

Roosevelt Tries To Halt Threatened Rail Strike

1,450,000 Railroad Workers Fed Up With Gov't Run-Around Vote Overwhelmingly for Walkout; Unions Set Dec. 30 Deadline

By Art Preis

DECEMBER 21. — President Roosevelt has been compelled to intervene personally in the railroad wage negotiations in a last minute effort to head off the general railroad strike scheduled to begin Dec. 30. All his elaborate boards and arbitration machinery, set up to stymie the wage demands of the railroad workers, have completely broken down and are discredited. Roosevelt is now forced to assume direct responsibility for the raw deal he is trying to put over.

A successful strike or even a strike threat resulting in substantial wage gains will deal another powerful blow to Roosevelt's fast-waning prestige with labor and to his increasingly discredited war labor relations machinery.

The hard-pressed bureaucrats of the Big Five Railroad Brotherhoods, who managed to stall off decisive union action for almost a year, have hastened to the White House at Roosevelt's imperious summons. They are no doubt anxious to obtain a formula which they can palm off on their membership as an "acceptable" settlement to avert a strike the union leaders fear no less than the bosses and government. Whether they can dig up such a formula is another question.

97% STRIKE VOTE
So far as the railroad workers are concerned, their sentiments are clearly revealed in the announcement of the strike vote of the 350,000 operating employees of the Brotherhoods—97% for strike. Although the actual vote of the 15 non-operating unions, representing 1,100,000 which include the lowest paid workers, has not been disclosed, it is announced that they also have voted overwhelmingly for strike. The non-operating union officials have now set Dec. 30 as the strike date.

This strike vote is all the more significant because it was not the action of traditionally militant unions, like the miners or auto workers, but of one of the most conservative layers of the working class, which has been stifled for decades by an entrenched, well-heeled, servile union bureaucracy.

It is evidence of terrific pressure from the ranks, now brought to a fever pitch of resentment at soaring prices, frozen wages and extortionate taxes while the rail corporations rake in exorbitant profits, that this union bureaucracy has been forced into endorsing the strike and setting the deadline.

PRESSURE FROM BELOW
In the announcement of the strike vote last Thursday, the Brotherhoods' leaders recognized that this "reflected a deep and spreading dissatisfaction of the citizenry of this country with the

(Continued on page 2)

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CASE OF ASSASSIN 'JACSON'

By WALTER O'ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 1.—The final hearing in the appeal of Leon Trotsky's assassin, "Jacson," against the twenty-year sentence of last April is scheduled to take place on Dec. 10. Ever since the sentence was imposed by the Sixth Penal Court of Mexico City, the GPU agent's lawyer has been trying desperately to find some peg on which to hang his appeal for a reversal, or at least a reduction of sentence.

The doctors who attended "Jacson" immediately after the murder were called in the hope of substantiating the claim that he was in no condition to make responsible statements at the time. The defense also insisted on the right which every accused has of confronting those who have given testimony against him. Former guards and friends of Trotsky were called to face "Jacson." They repeated their statements and their reasons for considering him to be an agent of the GPU.

The GPU defense was most anxious to haul Natalia Trotsky into court and force her to confront the murderer. He would then have had the opportunity to re-

peat his lies about his alleged lengthy discussions with Trotsky, how the latter wanted him to go to Russia to sabotage, murder, etc. It will be remembered also that the murderer has stated that Natalia Trotsky was old and senile and therefore did not know what was going on about her. The GPU has not succeeded in subjecting Natalia Trotsky to this ordeal and it is hoped that it will not be able to do so. Due to two recent illnesses, Natalia Trotsky is in no condition to submit to such a provocation and ordeal.

PLAYS FOR TIME

As far as the substance of the testimony is concerned, "Jacson's" defense has won no ground at all and it is difficult to imagine that any sort of favorable decision can be achieved on this basis. Aside from protests against the procedure of the trial judge, the murderer's attorney, Medellin Ostos, will no doubt again allege partiality, errors, etc., on the part of the Superior Tribunal (Court of Appeals) which is reviewing the case. As a matter of fact he has already appealed to the Sup-

Conference For Labor Party Held By Michigan Unionists

DETROIT, Mich.—Rank and file sentiment for an independent labor party in Michigan has again manifested itself in unmistakable fashion. It has already disrupted the carefully formulated plans of the labor bureaucrats.

Led by Emil Mazey, president of UAW Briggs Local 212 and Paul Silver, president of UAW Detroit Steel Products Local 351, a group of about 70 local union leaders, representing more than a score of Michigan CIO and AFL locals which represent over 200,000 workers, set up a "Committee for the Promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party" on Dec. 12, at a conference held at Detroit's Book-Cadillac Hotel. Both at this meeting and at a smaller steering committee held in the Hoffman Bldg. two days later, plans were elaborated to hold a state-wide conference late in January or early in February to which all Michigan locals will be invited for the purpose of effecting ways and means for launching a labor party at the earliest possible time.

LEADERS PRESENT
Among those present at the Book-Cadillac meeting were: Matthew Hammond president of UAW West Side Tool and Die Local 157 representing 30,000 members, Tucker P. Smith, regional director of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO, whose union has 12,000 members, a leading representative of UAW Ford Bomber Local 50 with a membership of approximately 50,000, John Clarkson, president of the UAW Lincoln Local 900, Cornelius Moll, president of Chevrolet Drop Forge Local 262, Celsio Rubini, president of Chrysler Highland Park Local 490, Leonard Kluk, president of Michigan Steel Tube Local 238, Leo Corneller, president of Fleetwood Local 15, Philip Lutjen, president of UAW Local 49, Larry Getlinger, president of Federal Mogul Local 202, Arthur Menozzi, president of Local 11 Aluminum Workers of America CIO, Woodrow Ingram, president of Local 19 Shoptact Federation (non-operating railroad employees) AFL, Robert A. Zanske, director of the Federal Credit Union of Ford Local 600, Adrian Jensen, chairman of the Political

(Continued on page 2)

New York Meeting Demands President Pardon Eighteen

High Court's Refusal To Review Conviction Condemned By Labor And Liberal Spokesmen

Charge Upholding of 'Gag Act' Endangers Labor Movement, Violates Right of Free Speech, Invalidates the Bill of Rights

NEW YORK, Dec. 16.—A direct and forceful demand that President Roosevelt grant an immediate and unconditional pardon to the 18 Minneapolis victims, framed up under the anti-labor Smith "Gag" law, was issued tonight by an overflow mass protest meeting at the Manhattan Center here. The meeting was sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

This important gathering, addressed by leading spokesmen of a number of civil liberties and working class political organizations, initiated the nationwide campaign to win the freedom of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis drivers Local 544-CIO leaders and to wipe from the Federal statutes the Smith "Gag" law, the most dangerous legal threat to American civil liberties since the notorious Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798.

Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union and the nation's outstanding liberal fighter for civil rights, and Albert Goldman, brilliant Minneapolis trial defense attorney and himself one of the defendants, topped a list of prominent speakers who scored the reactionary decision of Roosevelt's U. S. Supreme Court in refusing even to hear an appeal by the defendants.

Voicing the shock and indignation that is spreading through ever wider labor and liberal circles at the government's attack on freedom of expression, Mr. Baldwin pledged the continued full backing of the ACLU in the fight. He expressed his unceasing admiration for the principled and courageous defense made by the 18 convicted men and women, and addressed a ringing appeal to the entire labor and liberal movements to join forces to smash the sinister attack on civil liberties represented by the Minneapolis convictions and the Supreme Court decision.

BALDWIN PROTESTS

"This is a case which never should have been brought to court," declared Mr. Baldwin, "under a law which never should have been passed."

He cited three features of the case which indicate its frame-up character. The victims, he pointed out, were convicted for no illegal acts but "mere expression of opinion and advocacy of ideas," the case was prosecuted in peace-time, not during the "hysteria of war"; it was initiated in support

Resolution Demanding President Pardon 18 Minneapolis Prisoners

The following is the text of the resolution demanding that President Roosevelt grant an immediate and unconditional pardon to the 18 convicted Trotskyist and Minneapolis Local 544-CIO leaders, adopted unanimously by the protest mass meeting held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee Thursday, Dec. 16, in New York City:

We, 400 defenders of civil liberties, gathered in Manhattan Center on Thursday, Dec. 16, at a mass meeting called by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, indignantly protest the railroading to prison of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO as an intolerable violation of the elementary principles of democracy and as the most vicious attack in years upon the rights of labor.

