

## Kill The Poll Tax!

Less than 80 more signatures are needed for the House Discharge Petition No. 3 to force the anti-poll tax bill out of the Judiciary Committee and thus bring the bill to a vote on the floor of the House.

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

# THE MILITANT

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# WAR PROFITEERING REVEALED IN SENATE

## Miners Carry Fight To Public

**Kennedy Resigns from War Labor Board  
Murray-Green Beg White House Aid**

As the negotiations between the coal miners and the Southern coal operators remained deadlocked despite the intervention of Roosevelt's personal representative, John R. Steelman, the United Mined Workers carried their story to the American people in page-long advertisements in 52 leading newspapers.

In this unique move the Mine Workers present the facts about the mine situation as follows:

### HERE ARE THE FACTS

1. Although the miners are paid for only seven hours they actually average approximately eight and one half hours between the time a miner enters and when he leaves a coal mine.

2. A survey of prices in coal region food stores reveals that between August 1939 and February 1943 prices had increased on an average from 99.68 percent to 124.6 percent.

3. The basic rate of pay in the coal mines is 50 cents a day less than 23 years ago.

4. The American coal miner produces from three to five times more per man than a British coal miner, making it possible for America to enjoy the cheapest coal in the world.

5. Out of his pay, the coal miner must buy tools, blasting powder, keep up his pitlight, buy special working clothes including three to five pairs of rubber boots a year.

The miners printed photostatic copies of typical monthly statements handed to employees by the company. These show that

the average miner frequently ends the month in debt to the company.

These facts are only the beginning in the campaign promised by the miners to make the truth known to the American people.

### COAL OPERATORS SIT TIGHT

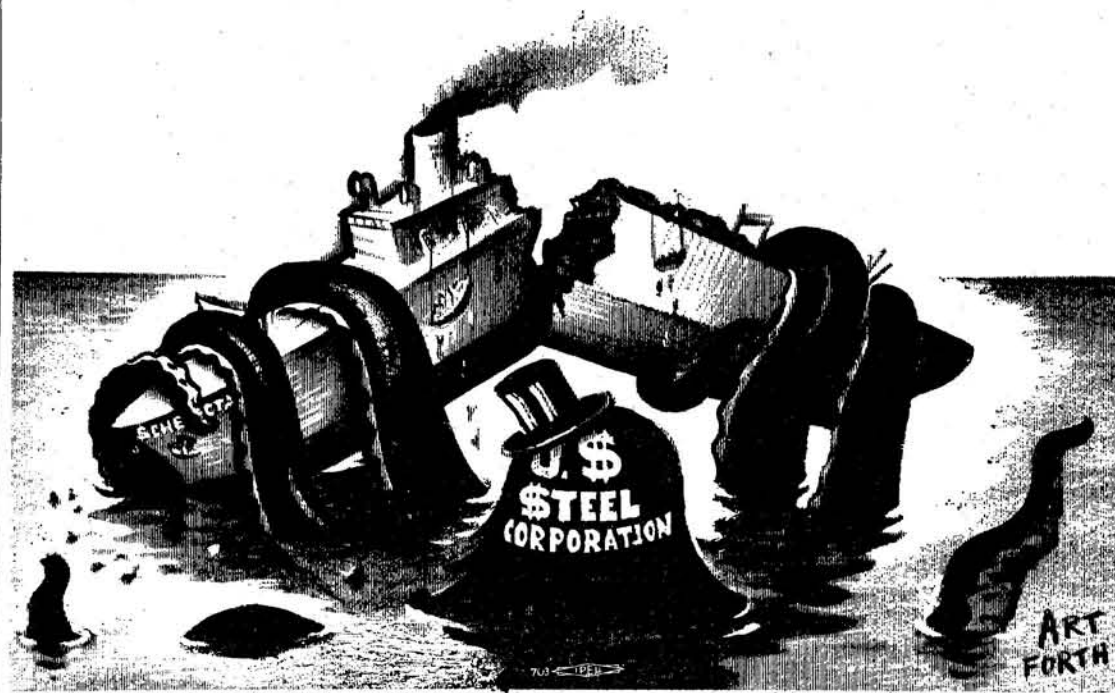
Meanwhile the coal operators have not budged from their original strategy of sitting tight, offering absolutely no concessions, and in truth making a mockery of the collective bargaining negotiations. To every demand, to every argument of the United Mine Workers representatives, they answer: "We have reached a complete impasse as far as collective bargaining is concerned. We could argue until doomsday and never get anywhere." They insist the demands of the miners be referred to the War Labor Board.

But the resignation of Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers from the War Labor Board constitutes public warning that the UMW

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## Shipowner Profits Taken From Public Funds

*Another Under Sea Menace!*



NEWS ITEM: The lives of American and United Nations soldiers, sailors and merchant marine seamen have been seriously endangered by U. S. Steel Corporation officials in the Carnegie-Illinois plants who deliberately sold sub-standard steel and armor plate to the procurement services of the government. The scandal was not uncovered until a ship made with the defective steel in the Kaiser Shipyards, on Jan. 17, broke in two and sank a few hours after it had been delivered.

## An End To Profiteering

*An Editorial*

Those workers who have been following the countless scandals of World War II now know that part of the money taken from their wages in the form of the "Victory Tax" and other taxes goes back into the coffers of Big Business. This is made clear by the revelations of profiteering, swindling and stealing by Big Business reported in this issue of *The Militant*.

According to Representative Jones of Ohio, if the American shipowners continue their present grab "you have a cool billion dollars of which the taxpayers will be defrauded." And these parasites constitute but one detachment of the Looters' Legion of Big Business.

While Washington sets down a "Little Steel" formula for freezing workers' wages, "Big Steel" is handed out billions. And not they

alone. The Aluminum barons, the auto kings, the Banking tycoons and others are also getting in on the *Big Steal* — the greatest raid on the U. S. Treasury in history.

The profits of these plutocrats impoverish the people. Their defective steel plate endangers the lives of men in the armed forces and in the merchant marine. Their anti-labor drives imperil the entire labor movement.

How can this menace of the monopolists be removed? There is one really effective way: Organize politically to drive out the Looters' Legion!

Expropriate the war industries, shipbuilding, steel-making, power plants, aluminum factories!

Let them be operated under workers' control!

## "REVOLTING SCANDAL" IN EMORY LAND NOMINATION

By John Corbett

The U. S. Senate, which does not include a single member of the labor movement, voted 70 to 5 to reappoint Admiral Emory S. Land for another six years as Chairman of the Maritime Committee.

It was Land who on October 19, 1942, declared that every labor organizer should be shot at sunrise.

## Unions in N. J. Contemplate Steps For Labor Party

By WILLIAM F. WARDE

The movement toward independent political action by organized labor is spreading. This fact was confirmed at a meeting of the executive board of the American Labor League of New Jersey in Camden on Saturday, March 27 which unanimously nominated a special committee to test whether the time is ripe for the formation of a Labor Party in that state.

This committee, headed by Karl Thol of the UAW-CIO, will make its recommendations at the annual convention of the American Labor League on May 23. In case of a favorable report the actual launching of a Labor Party in New Jersey could then take place, clearing the way for the nomination of an independent slate of candidates for the governorship and all other state, county and local offices in the forthcoming fall elections.

### TIME FOR LABOR TO ACT

The committee was named following a report by Carl Holderman State chairman read in his absence by Samuel Colton executive secretary which urged the CIO-AFL leaders to consider the timeliness of labor acting as an independent political force and raising the question of transforming the American Labor League into a political party on the order of the American Labor Party of New York.

The American Labor League is the successor of Labor's Non-Partisan League in New Jersey. Officials present at its meeting represented CIO and AFL unions with a membership of 400,000 in 19 of the state's 21 counties. Although the League has always declared that its ultimate objective was to form a labor party, since its creation it has supported the New Deal Democrats. Last November it conducted a statewide campaign in behalf of the re-election of Hague's Senator Smathers.

### AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY OR MORE DEALS

Whether or not these labor followers of Roosevelt seriously intend to set up an independent labor party and run a ticket of union men or whether they will conclude another deal with the capitalist politicians is uncertain. Unquestionably the successful campaign of the ALP in New York last November has stimulated the labor party movement in New Jersey. It is known that the leaders of the ALP are seeking to extend the base of their movement to other states. This move of the New Jersey American Labor League must be regarded as a sequel to the meeting held at Philadelphia last month, reported in *The Militant*, at which ALP speakers called upon the CIO-AFL leaders of Pennsylvania to launch a labor party of their own in that state.

Several Stalinist trade union leaders of New Jersey have informally expressed opposition to this step and stated that they expect to support either Democratic or Republican candidates in the elections next November.

The reappointment came in the face of a demand by Senator Aiken of Vermont that the Senate investigate the administration of the Maritime Commission under Land before acting on President Roosevelt's nomination of the anti-labor Admiral for a new six-year term.

Charging that he had "only scratched the surface of what is destined to become the most revolting scandal in the history of national expenditures," Senator Aiken last week presented to the Senate documentary proof of the following charges against the Maritime Commission and its chairman who will handle \$19-billion for another six years.

Aiken charged that Land's Commission had poured millions of dollars of public funds into the tills of shipowners by failing to recapture excess profits "although required by law to do so," had dumped in additional millions by paying "illegal and exorbitantly high prices for old ships," still more millions by insuring "old ships at excessive values," approved charter rates that "resulted in excessively high profits." On top of this they "permitted waste, extravagance, and incompetency to exist in shipyards," and climaxed this flood of millions into shipowners' pockets by allowing "ships it virtually owned" to "go into private hands" in order to by them back at "exorbitant prices."

