policy of subservience to the war machine and strike out as an independent power to do the job for which it was organized — to fight for the interests of the working class until the day when labor shall come into its own.

A Statement On The Slaughter Of The Jews

By the Executive Committee of The Fourth International

The Militant has received the following declaration from the Executive Committee of the Fourth International (World Party of Socialist Revolution):

Hitler's mass murders of the Jewish people of Europe arouse in every class conscious worker a feeling of fury against this arch-sadist, evil spawn of decaying capitalism.

The full brunt of Hitler's insane violence falls against the Jewish toilers: workers, artisans and small tradesmen, who make up the huge majority of the Jews of Europe and the world. The wealthy Jews have been able, in large measure, to escape or to buy privileges the trapped poor Jews cannot secure.

Open the Doors of Refuge!

Anger against Hitler and sympathy for the Jewish people are not enough. Every worker must do what he can to aid and protect the Jews from those who hunt them down. The Allied ruling classes, while making capital of Hitler's treatment of the Jews for their war propaganda, discuss and deliberate on this question endlessly. The workers in the Allied countries must raise the demand: Give immediate refuge to the Jews and to all those being hounded for racial or religious reasons or for advocating social progress, who are pounding desperately at the gates. Quotas, immigration laws, visas—these must be cast aside. Open the doors of refuge to those who otherwise face extermination! The right to asylum is an elementary democratic right, which the workers and all honest democrats must support.

The workers, regardless of national, racial or

religious origin, must wage war to the death against all prejudices which the capitalist class fosters in order to divide the masses by creating internal antagonism among them. Against the capitalists' attempt to cleave the workers into warring groups, the workers must strive to unite around a program which will bring class victory over capitalism.

In its period of democratic revolution against feudalism, when capitalism was a young and progressive social system, it extended the rights of man and of citizenship to Jews and other religious minorities. Capitalism, in its imperialist period of decay, in its reactionary struggle against the proletariat, the new rising class, is taking away the democratic rights from the masses. The reactionary tendencies of international capitalism find their most developed form in fascism, which, while crushing the labor movement and abolishing all democratic rights, thrusts the Jews into ghettos more horrible than those of feudalism, ghettos that are in reality human slaughter houses.

Brotherhood Through Socialism

The Fourth International, leader of the workers in the struggle for world socialism, welcomes the Jewish toilers into its ranks. Only by world socialism can the Jews, above all the Jewish workers, and all oppressed nations and races, be saved from the terrible fate world capitalism has inflicted on them and the even worse fate it has in store for ever-increasing numbers of them. Only in world socialism will human brotherhood become a reality and anti-Semitism a hideous memory.

February 28, 1943.

Civil War In Hitler's Rear Spreads To Poland

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

British censors have permitted the London correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, C. L. Sulzberger, to cable the following vitally significant news:

"Already beneath the conqueror's rule explosions are creeping to the surface all over Eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia Left-Wing Partisan is combating Right-Wing Chetnik with the same savagery each has displayed against the Axis, and vice versa. In Poland much the same phenomenon goes on." (*N. Y. Times Magazine*, March 21.)

The cautious wording of this dispatch only serves to underscore its importance. Civil war has been raging in Yugoslavia since mid-summer of 1941. Sulzberger has been one of the few correspondents permitted from London to report the news of this civil warfare.

Sulzberger's latest statement that "in Poland much the same phenomenon goes on (as in Yugoslavia)" constitutes a flat admission and the first open confirmation that there is a civil war in Poland, proceeding under the same Stalinist auspices as the struggle in Yugoslavia.

The first official disclosure of "difficulties" in Poland came six weeks ago when General Sikorski, Premier of the Polish Government-in-Exile, issued a statement on February 21, in which he "accused Russia of dropping parachutists in Central and Eastern Poland to carry on political warfare and disclosed that his government has protested to Moscow against foreign elements intervening in the internal affairs of the Polish state." (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 22.)

But Sikorski denied at the time any large scale military conflict in Poland and disclaimed responsibility for any "local clashes" occurring there.

Said Sikorski: "Despite contrary reports, it is not true that our government has given instructions for fighting them (that is, the Russian-backed forces in Poland). If there are any local incidents they are spontaneous. Underhand propaganda is using falsely this argument, but the Polish government has only had recourse to an official protest against foreign elements intervening in the internal affairs of the Polish state."

This diplomatic double-talk reveals that the British-backed forces in Poland are playing much the same role as the British-backed forces in Yugoslavia. That the forces of Mikhailovich, "chief of the Chetniks," have been fighting the Yugoslav Partisans is now no longer covered up by London or Washington. The phrase "Right-Wing Chetniks" in Sulzberger's dispatch can have reference only to Mikhailovich's detachments.

Sulzberger himself has confirmed this previously quite categorically:

"In Yugoslavia the British backed General Drazha Mikhailovich and his Chetniks and the Russians backed Bosnian Partisans, now engaged in campaigns against each other." (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 22.)

The successes of the Red Army, and the heroic defense by the Soviet masses of the remaining conquests of the October revolution have added new explosive power to the irrepressible conflict in Yugoslavia, and have spread it beyond the boundaries. Poland is now aflame. This inspiring news can no longer be concealed by the "democratic allies" of the Kremlin.

Starkey Jackson

Comrade Starkey Jackson, a leading British Trotskyist, has been lost at sea, apparently while the regiment in which he was a soldier was being transported abroad.

Pending the arrival of further information, *The Militant* reprints the following information about Comrade Jackson's record, taken from the March issue of the *British Socialist Appeal*:

"Although still in his early thirties, Starkey Jackson had taken an active part in the social movement for nearly 20 years. He joined the Labor League of Youth when he was 14 years old. At an early age he lost his job as the result of activities in the General Strike and he threw himself wholeheartedly into socialist work."

