

## Campaign To Free 18 Is Gaining Labor Support

### Additional Union and Liberal Forces Join CRDC Drive to Win Unconditional Presidential Pardon for Imprisoned Trotskyists

NEW YORK CITY—The Civil Rights Defense Committee reports that its local branches throughout the country have been collecting hundreds of signatures on petitions calling upon President Roosevelt to pardon the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO now serving twelve to sixteen month prison sentences following their frameup under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Last week a number of new labor and liberal protests were recorded against the unjust imprisonment of the 18. Local 104 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Welders & Helpers, Seattle, Washington wrote in its paper, *104 Reporter*: "We didn't know—that's how dumb we are—that the U. S. Supreme Court would let a 'gag' law rape the constitution, especially when the rape was committed by a fellow named Smith, the same Smith who co-authored the Smith-Connelly Act, designed to wreck unions and cause more strikes."

In an article in the *New Leader* of Jan. 29 Liston Oak declares: "The outstanding violation of civil rights in this war is the imprisonment of eighteen Trotskyists for the expression of Bolshevik opinions. . . . The whole history of the struggle for civil liberties proves that it is the treatment of minorities . . . that is important. Such cases establish precedents. If such minorities are convicted for ideas . . . other larger minorities may be likewise treated."

DEMANDS PARDON  
"The Bill of Rights is on trial. We must not permit thinking, talking and writing to become a criminal activity in these United States. . . . We should therefore petition the President of the United States to rectify an injustice by granting immediate and unconditional pardon to the eighteen Trotskyists now in jail for their opinions. And we must demand that Congress repeal the undemocratic, anti-labor Smith Act."

In an article entitled "The Abdication of the Supreme Court," published in *The Progressive* of Jan. 31, William B. Hesseltine, professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin, cites the conviction of the 18 as a contribution to "military dictatorship" in this country. He suggests that Congress use the power of impeachment to prevent the Supreme Court justices from further undermining and sapping the

Constitution as they have done in the Minneapolis labor case.

In an editorial *The Western Socialist* for January stated: "We register our protest against . . . the sentencing of Trotskyites to jail on the basis of the Smith 'Gag' Act, which is an instrument of suppression against unpopular views on war and organized labor."

The Civil Rights Defense Com-

### Not "Fit" to Print

One statement during the Congressional debate on the new tax bill which the capitalist press did not quote was the following remarks by Wisconsin's Rep. Sauthoff printed in the Congressional Record of Jan. 18:

"Instead of a revenue act for 1943 it should be entitled, 'A Plan for the Relief of War Profiteers.' . . . Human life seems to be the cheapest thing in the world, while money seems to be the most precious. You can pass a bill through Congress in a day to conscript men, but we have not been able to conscript money in 25 years of effort and during two world wars. You can even raise a universal hue and cry for regimenting men and women all over the country to help make these war-born profits, but you cannot pass a law that will regiment the wealth which they create."

mittee is greatly in need of funds to carry on its national campaign to free the 18, to repeal the Smith 'Gag' Act, and to provide relief for the prisoners and their families. Please send your contribution for the Minneapolis Prisoners Pardon and Relief Fund to James T. Farrell, Chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

## WLB IMPOSES WAGE PENALTY ON CRAMP SHIPYARD WORKERS

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Jan. 26.—The War Labor Board's Shipbuilding Commission today announced a vindictive reprisal against 14,000 Cramp shipyard workers here because they struck for four days early this month against the board's seven-month delay in considering the contract demands of Cramp Local 42, CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

The Commission, with the labor member dissenting, arbitrarily ordered that as penalty for striking the workers shall lose one month's retroactive pay in any increase that may finally be awarded. This order followed a company agreement not to seek penalties for the strike and to grant retroactive pay back to last June 23. The WLB order dates the retroactive pay to July 23 instead.

This vicious mass penalty, the first of its type, sets a dangerous precedent which is bound to be used against militant unions throughout the country if it is permitted to go into effect. It is part and parcel of the government's present intensified anti-labor drive.

The strike which was the pretext for the penalty was called after the workers were compelled to work months without a contract because of the stalling of the pro-corporation WLB. During this period, the company took advantage of the union's no-strike pledge to commit innumerable provocations, firing leading shop stewards, chiseling on pay rates, etc.

Lucien Koch, IUMSW representative on the Shipbuilding Commission, declared in his dissenting opinion that "this punishment is totally unwarranted," and warned against "the ominous implication of the action taken." He charged that the company "by

its ill-considered actions contributed to the stoppage; yet the commission majority does not penalize the company in any way whatsoever. Only the union is adjudged guilty."

Koch's belated complaint does not detract from his responsibility, and that of John Green and other IUMSW national leaders, for encouraging the commission to invoke this penalty by their strikebreaking actions against the Cramp workers. The IUMSW leaders supported the government's denunciation of the strike and thus strengthened the hand of the commission against the workers.

The Cramp shipyard workers are enraged by this vicious penalty, and a movement is rapidly gaining ground in Local 42 to demand the withdrawal of labor support from the WLB and of the IUMSW representatives from the Shipbuilding Commission. Resentment against the treacherous national union leaders is boiling hot, and the realization is growing that only with a new, fighting leadership will the shipyard workers be able to conduct the kind of struggle which will win their just demands.

### Looking Ahead

Wealthy Westchester County, N. Y., has its own view of what's ahead—and it doesn't match Browder's promised paradise. The Westchester Board of Supervisors is discussing ways and means of refusing relief to workers thrown out of war plants. They'd like a legal requirement of 3 to 5 years residence. Anyone able to withstand starvation that long, apparently, is a worthily rugged individual.

## 17 Mexican Youths Are Framed Up By California Court

### Race Hatred Marks Trial; Counsel Denied

Seventeen Mexican boys have been framed-up and clapped behind prison bars as part of the recent anti-Mexican attacks on the West Coast which the capitalist press labelled the "Zoot-Suit Riots."

The "Sleepy Lagoon" case, as it has come to be known, follows the lynch pattern familiar to other minority groups in the United States. Police, prosecutor and judge joined to uphold "white supremacy" and railroad innocent youngsters to jail.

The facts in the case are as follows. In August, 1942, a group of Mexican boys tried to "crash the gate" at a boisterous party near Sleepy Lagoon, Los Angeles. They were dispersed. The following day, a guest, Jose Diaz was found unconscious in the road. He died shortly after. Police rounded up twenty-two of the boys who had tried to join the festivities. There was no proof that the man had been murdered; his injuries could have been caused by a fall, a hit-run driver, or a fight with some other invited guest. Nothing indicated that the Mexican lads had had anything to do with it.

### THE FRAMEUP

The Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee charges that the defendants were mercilessly beaten by the police to extort confessions; that the boys were tried in the midst of a wave of anti-Mexican hostility which was utilized to the limit by the prosecutor, who refused to let the boys change clothes or get a haircut before the trial and then pointed to their disreputable appearance as typical of their people. The defendants were not allowed to consult their counsel during the trial; the presiding judge referred to them as a gang; a representative of the Foreign Relations Bureau of the Sheriff's office filed a statement embracing the Nazi doctrine of "Aryan supremacy." The judge repeatedly ruled against the defense and in favor of the prosecution on the same points.

The sentences for the alleged "crime" which may never have been committed by anyone, were as severe as a prejudiced court could make them. Of twenty-two defendants, three were sent to jail for life; nine for five years to life; five for six months; and only five acquitted.

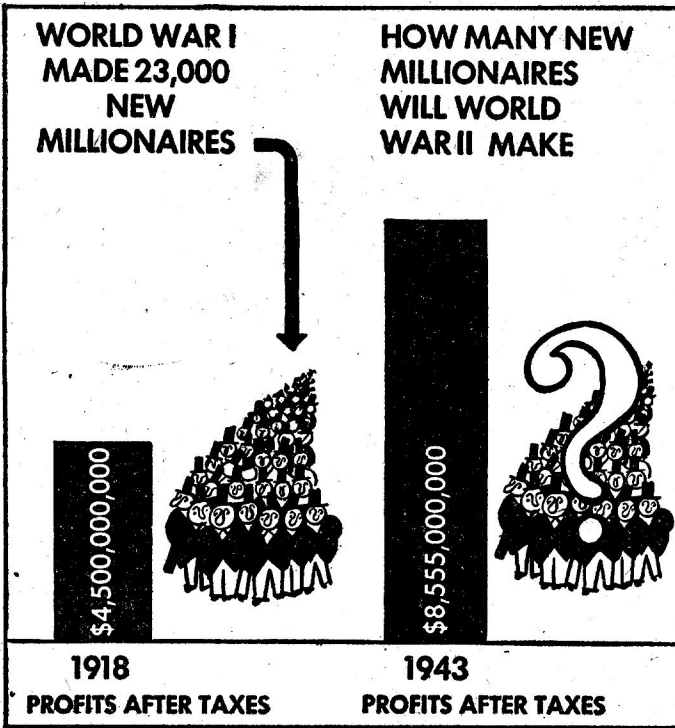
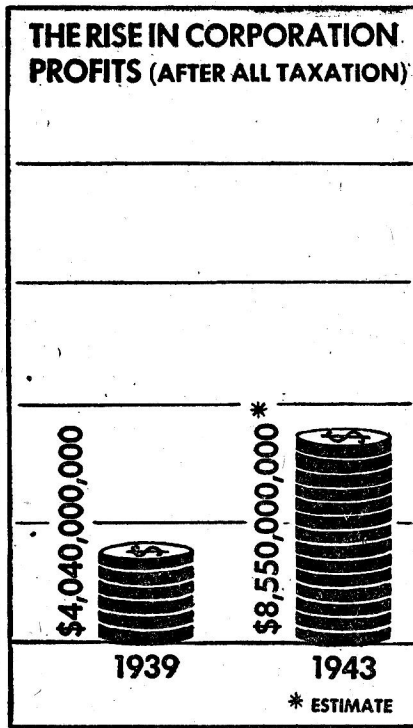
The race-baiting reactionaries of California who drove Japanese-Americans from their homes into their competition would be removed, have now added these anti-Mexican outrages to their crimes.