### WHITEWASH SHIPOWNS

The capitalist press has tried to whitewash the profiteering of the shipowners much the same way it is covering up the criminal practices of U. S. Steel, the Aluminum trust etc. Here are the facts concerning the "revolting scandal" which involves, as Senator Aiken explains, "one of the most important agencies in the world today."

The source of all quotations in this article is the *Congressional Record*. The facts were almost wholly furnished by U. S. Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren.

"First," charges Aiken in the Record of March 30, "it has requisitioned ships for sale to the Army and Navy, and has reimbursed itself for certain costs from the funds of these Departments in a manner not authorized by law. The total of such unauthorized augmentation of its funds is apparently in excess of \$100 million."

Readers of *MARITIME, A Historical Sketch and A Workers' Program*, latest book on Pioneer Publishers' list, will understand why the Maritime Commission found it convenient to tap Army and Navy Department funds in addition to the funds already at its disposal.

"Second," charges Aiken, "it has failed to recapture excess profits from shipbuilders although required by law to do so."

### NOT A NICKEL

According to law, the Commission is required to recapture all profits exceeding 10 percent made by contractors who build ships with the aid of construction subsidies. "However, not a nickel of excess profits has been recaptured."

"Third, it has paid illegal and exorbitantly high prices for old ships." The Senator cites the transaction between the Maritime

## Faked Steel Tests Point To Higher-ups

**Capitalist Papers Whitewash Company**

By C. Charles

New testimony has been revealed in the United States Steel Corporation steel-faking scandal. Chairman Truman, head of the Senate War Investigating Committee, disclosed on March 31, that an important employee of the Illinois-Carnegie subsidiary of U. S. Steel had made a statement indicating that knowledge of the faked test was not confined to the metallurgical department of the Irvin plant of Carnegie-Illinois.

This new testimony contradicts the earlier statement of J. Lester Perry, President of the United States Steel Corporation subsidiary. Perry had insisted that knowledge of the "cheating" had gone no higher than the top metallurgist of the Irvin plant.

The employee who made this revelation is Edward L. Robinson, assistant to the manager of the metallurgical division of the Pittsburgh district of Carnegie-Illinois.

### FAKE TESTS ADMITTED

On March 23, before the Truman committee it was first admitted by top-ranking officials of U. S. Steel, that Illinois-Carnegie had faked tests of steel destined for U. S. Navy, maritime and Lend-Lease aid.

One ship, the Schenectady, constructed with steel from the Homestead plant of Illinois Carnegie, snapped in half on its trial run on January 17. The steel used in building the ship, was discovered upon investigation, to be "brittle" and "more like cast-iron than steel."

### 3 U. S. PLANTS GUILTY

It appears that at least three plants were involved in such practices: the Irvin plant, where the scandal was first unearthed, the Homestead plant and one or more plants in the Pittsburgh district of the same subsidiary of the United States Steel corporation. Below standard steel was shipped with falsified heat tests which showed that the steel was up to par, when in reality it was far below specifications.

In spite of the startling nature of the case, and the stench of the scandal, the newspapers of the country have distorted the facts or suppressed them. Many newspapers could not find any space on the front page to relate what had been revealed. Practically all newspapers that carried an account of the case gave a false picture of what had taken place, by leading their stories with pitiful alibis from corporation officials.

### NEWSPAPERS HIDE FACTS

The financial interlocking between the newspaper corporations and U. S. Steel, and the huge sums spent by U. S. Steel for advertising go far to explain the attempts of capitalist newspapers to hide the facts.

The favorable treatment accorded to U. S. Steel is in sharp contrast to that the coal miners are receiving from the same papers.

The U. S. Steel Corporation is an important coal-mine operator. Thus while some of its subsidiaries were carrying out this murderous faking, other subsidiaries were fighting tooth and nail the miners demands for a wage increase.

## CIO Rubber Union Backs Kelly Postal

"We hope this small contribution will do a lot of good in liberating Kelly Postal," wrote Local 107 of the United Rubber Workers of America - CIO in Trenton, N. J., one of the recent trade union contributors to the Kelly Postal fund, announced the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week.

## Stalinists Lay Trap For Minnesota Labor

By BARBARA BRUCE

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 1. — Even the false hope of some trade unionists that some kind of weapon for working-class political action could be made out of the reorganized Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party was extinguished last week-end when the Stalinists walked away with the state FLP convention held in St. Paul. Convoiced by the so-called right wing (the conservative trade union leaders), the convention was intended to set up the Farmer-Labor Party as the official F-L organization, in opposition to the Farmer-Labor Association, already in the hands of the Stalinists. But the FLP officials, who still do not know how to fight the Stalinists, were beaten at their own game.

The Farmer-Labor Association had been the organization to which unions, cooperatives and farm groups have affiliated and paid dues; and for a time at least, it was under the nominal control of the labor movement in Minnesota. In its hey-day, almost every union in the state supported the Association. But since 1936 the Stalinists have gradually increased their stranglehold and the unions dropped away. Today the Farmer-Labor Association is only an empty shell which the Stalinists, like the hermit crab, use to cover their political nakedness.

### FLP OFFICIALS OUT-MANEUVURED

It was the complete degeneration of the Farmer-Labor Association and its abandonment by the trade unions, as evidenced by the terrible defeats in the last two election campaigns, that prompted the old-line Farmer-Laborites to call a convention of the Farmer-Labor Party in an attempt to reconstitute it as a rival to the old Association. Although the need is for a Labor Party based on, controlled and financed by the trade unions, the die-hard FLP officials attempted to rebuild the tottering party with the voters as the foundation stone and not the labor movement. But the Stalinists out-maneuvered the "practical" politicians and elected their representatives to official posts: They now have both the Farmer-Labor Association and the Farmer-Labor Party in their grasp.

In Minneapolis, the political committee of the Central Labor Union has been meeting weekly

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## Carlson Defends Miners Demands

Grace Carlson, prominent Minnesota labor leader, sent the following letter on March 30th to the Editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press:

Dear Sir,

In an editorial appearing in the March 27th issue of the Pioneer Press entitled "Miner's Food and Pay" you attacked John L. Lewis for saying that thousands of miners are suffering from dietary deficiencies and therefore need wage increases. I was not surprised to find the Pioneer Press opposing a trade union leader who was fighting to have his workers get a few more of the good things of life.

## Illinois-Carnegie Old Hand At Defrauding Government

Illinois-Carnegie is an old hand at the profitable game of faking tests.

In 1894 Carnegie Steel also sold defective armor plate to the United States Navy. Charles M. Schwab, then general superintendent for Carnegie and later president of Bethlehem Steel, admitted under questioning of the House Naval Affairs Committee that the company had deliberately concealed the defect in its report and that he knew about the defects all the time.

In its report, the 1894 House Naval Affairs Committee stated:

"The company, or its servants, have perpetrated manifold frauds, the natural tendency of which was to palm off on the government an inferior armor, whose inferiority

it was rather surprising, however, to read in this editorial such an outrageously false statement as the following: "Millions of persons throughout the United States suffer from dietary deficiency and their condition has nothing to do with their earning power or economic status. Dietary deficiencies as they are known in the United States are seldom caused by a lack of food but usually by a poor selection for which the individual usually is responsible." There has been so much evidence given in both scientific and popular journals to link dietary deficiency or malnutrition to poverty, that it seems impossible

might perchance appear only in the shock of battle and with incalculable damage to the country. No fine or mere money compensation is an adequate atonement for such wrongs. The commission of such frauds is a moral crime of the gravest character.

"If the criminality of a wrongful act is to be measured by the deliberation with which it is committed, the magnitude of the evils likely to result from its perpetration, and the want of provocation with which it is done, the frauds which your Committee have found are worthy to be crimes."

By and large, with the change of a few dates and details, the account of what took place in 1894 can be used to describe the scandal of 1943.

that the editor of the Pioneer Press has not come across it.

The very authoritative Committee on Nutrition in Industry, set up by the National Research Council, said in a 1942 report, "The role of economic factors in the production of malnutrition hardly needs emphasis." The Committee quotes at length from a United States Department of Agriculture survey which showed that of the diets of thousands of employed workers from all part of the country earning \$2000 per year or less, only 15% could be considered "good" diets. However, the diets of 56% of the administrative employees who earned more than \$5000 could be called "good." It should be noted that this study was made in 1936-37 when a \$2000 wage could buy much more nourishing food for a worker and his family.

Not ignorance but poverty creates the tragic problem of malnutrition in the United States. A good diet, according to the Committee on Nutrition in Industry, should include the following daily consumption of food: 1 pint of milk at least; two servings of potatoes; two servings of fruit,

### Signs of Revolt Grow in Europe

There are many centers of disturbance in occupied Europe. According to Ray Brock's cable from Smyrna, Turkey: "... information from reliable informants in Rumania and Hungary gives a broad picture of frenzied Axis efforts to stamp out organized armed resistance in Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania, to strangle rising discontent and defections in Hungary, Rumania and surely Bulgaria." (N.Y. Times April 4).

The raging storm in Hitler's rear is spreading.

one of which should be a citrus variety or tomato; two vegetables, one of which should be leafy green or yellow; one egg; one serving of meat, fish or poultry; a whole grain cereal dish; whole grain or enriched white bread at every meal; butter or vitamin fortified oleomargarine.

Workers who want to give their families such a nourishing diet as well as decent clothing and warm homes, are behind John L. Lewis and his fighting miners in their efforts to have some of the huge profits of the U. S. monopolies given back to the workers in the form of increased wages.

Signed,  
Grace Carlson

## Jim Crow in 2nd World War; Subject Sunday Forum

The speaker at the next Sunday Night Forum of the New York School of Social Science, April 11 at 8 P. M. will be Arthur Burch, well known speaker and writer on the Negro question.