These 18 men and women are the victims of political persecution, placed behind bars solely because of their ideas and union activities. They are the first to be bludgeoned by the Smith "Gag" Act, a savage instrument of oppression against organized labor and minority opinion. Although this law clearly abrogates the constitutional rights of free speech and free press, the U. S. Supreme Court in an unprecedented action refused to consider its constitutionality and to review the convictions.

We will not permit these acts of injustice to go unchallenged. The imprisonment of the 18 Minneapolis defendants vitally concerns every fighter for the rights of labor and for civil liberties. The virtual upholding of the Smith "Gag" Act places a weapon in the hands of reaction which can now be used against other trade-unionists and working class political parties.

We therefore petition the President of the United States to rectify this injustice by granting immediate and unconditional pardon to the 18 Minneapolis prisoners. We demand that Congress repeal the undemocratic and anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act. We call upon all labor organizations and progressive individuals to support the efforts of the Civil Rights Defense Committee to effect these aims.

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New Jersey CIO Backs 18

New Jersey State Industrial Union Council
of the Congress of Industrial Organizations
17-19 WILLIAM STREET, NEWARK, N. J.

Officers
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EMIL MAZEY, Secretary
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ALBERT GOLDMAN, Vice-President
ROBERT A. ZANSKE, Vice-President
MATTHEW HAMMOND, Vice-President

December 15, 1943

Civil Rights Defense Committee
160 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Miss Anderson:

This letter is in response to yours of December 9th, 1943 bringing to my attention the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has refused to allow an appeal from the 18 defendants who were convicted in the Minneapolis case.

I disagree with many of the things that these defendants or their political party stand for. However, my disagreement with their ideas forms the very basis of my strong conviction that their right to their beliefs and their freedom to express those beliefs ought to be strongly safeguarded. This principle, I believe, is the very rock upon which our democracy stands.

This is the reason why the Executive Board of the organization which I head, recorded itself in favor of protecting the civil rights of the defendants involved.

Therefore, on behalf of the New Jersey State CIO Council, I would like to add my strong protest against the refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to hear a case where the elements of freedom of speech are involved.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Abramson, President
N. J. State CIO Council

LA:lg

On behalf of the New Jersey State CIO Council, President Irving Abramson reaffirms support of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act.

Steel Workers Need Rising Wage Scale

By M. Mills

Spurred on by the increasing dissatisfaction of the steel workers, as reflected in the growing number of stoppages in steel plants, the Philip Murray leadership of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, has reopened negotiations with the major steel corporations for a new contract embodying wage increases above the limits set by the Little Steel formula. The draft of the new agreement, containing many other far-reaching improvements, was approved by a conference of local union presidents in Pittsburgh on December 1.

No longer able to pacify the steelworkers with empty promises of price roll-backs and unable to minimize the gains of the miners through militant strike struggle, Murray and his lieutenants have been compelled to initiate a drive by the USWA-CIO to break through the wage-freeze of the Little Steel formula.

Heading the list of demands is one for a wage increase of 17 cents per hour. This would raise the hourly base pay in the steel industry from 78 cents to 95 cents. This is to be supplemented by differential pay for shift work, 5 cents more per hour for afternoon shifts and 10 cents more per hour for night shifts.

The increase in the basic hourly rate would bring steel industry pay up to the level of the automobile and other major industries. The same is true of the demand for differential pay for shift work, which has been practiced in several industries in recent years. In the steel industry, however, differential pay is unknown, although rotating shifts has been the traditional method of work. In presenting this demand, the steelworkers are taking a forward step.

Another improvement proposed is the new seniority clause which seeks to "streamline" the present clumsy, outmoded arrangement. Seniority is to be based strictly on "length of service" and such extraneous factors as "legal status" and "place of residence" are to be completely wiped out.

The new vacation plan is a considerable improvement. Heretofore, steel workers were allowed one week's vacation after three years of work, and two weeks on top after FIFTEEN YEARS of work. The new plan reduces the working time to one year for one week's vacation and three years for two weeks. This is supplemented by a proposal for sick leaves with pay amounting to 7 days annually, and in the case of workers with longer seniority records, 14 days annually.

Among other improvements are proposals for plant cafeterias to supply food at cost price, equipment to be supplied by manage-

ments, and for severance pay for workers involved in permanent shutdowns.

GUARANTEED WAGE

Although given little emphasis by the press, a most far reaching demand of the steelworkers is for a *Guaranteed Weekly Wage*. This demand would guarantee a worker forty hours pay per week in the event that his working time has been reduced to less than forty hours.

The projection of this demand indicates the refusal of the steelworkers to accept the press and radio propaganda about a post-war paradise. The men in the steel mills have for years been tied

(Continued on page 4)

Tito's New Govt. In Yugoslavia

By John G. Wright

One year after the formation in Yugoslavia of the Anti-Fascist Soviet (Vece) by the Partisan movement on Nov. 26-27, 1942, comes the news of the formation of a Provisional Government. This marks a new and important stage in the development of the Partisan movement, dominated from the outset by the Kremlin.

Whatever its actual content may be, in its structure the newly created Partisan government parallels closely bourgeois democratic forms. It consists of a parliament and an executive. Dr.

Ivan Ribar, former head of the Anti-Fascist Soviet, remains the titular head of the new power. The dominant figure, however, remains, as before, Stalin's agent "General Tito," who has been promoted to the rank of Marshal and designated as the Minister of War. The Tito-Ribar government has openly challenged the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, which is still recognized formally by London-Washington.

A Cairo dispatch states that Tito had announced in a broadcast that "the provisional government would henceforth be the sole government of Yugoslavia and that it repudiated King Peter." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 21.)

SINISTER CIRCUMSTANCES

Many of the circumstances surrounding this latest development in Yugoslavia are most sinister in their implications. First, there

(ICN) is an out-and-out Stalinist news agency, while Slobodna Rech is a Serb paper published in Pittsburgh as the official organ in this country of the All-Slav Committee set up in Moscow in August 1941. In other words, the above-cited dispatch unmistakably bears the seal and authority of the Kremlin.

Just what is the connection between the political moves in Yugoslavia and the Teheran conference? Are the Tito-Ribar "parliament" and new "national committee" a direct product of secret agreements reached by Stalin and his Allies?

An indirect answer to these questions is supplied by the pledges of aid to the Partisans and the protestations of friendship emanating from Churchill's Ministers in London and Secretary of State Cordell Hull in Washington.

ADAMIC'S ADMISSIONS

Additional evidence is provided by none other than the journalist Louis Adamic, now serving as Chairman of the South Slav Committee, the American section of Moscow's All-Slav Committee. In a public statement Adamic blurted out that no new government in Yugoslavia could or would have been constituted

of the "special interests of one union group against another."

"The most disturbing thing is that this shocking decision was made by a recently rejuvenated Supreme Court, supposedly apostles of democracy and liberty. Never before has the Supreme Court refused to review a case of

this importance. This is unprecedented."

Mr. Baldwin commended the "magnificent job" done by the CRDC. He added, "And I can say that the Socialist Workers Party and the defendants have

without getting a clear nod from at least two of the three great powers intimately interested in Europe," and immediately added: "I cannot doubt that the creation of the Partisan provisional regime was approved beforehand by Britain and Russia..." (P.M., Dec. 12.)

No one has yet challenged Adamic's assertions, although among other things, they inadvertently constitute an avowal that secret diplomacy is being brazenly practised by the "democratic" statesmen and their ally, Stalin. The liberal Adamic is not ashamed to avow and support secret agreements which Secretary Hull has so cynically disclaimed upon his return from Moscow last November.

It remains to be seen just what the actual connection is between the deals made at Teheran and the current political turn of the Stalinists in Yugoslavia. The links that have been and are being forged between the Stalin-Tito clique and the capitalist "democracies" can at a certain stage basically alter the character of the struggle that has been conducted in Yugoslavia by the Partisan movement; and can transform it from a civil war into a mere appendage of the allied war machine.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The House naval affairs subcommittee which, under the pretext of investigating the failure of the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation to fulfill its war contracts...

themselves on the back in big ads in the capitalist press, and lectured John L. Lewis and the coal miners on how to "win" wage demands.

