

Labor Must Act To Free The 18 Gag Law Victims

By The Editors

When Roosevelt and Biddle in July 1941 indicted the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and Trotskyist leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act, many labor leaders preferred to view this as an exceptional and isolated case. They treated the Minneapolis trial as a private conflict between the defendants and government which did not affect them or the rest of the labor movement. Their chief concern was to uphold Roosevelt's reputation as a "friend of labor" and guardian of civil liberties.

Events since the trial have cut the ground from under such illusions and have served to demonstrate the far-reaching significance of the Minneapolis prosecutions and convictions. In wielding the Smith Act club against the Trotskyists, the government launched the initial attack of an all-out offensive by Big Business and its political agents to smash the entire union movement and destroy the democratic rights of the American people.

The Minneapolis prosecutions and convictions were deliberately conceived and carried through as an essential part of that offensive. In planning their campaign for undermining the unions and enslaving the workers, the capitalist rulers of America sought to forge powerful legal weapons with which to strike down organized labor. The Smith "Gag" Law, passed by Congress and signed by Roosevelt, was the first of such weapons. That law, strengthened by the precedent established through the imprisonment of the 18, now serves as a cornerstone in the structure of repressive legislation erected in the past three years to deprive labor of its rights and liberties and safeguard the wealth and privileges of America's Sixty Families.

Big Business and the government, emboldened by the effectiveness of their new reactionary legal weapon, have since added other deadly ones to their arsenal. The Smith "Gag" Law has been supplemented by the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. And now as a climax Roosevelt has demanded a forced labor law.

It is true that these repressive laws are designed primarily for use against labor militants who dare to stand up and defend the interests of the workers. But the anti-labor offensive is mounting to such a pitch that no labor leader, however servile, can consider himself immune from the fury of the reactionary forces. Attorney-General Biddle has given prompt proof of this by his use of the Smith "Gag" Act and the imprisonment of the 18 as a precedent in the deportation proceedings against the CIO Longshoremen's Union leader, Harry Bridges, one of the most grovelling supporters of Roosevelt.

Thus it has become clear that the fight to free the 18 Trotskyists and to repeal the Smith "Gag" Act is an inseparable part of labor's struggle against the present Roosevelt-Wall Street anti-labor drive.

Just as the Smith "Gag" Act was the forerunner of a host of repressive anti-labor laws, so the imprisoned Trotskyists and Local 544-CIO leaders are only the first of many other militants who will be framed up and jailed unless the labor movement puts up a determined fight to free the 18. An aroused labor movement, fully aware of the danger to its own existence contained in this violation of democratic rights, can compel Roosevelt to release the Smith "Gag" Act's first victims. The fight to liberate the 18 is thus a primary task and duty of organized labor in its struggle for self-preservation.

LOCAL CRDC BRANCHES ACTIVE IN CAMPAIGN TO FREE THE 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee reports progress in its national campaign to win the release of the eighteen class-war prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor case. In the past few weeks the New York Committee has secured over 1000 signatures from workers throughout the city on petitions urging President Roosevelt to grant unconditional pardon to the Minneapolis prisoners. Similar petitions are now being circulated by local CRDC branches among trade unions and progressive groups all over the country.

The New York Local of the Civil Rights Defense Committee presented a Musical at Carnegie Chamber Music Hall on February 26. An overflow audience responded with enthusiasm to excellent performances by a violinist, pianist, and Spanish dancer. Swelled by contributions from local unions, the proceeds of the affair totaled well over \$300.

SAN FRANCISCO

In San Francisco an assemblage of members and friends of the local Civil Rights Defense Committee attended a performance of "Trial by Jury", musical satire of the Minneapolis Labor trial, presented on February 20. A cash collection of \$119 was forwarded for the Minneapolis Prisoners' Pardon and Relief Fund, and a number of pledges for the period of the imprisonment of the 18 were made.

ment of the eighteen were made by CRDC supporters. The audience sent President Roosevelt a telegram urging unconditional pardon for the 18 victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, calling their conviction a violation of the Bill of Rights that "challenges every supporter of civil liberties."

The National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee this week moved into new quarters in the same building at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York. Three volunteer Field Representatives have been added to the staff. "This expansion is necessary," stated Evelyn Anderson, Acting Secretary, "because of the intensification of our national campaign to mobilize all liberal and labor forces behind our fight to free the 18 and to secure the repeal of the Smith 'Gag' Act."

Among the prominent union leaders who have protested the frameup and imprisonment of the 18 are Tucker P. Smith, Executive Director of the Detroit Joint Board, URWDSEA-CIO; William Schaffer, President of Cramp Shipyard Local 42, IUMSWA-CIO; Thomas DeLorenzo, President of Brewster Local 365, UAW-CIO; Louis Nelson, Manager-Secretary of Local 155, ILGWU; and Irving Abramson, President of the New Jersey State CIO Council.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is greatly in need of funds to carry out its work as well as to aid the 18 prisoners and their families. All contributions should be sent to James T. Farrell, Chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

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Baruch Plan Devised To Pave Way For A Wall Street Grab Of Billions

CIO Publishes Its First Edition of Servicemen's News

The first number of the Servicemen's Edition of the CIO News was published last week. The publication of a miniature overseas edition by the CIO is a step in the right direction. The organized labor movement in this country has over 2,000,000 members in the armed services. These union men and women have the right to know what labor is doing to safeguard their interests at home. Equally important is the need to provide them with an antidote to the poisonous propaganda disseminated by the capitalist press. The next step is to see that the Servicemen's Edition is available for distribution at all the post exchanges and other avenues of distribution provided by the Army and Navy.

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

So far the Army and Navy have made their facilities available only to a limited number of capitalist papers, such as the New York Times, the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun. The Army has indicated that the right to distribute miniature overseas editions of American newspapers through Army post exchanges may be made available to other newspapers "provided there was a sufficient demand from the troops." The Servicemen's Edition of the CIO News has been denied these facilities and must now be sent by first class mail addressed to individuals in the armed forces. By the use of this primitive method only a very limited number of servicemen will get to read the CIO paper.

The CIO claims over 1,000,000 members in the armed forces. There are probably as many and

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Steel Wage Demands Buried In Graveyard Of Grievances

By R. Bell

Negotiations for a wage increase of 17 cents per hour for 750,000 steel workers have now been in progress for a period of four months. The case has been relegated to that graveyard of grievances, the War Labor Board.

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. World-Telegram indicates what fate the War Labor Board has in store for the steel wage dispute when he reports:

"It will take some time just to separate the industry into its various classifications. Each will have to be dealt with differently. Then will come sessions of the panel with union and employer representatives on whether or not WLB can consider a case if it asks for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula, and which of the 22 points at issue

be expected from that body is "a stalemate all around." It is hard to believe that there remains within the labor movement any union leader simple-minded enough to believe that the WLB has the will, authority or power to settle any major wage dispute.

What is involved in the steel wage controversy is the fate of Roosevelt's wage-freezing "stabilization program." Any wage increase granted the steel workers would have to be beyond the Little Steel formula.

"NO COMPULSION"

Here is how Senator Warren R. Austin, co-author of the Austin-Wadsworth national service act, replied to critics who contended that the measure, if adopted, would constitute forced labor.