The subject of his lecture will be "Jim Crow in the 2nd World War," in which will be discussed the problems facing negroes today. Arthur Burch will analyze the root causes of Jim Crowism and criticize many of the remedies and half-way measures proposed to combat it.

The speaker will present the program of the Socialist Workers Party on this important question along with the reasons why only this program of struggle can end discriminatory practices.

The lecture will be held at the headquarters of the school, second floor, 116 University Place.

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

Following the example of Kansas, the Colorado State legislature passed an anti-labor bill that requires unions to incorporate and submit regular financial reports to the State government. The bill also outlaws the sit-down strike and secondary boycott and prohibits the charging of initiation fees for temporary workers.

James Brownlow, Secretary of the Colorado Federation of Labor said the bill is a "declaration of war on labor" and that its constitutionality will be tested in the courts.

Meanwhile Governor Stevens of Texas allowed a "Union Regulation Bill" to become law in that state. This bill, follows the pattern set in the Kansas, Colorado and other state anti-labor bills and in addition bars labor unions from making financial contributions for "political" purposes. It was passed by the state legislature despite the "agreement" between the Governor and the representatives of the trade unions. The "labor statesmen" from Texas, like their fellow workers of Kansas, voluntarily promised to give up the right to strike and other of the traditional weapons and rights of labor.

In Ohio, over 300 representatives of the AFL, CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers filled the State Capitol building to demand defeat of the vicious French Bill, which proposes to protect the rights of the American worker "not to join a union." The labor movement has now tried in two cases, Kansas and Texas, to stave off hostile, repressive anti-labor legislation by playing dead. And all they got for their pains, in both instances, is a stiff kick in the pants. The industrialists and their lackeys in the State legislatures are on a rampage. The labor movement cannot avoid the battle. It has got to fight.

The Hudson and Murray Body locals of the UAW-CIO, representing 30,000 war workers have followed the lead of the Briggs local in voting full support to the Miners Union in its fight for the \$2 a day wage increase.

The campaign to reintroduce the speed-up in industry, via the "Incentive Plan" is getting up steam. Following General Motors, Captain Rickenbacker and last but not least, the Communist Party, (Daily Worker proudly asserts that "among the first to advocate an incentive pay program was Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party.") Nelson presented the "Incentive Pay" program to William Green and Phillip Murray, at a meeting of the newly created labor-management committee of the War Production Board.

We are still waiting for a clear word on this anti-labor drive of

Big Business from the national CIO and AFL officialdom. The International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO, however, has discussed the matter at its last meeting in Columbus and adopted an unambiguous stand against the speed-up. Its resolution states: "The International Union reaffirms its traditional opposition to incentive payment plans."

R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW announced that he attended the labor-management meeting of the War Production Board in Washington when Nelson presented the "Incentive Pay" program and that "for myself, I was most pessimistic about reintroducing the incentive pay system."

The workers in the shops don't want the return of piece work. They should let their union officials hear their position.

George F. Addes, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Automobile Workers announced that his union increased its membership to 979,267 in the month of March. Addes predicted that the UAW-CIO membership will exceed 1,000,000 within 90 days.

The army has again stepped into the domain of industry-labor relations this week and ordered the discharge of two militants from the Buffalo plant of the Bell Aircraft Company. This action follows on the heels of similar army interference in the Buick plant in Flint, Michigan, the Bohn Aluminum Company of Detroit, etc.

Louis Austin, President of the Indiana District of the United Mine Workers announced at the same time that his union's office in Terre Haute, Indiana was "visited by a man showing army intelligence credentials" who demanded to know why a "temporary agreement" had not been signed with the mine owners.

John L. Lewis denounced "the intimidating actions and tactics of the Military intelligence in the Fifth and Sixth Corps Areas" and charged that Army agents were threatening to set up a "second front in the coal fields."

"As American citizens, the miners deeply resent the implied suggestion that they will be forced to work at the point of a bayonet."

This assumption of power on the part of the Army Brass Hats is possible only because of the cowardly policy of the top labor officialdom. The firing of union militants by the army officer caste must be stopped.

The UAW leadership has protested on a previous occasion the army policy. The UAW has the power to put a stop to this vicious union busting tactic. The membership should see that this union power is used.

## E. R. Frank Analyzes Lewis-Roosevelt Clash

Speaking at the regular Sunday Night Forum of the New York School of Social Science, E. R. Frank, midwest trade union leader, made a brilliant analysis of the issues involved in the controversy between the mine-workers on one side, and the mine-owners and the Roosevelt administration with its War Labor Board on the other.

Frank stressed the fact that regardless of the outcome of the current coal negotiations, the defiant stand of one leader and one union was enough to dramatically reveal that the War Labor Board is indeed a "Packed Court" against labor and that its "Little Steel" formula is nothing but a wage-freezing device.

The speaker traced in detail the history of John L. Lewis for the past decade and laid bare the coalition-like character of the relationship between Roosevelt and the American labor leaders. He showed that the labor leaders have been content to play the part of humble and obedient servants to Roosevelt and proclaim him as the real leader of American labor. John L. Lewis, understanding the power of the newly organized millions of workers, realized that any administration in Washington, D. C. must keep the support of labor in order to avoid deepening crises. Since 1937, Lewis has not been content with the back door coalition with Roosevelt and his policy of handing crumbs to the labor leaders at the White House kitchen door. In 1937, Lewis demanded an open coalition on the English model between Roosevelt and labor, with cabinet posts and a front door admittance to the White House. That's why Lewis

supported Roosevelt in 1936 but broke decisively in January 1940.

In conclusion, Frank said: "The drunken anti-labor orgy of Congress and its threat to choke the labor movement by repressive legislation, far from frightening the American workers, is providing the necessary irritant to rouse the ranks of labor and is forcing its leadership, under penalty of destruction, toward the road of independent political action."

## Miners Take Fight To Public; Kennedy Resigns WLB Post

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have no intention of submitting their case to a board that only last week reaffirmed that its policy is to continue the freezing of wages in the face of present war profiteering.

### OFFICIALS PLAY BALL

While the miners were leading the struggle to break down the wage freezing policy of the War Labor Board so that workers caught in the vice of skyrocketing prices could win back a part of their lost wages, AFL and CIO officials continued to play ball with the War Labor Board.

Two weeks ago when the War Labor Board voted to continue its anti-labor policy of freezing wages, these officials did not resign in protest. Instead, Green and Murray went to the White House to beg that prices be stabilized at September 15 levels. They left, as usually, empty-handed.

By their present actions, they are attempting to sidetrack the fight for higher wages and for the scrapping of the Little Steel formula by lending support to the OPA farce of price stabilization.

# War Profiteering Revealed

(Continued from page 1)

Commission and the Waterman Steamship Corp. which has already been made public.

"Fourth. It has insured old ships at excessive values, thus making public funds liable for unjustifiable payments to shipowners in case of loss." Ships sold for "\$5 to \$15 a ton" were nevertheless insured by the Maritime Commission for "\$65 a ton."

"Fifth. It has approved charter rates which have resulted in excessively high profits being made by certain selected ship operators." In proof of this charge Aiken quotes a letter of the Maritime Commission dated December 22, 1941, which reveals the fact that in a four-year period, from July 1937 to June 30, 1941: "The net worth of the 12 lines presently holding subsidy contracts has increased by \$92-million . . . dividends have been paid out in the amount of slightly over \$13-million, and approximately this same amount has been set aside in the special reserve fund." Not bad, \$120-million is not bad.

Last week *The Militant* published figures showing that 81 vessels had made 90 trips to the Red Sea in the spring and summer of 1941 and collected profits of \$26,874,176. Senator Tobey now reveals that "these same ships secured an additional \$20-million for freight brought from Egypt and other countries on their return trip to the United States."

Much more than this has been going on under Land's administration. "If an investigating committee is looking for really excessive high charter rates," declares Aiken, "I suggest that it examine the rates made for trips to India which I believe may show the Red Sea rates to be quite low in comparison."

## WASTE, EXTRAVAGANCE, INCOMPETENCY

"Sixth. It has permitted waste, extravagance and incompetency to exist in shipyards over which it had full control." For example, the South Portland Ship Co. with a total net investment of only \$250,000 will collect, at the minimum, total fees of "\$5,040,000 or a return of 2,000 percent on investment."

The House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries which investigated this company suggested to the Maritime Commission that it terminate its contracts because of the company's failure to exercise due diligence. The response of the Commission sounds incredible: "While the Commission members conceded freely that they were not satisfied with conditions at the yard, they demurred to the suggestion that the contracts be terminated, giving as an excuse that there is bad management in other yards, also."

The cement-ship program of the Maritime Commission, de-

clares Aiken "will take its place in history as a hideous joke on the American people. In excess of a hundred million dollars has been spent to construct ships which the Chairman of the Commission admitted he was not in favor of and which in all probability will never even be launched."

"Seventh. It has allowed ships it virtually owned by reason of the default of debtor corporations to go into private hands and then paid the owners exorbitant prices for them." Aiken refers to the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Co. which he describes as "another sordid story of the Maritime Commission bailing out a bankrupt corporation . . . with \$2-million of the taxpayers' money." Full details of the case are given in the book *Maritime*, to which we refer the reader.

## BATTLING FOR SHIPOWNERS

In a speech printed in the *Congressional Record* for March 19, Senator Aiken also revealed that the Maritime Commission had sponsored legislation "whereby shockingly high excess profits and equally high excessive net profits on the investments of this one industry shall be exempt from taxation." Such legislation already applies to companies receiving government subsidies. Admiral Land simply wishes to extend these benefits to a wider circle. "I understand," said Aiken, "that the recapture accruals of approximately \$28-million now due to the Government from operating subsidy contracts would not be paid."