During the hearings, the committee revealed its anti-labor bias by refusing to hear the testimony of UAW President R. J. Thomas and by attacking the union for defending its contract...

The real end-product of the "incentive pay" system for which the Stalinsts have been clamoring has just been indicated by the War Labor Board decision in the dispute between UAW Local 817 and the Republic Aircraft Corp., Detroit.

Thomas has issued a statement defending the union's policies, and voicing his "complete confidence" in Thomas De Lorenzo, Local 365 president...

The story along the grapevine is that the last meeting between United Mine Workers' President John L. Lewis and the AFL committee, headed by Teamster's president Daniel J. Tobin...

A strike of the 5,000 police, firemen and public works employees of Canada's largest city, Montreal, was settled within 14 hours by the city government...

According to the rumors, Lewis insists that the UMW's District 50 retain complete jurisdiction in the chemical and by-products field.

The CIO Textile Workers Union scored an important victory last week when it won the National Labor Relations Board election in the Passaic, N. J. plant of the Botany Worsted Company.

The International Typographical Union voted against reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor, it was announced last Thursday.

Charles T. Douds, regional director of the NLRB, stated that despite the outcome of the election he would press for a contempt citation against the company before the Third U. S. Circuit Court...

Unions do not have the right to insist on the dismissal of supervisory employees, no matter how objectionable, according to the ruling of Dean Smith, of Columbia University Law School, acting for the WLB in arbitrating a dispute between the Wright Aeronautical Corporation and UAW-CIO Local 669.

One of the largest and most vicious anti-union textile corporations, Botany had succeeded for years in denying union rights to its workers.

Albert Capone, Local 669, president, who had previously termed the strike "unauthorized," hastened to accept the decision, which he claims "closes the matter."

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, has announced that a conference of delegates representing 80,000 Westinghouse Electric Company workers has voted to demand a general wage increase of 17 cents an hour.

Instead of accepting such a vicious decision, union leaders like Capone should be fighting not merely for the right of workers to have some say about supervision, but for Workers Control of Production.

The Stalinist-dominated leadership of the UE only a few months ago signed a miserable contract embodying the infamous "incentive pay" speed-up scheme, hailed by them as a means of getting more wages without striking.

The Threat Of Deadly Influenza

By Grace Carlson

With the reports by public health authorities that there are now over 1,000,000 cases of influenza in the United States, that there were 2,000 deaths from influenza in Berlin last week...

less before this destructive wave of disease which swept across the earth in the space of a few months. The quick onset of the disease, its strange virulence, the failure of all remedies which had formerly been used in the treatment of colds, grippe and influenza made of the "Spanish influenza" of 1918 a mysterious malady to doctors and laymen alike.

RECENT RESEARCH

A vast amount of research has been done on influenza since 1918 and public health workers now have considerably more information about the cause and cure of "flu."

Vaccines are being prepared so that individuals may be protected from influenza as they are from smallpox, by vaccination. These are still in an experimental stage, however, and research has been terribly complicated by the discovery that there are at least three and possibly more types of influenza viruses.

Although the present influenza, especially in the United States, is not of the virulent type that the 1918 "Spanish influenza" was, medical authorities are not at all sure that it will not develop in that direction.

The possible use of the sulfa drugs in the fight against influenza is also being studied. It is known that none of the present sulfa products, sulfanilamide, sulfapyridine, sulfathiazole or the others is effective against the "flu" itself.

CONDITIONS RIPE The groundwork for another influenza pandemic has been laid by the capitalist rulers of the world. Widespread malnutrition, exposure to the cold and the elements, crowded unsanitary living quarters, long working hours, the speedup, have all combined to lower the resistance of millions of people since the beginning of World War II.

Some of these drugs have been found to be useful in the treatment of the pneumonia which so often follows influenza.

Public health authorities estimate that there were 21,000,000 deaths in the world from influenza in the ten-month period in 1918 and 1919 during which the disease raged.

Similar safeguards must be set up for civilians. Trade unions should see to it that adequate paid sick leaves are allowed their members and that workers are given some protection against the speed-up system after they return to work from a siege of the "flu."

In the United States alone, there were 548,452 deaths from influenza and the pneumonia which accompanied it; nearly half of these deaths were among men and women between the ages of 20 and 40.

Medical men were almost helpless before this destructive wave of disease which swept across the earth in the space of a few months.

San Francisco Tops Quota In Campaign

Aroused by the reactionary decision of the U. S. Supreme Court not to review the case of our 18 convicted comrades, the SWP branches throughout the country are redoubling their efforts to meet their "\$15,000 - 15th Anniversary" Fund Drive quotas in record time.

This week, the San Francisco and Allentown branches, answering the challenge of the government, have gone over the top on their quotas. San Francisco, with a payment of \$400, has climbed to the top of the quota column with 105%.

Boston is climbing fast, sending in a substantial payment on their quota, boosting them to 64%. They are in position with one more good spurt to crash into the 100% class.

TOTAL GOES UP This week the total payments were \$1,872.38, in comparison with \$745.50 for the previous week, an increase of over 250% in the rate of payments.

Accompanying the San Francisco payment was the following telegram:

"Sending 400 dollars Special \$15,000-15th Anniversary Fund. San Francisco expresses its solidarity with coworkers by going over the top. Long Live The 18."

Boston writes: "The comrades are all determined to exceed their quotas and to get the money in as soon as possible. There is no question that Boston will go over the \$300 pledge before the time limit."

SCOREBOARD

Table with 4 columns: City, \$15,000 Quotas, Paid, Percent. Lists cities like San Francisco, San Diego, New Haven, Allentown, Boston, New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Reading, Buffalo, Twin Cities, Newark, Bayonne, Saint Louis, Chicago, Toledo, Youngstown, Members-at-Large, Seattle, Akron, East Chicago, Flint, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Quakertown, Rochester, Texas.

ROOSEVELT INTERVENES AGAINST RAIL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1) economic management of the war... a strike vote against gross injustice in the administration of the American war economy...

that the railway labor bureaucrats backed Roosevelt against the striking coal miners, preaching the treacherous gospel that the miners didn't need to strike because Roosevelt would see that they received a fair raise.

Even George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and a submissive tool of the Roosevelt administration since 1933, was impelled to remark today that "Maybe, it pays to get tough," although as late as last Friday Harrison was still begging for Congressional action to approve a miserly 8 cent an hour increase.

Ever since the last war, the railroad workers have been tied to the red-tape machinery of government arbitration through the Railway Labor Act.

But even though the union officials have indicated their willingness to settle for a very modest increase—8 cents an hour—the administration has brazenly slapped them in the face, overriding a contract already agreed upon by the railroad operators and the operating unions and approved by one emergency board set up by the President himself.

FLIGHT OF RAIL WORKERS The railroad labor bureaucrats have been forced to talk "tough" in the recent period. While keeping in mind how far the pressure of the ranks has forced them to go, it is also well to remember that these peaceful tabbies, accustomed to licking at the feet of the administration and the bosses, have not grown real tiger stripes.

Long months of negotiations through the elaborate machinery of the Railway Labor Board, and then the National Mediation Board, likewise got the non-operating railroad workers nothing. Roosevelt, trying to head off the storm, in early May 1943, set up his own emergency board to bring the railroad workers into line.

The railroad labor bureaucrats have been forced to talk "tough" in the recent period. While keeping in mind how far the pressure of the ranks has forced them to go, it is also well to remember that these peaceful tabbies, accustomed to licking at the feet of the administration and the bosses, have not grown real tiger stripes.

This board late in May brought out a recommendation for a flat 8 cent increase for the non-operating employees. But on June 30, Vinson, basing himself on Roosevelt's "hold the line" wage freeze order, arbitrarily ruled out this flat increase and proffered a differential increase of 4 to 10 cents, the latter rate being applicable only to the lowest paid workers...

There is a great deal of government pressure on the railroad workers. They are ham-strung by a leadership that never knew the meaning of the word, fight. And they must face the strike-breaking barrage of all those elements in the labor movement, like the Stalinists, who have already launched a campaign of vituperation and slander against the railroad workers similar to their strike-breaking efforts during the coal strikes.