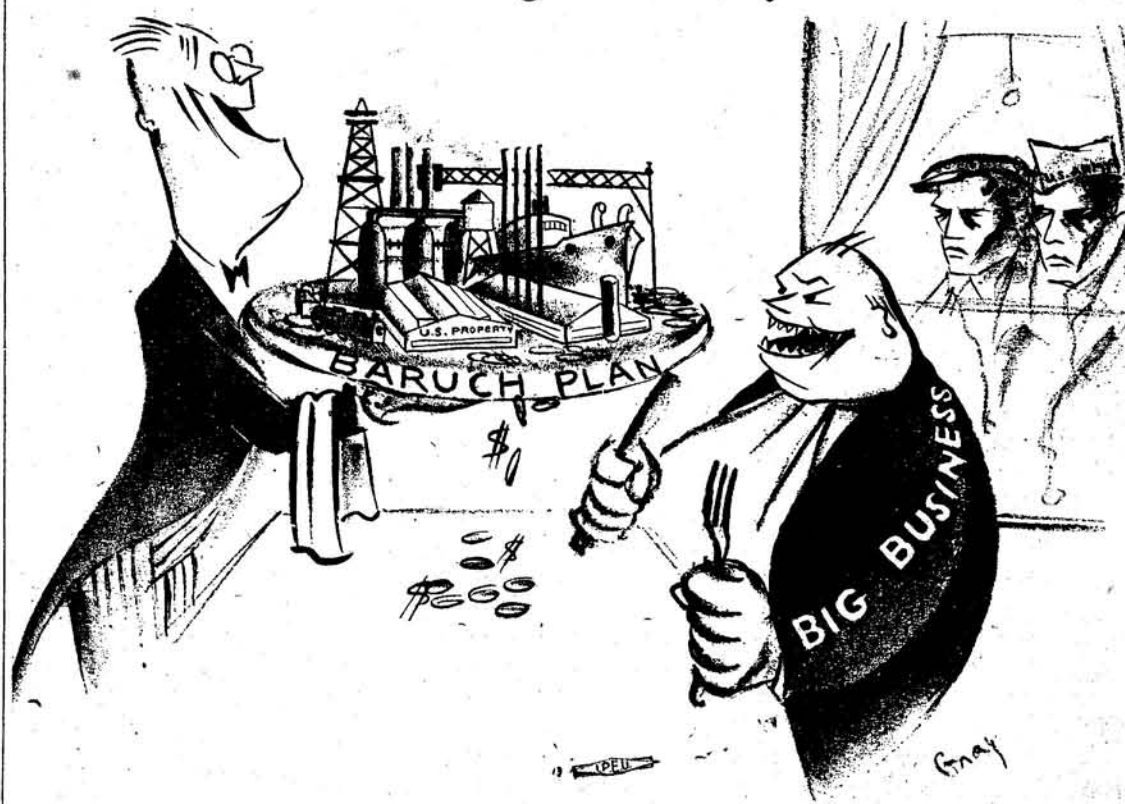
"The Senator maintained steadfastly that there was no compulsion involved in his bill. 'Nobody would be compelled to work,' he said. However, if any one refused to, after losing the various appeals provided in the measure, he would go to jail." (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Feb. 17.)

are under its jurisdiction. Referring back this fundamental question, the full board may find that it has no authority to consider some issues of this case at all, in which event it will have to ask the President what to do next, resulting in a stalemate all around."

WLB RUNAROUND

The whole record of the WLB, especially since the wage dispute of the coal miners, confirms the opinion that the BEST that can

Serving The Greedy



WLB Squabble Over Procedure Exposes Real Nature Of Board

By C. Thomas

The steel wage dispute, referred to the War Labor Board after negotiations with the employers bogged down, has precipitated a major squabble among members of the board. This dissension has further served to expose the real function of the WLB as an instrument to enforce Roosevelt's wage freeze.

The United Steel Workers, CIO, are demanding an increase of 17 cents per hour. Under Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 9328, the so-called "hold the line" order, the WLB was instructed to limit wage increases to the Little Steel formula. As any wage increase granted the

AFL members petitioned the board on Feb. 9 to ask Roosevelt to modify the Little Steel formula in line with the actual increase in the cost of living. The petition to "ask Roosevelt" to abandon his wage freezing Executive Order was rejected by the board. The union's wage demands were then referred to a six-man panel which was instructed to hold hearings on "procedure." The conflict now raging is over what "procedure" the six-man panel will adopt.

Upon certification of the steel wage dispute to the WLB, the

may take weeks and a decision delayed for months.

CIO POLICY

"The CIO members of the board feel that the steel wage case, started four months ago, should be the criterion on which the wage stabilization policy should be changed."

The employer members on the board take the position that the panel must recommend that the board has no authority to hear arguments in favor of abandoning the Little Steel formula. They insist that any change in wage policy is up to Congress and that the WLB should carry out its "duty" by promptly rejecting the wage demands of the steel workers as a violation of Roosevelt's wage policy.

The attitude of the members of the WLB supposedly representing the "public" is that the steel panel, in line with instructions, will segregate the data obtained in the hearings into two parts. One part will deal with adjustments that fall within the Little Steel formula and the other with testimony bearing on the abandonment of the formula. "The public members may then take the position," says the Times reporter, "that it is for the President to decide."

"The AFL members favor the direct approach to the President as the most practicable one, since the hearings before the steel panel or any other machinery setup

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Government Schemes To Give New Plants To Corporations

Huge Profits Guaranteed in Reconversion; But Jobs Not Assured to Workers, Veterans

By Art Preis

Wall Street's conspiracy to make a grand-slam profits-steal on all war contracts terminations and swindle the American people out of government-owned plants and equipment worth tens of billions has been endorsed and set in motion by Roosevelt through the administration-sponsored Baruch-Hancock plan for "post-war adjustment."

Heralded by the entire Big Business press as capitalism's "Blueprint for Post-War Prosperity," this scheme for industrial "demobilization and reconversion," as one press commentator observed, contains nothing which the ruling monopolists "might have asked and which has not been given them." There is no mention of organized labor in the entire report.

WALL ST. AUTHORS

This so-called "prosperity blueprint" was drafted at the instigation of Roosevelt, acting through his Director of the Office of War Mobilization, Southern poll-tax Democrat James M. Byrnes. To head the OWM unit drafting the plan Byrnes last November assigned Bernard M. Baruch, multimillionaire stock market manipulator, agent of the House of Morgan and Roosevelt's personal consultant. John M. Hancock, associate of the Lehman international banking interests, was selected as Baruch's assistant.

The real flesh and bones of the plan is an elaborate and explicit program to protect the profits and monopoly interests of Big Business and give Wall Street an even greater share of America's economy. To this end, the plan contains two major provisions. So that the corporations may realize full profits on government contracts regardless of the cessation of military hostilities, a provision is made to "assure quick cash, pending settlement" on all terminated war contracts. This ensures "the immediate payment—the full 100 per cent" on all completed contracts and from 90 to 100 per cent on the "uncompleted portion of the contract."

QUICK SETTLEMENT

Profit is guaranteed even on the costs of unfabricated raw materials. The government contracting agencies which have already showered billions in war profits upon the corporations are authorized to "make the settlement."

His fortune was garnered through slick stock market manipulations, particularly in copper stocks. He got his start in the brokerage business with the aid of James Keene, confidential broker for J. P. Morgan and Company. He made his first big money through assisting the

BERNARD BARUCH

plan, is included in the official list of "America's Sixty Families", with a private fortune estimated at around \$40,000,000.

only protection against constantly rising living costs.

The 12-cent demand represents a voluntary acceptance by the URW heads of a cut in real wages. Even if the rubber union should win the 12-cent general increase, this would mean that rubber workers since January 1, 1941 have increased their wages about 15%. That would still be 28% below the cost of living rise estimated by AFL and CIO statistics. The rubber leaders by accepting this 28 percent lag of wages behind prices, have actually acquiesced in a 28 percent real wage cut.

Meanwhile the rubber corporations have more than doubled their profits since the beginning of the war. Only a resolute struggle for the automatic rising scale of wages to meet soaring living costs can protect the rubber workers from steady reductions in their living standards.

Proposed URW Wage Revision Falls Far Short Of Increase In Cost Of Living

By Joe Andrews

AKRON, Feb. 27. — The officials of the United Rubber Workers of America, CIO, after a general wage conference, have demanded an industry-wide general wage increase of 12 cents an hour. This 12-cent an hour demand represents a surrender of the CIO principle that wages must meet the rising cost of living. Although it sounds like a sizeable increase, as a matter of fact it lags far behind the climb in living costs.

Last year the WLB set up a rubber panel to recommend a decision on URW wage demands. The panel found that, according to the Little Steel formula, the rubber workers were entitled to an 8-cent general wage increase.

WLB ACTION

But in the rubber case the WLB did not abide even by the Little Steel wage-freeze formula. It granted a three-cent an hour increase, thus provoking the May strike of 50,000 rubber workers in Akron, which ended without any change in the WLB decision. The rubber workers remained there-

fore 5 percent behind the rise in living costs, even measured by the fraudulent Little Steel formula.

The CIO-AFL survey recently submitted to Roosevelt announced that living costs have risen 43.5 percent since January 1, 1941. To meet that rise in the cost of living the rubber workers are entitled to about 40 cents an hour. Even by the estimates of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics which have been exposed as fraudulent by both AFL and CIO, the rubber workers would be entitled to a

22-cent an hour general increase to meet the 25% rise in living costs since January 1, 1941 admitted by this government bureau.