In conclusion on March 30 Aiken revealed that "Twenty-seven other investigations are in progress at this time, and reports will be made in connection with them soon. . . The Truman Committee has made astounding revelations having to do with shipping. The House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries has uncovered and exposed outrageous looting of the Treasury, which has gone on uncontrolled by the Maritime Commission."

## NO HEARING ON CHARGES

But Aiken's appeal for an investigation fell on deaf ears. Even though the Commerce Committee which had reported out Land's name unanimously did not hold any hearings on the nomination, despite the charges of the U. S. Comptroller General's office, and in fact did not even hold a meeting but simply polled the members.

One backer of Admiral Land, Senator Vandenberg said, "If it were my money, I would trust him with every cent in the Treasury of the United States without a bond."

## Stalinists Lay Trap for Minn. Labor

(Continued from page 1)

in order to "organize politically" in the face of the attack on the union movement being made in the state legislature by the introduction of dozens of anti-labor bills. The political committee has set itself up as a delegate body to which AFL unions are invited to affiliate and support financially. But although minute details of organization of wards and precincts for participation in election campaigns are being worked out, not a word is said about a political program, nor about an independent labor candidate for mayor in the coming municipal elections.

Today, the fate of the CLU political committee threatens to be that of the Farmer-Labor Party. Plans have been made for the CLU

committee to meet with a CIO committee to endorse a candidate for mayor. CIO unions in Minneapolis are in the main only paper organizations, without real strength but under Stalinist control. Significantly enough, the Hennepin County Farmer-Labor Association (Minneapolis) announced that it will not run a candidate for mayor. Instead, they informed the CLU that they will support the candidate agreed upon by the joint conference of AFL and CIO unions.

## STALINIST TRAP

AFL officials in Minneapolis know even less how to deal with Stalinists than do the former officials of the Farmer-Labor Party. If such a joint meeting is held, the AFL officials will be walking into a trap deliberately laid for them. The aims of the Stalinists are clear to those who know them. They desire above all else to control the AFL political arm as well as the Farmer-Labor apparatus in order to prevent any real labor-political movement from taking shape. The Stalinists do not want a Labor Party or any kind of a political instrument which will serve the real interests of the workers. They want only to continue to support Roosevelt's war program and Stalin's foreign policies and they want to do this in the name of the labor movement. Nothing could be further from the truth than the hysterical charge made by William Mahoney, one of the leaders of the ill-fated maneuver to take the Farmer-Labor movement away from the Stalinists, that now "the Farmer-Labor Party will be known distinctly as the party of revolutionaries."

The thousands of militant trade unionists in Minnesota who have been trained in the tradition of labor politics still want a Labor Party. When such a party is formed on a national scale, these Minnesota workers will be able to break through the confusion of their present leaders and join hands with other union workers who are eager for a party of their own.

## Army Practices How to Break Strikes



The above photograph was taken at a public strike-breaking exhibition staged at Ft. Snelling, Minnesota, on March 17, which had been advertised as a lesson in routing "foreign agents." The prospective victims of the fixed bayonets were other soldiers who posed as strikers bearing such placards as "We want 20 percent Raise in Pay, Shorter Hours," "Unfair to Labor . . . Strike," "More Pay, Less Work . . . Strike." Due to the protest of both AFL and CIO unions, photographs of these prospective victims became suddenly very scarce, and we were able to obtain only the photograph above, which was reproduced originally in the St. Paul Dispatch.

# Browder Cooks Up New 'Conspiracy'

By M. Stein

We Trotskyists have been cheered by the gigantic successes of the Red Army in its winter offensive against the Nazi war machine. But never for a moment did the brilliant performance of the Red Army on the field of battle dazzle us to the point where we would forget the treacherous, sinister role of Stalin, the grave digger of the Russian Revolution.

But all those who like to indulge in wishful thinking — and their name is legion — have been only too anxious to forget the monstrous crimes of Stalin. We do not speak here of that cynical "Mission to Moscow" variety of bourgeois politician and publicist who would like to convince the American workers that the strength of the Red Army is not derived from the great Russian Revolution which destroyed the capitalist property relations and laid the foundations for a Socialist society, but on the contrary from Stalin's systematic undermining of the revolution.

## Stalin Adds to His Crimes

There are many workers who are genuinely interested in the triumph of socialism, but are so well-meaning and forgiving that they thought Stalin had turned over a new page and had given up his career of crime. What a rude shock they must have suffered at the news of Stalin's latest abomination, the cold-blooded murder of Alter and Ehrlich, the two leaders of the Jewish Bund in Poland.

Why and for whose benefit were Alter and Ehrlich done away with?

Earl Browder has undertaken to give an answer. Browder owes a special personal debt to Stalin. Where would he, Browder, be if not for Stalin? Stalin lifted him out of obscurity, raised him up to the tenth floor on Thirteenth Street, bestowed upon him a title similar to his own, "General Secretary of the Communist Party," and told the American workers: "There is your beloved leader." From then on the fate of Browder has been inseparable from that of Stalin. He must either stand or fall with him.

Browder's defense of Stalin's latest murders was not ostentatious at first. He merely made a speech at some CP rally in Brooklyn, Friday, April 2. But this speech appeared the following day as a full-page advertisement in the New York Post, and the day following, the *Daily Worker* printed it under the full page banner headline "Smash Anti-Soviet Plot in the United States."

## Browder Unearths a "Conspiracy"

In his speech, Browder unfolds a deep, dark "conspiracy." Almost 26 years after the Russian Revolution Browder suddenly discovered that the American Social Democrats are really against it. But where is the "conspiracy"? The Social Democrats have been denouncing the Russian Revolution for over 25 years. If anything, they have lately been warming up to Stalin, "the realist." They are not men who would be unduly harsh with the government of a country that is in a military alliance with their own bourgeois government.

The Social Democratic attitude was summarized most eloquently at the Mecca Temple meeting itself. The meeting was called to protest the murder of Alter and Ehrlich, but at the conclusion the chairman announced that no further action would be taken for the duration. This was their way of emphasizing that the interests of American diplomacy are their primary consideration. Browder really owes a debt of gratitude to the Social Democrats for harnessing the indignation of the masses against the Stalin murders, confining it to one meeting, and then telling them to forget it until after the war.

But even if the organizers of the Mecca Temple meeting are willing to drop the whole matter for the present, Browder can't. He knows that his master in the Kremlin trembles at any protest, no matter how feeble. Browder is satisfied

even if he does not convince a single soul about that big "conspiracy," so long as Stalin knows that he, Browder, went to bat for him.

Let us take up Browder's tale of conspiracy and see what he is driving at:

"This case," says Browder, "originates in a conspiratorial effort of American citizens, organized on American soil, to overthrow the government of the Soviet Union. . ."

## Where Are the Anti-Soviet Forces?

No doubt there are powerful forces within the ruling class of this country who in their secret chambers may be toying with the thought of overthrowing the Soviet regime and opening the vast Russian market for capitalist exploitation. Perhaps it has gone much further than that. However, are these capitalist reactionaries, organized on American soil, to overthrow the government of the Soviet Union. . .

"A chief leader in the anti-Soviet conspiracy in the U. S.," Browder informs us, "is a certain Mr. N. Chamin. This gentleman operates as a leader of the so-called 'Jewish Labor Committee.' For years he has collected money for secret conspiratorial work in the Soviet Union."

The veracity of this charge of Browder's is on a par with Hitler's charge that "International Jewry" is responsible for the present war. The Jewish Labor Committee is not a conspiratorial organization. It has been functioning openly as a body composed of the trades unions in which the Jewish workers are an important factor with the object of collecting money for the distressed and destitute Jews in Europe, victims of anti-Semitic atrocities.

## Charges Untainted by Truth

True, the Social Democrats are in control of the Jewish Labor Committee; true, that the Social Democrats are opponents of the Soviet Regime. But only a police mind can spin a conspiracy out of these facts. Only a police mind can appeal, as Browder does, to the American government to suppress the Social Democratic opponents of the Soviet regime.

Browder suddenly insists upon the enforcement of the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement of December, 1933. That agreement was aimed originally at the Communist Party in this country and at the Communist International. Until now there has been only one force clamoring for enforcement of this agreement. That force consisted of the super-patriots and legionaries.

But it is not the first or the only instance where the Stalinists and ultra-reactionaries meet on common ground.

## The Kremlin Finds a Defender

Just as Mussolini himself and fascists the world over applauded the Moscow trials and the assassination of Leon Trotsky, the murder of Alter and Ehrlich found one defender outside the Stalinist ranks. This is the Jew-baiting, Negro-hating, Poll-Tax Congressman Rankin from Mississippi. Here is what Rankin said in a speech in the House of Representatives on March 29, 1943:

"A short time ago, Stalin caught a couple of these trouble-makers named Ehrlich and Alter, tried and convicted them of treason and executed both of them.

"I see that a certain element of the Communist press is now ringing with denunciations of Russia's action in the matter; and I suppose that some of them will now be denouncing me as pro-Russian. But I am going to take the risk. . ."

While Rankin makes a public demonstration of his joy at Stalin's murder of the two socialists, there are many more Rankins, who are more subdued but just as cognizant of Stalin's service. With every murder Stalin commits against one of his political opponents in the ranks of the labor movement, he strikes another blow at the Russian Revolution and the labor movement the world over. International reaction is the only beneficiary of Stalin's murder regime.

## SWP Opens New Seattle Branch

The opening of the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers' Party in Seattle, April 3, culminates a long period of hard spade-work in building the socialist movement in the Northwest. For years ties in that area were tenuous. But the militant tradition of the lumber workers, the longshoremen, the old IWW has never dimmed. When members of the Trotskyist movement began organizing in Seattle they were able to strike roots which are now shooting up in a very lushy way.