The latter rate being applicable only to the lowest paid workers now getting 43 to 46 cents an hour.

They may yet, if Roosevelt sees fit to "play ball," come forward with some phoney "compromise" in an effort to avert a strike.



Labor Party Conference Held By Detroit Unions

(Continued from page 1) raised and pledges were made by those present to carry out this educational work.

That a committee for the promotion of a labor party could be set up on such short notice and have its plans mature so rapidly is due to the deep conviction that has permeated the labor movement in Michigan that its interests can be protected against the vicious attacks of Big Business only by the establishment of labor's own political party.

These arrogant bureaucrats then proceeded to denounce Mazy and Silver when the latter announced their intentions to call the labor party conference. Aldes-Frankensteen, the Stalinists, as well as Walter Reuther, in whose faction Mazy was operating as recently as the Buffalo UAW convention, ridiculed the new group.

STALINIST ATTACKS The Stalinists have taken the lead in attempting to discredit the Mazy-Silver group. Their vicious attacks in the Daily Worker against the so-called "Trotskyite-Socialist group" shows how alarmed are the Stalinists at the political awakening of the Michigan workers.

tical awakening of the Michigan workers. Frankensteen-Aldes are likewise prepared to fight the labor party forces to the bitter end. The Reuther forces are playing a more cagey game. They have halted their attacks and are awaiting developments.

There was considerable discussion at the Book-Cadillac meeting revolving around the name of the new committee. There was one proposal to name it a "Committee for the Formation of a Third Party." The majority of those present, however, were anxious to include the word "labor" in the designation of the new party.

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It was with a clean and sincere appreciation that we read the following sentiment expressed by one of our Chicago subscribers: "Inclosed you will find \$6 for which I am renewing my subscription to The Militant for six months and \$5 toward the good work you are doing in educating the workers to understand their economic interest in society."

A former New York reader of The Militant, now in Virginia, still feels the need of our paper. He writes as follows: "I would appreciate very much a sample copy of The Militant and Fourth International, also a subscription form for these two publications. I read your paper frequently before I left New York City about eight months ago."

We are sending the sample copies and subscription blanks and feel assured that because this friend will want to read the paper and magazine regularly, his subscriptions will be forthcoming. Considerable activity is now being carried on by our agent in Toledo, as is evidenced by the following letters received during the week: "When our next bundle order of Militants is sent you please include fifteen additional copies

for that issue only? They are for subscription work." "Toledo does not have a newsstand where The Militant can be displayed for sale so we are trying to locate one. The August 13 letter on the methods of the San Francisco Branch are worth reviewing and perhaps we can work along those lines. As soon as we get a newsstand we will send the address in promptly." The letter of August 13, referred to by our Toledo agent, was a copy of an informative letter concerning newsstands and neighborhood work from our San Francisco agent, the main points of which were: 1. Approach newsstands in selected neighborhoods with the proposition that if they will carry The Militant, the stand will be advertised both in the paper and by leaflets distributed in the neighborhood. 2. Then for several weeks canvass those families in the neighborhoods where you get stands to carry The Militant, give each family the current issue of the paper and a mimeographed leaflet showing the name and address of the stand where future issues can be purchased. This method brings results.

Albert Goldman Flays Supreme Court For Its Part In Railroading 18 To Penitentiary

[Excerpts from speech delivered at mass meeting held by the Civil Rights Defense Committee in New York City Thursday Dec. 16, 1943.]

By Albert Goldman

Seven legal questions were raised in the petition which the attorneys filed before the U. S. Supreme Court asking it to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals affirming the conviction of the 18 Minneapolis defendants. I think that at least six of these legal questions not only justified but demanded that the Supreme Court grant a review, consider oral and written arguments, and render its opinion.

I offer for the consideration of the layman only two of the legal questions raised by the defense, because in the case of these two questions no special legal training is required to decide whether or not the Supreme Court should at least have given the reasons why it affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

One section of the Smith "Gag" Act under which the defendants were convicted makes it unlawful "to advise, counsel, urge, or in any manner cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States." The Espionage Act of 1917 makes it unlawful "willfully to cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States. . . ." Now I admit that the language is not exactly alike because the act under which we were convicted speaks of "advising and urging" insubordination while the Espionage Act uses the expression "causing insubordination." Sensible people would agree, I think, that causing insubordination must necessarily involve in some way or other advising and urging. Even a totally dumb person would be compelled to find a method, if he wanted to cause insubordination, to communicate with others. He would then be "advising" and "urging." To all intents and purposes the two statutes are the same.

Spurious Legal Contentions

It was in interpreting the Espionage Act that the Supreme Court, in 1919, laid down the rule that, before any one can be convicted for making oral or written statements, the government must prove that "a clear and present danger" exists that these statements might actually result in creating insubordination in the armed forces. The government contended that this rule does not apply to that section of the Smith Act which is almost identical with the Espionage Act. I am not now trying to convince you that the government is incorrect from a legal point of view. All that I assert is that the question is of such importance and the similarity of the two statutes is so great that the Supreme Court was obligated to discuss it and present reasons for its decision.

Another important question involved in the case which can be readily understood without any special training is: what constitutes urging insubordination in the armed forces. This does not involve the question whether the government witnesses testified against us truthfully. For the sake of presenting the legal argument before the Supreme Court we assume the truth

A MESSAGE FROM JAMES T. FARRELL

James T. Farrell, noted novelist and National Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, who was prevented by illness from participating in the New York mass meeting protesting the railroading to prison of the 18 Minneapolis defendants, sent the following vigorous message to the meeting:

"The refusal of the Supreme Court to hear the appeal in the Minneapolis case is an implied recognition of the constitutionality of the Smith 'Gag' Act. The Congress of the U. S. and the Supreme Court have thus both attacked the first and most important article of the Bill of Rights.

"It is time to wake up. For now thinking is a criminal activity in these United States.

"In every possible way it is necessary to press the defense of the 18 victims and to oppose the Smith 'Gag' Act.

"Another anniversary of the Bill of Rights has come and we find that the higher authorities have lost all respect for it. It is our duty not only to defend the 18 victims, but to defend the very Bill of Rights itself from those who are pledged to uphold it."

of the government's evidence. The question is whether as a matter of law the facts as presented by the government constitute urging insubordination.

Some of the government witnesses testified that a few of the defendants told them that if drafted, they should try to create dissension in the army by kicking about the food and bedding. This is obviously the invention of stupid people but we assume that it is true. Does this constitute a conspiracy to create insubordination in the army? Suppose it turned out that the food and bedding were excellent and there was nothing to kick about on that score? Suppose they were bad, would it be wrong to kick about them?

It was also shown by the government that the Socialist Workers' Party favored military training under the control of the trade unions and democracy in the military forces. Does that constitute urging insubordination?

Political Motivation Is Clear

A Supreme Court motivated purely by legal obligations would have considered at least the two questions that I have mentioned and would have presented reasons for its decision. It is possible to come to either one of two conclusions with reference to the failure of the Supreme Court to grant a review. It is possible to say that the Court considered all the legal questions raised by the attorneys for the defendants and decided not to grant a review because these questions were not sufficiently important or were already settled in some previous case. Such a conclusion is ruled out for the reason that the questions raised were novel ones and most people will agree that they are important.

The other conclusion, and the correct one, is that the Supreme Court did not want to interfere with the conviction in this case and was not interested in discussing the legal questions that were raised. It is on this assumption that one can best explain the failure of the Court to grant a review. This was the simplest and easiest way out. It obviated the necessity of discussing the questions and presenting reasons for a decision, something that would have been embarrassing for those judges who claim to be liberal. When arguments are lacking to justify a reactionary decision, silence is the best policy, especially for those who pretend to be liberal.

Every one in the labor and progressive movement must clearly realize the implications of the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, which the Supreme Court has approved by virtue of its refusal to review it. It not only permits a viciously reactionary law, the Smith "Gag" Act, to remain on the statute books. It has strengthened that law by interpreting it in a manner which gives the widest possible scope for its use by prosecutors against any one who stands for the right of workers to defend themselves against reactionary violence and who raises



ALBERT GOLDMAN

his voice on behalf of any democratic rights for men in the military service.