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The Class Struggle Of The Workers In Japan

By Miriam Carter

Recently published news reports, based on statements made by Japanese prisoners in China, have torn away some of the secrecy surrounding conditions within Japan and exposed the falseness of official propaganda about the "national unity" of the Japanese masses behind the Mikado's regime. These reports also reveal the deeply rooted antagonism between the workers, peasants and small producers of Japan and the giant corporations, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, etc.

How these family supertrusts dominate Japanese economic and political life is described in graphic detail by Li Fu-Jen, noted Trotskyist authority on Far Eastern affairs, in the first article of his series on Japan published in the February 1944 issue of Fourth International.

War-Weary Masses

Direct corroboration of mass unrest was given by Pfc. Masumaru Yamada, 23, a prisoner of war and former coal miner in Japan. "There is no high morale in my unit," he said. "We are all tired of the war. The people and the soldiers of Japan want peace. My friends in the mines work harder since the war, and what the war has done for me you can see yourself." (PM, Feb. 6).

Private Tomi Kiji, 24, a former power plant worker, likewise a prisoner of war, stated: "The cost of living is very high in Tokyo. Everybody is disgusted with the war. The rice ration is now very small, but one person can still get along on it. But with the clothing it is different. The ration isn't nearly enough. Because so many workers have been taken in the army those still in the factories have to work harder and harder all the time. The workers want the war to end so that they can get a little freedom back."

The unbearable subjugation of the Japanese workers, together with the precipitous preparation for war, resulted in a series

of large scale strikes in 1941, reports Israel Epstein, Chungking correspondent of the Allied Labor Press, in the CIO News.

"These strikes . . . began with economic demands but quickly acquired a political anti-war character." In April, 1941, in Kobe, 100,000 workers went on a sitdown strike, raising the slogans of "Shorter hours and raise wages," "Voluntary night shift," and "2.7 go of rice as promised." (Three and four go is the normal ration. The workers had been given 15 to 20 percent less than the 2.7 go promised them.)

"Groups of workers marched around the factory grounds singing, 'Why should we be such fools as to work?' Almost from the beginning anti-war slogans were also heard. At first the police tried to take the usual measures. But since all the big factories in Kobe were involved in the movement these did not suffice." "Soldiers were ordered into the industrial district. There were clashes between them and the workers. The strike was smashed." Four of the leaders were shot, 24 deported and never heard of again.

"Participants say that the strike failed not only because of the brutal suppression, but also because there was not sufficient contact between workers in the different plants. But although the Kobe strike was crushed, the movement continued."

A strike of 20,000 workers in a Mitsubishi airplane factory in Nagoya brought several concessions, then brutal arrests. In the Kokura plant of the War Ministry Ordnance, employing 60,000 workers, 3,000 workers who manufactured barrels for artillery struck for shorter hours and better conditions in Sept., 1941. Many of the demands were granted, including no reprisals against the strikers.

In October 1941, 20,000 workers in Tsurumi, where most of the heavy industry is concentrated, struck. The salaried employees joined the workers in this strike.

Again the workers were met with severe repressions.

Epstein describes the intense oppression of the Japanese workers which led to these outbreaks.

Wage-Freeze Ordered

In 1939, with the intensified preparations for war by the Japanese government, a ceiling was clapped on wages, and the freezing of workers to their jobs was instituted. In the mining areas a "domestic system" was introduced. "Workers with their families were moved to live within the mine enclosures which were fenced around with barbed wire. In upcountry mines the enclosures were guarded by armed men in crow's nests. . . . The 'domestic system' was quickly dubbed the 'prison system' by the Japanese miners themselves."

Labor conscription for all those between the ages of 15 and 70 was introduced in March, 1942. By the end of 1942 women, children and foreign slave labor formed 91-96 percent of the total labor force. In the steel center, Yahata, known as the Japanese "Detroit," where a high percentage of skilled labor is concentrated, only 13 percent of the workers are men.

Forced Labor

"The conscription method is the same as for the army except that draft notices are printed on white cards instead of red. 'White card service' is a word of horror to Japanese workers. It means they are moved from place to place without reference to their family situations and must work for pay fixed at a daily maximum of 40c. for men and 25c. for women. . . . One result of the 'white card service' has been a wave of suicides."

"The 16 hour work day and the assignment of inexperienced workers to complicated jobs have produced a terribly high rate of accidents and sickness. A prisoner of war who worked in one of Mitsubishi's

electrical factories (with 2000 workers) told how he himself has seen 50 accidents happen in one day, including 7 deaths and 13 serious injuries. . . . Besides their 16 hours workers had to carry two night shifts a week. No day of rest is allowed. The militarists have a slogan 'we must change Saturday, Sunday and Monday to Saturday, Monday and Monday'."

"Since 1939 money wages have remained static or have decreased, while the cost of living has risen three to four times. In the case of conscript labor there has been an actual money decrease of from 50 to 70 percent. In spite of Japan's conquests the workers are eating less than they ever did. The monthly ration of rice for factory workers is nominally about 70 percent of the allowance for soldiers. . . . and Japanese soldiers are notoriously able to exist on less than those of any modern state."

Monopoly Grab

The small scale manufacturers, artisans and merchants, who numerically form the major strata of the Japanese population, have fared no better than the workers in wartime Japan.

By Pearl Harbor "all economy was already geared to war, and shortage in the supply of both raw materials and power were putting small industries out of business wholesale. . . . Then the great trusts, Mitsui and Mitsubishi, came into the field. . . . Both began to buy up the bankrupt factories right and left at rockbottom prices. They became convinced that the military adventures . . . created a never-to-be-repeated opportunity for increasing their already powerful throttle-hold on Japanese industry."

In order to grease the way for Mitsui and Mitsubishi in their power-grabbing orgy the 83rd session of the Japanese Diet passed the "Law Regulating the Application of Capital" which forces the bankrupt small business men to accept shares as payment for their property in lieu of cash. The "Ad-

justment of Enterprises Law" followed, which gave the government power to take over the factories and distribute them to heavy industry — further increasing the domination of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests over Japanese life.

Death Penalty

The continued mass unrest and resentment of the Japanese workers at the unbearable exploitation foisted on them led Premier Hideki Tojo to "decree the death penalty, without trial or other legal procedure, for any person attempting to change the government's policy or plan during wartime." A little later at a conference of prefectural governors in Tokyo in a speech broadcast to the entire nation, he declared that Japan faced a "very serious current situation," adding this very revealing admonition: "If one of you should detect any dissatisfaction or unsettled feeling within your (the governor's) jurisdiction you should take immediate concrete steps for the complete removal of these elements." (Fourth International, Feb. 1944, "Japan Faces the Abyss" by Li-Fu-Jen.)

The Japanese masses, thus cruelly exploited to a barbaric degree, have shown that they can struggle against their oppressors. By their heroic strike struggles in 1941 they upset any plans the Japanese government may have had to attack the Soviet Union. "It is the opinion of such prominent anti-fascist Japanese as Waturu Kaji that the strikes of 1941 led many of Japan's leaders to believe that an attack on the USSR—involving . . . Soviet political warfare—could not be contemplated until order within the country was complete and secure."

With the outbreak of the war with the United States, however, the strike struggles came to an end. Taking advantage of the predatory ambitions of Wall Street in the Far East and the racial hatred fomented

against the Japanese people, the Japanese imperialist rulers demagogically appeal to the Japanese masses, "follow us or the white Yankee imperialists will subjugate us all." Statements made by such official spokesmen as the former U. S. ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew, describing the emperor as being opposed to the war, and Shinto (emperor worship) as "an asset, not a liability" dishearten the Japanese masses who are so brutally enslaved by the emperor and his government and serve to hold them back from rebellious action.

"The people are always thinking of stopping the war—and achieving a peace that will not bring victory but freedom, food and relief from the crushing burden. It is because they see no such peace and no such way out that the new wave of strikes in factories, mines and other rural areas has not taken on anything like the proportions of a revolutionary wave." (PM, Feb. 6.)

Unity A Myth

From these reports it is evident that "national unity" is as much of a myth in Japan as it is in other imperialist countries engaged in this war. In reality the war-profitting ruling class tries to pile all the burdens and costs of their war upon the masses who suffer terribly from soaring prices, overwork, undernourishment, and forced labor. When the workers resist, they find that the severest repressions are meted out to them.