A telegram from the National Committee of the SWP expresses the sentiments of the party as a whole in the following words:

"Socialist Workers Center  
521 Pike Street, Room 7  
Seattle, Washington

You are entitled to celebrate tonight and the whole party is celebrating with you because in opening your new headquarters, you have taken a great step forward in the firm establishment of the Northwestern outpost of our great movement. We do not doubt that the firmly constituted Seattle branch will in the future occupy a worthy place under our fighting banner.

National Committee  
James P. Cannon, Secretary."

The staff of *The Militant* sent the following telegram:

"Warmest greetings on opening of new headquarters. Keep up good work."

## Activities of N. Y. Mothers' Group

As announced in *The Militant*, the Mothers' Group has been conducting a class on "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," by Engels. This class, which will terminate next Tuesday, has been very successful. The instructress, W. Walters, covered the material thoroughly and each participant engaged in research especially on controversial issues. The Members of the Mothers' Group are now participating in sales and distributions of the Charles pamphlet: *Your Standard of Living* at market places, parks and house-to-house. The same arrangement for the children is made. They are taken care of by experienced volunteers from 10 A. M. to 12 A. M. and then given their lunch. This system of providing care for the children for 2 hours a day, a couple of days a week affords the mothers the time to engage in activity that they ordinarily would find impossible to do.

The subject for a new class to start in about a month will soon be announced in *The Militant*.  
A. W.

## Favor Labor Party

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—One of the strongest indications of sentiment for the formation of a labor party in Pennsylvania came from the recent meeting of the Lower Bucks County CIO Industrial Union Council.

At a recent meeting a resolution was adopted setting up a committee to conduct a survey of present labor political groups in Pennsylvania and to take the initiative for sponsoring an independent Labor Party.

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## The Negro Struggle

By John Saunders

### Passivity Over Jim Crow A Real Danger

Until about a year ago when the shortage of manpower in this country began to make itself felt and for the first time employers were forced to hire Negro labor in jobs other than the most menial, many colored writers and leaders despaired of a better life for the Negro people. Many of these leaders are now sitting back smugly in the certainty that the exigencies of the war situation are bringing about economic improvement for the Negro masses, and that this improvement will make itself increasingly felt as the war continues. These two extremes in outlook have one thing in common: the acceptance of existing conditions and an unwillingness to struggle to change them.

The objective circumstances surrounding the war have somewhat bettered the economic status of some Negroes. But it required such mediums as the March-on-Washington Movement to call attention to the indignities suffered by the Negro and to inspire him as well as his white fellow-worker to fight against them. The very threat of a march forced the President to issue Executive Order 8802 which was allegedly to end Jim Crow in industry. Yet every Negro is fully aware that this order is but a minor phase in an unfolding battle against Jim Crow.

Nothing can replace struggle. Were the fight against Jim-Crow to end now, conditions of the Negro would again take a turn for the worse. It is necessary to fight not only to improve the status of the Negro but even to maintain the forward strides already made. Nor can struggle be confined to one phase of Negro life. For unless gains achieved in one sector are broadened to cover other fields the dangers of a setback are ever present. Improvement of the Negro's status in industry can have no permanence so long as there is segregation and discrimination in the armed forces, so long as there is segregation in housing, so long as there is discrimination in public places — so long as Jim Crow continues to dominate American life and thought.

Frankly, we are disturbed not so much by yesterday's oracles of despair who have now become the most contented Negro leaders as by the large number of followers that have been attracted to their banner. Naturally this is to be expected of those who had never participated in struggle, but side by side with the latter are many formerly in the forefront of the fight who now feel that they can relax and permit events to take their course. We Trotskyists especially appeal to these valiant fighters for Negro rights who must be fully aware that capitalism can offer no permanent solution to the crisis in which the world now finds itself.

The Negro masses must be more than ever on guard against the poison of reform that leaders are now spreading throughout their ranks. The virus of reformism is just as dangerous for the colored people as it was for the millions of world workers who were beguiled from the path of struggle

by the renegades from Marxism. These reformist leaders likewise pointed to certain gains the workers had been able to wring from capitalism under favorable circumstances. Instead of utilizing these reforms as a jumping-off place for obtaining complete economic and social emancipation, these well-paid lackeys of capitalism saw no further need for struggle and lulled the masses into a false sense of security. It was no consolation to these millions of workers that with the advent of fascism their leaders were also deprived of their sinescures.

If the gains achieved by the labor movement during the rise of capitalism proved illusory, the slight progress made by the Negroes in the period of decay of the profit system will be even more fleeting. Manpower is now in demand and a Negro worker is better than none. Even the Nazis are forced to employ those whom they consider racially inferior. But when the need for the tools of destruction becomes less pressing and the champions of the profit system force a reduction in the rolls of labor, will not the old adage be revived: — first to be fired and last to be hired? Are not the sparks of race hatred being carefully nursed today? We have just witnessed with what ease a slander campaign can be whipped up by the capitalist press and a lynch spirit aroused against the Negro people of Harlem who are being branded as common criminals because a few petty crimes have taken place in that locality whereas far worse offenses committed by whites have received little or no mention in these same newspapers. Big Business will need no urging to resort to similar smear drives when it suits its purpose.

The Negro workers must continue their fight not only to consolidate their modest gains but to widen them along the whole front of battle. To do so effectively they must reflect upon the methods of struggle and the leadership which is to lead it. There is in existence a rich heritage of battles fought by the underprivileged for their freedom. The lessons of these struggles have been digested and interpreted by the great leaders of the working class during the past century and recorded in the rich Marxist literature available to all.

The leaders of Negro emancipation will undoubtedly come from the working class. Too often the Negro worker looks to some Messiah to lead him into battle and fails to realize that he himself has the qualifications for leadership. What he lacks is a knowledge of the scientific or Marxist method which he can readily learn by diligent and patient application. The dangers ahead are graver than ever for the Negro people. The full brutality and cruelty of the American capitalist class will manifest itself after Hitler is subdued. Thinking Negroes must prepare themselves now for this eventuality by studying the Marxist method and program whereby the coming boss of offense can be met and thrown back in reverse.

## International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

In the protest raised over Washington's deal with Darlan and later with Giraud, the liberals pictured De Gaulle as democracy's great leader. We Trotskyists have pointed out, however, that fundamentally there was little difference between the Giraudist camp and the Gaullist. Each is trying in its own way to protect the interests of French imperialism.

Some light is thrown on De Gaulle's attitude toward "democracy" by a document which recently arrived here from London and which has not been published. It was issued by the "Jean Jaures Group," composed of leaders of the SFIO (the Socialist Party in France) who managed to escape to London.

The document reports that on October 3, 1942 the Jean Jaures group split on the De Gaulle issue. After stating that to oppose De Gaulle was "veritable treason," five of these "socialists" walked out of the meeting.

The statement of the majority says that the Jaures group enthusiastically supported De Gaulle in June 1940 when he decided to continue the fight on the side of Great Britain. But now the movement of this "great military chief" has turned political and the Jean Jaures group has several reservations to make:

"The Committee should not be called 'national.' This title can only be applied to a government authentically representing the duly consulted French nation, or consultation being impossible at present, a committee composed of personalities really representative of French opinion, and in particular, the French working class. . . . Thus we have been surprised and shocked to see General De Gaulle declare in his statutes that he acts 'in the name of the French people and the French Empire'."

This appeal on the part of the Jaures group to the French working class is not an appeal from an international socialist party to the French workers to form a workers' and peasants' government. It is, on the contrary, a bid of reformists for greater participation in the provisional government when the "United Nations" occupy France.

However, these opportunists furnish us with information which the capitalist press has never printed.

"We note in passing," says the document, "that in the Free French colonies, the lay laws [separating church from state] were systematically and openly violated."

General De Gaulle's entourage had at first suppressed the motto "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." "To many of the 'Free French' leaders, Vichy was guilty only of

# Diplomatic Moves Indicate Growing Danger to USSR

By Felix Morrow

President Roosevelt announced at his press conference March 30 that U. S.-Soviet talks would begin soon. He coupled this announcement with a statement, which he permitted reporters to quote verbatim, that "so far, in all the conferences we have held with other members of the United Nations, we are about 95 per cent together." Asked whether the statement included the Soviet Union and China, Roosevelt said it did.

Typical of the press comment on Roosevelt's announcement was the N. Y. Times editorial of April 1, which stated:

"The President's renewed invitation is merely one of many efforts to get Russia to the conference table. It is conclusive refutation of the silly charges that America refuses to treat Russia as an equal, or wants to isolate her, or surround her with a cordon sanitaire."

### U. S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Roosevelt's announcement and the press chorus in similar tone were obviously designed to reassure the public that steps are being taken to better U. S.-Soviet relations. The unbridled anti-Soviet statements which rose in intensity in direct ratio to the Soviet victories during the Winter offensive created widespread suspicions about the game which Washington and London are playing. Now that the Winter offensive is over and the Soviet Union may be thrown on the defensive by a full-powered Nazi Spring offensive, Washington wants an abatement of the anti-Soviet press chorus.

But to draw from this fact the conclusion implied by the Times that the coming talks will turn that "95 per cent" into 100 per cent agreement is a deliberate falsehood.

### ROLE OF THE 'N. Y. TIMES'

It was the same N. Y. Times, today undoubtedly the most authoritative capitalist newspaper, that opened the sluice gates for the anti-Soviet offensive in the press, when, in a Feb. 14 editorial, it called for "a frank discussion of the problem" of Soviet-U. S. relations.

Its own contribution to that

"frank" discussion was to declare that U. S. non-recognition of Soviet claims to the Baltic states, Bessarabia, Byelorussia and the 1940 Finnish border was basic to the Atlantic Charter; that it was "on the basis" of Soviet acceptance of the Atlantic Charter "that both America and Great Britain agreed to extend material and other aid to Russia"; and that now "further and more explicit agreements are necessary in order to give concrete meaning to the Atlantic Charter."