What more perfect a weapon can a prosecutor expect than a statute so interpreted as to permit an indictment and conviction for any statement criticizing anything connected with the military regime? All that he need do is to frame an indictment in the words of the statute. The method of choosing juries in the Federal courts practically guarantees a conviction. What a paradise for a prosecutor aiming to convict revolutionists if no more is required to make a conviction stick than to introduce a copy of the "Communist Manifesto." The courts have opened wide the gates of the Federal penitentiaries for victims of the Smith "Gag" Law to be driven in.

Whether or not the government will set the prosecutors into motion does not depend solely on the fact that a reactionary law has been interpreted in a reactionary manner and that the conviction of eighteen Trotskyists has been affirmed. For the present the government may well be satisfied to have a powerful weapon at its disposal which can be used whenever it becomes necessary, not only against revolutionists but against any and all militant unionists and progressives.

The weapon may again be used when the European masses take their fate into their own hands and refuse to take orders from Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. It undoubtedly will be used when the workers of this country will become more militant in their demands to curb the war profiteers and will refuse to assume all the burdens of the war.

Undoubtedly it will be asked why the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the conviction? I explained why it chose the method of refusing to grant a review but that in itself does not explain why the judges decided to permit the conviction to stand.

Every individual having anything to do with the prosecution had his own particular reason for his desire to get us convicted. Tobin wanted to run the Minneapolis teamsters' union as he pleased without the interference of men who fought for honest, militant and democratic unionism. He asked his friend Roosevelt to do something for him. Our "great" and "democratic" President was more than willing to have us indicted and convicted in order to do his friend Tobin a favor. And once the machinery of what is called justice is set into motion every individual connected with that capitalist justice is anxious to do his part faithfully and well.

It can also be asserted with a high degree of certainty that the desire of the Administration to curry favor with Stalin constituted a contributing factor in the Supreme Court's refusal to review the decision of the lower court. It is difficult to explain the different attitude taken by the Supreme Court in the case of Schneiderman, a Stalinist, on any other hypothesis. For the Schneiderman case involved legal questions that are almost identical with some of the questions involved in our case.

Basically, however, the special and particular reasons motivating the various personalities connected with the prosecution play a minor role. To find the basic motives of Tobin and Roosevelt and prosecutors and judges one must look to the fundamental ideas which the defendants represent and in the activities which the defendants pursue for the realization of their ideas

Let me once more assure you that the charge of advocating violence to overthrow the government and the accusation of

Big Business Profiteers In World War II

In the First World War, most of the profiteering scandals did not come to light until years after the war was over. In this war, the profiteering scandals are so outrageous that some government agencies have been forced to partially expose them right in the midst of the war.

The Truman Committee has already revealed how Standard Oil's Canadian subsidiary worked in cahoots with high U. S. Army officials, notably Lt. Gen. Brehon Somervell to mulct the public out of millions of dollars and strengthen the power of the Standard Oil monopoly.

In April 1942 two plans were suggested for an oil project in Canada (Canol), to be financed by the U. S. Treasury. One plan was by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the Arctic explorer who blueprinted the entire project scientifically, using the best and cheapest routes and soundest methods and equipment. The other plan was that of Standard Oil, which called for the U. S. Treasury to foot the

entire bill and, in addition, give all wartime and post-war options to Standard's monopoly.

In May 1943, the Budget Bureau condemned the deal and suggested dropping it. Despite the Budget Bureau's condemnation and Stefansson's continued opposition, the joint chiefs of staff, a few months later, approved the project and went ahead with it.

MILLIONS WASTED

Since that time, all the federal agencies involved have proposed the dropping of the project, although \$77,000,000 has already

creating insubordination in the armed forces are only flimsy pretenses to confuse the backward and fool the gullible. In fact it is because we are opposed to a social order which condemns mankind to the physical violence of war and fascism and to the spiritual violence of poverty and ignorance that we have been sentenced to prison terms. They who boast about the number and quality of weapons produced to kill human beings by the thousands and tens of thousands accuse us of advocating violence because on the basis of an analysis of social forces and a study of history we conclude that the ruling class will not yield its wealth and power without resorting to violence.

It is because we have been indicted, convicted, and are being sent to prison for holding and propagating advanced social ideas that the labor and liberal movements are obligated, in their own interests, to struggle for a pardon on our behalf and to erase the Smith "Gag" Act from the statute books. Too many liberals and labor leaders are so interested in supporting Roosevelt in what they consider to be a struggle against German fascism that they have forgotten that right here in this country men are being railroaded to jail because they are struggling for a new social order. Let those who want democracy to prevail and are indifferent to our case, beware. By their failure to struggle on our behalf they are helping to create a monster that will ultimately destroy them also.

Lesson of Supreme Importance

Some people, I hope, have learned a lesson in this case. They have learned that no reliance can be placed in a so-called "liberal" Supreme Court to guard essential democratic rights. A "liberal" Supreme Court may interfere with a lower court to protect the right of an unimportant and unpopular religious sect to distribute its literature. It has been shown in our

LABOR AND NEGRO LEADERS PLEDGE THEIR SUPPORT TO EIGHTEEN

Among the expressions of support for the 18 convicted Minneapolis defendants addressed to the New York protest meeting were messages from such prominent labor and Negro leaders as Willard Townsend, International President, United Transport Employees, CIO; Rev. A. Clayton Powell, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church and former New York City Councilman; and Mark Starr, National Educational Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL. Some significant extracts from their messages are the following:

"Our International Union at its convention vigorously expressed itself against the denial of civil rights involved in the persecution of the eighteen Minneapolis defendants. We feel the refusal of the United States Supreme Court to hear your case, the first appeal of any conviction under the notorious Smith 'gag' act, is an indication of the anti-civil liberties temper of these times.

"We pledge our solidarity with you in the work that lies ahead to secure the freedom of the eighteen defendants."—WILLARD TOWNSEND

"... The labor-haters and the red-baiters, the anti-Semites and the anti-Negroites are all our common foe. THEY MUST BE DEFEATED! THEY WILL BE DEFEATED.

"The new Negro and the new White man are on the march and there isn't a son of a fascist in America who is going to hold us back.

"We are going to fight together until . . . the eighteen Minneapolis victims of American Hitlerism are freed."—A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

"The Minneapolis case presents a disturbing complication in which one of the great freedoms of the Atlantic Charter has been flouted. I hope that your Defense Committee will succeed in bringing the necessary force of public opinion to bear upon what seems to me to be an infringement of the rights to think and speak freely."—MARK STARR.

case that it will not interfere with the jailing of people who seriously advocate a fundamental change in the social order.

In the last analysis only a politically conscious working class will be able to guard the democratic rights of the people. The attention of all who are devoted to these rights must be centered on the masses, on educating them to the significance of our case as a violation of their rights. All of us can and must agree on one thing—that democracy is absolutely essential for the working class. It is essential for its struggle for better conditions under the present system. It is essential for its struggle for a new social order. It is essential for the building of the new social order.

To struggle for our pardon, for the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act and for the nullification of the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals and of the Supreme Court is essentially a struggle for the democratic rights of the masses.

Full well do we know that the sacrifice which we are compelled to make by virtue of our imprisonment is nothing in comparison with the sacrifices which revolutionists of other lands and different times were forced and are still forced to suffer. We do not at all consider ourselves in the category of martyrs. We have done our bit in the cause of working class emancipation. We go to prison confident that the struggle for our ideals and for the democratic rights of the American masses will continue. Upon our liberation we shall together with you continue the struggle for socialism which will bring freedom and equality to all mankind.

The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

Railroads and the FEPC

In two and a half years the Fair Employment Practices Committee has never gotten beyond the stage of holding hearings on discrimination in war industries. It has never had the power to act against one violator of Roosevelt's executive order 9346. Last year, for instance the FEPC found the Capital Transit Company of Washington, D. C. guilty of refusing to hire Negroes. Today that same company is still rejecting Negro applicants for jobs without fear of punishment.