The Sleepy Lagoon case is a reflection of the general reactionary drive against organized labor and minority groups. It flows directly from the efforts of the employing class to sow all sorts of division among the various racial, national and religious groups among the workers. The whole background and conduct of the trial, one of the rawest frameups of recent years, demonstrate its race hatred purposes. All workers, every labor organization, should do their utmost to save these 17 victimized Mexican youth.

Contributions to aid the fight for freedom of the 17 Mexican boys should be sent to Carey McWilliams, National Chairman, Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, 902 Spring Arcade Building, Los Angeles, 13, Cal.

# Roosevelt Gives Signal For Drive Against Labor Unions

### Profiteering in World War II



Reproduced from PM

## CIO Head Reveals True Facts On Price Rises, Profiteering

### Cost of Living Is Up 50% Murray Proves At Senate Hearings

CIO President Philip Murray last week made public documented evidence proving conclusively that the cost of living has soared since Jan. 1, 1941 by more than double the 23.5 per cent rise recently claimed by Roosevelt's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Murray gave the lie to the administration's "statistics" in direct testimony on Jan. 25 before the Pepper Subcommittee of the Senate Education and Labor Committee.

His evidence, based on a detailed CIO Cost-of-Living survey made among 1,500 steel workers selected at random according to government-endorsed methods, is intended to fortify the demands of the steel and other CIO unions for substantial wage increases beyond those allowed under the Little Steel formula.

### SHOCKING REVELATIONS

Charging that the administration's figures are "worthless," Murray contended that the CIO's own scientifically compiled data disclosed "most shocking revelations" about the rising cost of living which has made it impossible for the steel workers to "make both ends meet."

Following Murray's disclosures, the AFL and CIO members of the Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living issued a joint report, made public last Sunday, showing that living costs have risen 43.5 per cent since Jan. 1, 1941, instead of the 23.4 per cent fraudulently claimed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

This report, which was submitted by R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO President, and George Meaney, AFL Secretary-Treasurer, charged that there is a "discrepancy of 28.5 per cent between the rise in living costs and the wage adjustments (15 per cent over Jan. 1, 1941).

(Continued on page 2)

### Browder Wants One Bosses' Candidate

Having previously announced the intended junking of the Communist Party in favor of the traditional capitalist two-party system, Earl Browder on Jan. 30 in Cleveland ventured a step further. He advocated that the Republican and Democratic parties "explore the possibility of a single Presidential ticket for both parties."

It is but a single stride from this to advocacy of a totalitarian one-party capitalist regime. The name of that beast, loathed by the workers, is—Fascism.

### A SMALL EXAMPLE!

You need 400% more pin-money today than two years ago. PM's shopper found that the standard paper of 240 common pins, sold for years at 5c, has become a black market commodity. Stores were cutting the papers in half and asking 10c for each half! No item too small, no article too large, for the pickpocket profiteers.

## High Prices Force Workers Into Debt

What the rising cost of living means to two typical steel workers was shown in detail by CIO President Philip Murray on Jan. 25 at the Senate's Pepper Subcommittee hearings. These two workers, who were among 4,000 interviewed, provided an actual record of expenditures:

Charles Moore, 48-year old employee of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. at Indiana Harbor, Ind., in three months last fall earned \$817.96 for support of his wife and two grandchildren. His living expenses for the same period were:

- \$120 for rent, at \$40 a month;
- \$61.45 for water, gas, electricity and coal; \$64.40 for household equipment;
- \$221.64 for food, on an average of \$18.47 per week;
- \$67.32 for clothing, including mostly work clothes for the man, house dresses for the wife and play clothes for the children;
- \$27.40 for medical supplies;
- \$26 for outside help during the wife's illness; \$4.72 for soap, haircuts, etc.; \$7.54 for newspapers; only \$1 for amusements;
- \$25 for carfare to and from work, at 30 cents per day; \$2 for church contributions; \$2 for gifts outside the family; \$3 for union dues; \$7.80 for tobacco and \$6.50 for alcoholic beverages;
- \$84.50 for federal taxes, plus social security and insurance premiums, and state taxes of \$8.18.

### IN THE RED

At the end of the three-month period, Moore was in the red by about \$76, and vowed he was "far better off" when he earned \$1,400 in 1941 than \$2,600 in 1943, because of price extortions.

Chester Baun, 23-year old worker for Bethlehem Steel at Lebanon, Pa., tried to support a wife and two children on total earnings of \$521.14 for three months. His expenses were:

- \$54 for rent—no inside bathroom and no hot water; \$49 for coal, electricity and householding supplies; \$36 for household equipment;
- \$18.20 for food per week, at 65

(Continued on page 2)

## Wall St. Agents Emboldened By Forced Labor Proposals

### U.S. Steel Trust Leads Open Shop Campaign; H. W. Smith Wants CIO Leaders Indicted

By C. Thomas

Less than a month has elapsed since Roosevelt issued his demand for "a national service law which, for the duration of the war, will prevent strikes and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential services every able-bodied adult in this nation."

Roosevelt motivated his demand for such legislation by the need for "nothing less than total mobilization of all our resources and manpower, in order to guarantee an 'earlier victory' in the war. His proposal was so worked as to give the go-ahead signal to the militarists and reactionary labor-hating wing of his own party who are only too eager to act as the spearhead of the drive to crush the unions."

### THE REAL AIM

These gentlemen promptly swung into action. In commenting on the President's proposal Senator Vandenberg remarked, "I am unable to understand why we must regiment every adult male civilian and particularly every adult civilian woman in order to achieve the desired result. . . . I prefer to outlaw all strikes or lockouts in defense production or services for the duration." That this is likewise the aim of the administration was made clear when Secretary of War Stimson, testifying before a committee hearing on the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill, said that he was for a forced labor draft "even without" the adoption of the President's other proposals. Under Secretary of War Patterson, testifying before the same committee, when asked by Senator Austin if there had ever been a genuine shortage of manpower, said: "Of course not. We have no man-

power shortage. There is plenty of manpower, both for the armed forces and for war production." N. Y. Times, Jan. 27.

### ANTI-STRIKE BILL

The testimony of Patterson, who, as the N. Y. Times points out, "has been a key organizer of munitions production since the start of the war program," effectively disposes of the motivation given in Roosevelt's message to Congress. It didn't take long for that arch reactionary, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, to take the cue from Roosevelt. Two days after the President submitted his message, Smith introduced "a new anti-strike bill" which provides for the imposition of drastic sanctions against the unions. In commenting on the new bill introduced by the co-author of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law, the labor editor of the Scripps-Howard press underscores that: "One effect would be that unions whose members engaged in wartime strikes, with or without the consent of union officers, and whether or not the industry was under government control, would cease to exist for the duration (and) for six months after the war) so far as union-protective statutes are concerned." — N. Y. World-Telegram, Jan. 13.

It is apparent that the sanctions proposed by the Smith bill have as their aim the outright strangulation of the unions. Here again, Smith takes his cue from Roosevelt who, after the passage of the Smith-Connelly act, issued an executive order providing for the application of drastic sanctions (Continued on page 4)

## A Three Point Program For Organized Labor

### An Editorial

Alarmed by the rising militancy of labor's struggle against the wage freezing program of Big Business, the kept press has been howling for a "firm labor policy" to batter the workers into submission. Wall Street's labor experts have been busy formulating plans which all add up to one solution—smash the unions. The *New York Times*, authoritative spokesman for monopoly capitalism, demands "a complete revision of the Administration's labor policy." The gist of their complaint is that Roosevelt's demagoguery no longer suffices to fool the workers who, having seen through the President's "equality of sacrifice" fraud, are determined to break out of the straitjacket of the Little Steel formula.

The *New York Herald-Tribune* places its editorial finger on the nub of the problem: "It is virtually impossible at this time to have a wage dispute which is not concerned directly with Administration policy—which is the President's policy. It is no longer a question of the unions against management—it is the unions against the President." And Roosevelt has openly ranged himself on the side of Big Business—against the workers. First, by inspiring General Marshall to unleash a nationwide campaign to inflame public opinion and the servicemen against the unions; then, by utilizing this manufactured "public opinion" as a pretext to present Congress with a proposal to adopt forced labor legislation.

Against the destructive policy of the open-shop union wreckers, a policy which Roosevelt has wholeheartedly embraced, it is essential that the labor movement counterpose a constructive policy which will answer the needs of the workers. Experience has taught that the

following planks must be included in labor's program for the defense of the unions against its enemies:

*For an escalator clause in all union contracts!* Roosevelt's promise to stabilize the cost of living has proven to be a gigantic hoax. A government run by capitalists for the benefit of capitalists cannot and will not curb prices or profits. Wages have been frozen in the face of a continuing rise in the cost of living while profits soar skyward. Only the escalator clause—a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living—can provide the workers with a means of protection against the worst effects of war-inflation.