In short, for the Times and the section of the capitalist class for which it speaks, the coming U. S.-Soviet talks should find Washington adamant against Soviet claims and demanding new and more binding commitments along that line—"further and more explicit agreements"—from the Kremlin.

The absurdity of interpreting Roosevelt's "invitation" to Stalin as an act of friendship is indicated by the fact that some of the most openly anti-Soviet elements have been urging speed in opening U. S.-Soviet talks. An example is

William G. Bullitt, former ambassador to the Soviet Union.

### WILSON'S "MISTAKE"

Bullitt has been making speeches and publishing articles pointing out that Wilson's "mistake" was to wait until he got to the 1919 Peace Conference. Wilson should have forced through binding commitments while the European powers were still absolutely dependent on America. Bullitt frankly concludes that Roosevelt should learn from Wilson's "mistake." "At the present time," writes Bullitt (March 27 New Leader) "we have . . . a real club. Our power is comparable to Wilson's power in the summer of 1918." Bullitt makes clear that he is thinking particularly of the Soviet Union. He, and those he represents, want speedy talks with the Soviet Union while America has this club with which to have its way.

It is a notorious fact that Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle is close to Bullitt's views. One should read Berle's April 4 speech at Reading with that fact in mind.

Berle declared that the Soviet Union "will not, in our judgment, become the victim of any urge to seize great additions to her already huge empire." Why does he think so? Because the Soviet Union "faces a titanic job in rebuilding her own country. In her reconstruction she will be entitled to all the cooperation we can give."

Since Berle and Washington look upon the Baltic states, Bessarabia, etc., as not part of the Soviet Union, he is saying that these "additions" will not go to the Soviet Union because of the needs of Soviet reconstruction. In plain English, Soviet frontier claims must be abandoned in return for American aid in reconstruction.

### BUFFER STATES

In the same speech, Berle denied that Washington was interested in constructing buffer states around Russia. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, often used by the Kremlin for preliminary statements, charged on March 31 in Mexico City that the Vatican and "capitalist interests" were planning a "Catholic entente" in Central Europe to isolate the USSR. Berle's denial stated:

"Today, the idea of a buffer state is as dead as a dodo. You

cannot have buffer states in air warfare. Any buffer state, or any belt of buffer states which could be built around Russia could be flown over by a modern air force in a few minutes and probably be demolished in a few hours."

This is a very cogent argument to show the limited usefulness of buffer states in the post-war plans of the "democracies" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. In that case, however, why does Washington continue to insist on the "independence" of the Baltic states—just such buffer states, carved out of Russia in 1918-20? Apparently, despite their limited usefulness, Washington still wants such buffer states.

In a recent article, I laid similar stress on the way in which the air force and other implements of modern warfare have changed the significance of buffer states and frontiers—but drew an entirely different conclusion from the change. I wrote:

"The present disputes over frontiers may be resolved. The temporary relation of forces between the 'democracies' and the USSR in case of further Soviet victories, or Stalin's agreement to help try to crush a proletarian revolution in Germany, may dictate to Churchill and Roosevelt a settlement recognizing as Soviet some or perhaps all the territories now in dispute."

"But they will do so in the sense that Hitler agreed to the Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland and the Baltic states—in exchange for Stalin's services, including those of the Comintern, and to await a more propitious moment for assaulting the USSR."

"If the 'democracies' thus have to surrender outposts in Eastern Poland, Finland and Rumania, then they will find new ones in Central Poland, Bulgaria, the Scandinavian peninsula, etc. This incontestable fact also demonstrates the basic fallacy of Stalin's bureaucratic and nationalistic method of defending the USSR."

### ONLY REAL DEFENSE

"Vain is his search for 'strategic frontiers in the epoch of the bomber, paratrooper and tank.' The Soviet Union will remain in mortal danger so long as capitalism remains the stronger power on a world scale. Only successful proletarian revolutions in Europe and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe can assure the existence of the Soviet Union." (Fourth International, March 1943.)

Berle's argument about the uselessness of buffer states is, then no indication of his friendliness to the Soviet Union. It is simply a realistic statement about the realities of modern warfare. Berle is thus reassuring the bourgeoisie: "Don't worry about the Soviet Union. We don't need buffer states to take care of her."

Unfortunately, Berle is realistic in his perspective, while Stalin, with his false theory of "socialism in one country," is endangering the Soviet Union. Only the European revolution is the way out for the USSR.

## THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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## Will Alter-Erich Speakers Also Protest Davies Film?

By M. Morrison

It can be taken for granted that a goodly proportion of the audience of three thousand present at the Mecca Temple meeting organized by prominent labor leaders to protest the murder of Ehrlich and Alter, did not come to attack the basic achievement of the October Revolution, nationalized property. They came to condemn an atrocious crime committed by one who has betrayed the hopes and dreams of countless workers and intellectuals devoted to the socialist ideal.

The political character of the meeting can not, however, be judged by the fact that a large section of the audience, shocked by the latest crime of Stalin, came to register a protest. It must be judged by the character of the speakers and the general nature of their speeches. On this basis one must conclude that it was, most of all, a meeting to defend capitalist democracy not only against Stalinist totalitarianism but also against revolutionary Marxism.

The speakers at the meeting differed too much among themselves to have the same motives in their protests. There is quite a gulf between the capitalist politician LaGuardia who utilized the meeting for the sole purpose of boosting himself politically and Mendelsohn representing the Bund, composed of tens of thousands of Jewish workers devoted to the struggle for socialism. Mendelsohn and LaGuardia speak different languages, literally and figuratively. But this does not alter the fact that the general political character of the meeting was a defense of capitalist democracy. By his left speech Mendelsohn simply served as a cover for the other speakers.

Furthermore some of the speakers, particularly LaGuardia, Senator Mead and William Green in all probability consulted governmental authorities before consenting to appear as speakers. The meeting served not only the purpose of defending capitalist democracy but for some people, served the purpose of preparing support of the American government in case of any conflict with the Soviet Union.

I do not mean to say that Dubinsky and others like him who initiated the meeting were not really interested in protesting the murder of Ehrlich and Alter. Trade-union leaders with a social-democratic past and hostile to the Stalinists on trade-union grounds were very much perturbed by the execution. At the time of the execution of the Bolsheviks they were either silent or, at best, expressed lukewarm condemnation, taking the lofty attitude that it was only a quarrel between people of the same political tendency.

The two executed socialists were in the left wing of the social-democracy and did not at all see eye to eye with Dubinsky and the right wing social democrats on political questions. Nevertheless they were members of the Second International and supporters of the capitalist democracies in this war. It was too much like a murder of their own people to permit Dubinsky and others like him to be silent. They organized a protest meeting but this meeting necessarily had a political character, namely, the defense of capitalist democracy.

All dictatorships were denounced — "red, brown and black" — communist as well as fascist. This set the tone of the meeting as a defense of capitalist democracy. It would not be very difficult to show that William Green and other trade-union leaders who sponsored the meeting are quite disinterested in democracy in the trade-union movement. But we shall not discuss this point.

It so happens that Ehrlich and Alter believed in the "dictatorship of the revolutionary party," a phrase used in the minority resolution presented by Ehrlich at the Paris Conference of the Second International, held in 1923. Revolutionary Marxists use the more correct formulation—dictatorship of the proletariat.

And by that formula Marxists simply mean the rule of the working class utilizing its power to deprive the capitalist minority of the means of production and to organize a planned economy. The greatest democracy that can ever exist should be a fundamental characteristic of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin brought with it the complete destruction of all democracy it simply means that the dictatorship of the proletariat can under certain historic conditions, degenerate. To speak of a communist dictatorship and not of a Stalinist dictatorship is, on the part of people who know better to attack revolutionary Marxism, to attack even the views of Ehrlich and Alter.

With the exception of the representative of the Bund, the speakers at the Mecca Temple meeting made no attempt to dis-

tinguish between the Soviet Union and the Stalinist government. Since the United States is fighting against the same enemy it is the vogue on the part of liberal democrats, labor leaders and even reactionaries to praise the Russian people and the Red Army. The same speakers, by the way, made no distinction between the Red Army and the Soviet government during the Soviet Finnish conflict.

The speakers refrained from mentioning the name of Stalin, the one really responsible for the executions. They spoke only of the Soviet government. An obvious attempt to fall in line with the official policy of the State Department to avoid criticism of Stalinist government and the Soviet Union, that is, the system of state ownership of the means of production.

The failure to make this real distinction can serve only as a preparation for the support of the masses of any capitalist state in a conflict with the Soviet Union.

Upon what basis can there be an agreement between Trotskyists and non-Trotskyists in the labor movement for the defense of socialist, communist and anarchist political prisoners in Stalin's jails and for a common protest against their murder? It must be on the basis of opposition to the use of slander and violence between opponents in the labor movement.

When the Trotskyists protested against the Moscow frame-up trials they were not defending the political ideas of the accused who were not Trotskyists. We defended the political ideas of Trotsky and of no one else. We defended the accused against slander and violence. Ehrlich and Alter were our political opponents. When we protest against their murder it is because we are fierce haters of slander and violence against political opponents in the labor movement and we want to exterminate these Stalinist methods.

There should be no difficulty for honest people in the labor and liberal movements to join in any defense of anti-Stalinist political prisoners and in any protest against their murder provided neither the defense nor the protest is used for the boosting of capitalist democracy and for anti-Soviet propaganda.

It is at present quite easy for the organizers and speakers of the Mecca Temple meeting to show how sincere they really are in their protest of the murder of Alter and Ehrlich. If, as most of them contended, they were protesting in the name of justice and truth and humanity, they should also get busy in organizing some "Mission to Moscow," which is based on the falsifications and slanders of the Moscow Trials.