A few weeks ago the FEPC found 16 Southern railroad companies and 7 railroad unions guilty of discriminating against Negroes. But no one was surprised when the 16 Southern railroad corporations told the FEPC they would refuse to comply with its orders to hire and upgrade Negroes to do skilled work. Again the bosses were showing their contempt for the FEPC.

A new twist was added to the proceedings when the railroad companies put up a defense of their Jim Crow policies in a public statement. According to the statement, the railroad companies were doing something they disliked very much when they barred Negroes from jobs, but had to bow to the demands of the unions and "race relations in the South."

In blaming the unions, the railroad companies were merely following the example set by the FEPC in its latest hearings and publicity. Recently the wrath of the FEPC has been reserved mainly for unions that bar Negroes from membership in one form or another. The employers, according to them, have only been guilty of a secondary crime — submitting to the reactionary demands of the unions. Naturally, the bosses have been quick to use this publicity in an attempt to discredit the whole trade union movement in the eyes of the Negro people.

Not once has the FEPC or any of its officials pointed out publicly that unions who exclude Negroes are a minority in the trade union movement. It has never publicly stated that the CIO, with half of organized labor in its ranks and a solid section of the AFL unions, admit Negroes on an equal basis and are in the forefront of the fight against discrimination.

Malcolm Ross, chairman of the FEPC, had a chance to denounce the anti-union game the bosses are playing in the reply he made to the statement of the 16 Southern railroad corporations. But Ross did not mention that the bosses own industry and do the hiring; he sidestepped the issue of the Negro's right to equality and simply begged the railroad corporations to hire Negroes for the duration of the war.

The FEPC is not only powerless to act against employers; it also refuses to reveal that it is the bosses who spread the system of Jim Crow into every corner of industry. Why didn't Ross speak up and show that the 16 Southern railroads are owned and controlled by such powerful financial interests as the Morgans and the Rockefellers. Because Ross would have been forced to show that these capitalists brought Jim Crow into all the other industries they own and control as steel, auto, public utilities, aircraft, etc.

When the railroad companies

asserted that race relations in the South compel them to bar Negroes from certain jobs, why didn't Ross mention the fact that in the North, where Jim Crow is not an official part of the social system, the railroads have likewise barred Negroes from skilled jobs of any sort?

Far from bowing to the Southern system of "race relations," the railroads have used the Jim Crow setup existing there, to keep Negro and white workers apart. According to Dr. Northrup of the National War Labor Board, who testified at the FEPC railroad hearings, the railroads have used Negroes, "to fight unions and depress wages."

Nowhere does Ross mention the fact that during their whole history, the railroads have pitted white against Negro, foreign born against native, skilled against unskilled. For then Ross would have had to say that like all capitalists, the railroad corporations try to defeat the workers' fight for better conditions by splitting their ranks.

Just as Ross covers up the responsibility of the bosses for Jim Crow in industry, so he hides the guilt of two government agencies that helped in squeezing Negro railroad workers out of their jobs. One of them, the National Mediation Board, was a party to the infamous Southeastern Carriers Agreement of Feb. 18, 1941, which was designed to eliminate all Negro firemen from the new Diesel engines. George A. Cook and Otto S. Beyer, chairman and member of the National Mediation Board signed the agreement.

Ross skipped over the guilt of these government agencies since it would have immediately raised another issue. Why does the government continue to segregate over a million Negroes in the armed forces?

If Ross told the truth about the government and the bosses he would destroy the purpose of the FEPC — to fool the Negroes into thinking that the government is impartial and fair and will do something to end Jim Crow — if the unions let them.

That the railroad unions exclude Negro workers from membership is undeniable. The rail union bureaucrats have also conspired with the bosses and the government agencies to eliminate Negroes from employment on the railroads. In doing these things, the leaders of the railroad brotherhoods have done a grave injustice to the struggle of the Negro people for democratic rights.

The powerful railroad corporations pretend they must yield to the will of the union leaders. This is not the attitude of many white railroad workers. They have voiced their disagreement with this policy of Jim Crow at the cost of their jobs. Some of these white workers appeared at the FEPC hearings and told of the solidarity between Negro and white workers for the past fifty years. One of them, an engineer by the name of Bruce, said that more of the white workers would have appeared but didn't because they "don't want to stick their necks out."

By their silence the union leaders have virtually admitted how indefensible their Jim Crow policies are. They have committed a great crime. They have played the game of the bosses by splitting the ranks of the workers. Surely it is time the Negro railroad workers were granted their full rights in the unions and the bosses exposed as the real instigators of race prejudice and Jim Crow.

vital materials" and that "artificial scarcity" has been "imposed by cartels in many industries"

why has not his office or other government agencies initiated prosecutions? Certainly, the government has never hesitated to prosecute workers for going out on strike for living wages. The answer is that the government is obedient to and the instrument of Big Business.

SHIELD MONOPOLISTS

Berge's speech indicates that a scandal like Canol is not an exception, but, on the contrary, the rule. It is typical of the manner in which Big Business operates to protect monopolies and profits. It is part and parcel of a series of scandals and crimes covered up or whitewashed by the capitalist press and ably exposed by George Breitman in his pamphlet, "Wartime Crimes of Big Business." This pamphlet, just issued by Pioneer Publishers, is the only available documented survey of just how the monopol-

ists are using the war for their own enrichment.

It is certain that if the sewers of fraud, deceit and wartime profiteering hinted at by Berge are ever uncovered, they will make the Teapot Dome Scandals of the Harding administration appear like a shining pattern of honesty and civic virtue.

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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.

Rail Wage Crisis

The rail wage dispute has again raised, in an acute form, the question: Which road for the American worker?

The moderate wage demands of the railroad workers have been kicked around from one board to another for over a year. After a special panel had awarded an increase of 8 cents an hour, Vinson, Roosevelt's "economic stabilizer" set aside the ruling. Even the principle of compulsory arbitration, so vehemently defended by the employers, establishes that the decision of an arbitration board is final and binding. The Roosevelt administration has, however, introduced a refinement of that conception. Now, only those decisions are binding that conform to Roosevelt's Little Steel formula.

It is to the everlasting credit of the coal miners that they refused to fall victim to this shell game. They taught the American working class an invaluable lesson: that the strike remains the indispensable weapon for the protection of labor's rights. The mere threat of a rail strike has already resulted in more governmental attention to the railroad workers' wage demands than a whole year of palaver before government boards.

Workers are growing pretty indifferent to the anguished howls about upsetting Roosevelt's "stabilization program." The pretence of stabilization is wearing very thin. The cost of living continues to soar while only wages remain "stabilized" (frozen). To gain even a few cents more per hour entails bitter and long drawn out struggles.

These struggles are handicapped by the fact that the wage objectives are so limited that the effort expended is out of all proportion to the small gains made. These wage gains, even when achieved are being rapidly wiped out by the mounting war inflation. Militants are becoming increasingly aware that the no-strike—pro-Roosevelt policy of the trade union bureaucrats is bringing the unions to the brink of disaster. They are seeking for a realistic program that will provide a way out.

There is a simple and effective measure to achieve that stabilization which is the cause of so much concern every time a group of workers ask for the most modest wage increases: The rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. A reactionary Congress has threatened to remove all price controls if a general wage increase is granted. Labor's reply to such a threat must be the rising

scale of wages — that is the only realistic "stabilization" program for labor.

The coal miners found it necessary to call four strikes to gain what is no more than a modest increase. The railroad workers will not have to fight as hard. It is their good fortune that the miners did the heavy spade work. Only by following in the footsteps of the miners will the rail workers achieve their demands and take a step forward.

Secret Diplomacy

Secret diplomacy was completely exposed during the last war as a special instrument of the imperialist bandits. The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky thoroughly discredited secret diplomacy by publishing the secret treaties of Czarism. None dared to espouse it openly. It was publicly renounced by capitalist statesmen, pompous liberals and other hypocrites in "democratic" disguises. The first of President Wilson's 14 Points called for the abolition of secret diplomacy.

The onset of reaction since 1923 is marked by the brazenness with which secret diplomacy has been practised, especially throughout the so-called "war for democracy against fascism." Since the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter in Aug. 1941, London, Washington and the Kremlin have held a series of conferences which constitute the blackest chapter in the long filthy record of secret diplomacy. The Nov. 1 Eden-Molotov-Hull conference in Moscow made a pretense at publishing the political decisions. Thereupon the conferees immediately proceeded to show in the case of Italy the utter worthlessness of all their "democratic" promises. But from the Cairo and Teheran conferences nothing has come save silence.