*Rescind the no-strike pledge!* No matter how many pledges and promises the capitalist politicians make and break, the bosses insist that labor must continue to give unconditional adherence to the no-strike pledge made by the bureaucrats without even consulting the union membership. In the face of an intensive campaign of repression directed against the very existence of the unions it would be suicidal to remain committed to the surrender of labor's most effective weapon of defense. The preservation of the unions demands that the no-strike pledge be repudiated.

*For an Independent Labor Party!* Labor must make a decisive break with company unionism in politics. No support to the agents of monopoly capitalism whether they parade under the banner of Democrats or Republicans. The unions must organize labor's own political party to support labor candidates running on a labor program against the candidates of the bosses in all election campaigns.



# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Despite the War Labor Board's unrelieved record as an employer-dominated agency, the Southern poll-tax Democratic bloc which is spearheading the administration's anti-labor drive has launched an attack on the board for failure to destroy labor's rights altogether.

Representative Howard W. Smith's House Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies of the Government is calling for federal legislation to deny authority to the WLB to grant maintenance - of - membership clauses.

The maintenance-of-membership clause, a watered-down substitute for the union shop, has been granted by Roosevelt to the union bureaucracy as a form of pay-off for giving up the workers' right to strike and other hard-won union conditions. It has helped to bolster up union memberships and keep the dues coming in despite the demoralizing effect of the leadership's concessions to the administration and employers.

Most Congressmen and Big Business leaders are now convinced that the union leaders cannot hold the workers in check, and therefore want no more of Roosevelt's iron fist in a velvet glove methods of dealing with labor. They want the unconcealed iron fist exclusively.

Vice President Wallace, latest white-haired boy of the union leadership because he still spouts New Dealish demagoguery has aroused the ire of the New York Women's Trade Union League for his public endorsement of the reactionary so-called "Equal Rights" amendment which is designed to destroy all special legislation protecting women in industry.

The WTUL, in a letter made public Jan. 27, vigorously scored Wallace for backing a move "to scuttle legislation that... has served to raise the economic status of women." To Wallace's argument that women workers should accept "some possible temporary disadvantage" for the "greater advantage of inner freedom" embodied in the "Equal Rights" amendment, the WTUL countered:

"We do not intend to drop the meat for the shadow of a bigger piece. Your promise of greater advantages in 'inner freedom' is far too reminiscent of Anatole France's description of the 'equality' and 'freedom' of rich and poor alike to sleep on the banks of the Seine."

The question of John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers re-entry into the AFL still remains up in the air.

At its sessions last week in Miami, Florida, the AFL executive council continued to play coy with the UMW request. The issue of jurisdiction, centering around the UMW's District 50 set-up in the chemical and coal by-products industry, remains the chief obstacle to readmission.

The council declared in a letter to Lewis that it had considered

the matter of readmission "in a sympathetic way," but insisted that the miners return "with the jurisdiction they had when they left." The question of whether District 50 members would remain in the UMW, or be parcelled out to a dozen other craft unions, would be decided afterwards. Lewis continued to point thumbs-down on this proposal.

The Stalinist links in the unions have become so utterly craven toward the administration that even the ordinarily servile union bureaucrats can't stomach some of their recent actions.

Thus, CIO national secretary James B. Carey, at a meeting of the CIO national executive board in Washington Jan. 31, was moved to condemn the Stalinist controlled Greater New York Industrial Union Council for adopting a resolution endorsing a fourth-term for Roosevelt in violation of the policy laid down by the last CIO convention.

This low-point of Stalinist bootlicking came in the midst of the mounting labor resistance to Roosevelt's proposed national forced labor conscription.

Union pressmen for the Rochester N. Y. Sunday Democrat and Chronicle last week halted operation of the presses in the midst of the final run when the editors inserted an attack against the AFL Pressmen's Union Local 36 in the paper. Only 22,000 of the normal run of 135,000 papers had been printed when the stoppage occurred. Over 100,000 subscribers were saved from a dose of anti-labor poison. This was an excellent demonstration of the power of the workers to halt labor-hating propaganda by simply refusing to aid in its publication.

The American Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the CIO, is conducting a campaign to dam up the flood of anti-labor bills which many state legislatures have let loose in the past two years. Joseph Padway, AFL general counsel, reported to the recent AFL Executive Council meeting in Miami that AFL and CIO suits are being instituted in seven states attacking the constitutionality of various repressive laws.

Among the restrictive measures denounced by Padway are laws providing for compulsory registration of union officials, submission of union financial and other data to the employers' government agents and the licensing of unions and their officers. Other state laws include restraints against peaceful striking and picketing, which Padway charged are in violation of the Bill of Rights and constitute the basis for imposition of "involuntary servitude."

Padway pointed out that licensing and other restrictive laws apply solely to labor unions, while other types of unincorporated organizations like chambers of commerce and manufacturers associations face no such restraints.



The report this week from our New York agent shows that distributions of THE MILITANT help lay the groundwork for a good sale of Pioneer's popular pamphlets:

"Two comrades began the sale of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' in Harlem two weeks ago. The first Sunday 17 were sold in one house; the second Sunday 23 were sold. Many of the people said they had gotten THE MILITANT at one of the Harlem distributions, liked it, and were very glad to get the pamphlet.

"We are also beginning a sale of 'War Time Crimes of Big Business' at one of the shipyards where we have been distributing for over a year. The first week's sale was very encouraging, and we expect to have continuing good reports on this.

"The New York Local has covered a few meetings of the Stalinist-dominated Local 65 of United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store employees. Some Stalinist goons molested our people at these distributions, but they succeeded only in arousing further interest in the paper. Attempts by these goons to tear the paper out of the hands of workers who were going into the meeting were met with remarks such as 'How are we going to know what's going on if we don't read this paper?'"

We received subscriptions from many of our agents during the week. We quote excerpts from some of the accompanying letters:

San Francisco: "Enclosed find money order covering 12 six-month subs acquired in our house-to-house work on Sunday. The success of the campaign has contributed much to the spirit of the branch. 'For the first time in years,' Frank says, 'we knock on four doors and expect at least one person to smile and say they have been reading The Militant and want a sub.' That is the approximate record the branch has made in its work."

Chicago: "Money order enclosed for the combination sub... The literature agent is now putting a lot of work on the question of improving our methods of distribution. It is a big job to get the work systematized—and yet flexible as it must be. Everyone or almost everyone is working long hours and then nearly every night taken by various committee meetings, makes it a very strenuous life."

St. Paul: "Enclosed are 4 subs, 3 one-year combination and a one-year sub to the F. I. As you will notice, I have used F. I. sub blanks for all, since I seem to be out of The Militant blanks. Will you please mail me some more."

# Why The Steel Workers Are Becoming Restless And Angry

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Ohio steel strikes during the holidays caused the nation to recall that there are men in the steel plants, sweaty, dirt-covered men making iron and steel and, according to the capitalist press, making trouble. Of course, the papers dispelled none of the illusions generally held concerning the steelworkers, who are thought of as a highly paid group. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The \$78 per hour minimum wage places them definitely in the lower pay brackets of organized labor; and, a point that most people do not understand, the vast majority of the steelworkers, including men with twenty to forty years' seniority, earn only this minimum wage or very little more. This means that most of the men toiling in the nation's steel mills are attempting to support their families on a weekly wage of thirty-five to forty-five dollars after the various deductions are made.

WORK DOUBLE SHIFTS In order to meet the rising cost of living, many men are forced to work double shifts: that is, after eight hours of labor on the furnaces or in the mills, they stay on their jobs and work eight hours more. That allows them just eight hours between quitting time and the start of the next day's labor, in which to go home, get a bite to eat, snatch a few hours rest, and hurry back to work. We have known cases where men have put in as many as five or even six double shifts in one week.

Of course, it is not always possible to earn additional money by working "doubles." In many departments the workers are not accorded this dubious privilege; in others the work is so difficult that few men can endure sixteen hours of it. These men must manage as well as they can on their regular six-day wage. The third helpers in the open hearth, for instance, are seldom able to work "doubles." So gruelling is the work, shovelling almost constantly into the seething, white-hot opening of the steel-making furnaces, that only a young, robust worker can work more than eight hours, and he can do so only infrequently.

The same holds true for the men who load the charging boxes with limestone. Out in the open in all kinds of weather, each one of these men must take tons of

out in an incredibly short time. His home life is broken up by his changing shifts. Some men change as often as three times a week and are never entirely sure that their work schedule will not be rewritten entirely at a moment's notice.

MANY HARDSHIPS Transportation also presents a difficult situation. Since steel mills must be located adjacent to the railroads and waterways, they are almost always built out on the outskirts of the cities, making it necessary for the employees to travel quite a distance from their homes, cutting further into their wages and their time. Finally there is the matter of disease. Facing one moment the glare of molten metal and the next the winter wind, the furnaceman is constantly menaced by pneumonia, and not a few have been laid early in their graves by tuberculosis.

Due to the nature of the work and conditions under which the work is done, weaklings are weeded out, and only those men stay who can "take it." The jobs are hard, heavy, and hazardous. These men know what it is to experience terrible fatigue, intolerable heat, and sudden, terrifying narrow escapes from fiery death. They themselves become hard, tough and intractable and make formidable adversaries when their anger, as a group, is aroused.