The Japanese workers have already displayed a desire and determination to fight back against their capitalist oppressors and to find the revolutionary way out of the bloody mess into which these militarist bandits have dragged them. It is this fear of socialist revolution and its consequences for capitalism which leads U. S. State Department authorities to exalt and whitewash the Mikado.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

In the message accompanying his veto of the new tax bill, Roosevelt carefully refrained from criticizing one feature which had Congress particularly hopped up in the bill's favor. That is the amendment requiring trade unions to file with the government detailed reports of their incomes and financial status.

This is the first dangerous wedge provided by federal law to pry open the internal records of the unions for hostile scrutiny by the corporations and their government agents.

Having successfully rammed through this measure against the feeble opposition led by the union bureaucracy, an emboldened reactionary Congress, hell-bent to hogtie and destroy the labor movement, can now be expected to push for the enactment of more vicious legislation of this type.

Over 400 AFL locals have openly proclaimed their defiance of Alabama's Bradford Law which requires union locals of more than 25 members to file with the state government a full statement of incomes and finances.

With but few exceptions, however, the CIO and United Mine Workers locals, whose combined membership is considerably less than the AFL's 125,000, have elected to comply. When the deadline for filing arrived last Monday, only a selected few of the CIO and UMW locals held out for the purpose of establishing test cases.

The AFL locals have notified the State Department of Labor of their intention to disregard the Bradford Law, which their leaders termed a "labor-baiting law designed to destroy the labor unions in Alabama."

Emmett Brooks, state labor department director, threatened non-complying unions with enforcement of a provision in the law prohibiting them from collecting dues and banning existing check-off systems, and punishing violations with fines up to \$1,000 and hard labor prison sentences up to one year.

W. O. Hare, AFL state secretary, answered this threat by declaring "it would be worth a couple of years in jail to win out in this fight."

A federal court panel recently upheld as constitutional the compulsory financial reports section of the Bradford Law. Another section of the law not reviewed, includes a ban on closed shop contracts.

"Vinson Got 25 Percent Salary Hike While Denying Railroaders 8-Cent Hourly Raise," is the headline over an article in the Feb. 15 United Mine Workers Journal. This article deserves quotation in full:

"While Stabilization Director Fred M. Vinson bitterly fought a microscopic 8-cent-an-hour increase for railroad workers on the ground that it was inflation-

ary, he himself received a \$2,500 salary increase, plus a \$628 wartime cost-of-living bonus—a hike 10 per cent above that allowed under the 'Little Steel' formula—Congressman J. Glenn Beall (Rep., Md.) revealed last week. Congressman Beall hit the nail on the head when he inquired:

"Does that mean the wage freeze applies only to the many, but not to the few?"

"Citing figures furnished him by Comptroller General Lindsay Warren, Beall declared that Vinson's salary was raised from \$12,500 to \$15,000 and that he is also getting \$628 more a year under terms of a congressional resolution giving federal employees a bonus to meet wartime living costs—altogether a 25 percent increase."

"Mr. Vinson waxed loud and long that an 8-cent-an-hour increase for the railway workers would be inflationary, but the fact is the average railway worker gets less total annual income than the increase in salary Mr. Vinson himself received," Beall said."

The latest phase of the cost-of-living "war of statistics" between the Roosevelt administration and the AFL and CIO is a 65,000-word attack by officials of the Bureau of Labor Statistics against the independent report of the labor members of Roosevelt's Cost-of-Living Committee, who had charged that the BLS index showing a cost-of-living rise of only 23.5 per cent since Jan. 1941 is false and that an AFL-CIO independent survey fixes the rise at over 43 per cent.

The worthy BLS defense of its figures skirts most of the main objections raised in the report issued by R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO president, and George Meany, AFL sec'y-treasurer. It makes picaresque thrusts at minor points of data in the AFL-CIO report, such as complaining that broilers and fryers in Buffalo had not gone up in price 150 per cent, as the union survey contended, but "only" 76 per cent! The BLS admitted that its index was "not a measure of standards of living" which are affected by changes in income, higher taxes, bond purchases, cost of migrating to jobs, necessity for "eating out," etc. The failure to take these factors into account were an essential part of the original objections raised by the unions to the BLS figures.

Thomas and Meany answered the BLS complaint with a statement declaring that "no group of government bureaucrats have ever before had the audacity to insult millions of American housewives by telling them that their experiences are all wrong, and that they should instead try to live on BLS statistics."

The Militant

may now be purchased at 242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

Baruch Plan Aimed To Pave Way For Wall Street Grab Of Billions

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ments. These will be subject to no later review except in the case of "a presumption of fraud." The emphasis in this section of the report is on words like "quick," "speed," and "prompt," undoubtedly on the theory that Wall Street's hand must be quicker than the people's eye.

The second of the key provisions involves the speedy "disposal" of so-called "surplus" government property to the private corporations. The use of the term "surplus" is intended to convey the idea that this property is a lot of useless junk and that the government's hands will be doing an act of charity. Included in these "surpluses" are about twenty billions worth of the newest and most up-to-date plants and equipment.

BACK TO HOOVER

The real purposes of the Baruch-Hancock plan are contained in the following proviso: "No Government operation of surplus war plants in competition with private industry." Its solution to the "problem of demobilization"—and its attendant mass unemployment—is to be the creation of an "atmosphere in which private initiative and resourcefulness can again take

hold." In short, this Wall Street-Roosevelt scheme involves nothing less than a return to an era of "Hoovervilles."

Weeks before they released their complete report, Baruch and Hancock gave the big corporations full reassurance regarding contracts terminations through a preliminary report, termed a "Uniform Article for the Termination of War Supply Contracts." OWM Director Byrnes on Jan. 8 ordered this to be put into effect immediately. He also made public a letter from Baruch and Hancock containing the assurance "that manufacturers will benefit from having this termination article in their contracts."

GUARANTEED PROFIT

Indeed they will! This article provides "for swifter and more equitable settlement" of war contracts upon their termination for any cause and regardless of their stage of completion. The corporations are insured against all "risks" of loss. In fact they are to receive prompt payment in full and without question, including a guaranteed profit based on a "not too rigid" scale. They are assured "an aggregate profit in all cases to a maximum of 6 per cent and . . . to a maximum of 2 per cent on unprocessed inventory." Big Business is safe-

guarded from every angle—including the provision of profits even on raw materials stockpiles!

Just to make sure that the corporations "get theirs" without any delay or questions being asked, the final plan establishes a system of bank and government loans to give "quick relief" to the corporations "as an insurance against delays in validating claims."

The second phase of the Baruch-Hancock scheme implements the all-out swindle conceived by Wall Street that is embodied in the section of the plan dealing with "surplus property."

GRAB PLANTS

This "surplus" represents some 2,600 giant plants built at a government expense of an estimated \$20,000,000,000. They include almost all the nation's synthetic-rubber and high-octane-gas plants, 92 per cent of the magnesium works, 90 per cent of the aircraft industry, over 50 per cent of the aluminum and 10 per cent of the steel producing facilities, a vast fleet of merchant ships, machine tools of every description, oil pipe lines, billions worth of finished supplies which have civilian consumer uses. All these the Baruch-Hancock plan proposes to "get rid of" to the monopoly corporations for a song.

The scheme sets up a Surplus Property Administrator within the OWM, appointed by the OWM Director. This administrator would have "full authority for handling every aspect of surplus disposal." He would be assisted by a Surplus Property Policy Board, composed of representatives of the various government contracting agencies, but he as Chairman would retain "full and final authority."

The job of this Surplus Property Administrator would be to "liquidate government holdings" with the object of "taking the Government out of business" and to "sell as much as he can as early as he can." He is to be, naturally, a man of "proven executive ability and business sagacity."

CORPORATION AGENTS

In his task he is required "to make effective use of Industry Advisory Committees," which are to receive "strengthening."

Baruch and Hancock propose in effect that the corporation agents running the government's "disposal" machinery sit down with the corporation agents on the Industry Advisory Committees and together work out a mutually satisfactory divvy of the colossal loot.

The big corporations with the "inside track," who already are running the new government plants, will have a field day. Most of the government property is integrated with the private property of the corporations. The corporations can require "prompt clearance of Government property from private plants not later than 60 days after the filing of inventory lists." The government is thus under pressure either to tear the property down quickly or "sell" it to the corporations.

WORKERS GET NOTHING

As for the workers and ex-servicemen, the report gives them nothing but empty words. The problem of employment is left to a "Work Director," whose sole directives are "to see that the human side of demobilization is not forgotten." Demobilized veterans are to be provided facilities for rehabilitation and vocational training plus "one place in each community" where returning veterans can go "to learn all their rights and how to get them." It doesn't say where they are to go for a job.