The fact that such people as Mayor LaGuardia, Senator Mead, Representative Voorhees and William Green spoke at the meeting justifies the conclusion that the administration approved of the meeting, if nothing more.

Will Dubinsky and the others organize some form of protest against the Mission to Moscow film which has the approval of the State Department? There is no easier way to show that their protest of the Ehrlich and Alter murder did not simply fall in with the purposes of the State Department.

The meeting at Mecca Temple shows, as nothing else, how Stalin feeds the fires of conservatism and hypocrisy. His crimes have given sanctimonious hypocrites a chance to pose as defenders of justice and humanity. They who never raised a voice against the murder of hundreds of Indian revolutionists by the British government can come forth as champions of humanity.

If a section of the audience was anti-Soviet it is only because of Stalin's crimes. Assuming even that many were old Mensheviks bitterly opposed to the Bolshevik Revolution, it can be said with great certainty that, by this time, 25 years after the Revolution, most of them would be convinced of their mistakes, had the Soviet Union developed under the regime of revolutionary Marxists.

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION By Leon Trotsky

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# THE MILITANT

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

— LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## Protest the Davies Whitewash Film!

Hardly able to conceal their glee, the American representatives of Stalin's GPU murder machine announced in the April 5 *Daily Worker* that the "first print" of *Mission to Moscow* has arrived in New York.

There is reason for their glee. The recent announcement of Stalin's assassination of Alter and Ehrlich had profound repercussions in the labor movement. The Stalinists need whitewash.

The main argument which they have thus far utilized in their frantic attempt to justify the murder of Alter and Ehrlich is reference to the Moscow Trials. *Mission to Moscow* helps prop up the whole structure of Stalinist frameups. The Stalinists maintain that like those earlier victims, Alter and Ehrlich — because they were executed — must have been guilty of the charges cooked up by Stalin.

These trials, as is well known, were proved by the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry to be frameups. Thus in a certain sense the Stalinists are right in pointing to the Moscow frameups as a parallel in the frameup of Alter and Ehrlich. The difference is that Alter and Ehrlich were only two individuals, the Moscow Trials involved tens and even hundreds of thousands.

Nevertheless prominent labor leaders and spokesmen of the Roosevelt administration who have protested the Alter-Ehrlich assassination, have so far remained silent about this obvious parallel. They have likewise remained silent about Hollywood's *Mission to Moscow* which pictures the Moscow frameups in accordance with the official GPU version.

As Morrison points out in his column on another page in this issue, if these people were really interested in justice, truth and humanity, as they claim, they would not only protest the Alter-Ehrlich case but likewise Hollywood's whitewash production.

The truth is that these people, who in the past have never hesitated — most of them — at the most virulent red-baiting and persecution of the real partisans of the Soviet Union, are following the line laid down by Roosevelt's State Department.

They protest Stalin's crimes when it is politic

to do so; they help whitewash Stalin's crimes when the diplomatic needs of U. S. imperialism require it.

We repeat, if La Guardia, Senator Mead, Voorhees, William Green, James Carey, Dubinsky, et al are not simply carrying out the purpose of the State Department, let them organize some form of protest against the *Mission to Moscow* film.

## Profits and Beef

In view of the meat shortage in this country Representative Celler proposed that we get meat from Argentina. The response to this suggestion in Congress was immediate: overwhelming opposition. The reasons against were slightly contradictory.

To wit:

- 1) Argentine meat is unsanitary
- 2) It should be sent directly to the fighting zones
- 3) What we need is proper distribution of our own supplies
- 4) It would break the livestock market here
- 5) They haven't got any meat in Argentina, in the first place.

The big meat packers and wholesalers, you see, are concerned primarily in keeping their profitable markets secure: They have in the past kept cheaper meat from getting into this country and competing with their products and, shortage or no shortage, they still refuse to permit any infringement upon their monopoly.

They are always ready to sacrifice for the war effort — your meat, that is — but not their profits.

## A Growing Danger

A steadily growing number of vicious anti-labor laws are being placed upon the statute books of this nation.

Following the example set by Congress, state after state is devising new ways by which labor's normal activities can be interpreted as violating the law and subject therefore to new and grave penalties. Since Kansas, the latest to join the ranks is Colorado, as pointed out by E. R. Frank in his *Trade Union Notes* in this issue.

What is behind this anti-labor offensive? Undoubtedly fear is a prime motive force. Capitalism now engaged in its second great blood bath in a quarter of a century fears the mood of the masses when they have returned empty handed from the battlefields and the scandals of this second world war begin to come out into the open.

America's 60 Families wish in their way to prepare for that day — at the present time through the enactment of repressive legislation which will later justify more violent methods.

The hired thinkers of America's 60 Families calculate that now is the proper time to pass such legislation. Now, under cover of the heat of battle, under cover of the patriotism and the bewilderment of the masses.

But another major consideration on their part is the fact that the leaders of labor today, the Greens, Murphys, Hillman's, etc., are their political allies and that they need fear no political retaliation from these toadies.

These leaders of labor support the capitalist political parties. Consequently they have done their utmost to prevent labor from organizing its own mighty forces in competition to these parties. That is the reason no voice speaks up for the side of labor in the national and state legislatures when anti-labor laws are brought forth.

Labor has no mass political party of its own, consequently it has no representatives of its own in the legislative halls of the nation.

Every new law that is thrust like a dagger into the back of labor is a law that was made possible solely because labor was not organized politically to resist it.

A mortal danger faces the labor movement. These laws will continue to accumulate on the statute books, with Big Business ever more ready and ever more capable of enforcing these laws, even if it means organizing fascism on the American continent.

There is only one way to meet the growing menace and that is by facing the political enemy on the political arena.

It is high time to organize an Independent Labor Party!

## Grade Labelling

One of the grimmest jokes played on the housewife in a grim winter is the administration-sponsored program of labelling the 1943 pack of canned goods.

Everything was promised in the days when promises looked good, ample fruits and vegetables despite what other scarcities might cause tightening belts, and honest labelling. Honest as to amount and honest as to quality.

But the National Canners Association has disapproved the plan. They don't want the housewife to learn that some little-advertised brands are just as good as those nationally advertised. They don't want the housewife to learn that some "specially improved" products were specially improved only on the label.

The snapper on this grim joke is this, that less than half the crops that should go into cans have been planted. They haven't been planted, because the canners are awaiting "relief" from grade labelling and "assurance" on prices.

# 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.

## Wants New Mayor With Union Button

Editor:

In peace time New York's mayor was famed for the broad-brimmed black hat he wore. But that wasn't his only claim to fame. At every four alarm fire he changed his black hat for a fire helmet and took personal charge.

Then he got an automobile distinguishable by five big stars on the hood, luminous paint on the fenders, two spotlights and a sign over the windshield that flashes, "Mayor."

After the war broke out, the Mayor was very happy I understand turning on the air raid alarm switch and wearing a white helmet at practise scenes of panic where he took charge of the befuddled victims.

But our mayor it seems is no longer content with headgear and publicity limitations of his office. The Little Flower wants to be a general and go to Africa.

Meanwhile the Little Flower has not forgotten the masses. He has repeatedly refused to raise the wages of subway workers to meet the rising cost of living. In the worsening meat crisis he has given the New York housewives nothing but an emergency demonstration of baloney slicing. To top it all, his Board of Education kicked labor in the teeth when it refused to appoint Mark Starr as director of adult education be-

cause he is a "protagonist of labor."

While the Little Flower is showing what the right uniform can do to straighten out the African situation, let us hope the labor movement wakes up. If the Little Flower's proposed leave of absence arouses labor to the necessity of putting its own mayor and Administration in office to straighten out the situation we've got on our hands right here at home, that uniform will be worth its weight in gold and a dozen stars thrown in.

For a Mayor With a Union Button

## A Real Poser for Norman Thomas

Editor:

March 21 here in Philadelphia at the Friends Forum, Norman Thomas spoke on the advisability of immediate post-war planning.

You could have heard a pin drop after the opening words of this question: "I'd like Mr. Thomas to answer whether he is not criminally disarming us when the facts he should be clarifying are that this is a permanent war; that there can be no peace (with the exception of brief breathing spells) and that the powers that be cannot end the war so long as capitalism continues?" What do you think he replied? He said, "That is a rhetorical question," and sat down.

Pepper, Phila., Pa.

## Instrument Workers Reject Assessment

Editor:

At membership meetings of Local 425, United Electrical and Machine Workers of America on March 25 and 26, the workers of the Ford Instrument Company, a plant employing 9,000 overwhelmingly defeated a unanimous recommendation of the executive board that each member be assessed a day's pay for the New York Labor War Chest.

The workers, on the various shifts, feeling the pinch of rising prices and higher taxes, overruled in stormy sessions the attempts of the executive board to push the levy through.

About the only support the executive board could muster came from a few Stalinists, who accused the workers of attempting to become "time and one-half millionaires."

It is unfortunate that a good deal of the sentiment in opposition to the proposal expressed at the meetings was anti-union sentiment. The blame for this rests entirely with those labor leaders who fail to put up a struggle to defend the workers living standards, but who nevertheless press the workers for even greater sacrifices.

The workers must be won to the support of the unions, and this can be done only by a militant leadership that will protect the unions' hard won gains.

A Ford Instrument Worker  
New York City

# Murray Greenfield 1915-1942

By L. COOPER

In the autumn of 1942, Murray's ship was hit by German aerial torpedoes in the North Atlantic. It was a surprise attack and Murray never had a chance. The few survivors of his ship, as well as the Navy, have verified the tragic news.