All the diplomatic chancelleries and cowardly liberals have tried to explain away this silence on the grounds of "military necessity." This is the shabbiest of all pretenses. Military plans are one thing; political decisions, something else again. The only political decisions ever kept secret are those so sinister and so apt to arouse a storm of public indignation that those who conspire in making them dread to make them public. Had Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt agreed to any other kind of policies, they would have rushed to proclaim them to the whole world.

The American people have every right to know what political decisions were reached at Cairo, Teheran and at all past conferences. The workers, who bear the brunt of the war must be especially on guard against this vile resurgence of secret diplomacy, and ought to take the initiative in demanding an end to secret diplomacy.

The Hirohito Deal

Is Roosevelt planning a "Darlan deal" with Hirohito and the Japanese capitalists? I. F. Stone, pro-Roosevelt correspondent of the pro-Roosevelt newspaper *PM* points out in his Dec. 17 Washington report that the administration is holding the door open for just such an eventuality. The State Department, he says, recently released a carefully edited document purporting to show that Hirohito wanted peace before Pearl Harbor. "The implications (of this diplomatic document) were developed in a special article in last Sunday's *Herald-Tribune*: 'Hirohito Plea for '41 Peace May Save Him. Allies May Let Him Remain on Throne.'" "The State Department," Stone writes, "revealed a tender concern for Hirohito months ago, when it censored a speech in which an American official took a potshot at the Emperor, and it now gives him favorable publicity in the American press on the basis of a document which shows only what fools we were before Pearl Harbor. The Department seems to be building Hirohito up for use as a Japanese Petain."

According to Stone, the Big Business interests are pressing for such a policy. "This friendliness for Hirohito reflects the needs of some sections of American big business which had cartel and other partnership ties with the Mitsuis and Mitsubishi of Japanese monopoly capitalism, ties which they hope to resume after the war. If faith in the Emperor crumbles, backward Japan, like backward Russia before it, may have a socialist revolution."

This liberal critic carefully avoids mentioning the role of Roosevelt. He helps spread and sustain the myth that nasty reactionary underlings in the State Department carry on this reactionary work without Roosevelt's knowledge and behind his back. Roosevelt's liberal and labor supporters are reduced to such lame devices and sleight-of-hands to bolster their preposterous propaganda that Washington's war is being waged for democratic and progressive purposes.

Roosevelt long maintained and still secretly maintains ties with the puppet Petain government. Roosevelt has crowned this calculated policy by keeping in power by force of arms the ex-accomplices of Mussolini, King Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio, who are detested and opposed by the entire Italian people. He would not have to stretch his consistently reactionary policy to include Hirohito and his gang.

The facts which Stone presents provide further evidence that the real policy being pursued by Roosevelt and his State Department is one of making agreements with and helping to prop up all kinds of militarist and dictatorial regimes. Stone's facts furthermore demonstrate that the government's policy is dictated by the needs of America's monopolists to preserve their international cartel agreements with Big Business interests in other countries and by their fear that the masses will take power in their own hands and "have a socialist revolution."

N. Y. Meeting Demands Pardon For Eighteen

(Continued from page 1)

never compromised for one moment on their principles."

GOLDMAN APPLAUDED

A tremendous ovation was accorded Comrade Goldman at the end of his address, a stirring and courageous affirmation of his revolutionary socialist principles and an appeal to continue the fight for workers' freedom "in which I will rejoin you the day I am once more free."

Everyone in the audience was profoundly moved by the firm and challenging words of Goldman's farewell address. White-haired, with sensitively-drawn, handsome features, dignified in bearing, Comrade Goldman revealed in his last New York platform appearance before entering prison, those outstanding qualities of character and intellect which have made him one of the great labor defense attorneys in America.

(For the full text of Albert Goldman's address, see Page 3 of this issue.)

George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, stressed as the purpose of the mass meeting the initiation of a nation-wide campaign to secure an immediate and unconditional Presidential pardon for the defendants and to force the repeal of the Smith "Gag" law.

NOVACK SPEAKS

"We have come here tonight to protest against a crime. This crime has been committed against 18 men and women, leaders of the SWP and of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO. It is a crime against the rights of free speech and free press. It is a crime against the rights of labor. We are here tonight to expose that crime, to condemn it and to fight it."

After a review of all the facts in the case, Mr. Novack pointed to its dangerous implications for all labor. "What they have dared to do once, they will try to do a second time, and a third. Now that the Smith 'Gag' Act has been validated — in the most cowardly and hypocritical fashion — it hangs like a sword suspended over the heads of every dissenting force, every militant unionist in the country. So long as the 18 are in prison and the Gag Law in effect, our liberties, the rights of labor are in danger."

The meeting concluded with the adoption of a strong resolution condemning the Supreme Court decision and calling on Roosevelt to grant an unconditional pardon

Supreme Court Denies Petition

NEW YORK, Dec. 20—The U. S. Supreme Court has denied a petition for rehearing of the appeals of the 18 Minneapolis trial defendants immediately after the petition was filed by Osmond K. Fraenkel, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union. Thereupon, the ACLU took the extraordinary step of filing a second request for a rehearing. It is not expected that the court will reconsider its decision.

Daniel Bell, editor of the *Social-Democratic New Leader*, spoke briefly, describing the Supreme Court decision as a "shock." "This underlines the danger in the war to civil rights. This action has underscored the complacency of a lot of people."

UNION SLOGAN

Speaking on behalf of the Workers Defense League, Rev. Aron F. Gilmartin, one of its national vice-chairmen, declared: "We see in this case, in the railroadings of the 18 to jail, a major and significant attack upon the rights of labor in the United States." He reminded the meeting of the old union slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," and said: "It is time for all of us to raise this slogan in connection with the Minneapolis case."

McAlister Coleman, author of "Men and Coal" and columnist for the *Socialist Party* organ, *The Call*, spoke on behalf of his organization in extending support and solidarity to the defendants. Samuel H. Friedman, editor of *The Call*, attended the meeting but was prevented from speaking by a severe laryngitis.

Max Schachtman, Secretary of the Workers Party, pointed out the irony of the fact that this protest meeting was being held the day after the commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights. He pledged the support of his organization.

The meeting concluded with the adoption of a strong resolution condemning the Supreme Court decision and calling on Roosevelt to grant an unconditional pardon

to the 18 defendants. As a material token of their support, the audience contributed \$341 to the Minneapolis Prisoners Relief Fund.

Detroit CRDC Pledges Support To 18 Defendants

The Detroit Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee held a Turkey Dinner and Dance on Dec. 11 at which more than \$100 was raised for the 18 Minneapolis defendants. Invitations had been sent out before the Supreme Court announced its refusal to hear the appeal of the defendants, but as the news of this reactionary decision became known, many auto workers who were unable to attend the dinner, nevertheless bought tickets as a gesture of solidarity with the 18.

There was a musical program during dinner, following which the local secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, Mrs. Swanson, reviewed the history of the Minneapolis Trial and told of the work of the committee. It was unanimously voted to send a telegram of greetings from the sixty guests present to the eighteen defendants, which read as follows:

"Detroit members and friends of the Civil Rights Defense Committee salute the 18 Minneapolis defendants to whom the Supreme Court has denied the usual democratic right of a hearing to test the constitutionality of the Smith Gag Act.

"We assure them that we shall continue to fight with redoubled vigor against those who would black out civil liberties in America.

"And we further pledge ourselves to raise material aid for the support of the eighteen families who are so unjustly victimized."

The Seattle branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee held a successful bazaar at Independence Hall on Dec. 4, to help raise funds for the 18 Minneapolis prisoners.

Over 70 people, including many new friends and several members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, participated in the affair.

Steel Workers Are In Need Of A Rising Scale Of Wages Now

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down to the misery of part-time work rationed to them on a weekly basis. Prior to the outbreak of the war in Europe, thousands of steelworkers were working one, two, or three days per week. Even full scale war has not completely done away with this menace, for priorities have reduced many sections of the steel plants to part-time work in the midst of all the propaganda about big "war wages" in industry. The fear of part-time unemployment runs through the bloodstream of every steel district.