"In case" the Work Director fails to snatch jobs from the thin air, the report states—without further elaboration—that public works should be designed "to be put on the shelf for use if needed." Even here, the report proposes that local communities and states shall shoulder the burden of work relief a la Hoover.

One section of the Baruch-Hancock letter accompanying their report suggests that soldiers will be absorbed in industry by factors "which are not now clear," chiefly "the giving up of war jobs by many women; the retirement of older workers." In



We believe that all of our agents will be interested in the procedure followed by our Los Angeles agent each week upon receipt of The Militant:

"It may interest you to know that at our weekly staff meetings (the staff is composed of all committee members and department heads who work full time) we have adopted the procedure of hearing a report on the latest issue of The Militant and discussing the report with an eye to two questions: (1) In the light of a political estimate of the contents of the paper to determine our distribution plan, and (2) to assign comrades to write articles on various topics, West Coast and otherwise. There are two assignments right now, the Sleepy Lagoon case and the Municipal Power and Light strike. You should have articles on both questions, particularly the strike, by next Tuesday's deadline."

The following letters pay trib-

ute to the February 5 issue of The Militant:

Boston — "I was very much impressed by the article in The Militant of February 5 entitled 'Why The Steel Workers Are Becoming Restless and Angry.' I have known of the struggle of the workers, being a worker for many years, and although I had an idea what mass production workers had to put up with I had no idea that the workers in the steel mills had to put up with such intolerable conditions. All I can say is keep up the good work in attempting to enlighten the workers as to the only road they can take to emancipate themselves from such inhuman conditions, namely through the struggle for socialism."

Chicago: "The last issue of The Militant is another exceptionally good one for trade union distribution. Hope we can do it justice by getting it well placed in the right quarters."

WLB SQUABBLE EXPOSES REAL NATURE OF BOARD

(Continued from page 1)

dent to decide whether they shall take further evidence on the proposed change in wage-stabilization policy, whether he will name another board or committee to this task or perhaps find another solution."

ROLE OF WLB

This whole squabble adds up to the fact that the War Labor Board has been reduced to a caricature. Even the pretense of being a "quasi-judicial" body capable of making decisions on the basis of the evidence submitted has been shattered. The members of the WLB are compelled to admit that the board is impotent. The primary function of the board is to bog down the wage demands of the workers in a morass of red tape. In the end, the workers are forced to take mili-

tant action in order to gain a few cents per hour increase.

The presence of "labor representatives" on the War Labor Board is intended to create the illusion that this agency, whose sole purpose is to hold the wage-freezing line against the workers, is an "impartial" body set up to dispense "justice" in wage conflicts between the unions and the employers.

It is high time to put an end to this farce. In order to dispel the fog of confusion which has enveloped labor's fight against the wage-freezing Little Steel formula, the militants in the unions must demand that the "labor representatives" resign from the War Labor Board. Once that obstacle has been removed the workers will see more clearly the road of independent struggle they must take to maintain a decent standard of living.

short, the plan has in mind simply driving a large part of the present working force out of the plants and into the breadlines, and using desperate, jobless ex-servicemen as an instrument for driving down wage and living standards.

Before the workers or anyone else could have a chance to examine or discuss this "big in the poke" plan, the Roosevelt administration moved with unholy haste to establish the machinery for putting it into effect.

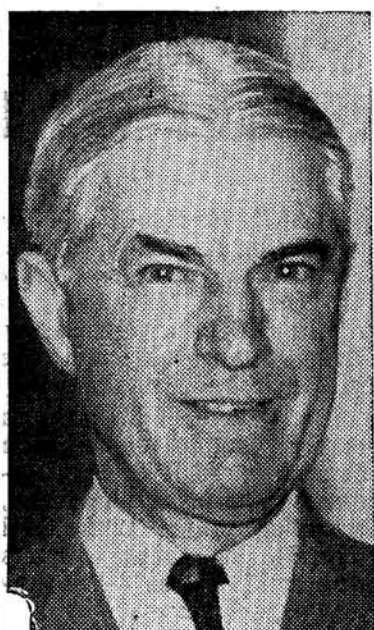
Within two days of the publication of the scheme, Byrnes announced Roosevelt's appointment of a Surplus Property Administrator to set the plan in motion. The choice fell upon William L. Clayton, world's largest cotton merchant. To the post of Work

Director, Roosevelt appointed Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, chief of the Veterans Administration, a 23-year holdover from Harding's "Ohio Gang." The ultra-reactionary, anti-Roosevelt N. Y. World-Telegram purred editorially about "the wisdom of these choices" and patronizingly commended Roosevelt for his "good start."

In this plan Roosevelt and Wall Street have provided the American people with a realistic preview of their future under the continued domination of the monopoly capitalists. This "Blueprint for (Capitalist) Prosperity" promises to bring only hunger, misery and mass unemployment on a scale unprecedented in American history.

compress and warehouse subsidiaries, with scores of offices in leading American cities and throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and South America.

His firm of Anderson, Clayton & Company has conducted a vicious anti-labor policy in the south-west where it controls the major share of cotton ginning and compressing business. He was a supporter of the Associated Farmers of California, strike-



WILLIAM L. CLAYTON

& Company has conducted a vicious anti-labor policy in the south-west where it controls the major share of cotton ginning and compressing business. He was a supporter of the Associated Farmers of California, strike-

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Army Marches On

The Army marches on and by its side, marching step for step, marches old Jim Crow who strives to crush the Negro soldier in our separate Negro Army under an oppressive burden of mistreatment at the hands of both Army officers and civilians, of intolerable transportation conditions and of inequalities in the ordinary facilities of army life. A few of the latest steps in this march are discussed below.

In a letter to the commanding officer at Selfridge field, Mich. Theodore W. Boyd, former auditor for the 332nd Fighter Group, made public the revolting conditions existing at this base devoted to the final stages of training Negro pilots. These pilots, although in a four to one majority, are barred from the regular officers club. Since under the Army caste system they cannot fraternize with enlisted men, they have no recreational facilities whatsoever. They "have to travel 28 miles each night to enjoy a decent rest although they must pay for billeting just the same as if they slept at the post." Mr. Boyd states: "The segregation policy by means of which as many as four Negroes often have to share the same bed has created an enormous fund and the scheme of the post administration was either to confiscate the reserve fund or use it to make the flagrant segregation at the base appear less obvious."

NO "ACCIDENT"

Negro Medical officers, Mr. Boyd says, had pronounced several of the men physically unfit to fly but were overruled by white medical officers. He openly charges that "this fact should explain some of the many fatal plane crashes at this base in which colored pilots have lost their lives." The latest fatality was that of 2nd Lt. Charles W. Dickerson, 23, of New Rochelle, N. Y. which occurred the morning of Feb. 18, 1944. A special board has been appointed to "investigate" this accident. It needs no further investigation to establish and it is no "accident" that Jim Crowism is being practiced throughout an army supposedly conscripted for the purpose of carrying the "four freedoms" to all points east and west.

One of the most frequent subjects of complaint by Negro soldiers is the persecution to which they are subjected while being transported from camp to camp. Such an example happened last week near Bristol, Tenn. when Negro soldiers who had not eaten in over 24 hours were preparing to be seated and be fed in the end of a Pullman diner legally set aside for the "colored race". It was discovered that the Jim Crow curtain which is drawn between white and colored passengers had been forgotten. Consequently the soldiers had to stand and wait for three hours until the very last white person had left the car before they could buy a meal.

In the rush that accompanies the "war effort" the curtain was forgotten but they were not too rushed to forget the Jim Crow State law just because there were hungry soldiers waiting. The Army is not only giving silent sanction to segregation in those

states that have such laws but it is spreading these same practices throughout many Northern States such as Michigan that actually have laws on their statute books making it illegal to enforce this practice in public places. The Army policy is obviously to abide by state law in the backward South and violate state law in the more progressive North.

JIM CROW ABROAD

Negroes must also wake up to the serious world-wide consequences of this policy and take militant action now. This policy is at present being carried east and west and the slander of racial inferiority spreads with every new invasion front. In England, according to the New York Times, a new British war order was issued forbidding members of the ATS, the English "WACS", from speaking to Negro American soldiers except in the presence of white persons. This was obviously at the request of the prejudiced American Officers Staff.