Every party member and worker who knew him loved this outstanding comrade. His pioneer work in Harlem; his militant role in the food workers' union; his intense devotion to his new task and his union, the Sailors Union of the Pacific—these were the landmarks he had already set.

## HE LEARNED TO FIGHT

Son of a shoemaker's family, he was hungry for culture. He managed to get to Northwestern University—but had to leave to go back to his home in Lynn, Mass. to work and aid the family. Life had made him ready for the revolutionary movement. At first he thought that meant the Stalinists, but he soon learned better. He heard our message for the first time at a street meeting in Lynn in the summer of 1939. Soon he was defending our meetings against fascist hooligans. Of those days a comrade from Boston writes:

"The first time I saw him was when I came down from Boston for a street meeting in Lynn. A fascist hooligan was heckling the speaker, trying to make trouble. Murray—he wasn't a party member—stepped forward and told him: 'Why don't you give the speaker a chance?' The hooligan tried to brush him aside Murray hit him and down he went." The sensitive student was learning to fight for his ideas.

After joining the Socialist Workers Party in Lynn, he got a job in a restaurant in Lynn and became active in Food Workers Local 701.

## WORK IN HARLEM AND CAFETERIA UNION

In April, 1940 he attended his first national party convention. He decided to stay in New York and join the newly organized Harlem group. Almost immediately the comrades elected him Harlem Organizer. Their confidence in him was fully justified. He threw himself into the work with inexhaustible fervor. The initial stages of the Harlem group were in every sense pioneer work. A headquarters had to be established.

Negro workers had to be educated to understand our ideas. Murray moved into a dingy tenement on 123rd Street in Harlem. His persistence finally netted

rewards; he helped to lay the groundwork for all subsequent party work in Harlem.

Murray's other work during that same period was as a leading progressive in Local 302, Cafeteria Workers Union. The Progressive Club was then the spearhead of militant activity in the union. Murray took a job as a busboy even though his training in Lynn had been as a short order cook. In a short period he was elected shop chairman. He fought the company up and down the line. The company framed him and fired him, and the Stalinist union official would not fight for his reinstatement. But he remained on the closest terms with the Stewart Chain store workers who warmly greeted him whenever he brought around the *Spotlight*, organ of the Progressives.

## "IT'S A GOOD LIFE"

In the summer of 1941 he became a seaman and a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. After nine months round the world he came back. "It was hard at first on deck but after a few months I got used to it and loved it," he said in answer to a question. And he added: "It's a good life."

He was in port but a short time, after that nine months' trip. Not the least of the reasons why he soon sailed again was his unbounded generosity to the party: after giving hundreds of dollars, he topped it with a \$250 contribution at the V. R. Dunne meeting last February.

A seaman friend reports last seeing Murray in June, 1942. The seamen of the convoy heading for the Soviet Union were practising rowing in a North Atlantic harbor and our friend's rowboat passed the one in which Murray was. Murray called out: "Hello, it sure is turning out to be a long trip." And so it was, good comrade Murray. We who loved you still remember you, your quiet demeanor, level gaze, and above all, your Bolshevik aggressiveness based on an unflinching loyalty and devotion to the party.

## WHAT HE DIED FOR

The Lynn newspaper published your photo, saying that you died for "democracy." And so you did, although certainly not in the sense they meant. You died for the party that you built and helped inspire to go forward in summoning the masses to build a new and really democratic world.

We won't forget you, dear friend and comrade. Your name and memory will sail with the ships of the workers' society that will take the good things of life to the liberated peoples of the world.

For a Rising Scale of  
Wages to Meet  
Rising Living Costs

## Germany's Foreshadows Middle Class's Fate

By ELOISE BLACK

The destruction of the heroic German labor movement by Hitler's brown-shirted fascists is common knowledge to the American people. That the German middle class is also being cut to pieces by the Nazis is a fact not so well known.

A recent survey issued by the U. S. Office of War Information reveals in detail how the betrayal of the "little man" in the interest of the giant German trusts and combines is being carried out.

Tens of thousands of small business men in this country who now find themselves facing extermination at the hands of American monopolists and whose frantic appeals for relief are pushed aside by the War Production Board will find plenty to mull over in the OWI report.

When the fascists were striving for power in Germany a decade ago, one of their most potent demagogic appeals was directed toward the impoverished German middle classes, whose interests they pledged to champion against the cartels and trusts. A large part of fascist agitation was given over to tirades against "financial overlords," "the plutocrats of industry," etc.

Once in power, however, the Nazis began preparations for war, shelved their campaign pledges to the "little man," and issued one decree after another which furthered the trustification of German industry and trade.

One of the deadliest blows dealt the small producers was a price-regulating law effected in 1942. Prices were then established on the basis of production costs of the lowest-cost producers in the various industries. Almost 10% of the small German firms immediately closed their doors or were absorbed by one of the dominant trusts as a result of this law. In the fields where free competition still persisted after 1942, the fascists introduced trustification.

The OWI report asserts that a "total-mobilization" plan decreed in Jan. of 1943 will close down three-fifths of the remaining small concerns considered non-essential to the war effort, making a total of almost 100,000 shops and plants slated for extinction. And the OWI itself stresses the fact that the carrying out of this program is placed in the hands of the very lords of finance whom the fascists promised to destroy.

The OWI has indeed painted an instructive picture of the perfidy of the German monopolists, and their agents, the Nazis. But the real lesson is omitted. Yet the striking similarity between the process going on in Germany and current developments in this country, especially since the beginning of the war, cannot fail to hit the "little man" squarely on the head.

Here too the "war emergency" has provided a golden opportunity for tightening the monopolistic stranglehold on the forces of production.

The "dollar-a-year-men" who sit on government boards and dole out juicy contracts to the corporations, are employees or heads of these same corporations.

According to the reports of the House Committee on Small Business, no more than 1% of all war orders have been turned over to small firms, 42% of all war orders have been handed to 16 mammoth producers. That 75% of all war contracts are held by 56 corporations was disclosed by a Truman Committee report for Feb. 1942.

While literally hundreds of thousands of retail stores and small enterprises face extermination (178,174 concerns, was the figure given by the Truman report of Feb. 1942) the monopolies are reaping fabulous profits.

Hitler's promise to wage war against monopoly has a very familiar ring in our country where so much has been said about "trust-busting" too. Yet much of the anti-trust legislation has been suspended for the duration of the war, and in cases where flagrant violations of remaining laws occur, the department of justice either closes its eyes altogether or imposes light penalties, and hush-hushes these as well.

Although the OWI report is directed against the Nazi party, what it really succeeds in revealing is the common plight of the "little man" (or the "forgotten man") in all capitalist countries. What it points to as the crimes of fascism are in fact the crimes of capitalism in the monopoly stage: imperialism.

Political differences of importance to the masses exist between democratic capitalism and fascist capitalism, differences that are known and appreciated by the living labor movement of this country. But the self-same economic forces operating under "democratic" or fascist regimes impel capitalism to deal blows at both the workers and the middle class.

In the titanic struggle for power raging between rival imperialists, ever greater sections of the population in all capitalist countries in the world will be sacrificed.

Neither the workers nor the middle class can expect any improvement in their circumstances as long as capitalism continues to rule.

Only by wrenching the basic industries from the clutch of the monopolies and organizing them under the joint ownership of all of the people can the benefits of modern production be enjoyed by any but the glutton monopolists.

## SUNDAY NIGHT FORUM

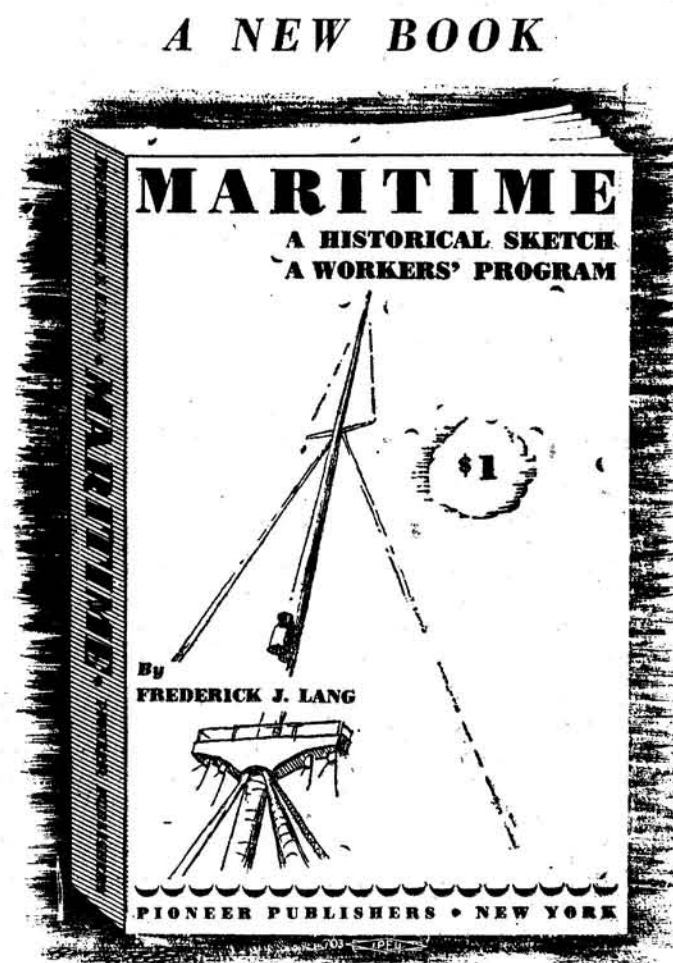
This Week: SUNDAY, APRIL 11, 8 P. M.

"JIM CROW IN THE  
2nd WORLD WAR"  
Speaker: ARTHUR BURCH

Subject and speaker for next week's forum will be announced at the Burch meeting.

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