In spite of the bureaucratic practices of the Murray-dominated USA-CIO leadership, there is a widespread, almost reverent, feeling of gratitude toward the union. The steelworkers recall all too clearly the long hours, the excessive work caused by "efficiency" superintendents, who sought to lower operating expenses by removing men here and there and burdening the survivors of these purges with additional toil. They remember the revengeful actions of the "tough" foremen, against which they had no redress.

The Negroes recall the out-and-out racial discrimination once practiced; they know all too well that there is still some discrimination left, but they know also that they have a weapon

# MURRAY REPORT SHOWS LIVING COSTS UP 50%

(Continued from page 1) 1941) allowed under the Little Steel formula." Both Murray and the labor members of the President's Cost of Living committee demonstrated that the Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose experts are fully aware of what they are doing, left out many vital factors in order to establish fake figures designed to bolster Roosevelt's wage freeze and the continued enforcement of the Little Steel Formula.

These included the use of incomplete figures on food price rises, failure to take into consideration quality deterioration, the effects of the Black Market, and price violations, falsely weighted figures on rent increases, exclusion of special war costs such as moving to new jobs, increased taxes and "war bonds and other forms of savings that decrease disposable income."

DAMAGING ADMISSIONS Murray's charges against the Bureau of Labor Statistics were confirmed in part by the testimony of A. F. Hinrichs, acting commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, who was called to testify before the Pepper Subcommittee at Murray's request.

Hinrichs testified under questioning that while there was "no deceit practiced" by the BLS, there might be "weakness in the methods of collecting price information," and that "a large number of the people are convinced that the cost of living has gone up more than 23.5 per cent." He further confessed that since the spring of 1942 the BLS has had insufficient funds to make adequate surveys.

Hinrichs also admitted in part the truth of Murray's claim that a steel worker now making \$2,600 a year is no better off than one making \$1,400 in 1941.

Murray contrasted, in his report before the hearings, the huge profits of the corporations with the worsening conditions of the workers. He cited the government's own figures showing that 1943 corporation net profits after taxes were double those of 1939, and that the capitalists have piled up reserves from the war expected to total \$42 billion dollars by the end of this year.

"These figures stagger the imagination of the American people," Murray asserted, "and war workers wonder what it's all about. They are expressing concern over the future when these terrifying profits are being extracted out of the war." COVERS ROOSEVELT Despite the evidence which he

submitted showing the administration's complicity in clamping the wage freeze, price rise squeeze on the workers, Murray continued to cover up for Roosevelt and for the trade union leaders who, like himself, lent their prestige to Roosevelt's anti-labor wage "stabilization" program.

Instead of exposing the real intent of this "stabilization" program, which had no other purpose from the beginning than to enable the administration to freeze wages under a smoke-screen of "equality of sacrifice," Murray complained before the Pepper Subcommittee merely that "unfortunately the stabilization law has not been properly administered," and that Congress had failed to provide adequate appropriations for food price subsidies and OPA price controls.

In this fashion, Murray sought to conceal Roosevelt's responsibility for price control failure and to uphold the idea of wage "stabilization"—which whether "properly or improperly administered" is nothing but a program aimed at wage-freezing.

Experience of the past three years has proved that Big Business has no desire to control prices, and that the administration is incapable of doing so. Under conditions of capitalist war-inflation, talk about any sort of price "stabilization" is so much hogwash. Labor's answer to price rises is not Murray's "proper administration" of a wage-freezing "stabilization" program, but the inclusion of escalator clauses—a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living—in all union contracts.

# High Prices Force Workers Into Debt

(Continued from page 1) cents per person per day; \$97.96 for clothing for four, but not including adult suits or overcoats or other major clothing items; \$6.50 for medical care, excluding a pending bill of \$30; \$5.80 for personal and sanitary care, such as soap and haircuts; \$72 on his automobile, including a payment of installment, gasoline and oil, repairs, etc. \$15.47 for tobacco; \$3 for union dues; \$42 for war bonds; \$28.42 for social security, insurance premiums and the Bethlehem Relief fund; \$23.40 in federal taxes. Steelworker Baum wound up with a \$175 deficit.

# Fund Campaign Approaches Goal

By Rose Karsner, Director

Writing from prison James P. Cannon says: "The diet here is supposed to be balanced, but I am balancing it a little more on the side of the vitamin vegetables as against the starches. I am taking rigorous care of my health, and barring unforeseen difficulties, confidently expect to come out of here in shape for some serious work. But before I start on any task I want to eat a few meals of special dishes and see a few shows. Perhaps we will be entitled to a little vacation before settling down to new tasks." Prison regulations do not permit him to mention the others, but I am sure that in saying this, comrade Cannon is not speaking for himself alone.

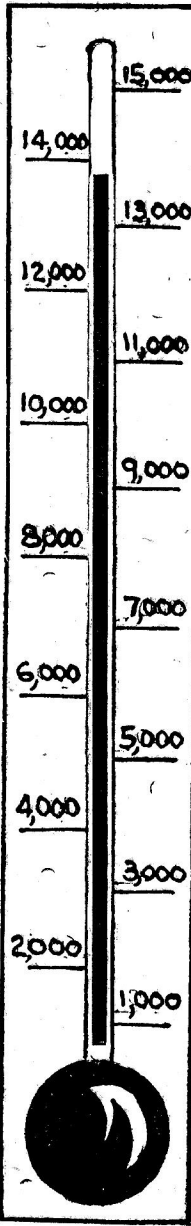
For our part, we who are left to carry on—we too are preparing "for some serious work." And we understand that our first task along that road is to secure the financial base of the party. This is being done with a selfless will and enthusiasm which all other parties and groups can well envy.

Los Angeles, J. B.—"I wired that I was sending \$500. However I didn't like the zero on the scoreboard, so added \$50. Now we are over the top. Of course we don't intend to stop there. More will be coming soon. We were very glad to hear word from Jim. Knowing that our imprisoned comrades have such excellent morale, we can go about our work with greater confidence and energy."

Boston, M. L.—"Enclosed is a money-order for thirty-five dollars. This makes the total Boston has sent in so far \$17 over our quota. We are going to send in more shortly."

New Haven, G. D.—"Enclosed you will find a money-order for \$15. This is to be added to our quota. We intend to make it at least 200%." Milwaukee, A. S.—"The enclosed money order brings our total to \$35. We feel that going over our quota is no great achievement in the light of the hard work and huge goals of the other branches. The reason we have been able to go 'over' is because we got \$2 from a friend from Latin America, \$5 from another friend, and so forth. It is a pleasure to open The Militant each week and see the rapid rise of the thermometer indicating the response of the comrades."

Akron, D. S.—"The enclosed \$20 raises the Akron thermometer to the 72% mark. Three of our local pledges are now fulfilled."



# SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
New Haven	500.00	90.00	180
San Francisco	1,000.00	1,450.00	145
Milwaukee	25.00	35.00	140
Quakertown	25.00	32.00	128
Los Angeles	2,000.00	2,137.16	107
Boston	300.00	317.00	106
Buffalo	300.00	307.50	103
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Allentown	25.00	25.00	100
Twin Cities	1,000.00	1,000.00	100
Toledo	100.00	100.00	100
Detroit	2,000.00	2,008.00	100
New York	2,500.00	2,504.75	100
Flint	100.00	100.00	100
Reading	75.00	68.00	91
Newark	300.00	260.00	87
Members-at-Large and friends	800.00	647.75	81
Akron	200.00	145.00	73
Youngstown	200.00	135.00	68
Chicago	2,000.00	1,281.13	64
Seattle	1,000.00	535.00	54
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
St. Louis	100.00	50.00	50
Bayonne	300.00	122.00	41
East Chicago	100.00	35.00	35
Philadelphia	150.00	24.50	16
Rochester	50.00	0	0
TOTALS		13,609.79	91%

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# Profiteers Haul In Their Biggest Loot

(Continued from page 1) a refund expected to total over \$2 billion dollars.

The biggest haul of all comes from the so-called "depreciation," "post-war losses" and "tax refund" reserves, which are actually disguised profits. By the end of this year, these reserves will total 26 billion dollars. By the end of 1945, according to Under Secretary of War Patterson, they will total 45 billions. Some estimates go as high as 70 billions.

Add to this sumptuous profits feast the whipped cream on top of the cake—the enormous rise in executive corporation salaries. In the "normally" \$5,000 to \$50,000 annual salary class, according to Patterson, big increases are a "very common thing." And the bosses don't have to get the O.K. of the War Labor Board either.

That's a glimpse of what American Big Business has been getting out of this war. It has provided their golden opportunity for the greatest piratical looting in history.

# Southern Democracy

Senator Overton (Democratic, La.) told reporters, on Jan. 27, why poll-taxers fight a federal soldier ballot: "Let's be frank... Down in the Solid South we've got to retain our state voting qualifications to preserve white supremacy."

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**SOCIALISM ON TRIAL**  
Historic Testimony at Minneapolis Trial  
By JAMES P. CANNON



# The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

## The Burial of the Communist Party

The dissolution of the Communist Party does not mean that the Stalinists are going to stop betraying the struggle of the Negro people. Just as, in order to bring about "national unity," the Stalinists are opposed to an independent struggle by the workers to oust the capitalists from power, so too, they oppose any independent and militant action on the part of Negroes to win their democratic rights.