Also in combat areas Negro troops are almost invariably branded as inferiors by the type of duty to which they are assigned. According to a recent issue of Time Magazine, "the high command has trouble finding combat jobs for them. There is no lack of work to be done by Negroes as labor and engineering troops — the Army's dirty work." Simple, isn't it? That statement explains everything — yes, EVERYTHING.

For example, it explains why the 184th Field Artillery was split January 1943 into two battalions: the 930th and the 931st. Then August 16, 1943 after two years training, they were transferred to "service units", — the kind of service you serve up with a pick and shovel. It also explains why the 795th Tank Destroyer battalion who specialized training at Camp Hood, Texas has been featured in government "educational" films shown to all-Negro theater audiences has recently been split up and the personnel transferred to quartermaster and engineering corps.

The Negro press recently carried an article from an advanced Pacific base by Fletcher P. Martin, war correspondent, in which he said: "The crack 24th Infantry Regiment, fully equipped and prepared for any eventuality, is performing service duty at docks and supply dumps. . . Twenty-five months have passed since this outfit embarked from California for the South Pacific." We also must thank the statement in Time Magazine for the complete explanation of the disposal of this Negro infantry regiment.

All of us with relatives or friends in the Army who have written home or been back on furlough are well acquainted with the type of facts enumerated above — and with some portraying even worse conditions. The question now on all our lips is what can we here at home do in a practical way that will really carry us on toward the goal of putting an end to such home-grown atrocities that invariably accompany Jim Crowism in the Army or elsewhere? Next week we will discuss the only course of action that can logically do that job.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

PROLETARIAN DISCIPLINE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

"For us the party must be a combat organization which leads a determined struggle for power. The Bolshevik party which leads the struggle for power needs not only internal democracy. It also requires an imperious centralism and an iron discipline in action. It requires a proletarian composition conforming to its proletarian program. The Bolshevik party cannot be led by dilettantes whose real interests and real lives are in another and alien world. It requires an active professional leadership, composed of individuals democratically selected and democratically controlled, who devote their entire lives to the party, and who find in the party and in its multifarious activities in a proletarian environment, complete personal satisfaction.

"For the proletarian revolutionist the party is the concentrated expression of his life purpose, and he is bound to it for life and death. He preaches and practices party patriotism, because he knows that his socialist ideal cannot be realized without the party. In his eyes the crime of crimes is disloyalty or irresponsibility toward the party. The proletarian revolutionist is proud of his party. He defends it before the world on all occasions.

The proletarian revolutionist is a disciplined man, since the party cannot exist as a combat organization without discipline. When he finds himself in the minority, he loyally submits to the decision of the party and carries out its decisions, while he awaits new events to verify the disputes or new opportunities to discuss . . .

"The petty-bourgeois intellectual, who wants to teach and guide the labor movement without participating in it, feels only loose ties to the party and is always full of 'grievances' against it. The moment his toes are stepped on, or he is rebuffed, he forgets all about the interests of the movement and remembers only that his feelings have been hurt; the revolution may be important, but the wounded vanity of a petty-bourgeois intellectual is more important. He is all for discipline when he is laying down the law to others, but as soon as he finds himself in a minority, he begins to deliver ultimatums and threats of split."

(From "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party" pages 14-15, by James P. Cannon. Published 1943 by Pioneer Publishers, 302 pages, cloth \$2, paper \$1.50; order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

Why All Labor Must Support Our Fight To Free The 18

(The following article written by its Chairman and reprinted by permission of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, is the foreword to a new pamphlet on the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, being published by the CRDC. Copies of this 32-page pamphlet can be obtained at 10 cents each from the CRDC National Office, 160 Fifth Ave., New York 10, New York.)

By JAMES T. FARRELL, NOTED NOVELIST

The Minneapolis Labor Case is the major case of the present war period involving the rights of labor and freedom of speech. The 18 defendants, now serving their periods of imprisonment in federal jails, have been made convicts by the United States Government merely because of their opinions. The Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted is in flagrant contradiction with the Bill of Rights which states un-

conditionally that "Congress shall pass no laws . . . abridging freedom of speech." Despite this flat contradiction between the provisions of the Smith Act and those in the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court of the United States has, on three occasions now, refused even to hear the appeal of the defendants.

IMPERILS FREEDOM

The menace involved in these actions by the government and the federal courts should be clearly seen by all who have concern with the rights of labor and of freedom of speech. The history of fascism teaches us that the first attacks made by reaction are against the labor movement, and usually against its extreme left wing. The 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Case belong to the Socialist Workers Party and to Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO. As their indictments specifically state, they have been put behind bars because they propagated the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, because they believe in the principles of the "Communist Manifesto."

Now the force of law and the police power of the state, instead of reason, argument and debate, have become weapons used to combat the ideas of these defenders of Marxian socialism. Whether or not one agrees with the program and perspectives of this working-class political movement, it cannot be denied that Marxian socialists have consistently been in the forefront of the struggle for the advancement of labor and the defense of democratic rights. They have pledged the sincerity of their convictions, not merely by words, but by deeds. In many

countries and for generations they have suffered jailing, torture and death at the hands of reaction in loyalty to their ideas.

The facts of this case plainly demonstrate that one can become a criminal here today in the United States if one defends these ideas. For, it must be repeated, these men have been imprisoned not for any overt action, but merely because of the views which they have presented openly and publicly.

PREPARES FASCISM

This attack upon labor, this suppression of socialist ideas and imprisonment of socialists paves the way toward fascist reaction even if it is taken by a government which proclaims itself the enemy of fascism. This is the way that fascism undermined democracy and seized power in other countries. Will we permit this to be repeated in the United States? Is it going to happen here?

These are questions which all of us must answer, not merely by words but by actions. Free speech and the rights of labor are not lost all in one fell swoop. These rights are eaten away. Precedents are established. Once they have been so established, they are then used for further acts of repression.

We now see this pattern, which ultimately led to fascism elsewhere, unfolding in this country. The government has promptly used the precedent established in the Minneapolis Case for another attack upon labor in its latest effort to deport Harry Bridges, CIO Longshoremen union leader, even although he is a staunch supporter of the administration's policies. This should demonstrate

One of the Eighteen



Grace Carlson, only woman among the eighteen Minneapolis class-war prisoners, is serving a sixteen-month sentence in the penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia, separated from all her comrades. In 1940 Grace resigned her post as Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor to the Minnesota State Department of Education to run as Socialist Workers Party candidate for the United States Senate. In 1942 she ran for mayor of Saint Paul, and although already convicted, received 3 percent of the total vote cast. At the time of her imprisonment, she was New York City organizer for the SWP.

—if further demonstration is needed—that it is not only the 18, not only opponents of the administration's policies, whose rights and liberties are endangered by the Smith "Gag" Act. The entire labor movement, the cherished democratic rights of the American people are directly threatened.

Free speech is most important for those who have something new, important and vital to say. It means little to those who agree with prevailing opinion, supported by the powers that be. The fundamental significance of the rights of free speech and free press is that they permit those sponsoring other views to express them openly and in public. Where such guarantees of free expression exist, men are enabled to think honestly.

If the minds of men are not free, if they are made to feel that thoughts alone are dangerous and criminal, then the seeds of cowardice are implanted in the mind of society. Cultivate this seed by establishing precedents such as this, based upon the Mikado's doctrine of "dangerous thoughts," and you will have established one of the most important prerequisites for a police state, based on force and fear.

OUR DUTY

This pamphlet contains a summary of the salient facts in the Minneapolis Labor Case and brief biographies of the 18 prisoners. The story of their lives shows how they have fought for the interests of labor, for their ideas, and for a better world. They have not given up that cause, even at the price of jailing. Today behind prison bars they remain loyal to their principles. It is the duty of those of us who are outside the prison walls and can speak and act, who understand the importance of this case, who realize the dangers it can lead to, it is our duty to devote ourselves to the campaign for their freedom. It is our duty to fight for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

Unless we do this and do it vigorously, there may be many more than these 18 behind bars.

IN MILWAUKEE

Buy "The Militant"

at the newsstand on the northwest corner of Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.

CIO Publishes Its First Edition of Servicemens News

(Continued from page 1)

more from the AFL and other labor organizations. In addition there are hundreds of thousands of Negroes and other sympathizers of the labor movement. In fact, the armed forces in their overwhelming majority are made up of working men and women. Out of this mass of workers there should be as "sufficient demand" for a union paper as there is for such outspoken organs of Wall Street as the Times, Tribune and Sun. It would seem obvious that the next step in the CIO campaign to reach the servicemen should be an appeal that they make known their demand for the Servicemen's Edition. The first issue does not carry any such appeal.