"He was elected by the Labor League of Youth as a delegate to the first Youth Delegation which visited the Soviet Union from Britain in 1926 and acted as the secretary of the delegation."

"On his return to England, he broke with the Labor Party and joined the Young Communist League and for a short period was the editor of the Communist Party youth journal, *The Young Worker*."

ACTIVE MILITANT

"He was an activist in the unemployment movement for several years and was sentenced to six months imprisonment after a demonstration in which he played a leading role was broken up in the most brutal manner by the police."

"Towards the end of 1929,

Comrade Jackson became critical of Stalinism and the policy of the British C. P. and as a result of his experiences he eventually joined the Fourth International.

"For some years he was the secretary of the Militant Group and in 1938 became the secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist League, which post he fulfilled until he was called up early in the war."

"Starkey Jackson entered the army as a proletarian revolutionist adopting the attitude of our movement that a revolutionist must go with the workers of his age and class, to carry on the struggle for the socialist revolution in the army as well as in industry."

"We salute a comrade who lost his life in the imperialist war which he combated for many years."

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Government Helps Alcoa To Rake in Huge Profits

By RALPH JOHNSON

Big Business goes after big money in war as in peace. And gets it. The latest big wartime grab brought to light involves the Aluminum Corporation. Here are the facts.

On March 6 and April 1, 1942, Jesse Jones, with Roosevelt's approval, signed contracts with the Aluminum Co. of Canada, affiliate of the Mellon aluminum monopoly, whereby the latter obtained the tidy sum of \$68,500,000 to build a great power plant on upper Saguenay River in the wilds of Quebec. The estimated cost of this project is "over 65 million," leaving a spread of about \$3,000,000 between the loan and the estimated cost. There are no interest charges. The principal is to be repaid by deliveries of aluminum.

Drew Pearson, in his column of March 22, declares that the most interesting clause in these contracts provides "that if the plant's contract is cancelled (by the termination of the war—R. J.) before Dec. 31, 1945, the balance of \$68,500,000 not repaid by the delivery of aluminum, will remain in Alcoa's hands and need not be repaid to the United States."

This power plant, which almost equals in capacity the Boulder Dam, stands to cost its private owners exactly nothing. The ones who stand to lose are the American people. If the war ends by Dec. 1945, it will cost the American tax payers millions. Moreover, public power projects like Bonneville, TVA, St. Lawrence, etc., have been sidetracked while a monopoly is aided to strengthen its stranglehold on electrical power and aluminum. The plant, being in Canada, is beyond U. S. control and, consequently, free from U. S. taxation.

Furthermore, according to I. F. Stone, "the cost of the project is not only paid in advance by the American Government but freed from profit taxes by the Canadian. Thus, after the war, the Canadian company will have a plant financed by the American government and amortized at the expense of the Canadian." (*PM* March 26.) Thus the Canadian people will also lose.

It takes money to operate a plant, even one obtained for nothing. The contracts provide this money too. The Aluminum Co. has been advanced \$34,500,000 at 3% through U. S. government facilities. No outlay, no risk, no taxes. Only profits and super-profits!

Virtually every clause in the contracts give the aluminum profiteers something. For example, it is provided that lend-lease aluminum will be paid for at 17 cents a pound, instead of 15 cents. Earmarked for lend-lease thus far are 274 million pounds, which at 2 cents extra per pound, means \$5,480,000 over and above the "average profits."

The profits are guaranteed through an escalator, clause which provides that "any increase in labor costs or shipping costs . . . are to be paid by the American government."

These are the gentlemen who yell: "Inflation! Sabotage! Sedition!" whenever the workers demand a rising scale of wages to meet skyrocketing prices—in large part due to war-profiteering.

Representative Walter M. Pierce of Oregon says he is firmly convinced "that decisions were being made by war agencies in the interest of private profit rather than national security. . . ." But what do Rep. Pierce and the other congressmen propose to do about it? Another investigation!

Alcoa has been investigated before. In point of fact, it was after the scandals of the summer of 1941 — in which Alcoa was involved — that the contracts were signed. No investigations are not enough.

The thing to do is: Kick the rascals out! Expropriate all the basic industries, especially power and aluminum plants, and run them under workers' control.

N. Y. Board of Education Rejects Mark Starr

Because of Mark Starr's "long record as a labor protagonist," he is unfit for the post of Adult Education Director of New York City — so says Mr. Buck, President of the Board of Education, manufacturer, business executive and banker, backed by his colleagues: Dr. Bonaschi, ex-secretary of the Italian Chamber of Commerce and former shipping company executive; Mary Dillon, President of the Brooklyn Borough Gas Co.; and Mr. Higgins, ex-director of Bond and Mortgage Co.

Last week, these four life-long protagonists of capitalism rejected Mark Starr, the only candidate out of 100 who had qualified and been recommended by the Board of Superintendents and Board of Examiners. Why? Because he had attended London Labor College on a union scholarship from South Wales Miners' Federation and served as extension director of Brookwood Labor College before assuming his present post as Educational Director of the ILGWU.

The protesting trade union and ALP leaders, who helped elect LaGuardia's administration must insist upon Starr's appointment. The Mark Starr case is another signal to the workers of New York that they should clean out this whole anti-labor gang by running and electing their own independent labor candidates in the next municipal elections.

SUNDAY OPEN FORUM

This Week: SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 8 P. M.

"JOHN L. LEWIS & ROOSEVELT'S LABOR POLICY"

Speaker: E. R. FRANK

Subject and speaker for next week's Forum will be announced at the Frank meeting.

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