Earl Browder made this crystal clear in his Madison Square Garden speech a few weeks ago. According to Browder the same capitalists who are going to give the workers a world free of war, fascism, and unemployment are also going to grant the Negro people full equality. And the Stalinists, says Browder, are going to be in the forefront to help bring this miracle about.

The Negro people, warns Browder, must not disrupt "national unity" in order to win their democratic rights. They must not be "rash and reckless in the choice of means in the fight." Above all the Negro people must not follow the example of the March-On-Washington.

Why does Browder take time out to slander the March-On-Washington and announce that the Stalinists will remain opposed to any such organization? Because the March-On-Washington originally taught Negroes that the only way to wring even the smallest concession from the government was by creating their own mass organizations which would carry on an unrelenting struggle for equality.

Browder is interested in seeing that the American capitalists aren't disturbed in their war for markets and profits. He therefore advises the Negro people to rely on the government and the Republican and Democratic parties to grant them equality.

The Stalinists, he boasts, "have consistently advised only the most orderly, unified, calm, and well considered forms of political struggle well established in American democratic procedure." Browder finishes off this program of betrayal with a lie. "These measures," he says, "are proving increasingly effective."

Now if there is one thing that thinking Negroes are agreed upon today, it is the fact that the capitalists, the government, and the two major political parties constitute the major obstacle in the path of the Negro fight to become a first-class citizen.

The Negro is well aware that the government has refused to heed the pleas of Negro leaders to abolish discrimination in the armed forces and in industry. Such people as Walter White, head of the NAACP, A. Phillip Randolph, William Hastie and a host of others have said publicly, time and time again, that depending on the good will of the Government will get the Negro people exactly nowhere.

As for Roosevelt, whom the Stalinists put forward as the great American leader, every Negro knows that Roosevelt has refused to speak out in behalf of anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation. Roosevelt matches his cynical deeds with equally cynical words. While Browder claims the capitalists are ready to grant racial equality right now, their spokesmen are a bit more truthful. Just a few weeks ago, Roosevelt, who heads the capitalist government and therefore speaks in the name of the whole ruling class, said that for Negroes to expect full equality now would be to expect the millennium.

Not content with betraying 13 million Negroes at home the Stalinists are ready to help Wall Street exploit the hundreds of millions of colonial peoples throughout the world. Says Browder, "Without foreign markets there is no possibility to find an economic foundation to the national unity within the United States." Such foreign markets are unthinkable except under stable conditions, without international and civil wars of major proportions.

In plain words this means the colored masses of Asia and Africa must give up the struggle for national and social liberation. They must submit peacefully to joint exploitation by Anglo-American capitalism. Among other things "national unity" means the creation of a world colonial empire for American monopoly capitalism.

These are the real fruits of Stalin's collaboration with Churchill and Roosevelt. Stalin is ready to betray the struggle of the American workers and the colonial masses of the world in order to preserve the power of the degenerate Soviet bureaucracy he represents. And this time Stalin is ready to go all the way in his deal with his capitalist allies because he fears any mass upheaval might encourage the Soviet workers to unseat the parasitic clique which has usurped power in the USSR.

But although the Stalinists are ready, as Browder put it, to shake hands with J. P. Morgan, the Negro masses are primarily interested in shaking off the capitalist parasites and their Jim Crow system. And events are teaching them, in spite of the lies of Browder and Company, that the only way to win full democracy is to join with the white workers and take the economic and political power away from Big Business.

They will learn that to do this they need a working-class party that struggles for socialism and the democratic rights of all oppressed peoples at home and abroad. That is the program of the Socialist Workers Party which fights to end capitalism with its inevitable wars, fascism, and racial oppression.

# Liebknecht And Luxemburg-Martyred Socialist Leaders

By Ruth Johnson

The twenty-fourth anniversary of the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by Junker hirelings of the German Social Democracy, comes at a time when the German people are as bitterly hostile to Hitler's regime as they were to the Kaiser's in 1917-18. These two outstanding German Marxists bequeathed a magnificent heritage to the German workers which they will surely draw upon in the revolutionary struggles ahead.

Karl Liebknecht's giant stature was first shown by his leadership of the struggle against capitalist militarism. In 1906 he delivered to the Socialist Youth organization a series of lectures on his views; for their subsequent publication, he was sentenced to 18 months in the Kaiser's prisons.

But imprisonment does not daunt revolutionists. When World War I broke out, Liebknecht was a member of the Reichstag. The Social Democratic party's Reichstag group, to which he belonged, opportunistically supported the war. But Liebknecht held true to his principles; at the December 2, 1914 session, he broke discipline and voted against war credits, thereby taking his place amongst the leaders of international socialism. With Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, he founded "Die Internationale," first illegal organ of the German revolutionists.

At the magnificent May Day demonstration he organized in Berlin in 1916, Liebknecht denounced the imperialists and called upon the German proletariat to fight against its main enemy—the capitalist class—at home. He was arrested, given a secret trial, and sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment.

**ROSA LUXEMBURG**  
Rosa Luxemburg, fiery orator, gifted writer, theoretician and activist, conquered physical frailty to become one of the greatest of revolutionists. Born in Czarist Poland, a political refugee at the age of 18, she devoted her tremendous talents to the cause of socialism. She secured German citizenship, and fought, within the German Social Democracy, the growing reformist tendencies, the revisionism of the Bernsteinists. Understanding the problems and strategy of the workers' movement, she saw in the general strike and in the Russian revolution of 1905 the vitality and strength of the masses. She met the outbreak of war in 1914 by calling upon German workers to refuse to shoot down their French brothers. Like Liebknecht, she was imprisoned. But Rosa never wasted time. She was able even in prison to smuggle out articles for "Die Internationale." She also wrote the famous "Junius" pamphlet, circulated throughout Germany, explaining that the victory of either side—German or Allied—would necessarily lead to another world slaughter, and that only the masses could end the scourge of war.

In prison Rosa received the great news of the Russian Revolution. She burned with indignation over the Brest-Litovsk peace forced by Germany upon the Bolsheviks. She accused the pro-war "socialists" of their responsibility, their degrading submission to the Junkers. The Russian Revolution deeply inspired her. Enemies of the Russian Revolution have tried to construe her criticism of the

## Three Imprisoned Union Leaders



Emil Hansen, Edward Palmquist, and Clarence Hamel, organizers for Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO, photographed in Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party shortly before they were imprisoned in Sandstone penitentiary.

Bolsheviks as an opposition to the Russian Revolution. This is false. It was as one of them that she criticized some of their tactics.

The most vicious lie is that spread by the Stalinists, who have tried to depict her as an enemy of communism.

### THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

In 1918 came the revolt of the Kiel sailors and soldiers of Berlin. One of the very first acts of the revolutionary masses was to throw open the prison gates for Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The Social Democratic traitors tried to persuade the Kaiser to remain to the last. Failing to save the monarchy, they then strained all their efforts to establish a bourgeois republic. They hated and feared Bolshevism above everything else. They particularly feared the Spartakus Bund organized in 1918 by Liebknecht and Luxemburg, which came out as an independent party with the slogan "All Power to the Workers' Councils."

Conscious of the work that had to be done, of the pressure of time, Liebknecht and Luxemburg began with feverish haste to organize. Rosa edited Rote Fahne (Red Banner) and wrote the program, in complete agreement with the program of Lenin and Trotsky, for the German Communist Party. But events moved rapidly. The advanced workers were pressing forward. The German Communist Party, just growing out of the Spartakus group, was not yet strong enough to take power.

The Social Democracy in charge of the government did everything in its power to crush the revolution in infancy. Leaflets were circulated demanding the death of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, large rewards were offered for their capture. On January 15th, twenty-four years ago, the two revolutionists were arrested and assassinated.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht live on in the hearts of the masses. Neither they, nor the lessons they taught, have been forgotten. The mighty German proletariat will testify to that when it again rises against its oppressors to win the socialist future for which these and so many other martyrs of the international working class heroically gave their lives.

## Joseph Gilbert, Famous Minnesota Fighter For Free Speech, Salutes 18

The following expression of solidarity with the 18 Minneapolis labor prisoners was written by Joseph Gilbert, who as organizer for the Non-Partisan League was framed up three times in cases involving free speech during the First World War. Together with Arthur C. Townley, Non-Partisan League President, Gilbert served twelve months in prison on one conviction, and then served three months on another conviction.

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**  
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Dear Friends:

Enclosed is a dollar to pay for the ticket you sent me for the dinner in honor of the 18 martyrs in the Minneapolis case. It is only the infirmities of an advanced age that prevents my being present.

The value of the work in which you are engaged and for which these 18 now have to pay the penalty, lies in the fact that you are doing all within your power to enlighten the working class to a realization of their real interests in society, and the particular value attached to your martyrdom in this instance is that it serves to uncover the hypocrisy of those who lay so much stress upon our democracy and freedom.

As I have stated before, I do not agree with the tactics pursued by your organization, but at the same time I admire your courage as I also deplore your judgment and discretion.

The plutocracy against whom you contend consists of an agreeable, astute, forcible, self-confident, and when hard-pressed, unscrupulous people, who will stop at nothing they deem necessary to retain their power and privilege. The courts and government officials generally are but commissioners to carry out the will of this ruling class. You need not have expected any other result in your case than what has occurred.