ONLY A BEGINNING

The publication of a special Servicemen's paper is a good beginning—but only a beginning. The first edition carries a number of "plans for social and economic security in the post-war world." The servicemen are vitally interested in such plans. But does the CIO propose to carry these plans to fruition by depending on the Democratic and Republican parties, who have combined in a savage attack upon labor and democratic rights? It will be extremely difficult to convince the thinking servicemen that this is possible.

In order to carry conviction labor must break with the parties of capitalist reaction and organize its own Independent Labor Party. The servicemen will treat labor's plans and program seriously when they see that the labor movement is determined to realize them in struggle against Big Business and all its agents.

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Labor Organizations And Parties In Argentina

By A. Roland

Argentina has been built up by the immigrants who flocked there before the war from southern Europe. The large numbers of Italians and Spaniards settled down for the most part in the cities and towns. Conditions on the farms were not such as to attract European workers. Today the Argentine presents somewhat of a paradox for a semi-colonial country, in that 74% of the population live in the urban centers and only 26% are rural.

In a land of wide spaces where there could be land for all, the masses live in wretched housing, in overcrowded cities and towns. The condition of the working class is reflected first of all in the low level of pay. The lower paid white collar workers receive about \$16 per month. A grocery clerk may receive \$21 per month, a stenographer \$30. The best paid workers are the railwaymen who earn \$50 a month. The cost of living has been rising rapidly in the recent period so that inflation threatens at the very time when Argentine warehouses bulge with farm commodities that cannot be shipped out.

UNION ORGANIZATION

Textiles form the largest industry in Argentina, with 320 cotton mills, 20 spinning mills, and 30 weaving mills. Shoe factories employ 30,000 workers. The 150,000 railwaymen make up just under 20% of the industrial proletariat. This proletariat is well organized in trade unions. In 1939 sixty-six percent of all industrial workers were organized.

It must be remembered that the largest enterprises are foreign-owned, so that a strike is directed immediately against the imperialists. The government often found it politically expedient in the past to tolerate the trade unions and the strikes of workers so long as these were directed against foreign business. As in Mexico, the government has maintained a firm hold on the trade unions, their leaders accommodating themselves to government policies. But in the present period the ruling class feels a threat to its own power in the labor movement.

Little attempt has been made towards the organizing of the agricultural laborers. The farm workers in the sugar cane fields, the workers who produce yerba mate, the lumber and quebracho laborers—these represent contract labor at its worst, worse even than in the deep South of the United States. The same evils arising from company stores, company scrip, exorbitant prices for everything, terrible housing, bad food, exist in the rural hinterland as in the backward areas of the USA. The pay is a few cents a day, very rarely as much as 50 cents. There are 200,000 such workers who still live in virtual peonage.

ANARCHIST INFLUENCE

The organizing of workers into trade unions goes back to the period of German immigration in 1882. The Germans brought with them the ideas of social democracy, so that the earliest unions came under socialist influence. But the later influx of workers from Italy and Spain changed the complexion of the trade unions. In 1901 the first big dock strikes occurred in Buenos Aires under the leadership of the Anarchist Regional Labor Federation.

These strikes were bloodily suppressed and led to the wholesale expulsion in 1902 of Spanish and Italian trade union leaders. The movement was broken, but

it did lead to social legislation granting concessions to the workers in the matter of hours and conditions of work. These followed the organization of the General Confederation of Labor, the CGT, much like the AFL. But the anarchists again built up their own trade union movement, and there has been a constant tug of war between the two.

The Socialist Party was organized as far back as 1896. In the defeats of the early strike movement the idea of political action gained among the Buenos Aires working class, so that in 1904 the first socialist deputy was elected to the lower house. The trade union question, the opposition between moderate and revolutionary trade unions, led to a split in the Socialist Party as early as 1906. During the first world war when the first great political crisis struck Argentina, the socialists managed to elect as many as 43 deputies to the lower house. This was in the administration of the Radical President Irigoyen. The socialists then held the balance of power for they had twenty percent of the deputies, the Radicals having forty percent and the Conservatives the other forty.

SOCIALIST PARTY

That was the high point of socialist influence. Its middle class outlook, its toadying to the Radical Party in power, its counter-revolutionary attitude towards the Soviet Union, quickly alienated the workers. Even in the world economic crisis of 1929 it did not regain the ground it had lost. Its representation fell to one or two in Congress.

The second World War has brought about a situation strikingly like that during the first war. The Socialist Party has revived, not in outlook, but in working class strength. It once more wields the balance of power in Congress.

This was brought about in the tense situation that arose when Castillo took over power from Ortiz. Opposition to the completely reactionary policies of Castillo led to the election of seventeen socialist deputies. No majority existed in the House. The Radicals pursued a policy of obstructionism to the National Democrats. But Americo Ghioldi, socialist leader, declared that the party was opposed to mere obstructionism (except when "principles" were involved) and that it would support the government. The socialists too stand for entry into the war on the side of the Allies. In short, in a tense crisis, the socialists again prove that they have no real solution for the workers.

UNION MOVEMENT

The trade union movement, now under attack by the reaction, forms a powerful force. The largest union organization today is the CGT with over 300,000 members. The syndicalists in the Union Sindical Argentina (USA) have 27,000. These are mostly public employees, maritime workers, telephone workers. The Catholic Unions exist among the women workers in the needle trades with about 20,000 (in the FACE). Then there are autonomous unions with about 120,000 workers. The railroad men (90,000) form the backbone of the CGT. Its leaders incline to the SP, with a few Stalinists. This movement must now come to grips with its future under the threat of a military reaction.

Steel Demands Buried In WLB Wage Graveyard

(Continued from page 1)

granted a retroactive clause after their Christmas eve walkout.

The retroactive clause, framed by Roosevelt to get the workers back into the plants, contains the tricky formulation that: "If any wage adjustments are made they must of course be made in accordance with the act of Congress of Oct. 2, 1942 (the Stabilization Act) and executive orders numbers 9250 and 9328, and the policy directive of May 12, 1943." All of which means that any wage adjustment made must be within the Little Steel formula!

The steel wage dispute is the number one wage controversy involving labor's struggle against the administration's wage freeze. The New York Times speaks for Big Business, when its editors write: "WLB's decision in the pending case on steel wages will be crucial. . . WLB must hold the line."

The steel worker's struggle for higher wages is indeed crucial for

the entire labor movement. That movement must unite its forces around a program of independent action to scrap the Little Steel formula and smash the Roosevelt-Wall Street wage-freeze.

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— LEON TROTSKY

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

Churchill Speech

"Here in this island we are attached to the monarchical principle," declared Churchill in his latest speech to the House of Commons on Feb. 22. This will come as news to all those who believed the Anglo-American spokesmen when they talked about fighting for "democracy" and "the four freedoms." As the war unfolds, the lying phrases needed to dupe the people tend to shrivel and disappear. Less and less do Churchill and Roosevelt bother to camouflage the reactionary aims of their foreign policy.

The Tory Prime Minister proclaimed his fidelity to "the monarchical principle" in order to justify the Allies' policy toward Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia. Despite the promises broadcast from Moscow last November to restore representative government, democracy and civil rights to the Italian people, Churchill pledges continued support to King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio as "the legitimate Government of Italy." He tells all Italian parties that they can have no authority "until the present King either abdicates or he and his successor invites them to take office." It is clear from Churchill's words no less than from their actions that the Allies are determined to carry through to the end their deal with the beneficiaries and accomplices of fascism regardless of the wishes of the Italian people.

AMG has already handed over the rule in southern Italy to the King and his Duke of Addis Ababa. Imagine the outraged feelings of workers in northern Italy battling against the Nazis and the remnants of Mussolini's mercenaries when they know that in the event the Anglo-American forces drive the Nazis from the peninsula they will then have reimposed upon them the detested King and Marshal who ruled over them under fascism!

The Allied leader also reaffirms support of the kings of Greece and Yugoslavia. "We cannot dissociate ourselves in any way" from King Peter, asserts Churchill. But civil war is openly raging in these countries and it is no easy job to resaddle these monarchs-in-exile upon the insurgent peoples.