MAIN ISSUE UNTOUCHED

Although the proposed contract for steel is the best ever presented, it still fails to attack the wage issue from the most fundamental basis. The cost of living is continually rising, and all indications are that greed for profits will drive it higher at an ac-

celerated tempo. Nevertheless, Murray and the USWA leadership continue to negotiate wage raises according to regular business union methods. A flat wage raise of 17 cents per hour for steelworkers is no doubt an immediate improvement. But if such a demand were realized, its value would be of short duration while rising prices and mounting taxes continued to steal money out of the pockets of the steel workers.

In its approach to this issue, the Murray leadership shows an inability to cope with the problems of the workers. Murray's campaign for price roll-backs has proved to be a fiasco.

What is needed most now is a wage program which will bridge the gap between wages and rising prices. The trade union leadership has failed to present such a program.

The Socialist Workers Party

has for several years pointed out this problem to the workers and has supplied the answer: a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. This is the only immediately effective answer which the steelworkers as well as the entire American working class can give to the capitalist scheme of reducing real wages by increasing prices.

Although Murray has been compelled to go along with and support the drive to break the Little Steel formula, he has as yet given no indication that he is prepared to lead the steelworkers in actual militant struggle to achieve the new contract. His subservience to the Roosevelt machine and slavish adherence to the no-strike formula indicates that the steelworkers will have to conduct a genuine fight within the USWA to prevent the Murray leadership from once again blocking effective action.

International Notes

Under the heading of "Berlin Crime Rise," the Dec. 19 *New York Times* publishes a brief cable from its Stockholm correspondent revealing the growing class conflict inside Germany, with the destitute, bombed-out workers giving more and more open expression to their hatred of the German capitalists and their Nazi tools.

Quoting "a traveler" from the Reich capital today," the *Times* correspondent reports: "The bombings have overnight created a new class of 'have-nots' who regard hatefully anyone who looks well clothed. Walking down the Berlin Streets, foreign diplomats or newspaper correspondents who have been able to save or replace sturdy overcoats or shoes have derisive remarks thrown after them, such as 'Upper class swine!'"

The writer adds: "Nazi toughs shoot out of hand so-called undesirables, pretending afterwards they were killed as looters. Anti-Nazis use the same opportunity to get rid of party men particularly obnoxious to them."

These are signs of the increasing revolutionary ferment inside Germany.

Speaking at the International Labor Organization during its sessions in London last week, Adrien Tixier of the de Gaulle French Committee of National Liberation spoke for the need of strong union organization in France to "cope with post-war chaos." Such organization was needed, he asserted, because "underground information shows there will be such a tense situation between the masses and those directing industry that it could easily lead to civil war."

Tixier admitted, "The trade unions of France have been reorganized and with the assistance of small employers have been resisting the enemy, but not a single big employer can be found among the tens of thousands shot or hundreds of thousands imprisoned."

The revolutionary situation in France must be taking on considerable proportions, for a de Gaulleist to advocate the re-establishment of a reformist trade union bureaucracy, like that which aided in stifling the 1936 general strike and held back the workers' revolution.

The Allied Military Govern-

ment at Naples has banned a scheduled political congress, sponsored by the pro-Allied six-party coalition, the Italian Committee of National Liberation. Even Senator Croce, right wing monarchist-capitalist politician, and one of the leaders of the six-party coalition, charged that the AMG was becoming "the tool of neo-fascism," and that it had violated the recent Moscow conference pledge to safeguard the rights of free speech and assembly.

The AMG, Anglo-American occupation authority, according to the Dec. 18 AP dispatch, is contemplating "ending all political activity in liberated Italy as a result of the explosive situation that had arisen between the anti-monarchists and the groups supporting King Victor Emmanuel."

Of course, the capitalist correspondents do not write that it is only a small clique of the big capitalist, landlords, bankers, army brass hats and Catholic Church hierarchy that backs the monarchy.

Such is the "democracy" that Roosevelt and Churchill are bringing to Italy.

Workers Frozen to Jobs — Until Bosses Fire Them

According to the War Manpower Commission, 150,000 workers will be thrown out of work within the next 90 days. They will be "released" from their jobs because of cancellations of war contracts.

In a recent issue of a monthly bulletin published by the National City Bank this "new element" is recognized as a growing tendency when they point out that "we are now faced with a growing number of cutbacks in war production."

Cancellations of Army contracts have reached a total of \$8,000,000. For the first time in this war, the number of acute labor shortage areas as set by the WMC has been reduced from 77 to 69—thus "reversing" a steady trend." Even if these 150,000 workers find new jobs, the changeover will still create considerable hardships for them. Already, a number of "unauthorized" strikes have broken out over the attempted reclassification of workers to lower paid jobs due to contract cancellations, newly designated as "cutbacks in war production."

The sudden firing of 150,000 workers is a small-scale example of what the bosses have in store for the working class once the extensive war production program begins to taper off. That the present economic setup operates in the interests of the bosses and only the bosses is clearly revealed by this incident. While there is a Presidential edict which freezes workers to their jobs, there is no law compelling the bosses to keep the worker employed. Capitalism gives the worker job freezing but no job security. Through the U. S. Employment Service offices men are first "sent" into factories, then "frozen" by means of the availability-certificate device and fired whenever it is convenient for the employers to do so.

This is the bosses show, run for and by themselves, for their own benefit and profits. They have no answer to the problems of hunger and unemployment. They cannot prevent another economic collapse on a far greater scale than the pre-World War depression. Only the workers, by organizing production for the people instead of for a few exploiters, can do this. Only the workers, by instituting a planned economy for use, instead of present day unplanned chaos for profit, can insure job security, prosperity and plenty for all.

Employers Can Pay Higher Wages from Huge Profits

The corporations have already answered the unions' demands for wage increases by complaining that they can't afford to pay them. Benjamin Fairless, U. S. Steel President, has put in his requisition for higher steel prices while the coal-operators have already been granted higher prices per ton by the government.

The Commerce Department reports on 1943 profits released Dec. 18 show however that Big Business is literally choking with profits. Corporation profits for the third quarter of this year were \$5,700,000,000, before taxes. This is "the highest for any quarter in American economic history and 16 per cent above the same quarter of 1942," says the Commerce Department.

The Department estimated that profits after taxes would establish "an all-time high" of about 8 billions this year. This is double the peacetime profits of 1939. Total profits for the year, before taxes, will be from 22 to 23 billions, about four times the 1939 level.

White Collar Workers Get Crocodile Tears in Senate

A Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education announced last week that it was going to "study" the economic situation of 15 million white-collar and professional workers whose salaries have remained fixed while prices have been soaring.

What a flood of crocodile tears these hypocrites are shedding over the white-collar workers! This fake campaign was initiated some weeks ago by the *N. Y. Times* which suddenly discovered that these unorganized workers had no way of securing even the meagre pay rises permitted within the limits of the Little Steel formula.

The aim of the *N. Y. Times* was not to aid the white-collar workers who are so callously exploited by the corporations nor to get wage-increases for them. This capitalist sheet hoped to use the starvation salaries and miseries of the white-collar workers as an argument against the wage-increases being demanded by the industrial workers and thereby to drive a wedge between the two labor groups.

These same reactionary motives animate the Congressmen who have taken up the cries of the *Times*. The *Times* was itself obliged to point out that the white-collar workers were not covered by the Little Steel Formula precisely because they were unorganized. The obviously indicated method for remedying this defect is for the white-collar workers to organize into unions. But neither the *Times*, nor the investigating Senators make this simple suggestion.

Senator Thomas plainly intimates that his colleagues don't intend to do anything beyond investigating the situation. "There is no proposed legislation on the white collar worker's wage problems before the Senate subcommittee, nor will its investigation necessarily produce any," he stated.

The white collar workers can best help themselves to win wage-increases by organizing into trade unions. And in their own self-interest the union organizations must encourage and aid the white collar workers in their efforts to organize and fight for higher salaries. By combining forces in a joint struggle for higher wages the organized industrial workers can frustrate the schemes of the bosses and their agents to pit the white collar and professional workers against them, and thus turn their divisive campaign into a boomerang.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party