May you be enabled to carry on the fight against this plutocracy in the days to come, fortified and strengthened by your experience, so that when the time arrives, which it surely will, when Labor discards the fake leaders who are no longer able to help or satisfy them, they will give heed to the teachings of those of their class who possessed greater foresight and the courage of their convictions to guide them in their great extremity.

I salute you, harbingers of a brighter day that is soon to dawn upon a suffering humanity.

Fraternally,  
JOSEPH GILBERT

## War-Time Strikes in Canada Increase Sharply Despite Forced Labor Draft

Canada is frequently cited in the American press as a model to follow in wartime legislation. Canada, we have been told among other things, has allegedly had great success in preventing inflation. But the constant increase in strike struggles of the Canadian workers who are trying to maintain their living standards tell a different story. Thus, an Ottawa dispatch paints the following picture:

"In 1940, for instance, the Dominion had only 168 strikes, involving 60,619 workmen, for a loss of 266,318 man-days. Each year since then the figures have jumped. For the first 11 months of 1943—the latest period covered by Department of Labor statistics—Canada had 448 strikes, in which 201,036 quit their jobs for 962,400 man-days." (N. Y. World-Telegram, Feb. 1)

Canada has been operating under a labor draft program which is proposed by many as a "model" for drafting the American workers. Each year has seen new regulations for civilian mobilization to put "teeth" into these attempts to enslave the Canadian workers and slash more deeply into their standards of living. The increase in the strike struggles testifies eloquently to the stubborn resistance of Canadian labor.

Canada has a "cost of living law" through the operation of which the workers are presum-

## Argentina Submits Under U. S. Economic Pressure

By A. Roland

Argentina has finally yielded to the tremendous pressure exerted on it by the "Colossus of the North." The Ramirez regime has been forced to break off diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. This will no doubt be followed by measures demanded by American capitalism to bring the richest and most advanced nation in South America into line with the other Latin American countries.

There are certain analogies between the present situation and that which existed in the first World War. The moment the United States entered the war in 1917, it proceeded to exert pressure on Argentina to take an active part on the side of the Allies. But the land of the pampas was then solidly in the grip of the great landowners whose estates rival the smaller kingdoms of Europe. These land barons felt that their interests were best served by neutrality. They had no particular love for the Yankee imperialist who sought to steer the Argentine into the orbit of United States finance capital. These estancos resisted all attempts to drag the country into the war, even when the United States sent a meaningful squadron of three cruisers to Buenos Aires.

### ECONOMIC PRESSURE

Except as a final resort that method of "persuasion" need not be used by the U. S. which today dominates the whole world through its unrivaled machinery of production. Argentina as a semi-colonial, though independent, country which fits into world economy as a producer of wheat and corn and cattle, can be readily subjected to economic pressure. Its economy requires large export markets and hence is quite vulnerable in time of war. The North American capitalists aim to defeat Germany not only by the use of armies and navies, but also by cutting off every source of food supplies and raw materials. The Argentine upper class, on the other hand, wished to keep all avenues open for its enrichment. It continued to send wheat and meat to Spain; a country still trading with Germany. Argentine harbored agents of the Axis, not only for spying on the United Nations, but also to secure every material that might find its way to Hitler. Thus Argentine interests bought up the entire quinine crop of Bolivia for shipment abroad.

To pay for its necessary imports of fuel, lubricants, textiles, chemicals, tractors and other farm machinery, Argentina must acquire foreign exchange by means of its own exports. Besides this there are enormous sums to be paid out to foreign investors, Argentina being a fertile field for British and American finance capital. The foreign investments in the Argentine amount to well over two billion dollars. Since Argentina refused to do the bidding of America, she was discriminated against in every way possible. Permits for the shipment of machinery were issued only after great delay. Shipping was not allocated in sufficient quantity. Direct lend-lease was refused.

The United States played also on the fears of the so-called "Yankees of South America." The ruling class of Argentina, a country of thirteen million people, has pretensions to the role of leader of their continent. In this aspiration they feel the rivalry of the Northern Colossus and also the nearer rivalry of Brazil. Thus the top strata of Argentine society were greatly alarmed at the military aid given to Vargas.

They were incensed also by the attempt to pull Paraguay away from Argentine influence. Everything that passes in or out of Paraguay must go through the hands of Argentine transportation companies. The Argentines levy tribute on all of Paraguay's imports and exports. Hence Argentine capitalists could not view indifferently the action of the United States when it loaned money to Paraguay for the specific purpose of building main highways to Brazil. This meant

a distinct threat to Argentine domination.

The economies of the United States and Argentina are competitive rather than complementary. Argentine grains and meats have always gone to Europe, particularly to England. Even in the midst of the world war, the United States did nothing to open its market to Argentina. The North American market is reserved for United States farmers and cattle raisers. This fact caused the Argentine ruling class to avoid coordination with US plans in the war as long as it dared. Despite all the pressure exerted by Roosevelt and Hull, Argentine business prospered under the impetus of the war. Only when it became clear that Germany was being driven to the wall, when Washington threatened an economic blockade and the Argentine landowners began to feel that their prosperity might be short-lived, did they finally yield reluctantly.

### U. S. DEMANDS

What demands does United States imperialism make on its southern neighbor? These can be readily determined by the resolutions and agenda of the various Pan-American Conferences. In January 1942 there took place the third meeting of the foreign ministers of the Americas, in Rio de Janeiro. Here all but Argentina and Chile agreed to exchange information on "undesirable aliens," the control of exports to conserve basic and strategic materials, control of all alien commercial and financial activities "prejudicial" to the "welfare of the American Republics," the closing of all telephonic and telegraphic and radio communications with the "aggressors."

Argentina again refused to accept the demands made at the Rivera, Uruguay Conference in September, 1942. These called for the exchange of information about all travellers, special documents for non-South American travellers, special frontier zones for all travellers to pass through, compulsion on all travel agencies to check the documents of travellers, similar compulsion on all hotels, the immediate registration of all foreign residents. It is clear that the United States is making tremendous inroads into the sphere of the "sovereignty" of the South American countries.

The tremendous forces unleashed by the war are exerting themselves on all countries. Since the entire world economy is involved no country can escape the effects of the war. Each one is pulled willingly or unwillingly into the orbit of one or the other of the two rival camps of imperialism, or into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. Neutrality is not possible, particularly for countries like Argentina which are sources of tremendous food supplies and raw materials. In resisting the pull of the United States, Argentina was drawn towards the Axis powers. Its break with the Axis powers will now draw it further and further into the Allied camp.

The impact of the war strikes Argentina at a time when the internal economy of that country is undergoing great changes. The scrap of the old landowning section of the ruling class, the "200 families," is being loosened. Argentina is undergoing the same struggle between the rising industrialists and the declining land barons that took place so much earlier in the more advanced countries. This war has accelerated the processes that began in the first world war.

The internal struggle is reflected also in the regime and in its foreign policy. This aspect of the Argentine situation has made it appear that the United States opposes a reactionary regime and favors a more liberal one. Nothing could be further from the truth. One need only look at Vargas in Brazil or Batista in Cuba or at any other of the Latin-American dictators supported by this country to see that Washington's policies in Latin America are dictated not by consideration for democracy but by the determination of Wall Street to crush all its rivals in this war and dominate the entire western hemisphere.

### PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

## SEGREGATION IS ONE OF MOST VITAL ISSUES FACING NEGROES

The issue of segregation is in many respects the most important one facing the Negro today. It is the last and strongest line of defense of those who want to keep the Negro down, the stronghold from which a thousand types of discrimination can be launched. Yet the only Negro member of Congress, William L. Dawson, who like his colleagues Rankin and Bilbo believes in the greater glory of the Democratic Party, and who claims to be a representative of the Negro people not only in Chicago but in the whole United States, recently declared that such issues as segregation "fade into insignificance in the light of the bigger questions raised by this war. America's enemies now are the foes of all minorities."

But flag-waving won't solve the problems of the Negro people and it won't change the mind of a single one of their enemies. For on this one issue there is a remarkable unanimity among all leaders of Southern ruling-class thought—both openly reactionary and "liberal." The demagogues like Rankin, Talmadge and Dixon rave and rant and threaten civil war at the very prospect of any breaches in the wall of segregation; they don't like it but they don't object too strenuously when Negroes in the South get jobs which were always closed to them before, because this helps to win the war which they believe is being fought to save "the white man's civilization"; but they declare their readiness even

to secede from the Democratic Party when there is talk of ending or altering the system of segregation.

The truth is that all Southern capitalists and their "liberal" agents stand so firmly on this issue because once segregation is ended, all else is lost for the oppressors of the Negro people. Once the wall separating them is removed, the Negroes and poor whites will see that their interests are the same and they will unite their forces to better their common conditions.

(From "Negroes in the Post-War World," by Albert Parker, pages 12-13, published by Pioneer Publishers, 1943, 16 pages, 5c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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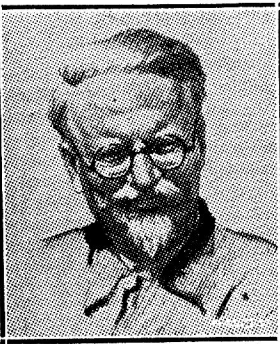
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9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Program For Poland

In the current dispute over the Polish question public attention has hitherto been concentrated exclusively upon the views and proposals of the various governments involved. The Polish government-in-exile is working for the restoration of the old Polish borders and for the reestablishment of the regime of the capitalists, landlords and Catholic hierarchy. The fact that its cabinet, now includes people who call themselves "Socialists" does not change its reactionary aims and character. Under the hypocritical disguise of impartial champions of the small nations, Washington and London are privately prompting the refugee cabinet and supporting its aims. Stalin's government for its part has refused to recognize either the existence or the claims of the Polish government-in-exile and has fixed the Curzon line as the new Soviet-Polish border.

Not one of these powers has signified any intention of permitting the Polish people to determine their future. They propose to settle all questions solely through the reactionary methods of traditional power politics.

The Polish workers and peasants however have not suffered the horrors of the second imperialist war and fought against the Nazi beasts in order to pass under the yoke of any other dictatorship, whether it comes from the west through the restoration of the old regime backed by Anglo-American bayonets or whether it comes from the east in the person of the Bonapartist bureaucracy of Stalin. While the diplomats of the "United Nations" secretly dicker for the most advantageous terms, the Polish masses are waging their own independent fight for freedom against the national oppression of the Nazis and the social oppression of capitalism.

The Polish people don't want any more lords and masters over them. They want to decide for themselves what system of society and what kind of government they shall have. And, despite the conspiracies and deals between the capitalist powers and the Stalinist bureaucrats, the Polish workers and peasants will speak the last word on these vital questions.

The only program capable of satisfying the urgent needs of the Polish masses, of bringing them the peace, freedom, prosperity they crave, is the program of the socialist revolution. They will have to expropriate the propertied classes, place industry under worker's control, give land to the peasants, and create worker's, peasant's and soldier's councils as the basis for a Worker's and Peasant's Republic

genuinely representative of the toiling people.

By taking power on this program through their own revolutionary activity the Polish workers would weaken the entire imperialist system and thereby greatly aid the defense of the Soviet Union. They would deal a heavy blow to the reactionary schemes of Stalin, open new perspectives for the Soviet peoples, and pave the way for the revolutionary removal of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin gang who remain the foremost obstacle to the security and progress of the USSR.

In their struggle for such a free and independent Socialist Poland, the Polish workers and peasants will find powerful friends and allies, not in the Anglo-American capitalists or the Stalinist bureaucrats who threaten to replace the fascist oppressors, but among the insurgent masses of the rest of Europe. They would give a mighty impulse to the revolutionary struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe which is today the sole salvation of the European peoples.

## Bankrupt Leaders

The recent meetings of the AFL and CIO Executive Boards serve again to sharply remind militant unionists throughout the country of the utter bankruptcy of the official trade union leadership.

The AFL and CIO heads met in the midst of labor's most trying days. The industrial and banking masters, convinced by the coal strikes and the railroad crisis that Roosevelt's labor machinery is cracking, that Roosevelt is no longer able to keep the labor movement in check, has launched its labor-baiting campaign, designed to alter the present relationship of forces between labor and capital by housebreaking and throttling the labor movement. This campaign, already hitting on twelve cylinders, is assuming a truly ferocious and far-reaching character. Roosevelt, in his steady retreat before Big Business, has partly assumed direction of the anti-labor drive and is now pushing his military leaders to the fore to organize and rally public opinion behind the slave labor bill.

In this hour of crisis, the AFL and CIO heads, overwhelmed by events, could find nothing better to do than demonstratively issue a warning to their own memberships not to strike but to "religiously" observe and continue the no-strike pledge. They could offer no better program for labor in the face of the demonstrated anti-labor character of both political parties, than a continuation of Gompers' "company union" politics. The CIO, through Hillman's Political Action Committee, will mail a copy of its program to both old-line parties. What they will do when these two parties throw the CIO program into the waste basket, Hillman and Murray did not announce.

The Little Steel formula remains the yardstick for wages of labor despite AFL and CIO findings which show conclusively that the cost of living has risen over 43% since 1941 and despite the blows dealt this vicious formula by the coal miners and the railroad workers. The labor bureaucrats whine about wage freezing but they have resisted and continue to resist the organization of the most elementary labor unity for an effective fight to smash the Little Steel formula and to win wage increases that will allow labor to keep up with the rising cost of living.

The Stalinist finks, Curran, Bridges, Merrill and Emspak, are so brazenly anti-labor and anti-union as to hail Roosevelt's forced labor demand and the New York City CIO, under their control, took the occasion to pledge its support for a fourth term. The Stalinists have become so starkly reactionary, such "company union" men, that even case-hardened bureaucrats like Murray, Thomas and Carey had to call these finks to order.

To the militants throughout the labor movement the AFL and CIO Executive Council meetings spelled out this message: The Murrays, Thomases, Greens and Wolls have sold out irrevocably to the war machine. We must depend on our own efforts and forces to enforce a program of labor's economic and political independence.

## India's Freedom

Lord Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, on Jan. 28—two days after India Independence Day—blandly informed a Washington audience that the British imperialists "were in fact applying the Atlantic Charter to India . . . long before the President and Mr. Churchill had their historic meeting." To this impudent and shameless lie, he added, "Nor is it true that Britain is in possession of India and finds her position there too pleasant or too profitable to abandon."

On the very day that Lord Halifax laddled out this hypocritical disclaimer, the *N. Y. Times* published a special cable from London reporting Secretary for India Amery's announcement to the House of Commons that 23,430 fighters for Indian freedom are confined in Britain's Indian prisons for violation of decrees issued against the India Congress Party. Among these are 7,667 members of the Congress Party, including almost its entire local and national leadership.

As Lord Halifax spoke, millions of Indian workers and peasants were dying of famine created by British rule. And the British government, which according to Churchill's spokesman finds Britain's position in India not "too pleasant or too profitable to abandon," is shipping food OUT of India and protecting the merchants and food profiteers who batten on the famine.

All its pious speeches, "charters" and gilded promises notwithstanding, British imperialism intends to retain its bestial grip on India. That grip will be broken only by the revolutionary action of the Indian workers and peasants themselves, who have already demonstrated their will to struggle unrelentingly for their freedom from the hated British rule.

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Doctor Examines Medical Monopolists

I was very much interested to read the article in last week's issue of *The Militant* on the fight the medical and drug monopolists are conducting against any form of socialized medicine, since I myself as a physician have received some of the extremely reactionary literature put out by the so-called National Physician's Committee.

This committee is supposedly a non-profit, non-political organization for maintenance of ethical and scientific standards and for extending medical service to all the people. Actually, it is a violently reactionary group of medical men, who are interested not in extending medical service to all the people, but in continuing a system of medical practice under which a certain favored group get monetary compensation all out of proportion to what any

physician should get, while a large percentage of people either cannot get satisfactory medical attention or have to mortgage all their belongings to get it.

They wish to continue in force a system of medical practice and education which is driving the poorer people more and more out of the medical field, by the entirely unjust and prejudiced manner of choosing students, which includes strong anti-Semitism, prohibitive expense of medical education, and the pyramiding of years of training for specialties with practically no remuneration. The vicious exploitation which is practiced by using internes to staff hospitals without any pay under extremely hard working conditions is a good example of the "individual enterprise" for which this committee stands.

But the fact that the system of medicine in this country makes it almost impossible for the son of a worker to become a physician no matter how deserving or able

he may be, is of minor importance compared to the great crimes committed by organized medicine in not furnishing even decent medical care for a great proportion of the population.

Except for the poor of a few of our great industrial centers, and even there care is inadequate, the poverty-stricken masses must do without the doctor or beg some local practitioner to help them while they try to raise money with the great financial burdens they have. Any prolonged illness, or one necessitating major surgery, often places a poor family in dire financial straits for many months and even years.

Organized medicine has been aware of all this for many years, but the purpose for organizing medical groups aside from purely scientific reasons, has been not to remedy the situation, but to fight any attempts to change the status quo.

A Physician  
Washington, D. C.

## Roosevelt Gives Signal For Drive Against Labor Unions

(Continued from page 1)  
which included withholding "from the union (by escrow in the case of checked-off funds) the benefits, privileges or rights accruing to it as such under the agreement or proposed agreement with the employer." Acting under Roosevelt's executive order, the War Labor Board has just imposed a fine on union members employed at the Cramp shipbuilding yard at Philadelphia of "one month's retroactivity on any wage adjustments granted in a dispute now pending."

### OPEN-SHOP DRIVE

The campaign against labor initiated by Roosevelt has been taken up directly by the employers whose arrogance increases in direct proportion to the intensity of Roosevelt's union smashing drive. Speaking before the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation, declared that, despite the existence of a maintenance-of-membership agreement with the steel workers, the basic policy of U. S. Steel was that of the open shop. He informed his audience of dollar patriots: "Gentlemen, our conviction is as firm today as it ever was that the right to work should not be dependent upon membership or non-membership in any organization." — *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 22. The head of the Ford Motor assembly plant at Edgewater, N. J., said his company was "ready and hoping for a showdown" with the United Automobile Workers Union in a dispute involving two company stooges who were expelled from the UAW.

These are ominous signs that Wall Street is preparing to challenge the rights won by the unions in bitter struggle over a long period of years. A few days after the open shop declaration of the head of U. S. Steel, the same poll-taxer Howard W. Smith, in his capacity as head of the "Committee of the House to Investigate Executive Agencies of the Government," called upon Congress to deprive the War Labor Board of the right to impose maintenance-of-membership clauses in union agreements.

### SMITH ATTACKS CIO

Not content to limit its campaign to destroy the rights of labor on the economic field of trade union organization, Big Business has directed an attack, through its mouthpiece Howard W. Smith, against the innocuous CIO Political Action Committee. Smith charged that the CIO had violated section 9 of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law by raising a fund of \$700,000 to be used in the 1944 Presidential election campaign. The charges were included in a letter addressed to Attorney General Francis Biddle who ordered an immediate investigation. Smith demanded that Philip Murray and other officers of the CIO be hailed before a "Federal grand jury forthwith, with a view to the indictment and prosecution of those engaged in this conspiracy to control the national elections of 1944." — *Congressional Record*, Jan. 13.

Here again Smith follows in the footsteps of the leader of his party, Even before the entry of the U. S. into the war it was Roosevelt who instructed his Attorney

General Francis Biddle, to prosecute the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the officials of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO under the Smith "Gag" law. Events have confirmed the warning that Roosevelt's frame-up of the Trotskyist and Minneapolis truckdriver leaders would pave the way for a campaign of repression directed against the entire labor movement. Since the prosecution of the Trotskyists and their imprisonment the wave of reaction has assumed monstrous proportions.

Roosevelt formerly employed the device of encouraging the poll-taxers to advance the most extreme proposals for repressive action against the unions. The labor skates would then appeal to their friend and protector in the White House who pretended he was having the greatest difficulty in holding reaction at bay. Out of this carefully staged farce would then come some rotten compromise which the labor bureaucrats gratefully accepted as the lesser evil. This continued until the workers got fed up with Roosevelt's promises and began to move against his wage freezing program. When deception would no longer work, Roosevelt discarded his mask and now he has come out openly at the head of the legions of reaction.

It Is Time to Build  
An Independent  
Labor Party

## International Notes

A letter from Naples to Dr. Max Ascoli, refugee anti-fascist Italian professor now teaching in New York, which was made public in the Jan. 30 *N. Y. Times*, gives a revealing eyewitness account of the conditions under AMG rule in southern Italy that are impelling the workers to turn toward social revolution.

The letter declares in part that "the food crisis increases daily, with prices of the few products left rising and the black market flourishing while the people suffer, protest and curse."

"How is it," asks the writer, "that so much Allied flour is to be found on the black market?" "In Naples everything is in the hands of the old fascist leaders and their satellites. The Allied Military Government is entirely surrounded by old fascist elements which form a gang of mutual support."

"Because of the inflation, the fixed-income class is slowly dying of starvation and the workers see thieves and pillagers becoming rich and prosperous while they starve. As a consequence, since they feel that things could not be worse than they are, they are turning to communism."

Over 20,000 British miners in Lancashire, Staffordshire and South Wales were reported out on strike last week as resentment mounted high against a government mediation award of only £5 (\$20) weekly minimum wages

for underground workers and £4 10s (\$18) for surface men. This is £1 less than the minimum which the miners have long demanded.

This is but the latest of a long series of militant strike struggles in which the British miners have engaged for the past two years. The British, like the American miners have taken the lead in fighting for the rights and conditions of the workers, who have been subjected to heavier and heavier blows by the Churchill government and bosses.

A major demand of the British miners is for nationalization of the coal industry. This demand was ignored, of course, by the capitalist government mediation board. Nevertheless, it is a demand which the miners are seriously pressing, through both economic and political action. By fighting for this demand, they seek to win a permanent solution to the problems of an industry which epitomizes capitalist anarchy of production, intensive exploitation of the workers and grand-scale war profiteering.

That the resistance of the German workers to the Nazi slave labor regime is growing daily, is disclosed in a report published by the British International Transport Workers Federation, one of the most powerful unions in England. The report explains the intolerable fatigue gripping the workers, now forced to work

longer and harder than ever after sleepless bomb-shattered nights, which is resulting in ever lower standards of work and production. The report then states in part:

"But the conscious resistance of entire groups of workers against this slave-driving confronts the dictatorship with much more serious problems. It is no accident that German papers report German piece-workers slowing down as part of the fight against lowering wages, and note that spokesmen for the workers get up in the factories and ask for higher wages independently of, and in opposition to, the representatives of the Arbeitsfront."

"Against such resistance, the work engineers have to rely upon the terror apparatus of Himmler."

But, states the ITWF report, "the overworked terror apparatus now leaves loopholes." In a number of great factories, "the conscious activity of German and foreign anti-Nazi workers has impeded production for a long time."

From such brief reliable reports that have seeped through the two-fold barrier of Nazi and Allied censorship, it is possible to recognize the growing class war against the Nazi capitalist regime. The German working class is preparing to lift its head and fulfill its historic role as the mightiest force in the coming European socialist revolution.

## Rich Socialites Given Priority Over Wounded

Millionaire socialites and wealthy real-estate and business interests won another skirmish in their war to make the world safe for profiteering parasites when Lt. Gen. Brehon Somervell recently ordered the evacuation on March 31 of almost 800 battle-wounded soldiers from the Breakers Hotel, Palm Beach, Florida.

This \$50-a-day-per room luxury hotel had been converted into a hospital, at a government expense of almost \$300,000, to provide special treatment in ideal climate for war victims suffering brain, spine, nerve, eye and facial injuries.

But the swank idlers who need to recuperate from the strain of hauling in war profits don't like their exclusive resort filled up with "common" disfigured war veterans and the inconvenience of having to look for other winter playgrounds. The merchants and real estate interests, which have grown fat on this play-boy business, don't want their profitable resort trade to suffer because some ordinary soldiers have been so unfortunate as to stop a bullet or piece of shrapnel while fighting to protect the profits of the rich.

So, through Senator Charles Andrews of Florida and Rep. Paf Cannon of the Palm Beach district, the plutocrats engaged in a high-pressure campaign on the War Department to remove the sick and injured soldiers and send them elsewhere—to the wintry blasts of an Indiana hospital camp isolated in the sand dunes, for instance, On Jan. 10, Lt. Gen. Somervell obliged.

The Breakers Hotel is indirectly owned by the Florida East Coast Railroad, which is dominated by the Rockefeller and duPont interests. This railroad has inflated its profits from \$743,699 in 1939 to \$9,004,940 in 1943.

The War Department had been paying a tidy rental of \$250,000 a year for the Breakers. The hotel company, which has been trying to get the hotel back for the past year, is seeking to jack up the rent to a million dollars. This gave the pretext—such a big expense for treating ordinary war-injured, you know—for the War Dept.'s move to oust these battle-broken soldiers.

## Roosevelt Letter Shows Who Are His Real Chums

War, it seems, nourishes the spirit of comradeship. There is the bond that grows between soldiers who face dirt and disease and death together. There is the class tie which grows stronger between workers in the factories, mines and shipyards as they battle together to defend their rights and conditions against war-bred speed-up and wage freeze.

But another and different type of comradeship has bloomed in this war. This is best exemplified by the hearty personal fellowship between President Roosevelt, that "friend of labor," and leading Big Business magnates.

Recently, for instance, Roosevelt became perturbed because his pal, Charles E. Wilson, executive vice-chairman of the WPA and former General Electric president, wanted to leave his government post and resume more open activities as a leading representative of the war profiteers with GE. So the Chief Executive wrote to another pal, Gerard Swope, who has been occupying Wilson's former post with GE, and asked him as one chum to another to let Wilson stay on a few more months with the government.

Naturally, Roosevelt's letter does not begin with any such cold, formal salutations like "Dear Sir," or "My dear Mr. Swope." Just plain "Dear Gerard." Then Roosevelt goes on to explain that "Charlie" (Charles E. Wilson, to you) feels it "his duty" to return to his GE post, a feeling the sympathetic Roosevelt "can well understand," because Charlie "does not, in any way, want to interfere with his long career in the company."

The letter goes on to recognize the "fine and necessary work" of Gerard Swope and Owen Young in taking over Charlie's job, and requests that GE permit Charlie to remain with the government "on the condition, of course, that you and Owen do not try to over tax your strength." A touching solicitude—somewhat absent from the administration's attitude to workers draining out their lives in war production speedup.

When it comes to retaining the services of a big capitalist like Wilson, so essential according to Roosevelt for "this critical period," the Commander-in-chief has to beg begging to the corporations. But when Roosevelt, who once vowed to "drive the money changers from the Temple," wants to freeze workers to their jobs, he doesn't worry about "over taxing their strength" or asking their leave. He just advocates a national forced labor system.

## Industrial Accident Toll Due to Capitalist Greed

Speed-up, hazardous methods, inadequate safety devices—all part of the bosses' drive for war profits—have caused industrial accidents which since Pearl Harbor have exacted the frightful toll of 37,600 dead workers, 210,000 permanently disabled and 4,500,000 temporarily injured.

According to the Office of War Information, which made public these figures on Jan. 20, this is 60 times the number of total casualties suffered by the entire American armed forces in this war. The industrial dead alone numbered 5,000 more than combat deaths.

The administration has been trying to incite the soldiers against the workers, claiming, among other lying propaganda, that the soldiers alone are facing injury and death while the workers are getting luxury wages without physical risk. In reality the profiteers are coining wealth out of the blood shed by the workers both on the assembly line and on the battle line.

Industrial accidents, with their high toll, are not exceptional to the war years. Actually, the war, just as it intensifies the inherent profit lust of the owning class, has intensified the huge peace-time accident toll, which annually numbered its victims in the millions. The workers have always paid with life and limb in the class war of the exploiters against the exploited.