So Churchill and Roosevelt are compelled to seek an agreement with the present Stalinist leadership of these popular movements in order at a later and more favorable stage to strangle their democratic aspirations and suppress their revolutionary potentialities. In Greece, says Churchill, "we are doing our utmost to bring about a reconciliation, or at least a working agreement, between

the opposing factions." In Yugoslavia the Anglo-American allies are striving to bring together King Peter with Marshal Tito.

Churchill's about-face in regard to the Partisans shows how full of deceit imperialist diplomacy is. Tito, who yesterday was but a bandit agent of Moscow sowing division in Yugoslavia, has today become in British eyes the head of "a national and unifying movement." Now Churchill suddenly discovers and discloses that Mikhailovitch, formerly a heroic national liberator, and his commanders have "drifted" into deals with German and Italian forces.

When Hull returned from Moscow and Roosevelt from Tehran, they solemnly swore that no secret agreements had been concluded at these secret conferences. But now Churchill finds it expedient to reveal a bit of the bargain he and Roosevelt made with Stalin. "Marshal Stalin and I... agreed upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany both in the North and in the West..." This disclosure not only exposes Roosevelt and Hull as hypocrites and liars. It also goes to prove that at Teheran such rotten methods of traditional secret diplomacy and power politics as the partitioning of territories without consultation with or concern for the peoples involved held full sway.

The counter-revolutionary policies and reactionary aims of the Kremlin ruling clique are of the greatest service to the Anglo-American partners in promoting their sinister designs. To crush Germany and Japan, and even more in order to obtain Stalin's aid in crushing the European revolutions, they must come to terms with the Kremlin and give certain concessions to Stalin. That is why Churchill tacitly acquiesces in the incorporation of the Baltic countries into the USSR; agrees to surrender part of old Poland, and switches military support from Mikhailovitch to Tito.

It is true that the Tory Churchill is attached to "the monarchical principle" which has proved so useful to the British capitalist rulers as it has to the propertied classes elsewhere in Europe. But Churchill's and Roosevelt's basic attachment is to the principle of capitalist private property. It is to protect the property, profits and power of capitalism that they support the monarchist and military swine, that they make secret deals with the counter-revolutionary Stalin, that they fear to give any kind of democracy to the Italian people. These stewards of Big Business understand that the European workers and peasants don't want either the retention of their capitalist oppressors or the return of any of their crowned or uncrowned political servants. They look forward to the creation of a new society of equality, freedom and security under socialism. Allied intrigue and secret diplomacy aims to head off and crush these revolutionary aspirations of the European masses.

Baruch Plan

The Baruch-Hancock "demobilization" plan, inspired and promoted by the Roosevelt administration, would enable the big corporations and banking houses to tighten their stranglehold upon the productive wealth and resources of the country. It would pour more billions in profits and properties into the laps of the plutocratic parasites who have already piled up the greatest profits in history during this war.

This plan provides further proof of the Roosevelt administration's complete catering to Big Business. The corporations have filled their treasuries to overflowing through government war contracts. Roosevelt's principal appointees and advisers in the war production and contracting agencies come directly from the offices of the monopolist companies and the big financial houses.

Now, after having poured streams of wealth into their coffers, Roosevelt and his aides are planning to hand over to the privateers of industry and finance not only many billions more but most of the government-owned properties. These servants of Big Business have become so brazen that they no longer resort to such window trimming to conceal their chicanery as occurred with the war production agencies where "labor advisory committees" covered up the profiteering operations of the dominating corporation agents.

The thousands of up-to-date government-financed plants which the Roosevelt administration under the Baruch plan proposes to dump into the hands of the monopolies have been built by the workers and paid for by the taxes of the American people. These productive facilities, these efficient plants and modern equipment should be used for the benefit of the workers to provide them with jobs and with consumers' goods.

Instead, Roosevelt has shown his intention of selling them for a fraction of their cost to the monopolists. Wherever and whenever these private interests need to maintain their profits or to limit production, these plants would be shut down or scrapped. Their control by the profit-seeking monopolists would mean starvation wages, destitution, mass unemployment for the workers and ex-servicemen. Such is the prospect in store for the masses if the administration and Wall Street are able to put over the gigantic swindle of the Baruch plan.

In order to combat this attempt to steal the people's property and operate American economy for the exclusive benefit of the monopolist bloodsuckers, labor needs a program which will ensure the use of all existing productive facilities and resources for the welfare of the masses.

Not a single government-financed plant must be turned over to the big labor-hating corporations. Let all the war industries be taken away from the monopolists by the government and operated under workers' control. In no other way can the workers be assured that industry will be operated at full capacity to provide jobs and living necessities for the people.

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.

From England

Editor:

I was transferred under the Essential Works Order from a factory in Glasgow to Metro Vickers in Manchester which employs about 25,000 workers. Needless to say I did not wish to leave Glasgow!

There is great discontent among the women over the question of transfers. I am staying at a Hostel with over 200 girls, the majority of whom have been transferred from all parts of the country. Practically all of them are working either at Metro Vickers or Fords and earning far less wages than they were previously. Fords pays the women quite well although it is a sweat shop.

There is great discontent at Metro Vickers, nearly all the women are on the 4-lb. plus bonus rate and since the bonus is bad, it is nearly impossible to live on these wages. They charge 25 shillings at these hostels for room

with two beds and breakfasts and dinner at night. This means that out of the remaining 25 shillings, approximately six goes for fares which are expensive (it is almost impossible to get rooms near work). Then dinners midday at work are four shillings a week.

If you reckon up how much essentials cost today, that is soap at fivepence a bar, toothpaste at one shilling a tube, etc., you can see what things are like. Many of the girls have been paying as much as 15 shillings income tax out of this miserable wage because of higher earnings before.

R. R.
Manchester, England

Poll-Tax

Editor:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to President Roosevelt.

"In the name of God in Heaven, am I to understand that the Poll-Tax means that a citizen of these United States of America has to pay for the chance to vote? I am

so ashamed that I can hardly feel like looking at people, because I have not read enough about this thing to know what it was all about. Is it the truth that people who are citizens of the United States, have to pay extra for voting? Any people, whatever their color?

"What in the name of the ruler of the universe have we to teach the other people? Have not we been told that this is a country where the people go and 'vote in' the men and women they want to represent them in the Senate and Congress? And how proud we have been of our Democracy? I feel like some awful weight fell on my heart..."

"I say: I won't have it, no Poll-Tax in this United States of America, 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.' I, meaning we—the people. We won't have it."

"And what about the 18?"

M. M.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Voices Of Trotskyism Speak Out In Australia And Egypt

The first copies of the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Workers Party," issued as a 30-page pamphlet by the Australian Trotskyists, and of the fortnightly magazine, *Al-Magalla el Gedida*, published in Cairo by a group of Egyptian Trotskyists, have just been received in this country.

These afford evidence of the increasing political activity of the Trotskyist movement in Australia, one of the most advanced sections of the British Empire, and in Egypt, the most developed country of the Middle East.

Al-Magalla el Gedida, printed in Arabic, is a full size 24-page publication which is being issued twice a month. The copy received here of the October 1, 1943 issue contains not merely material analysing political developments in the Middle East, but articles on Canada, China, England and other countries which reveal a world-wide outlook.

The Manifesto of the Australian Trotskyists is a full elaboration of the ideas and program of Trotskyism as these apply to the revolutionary tasks of the Australian working class.

It presents, first of all, a Marxist analysis of the present stage of world capitalism in its period of "death agony," and gives the

international background of the second imperialist world war.

A large section of the Manifesto is devoted to explaining the role and position of the Australian working class in the present war, as well as the position and aims of Australian capitalism. An important section of the Manifesto deals with the developments of Australian economy, and the growing dependence of the Australian capitalists upon American protection.

The Manifesto then analyzes the activities and programs of the leading working class and capitalist political movements. It describes the role of the Australian Labor Party and its leadership. While that movement has instilled in the Australian workers "an elementary sense of class unity and of the antagonism between capital and labor," its present leaders have fostered reformist illusions and shackled labor to the capitalist war-machine.

The document points out that the revolutionary socialists should strive within the powerful trade unions and Labor Party to win the workers over to a program against collaboration with the capitalist government and its agents and toward the struggle for socialism.

Revealing information is contained in the Manifesto about the growth of fascist movements in Australia and the decline of Stalinist influence within the labor movement.

It closes with an 11-point program of transitional demands for the Australian workers to fight against the imposition of the capitalist war burdens on the

Prospects

"I can only promise the House plenty of difficulties, plenty of disappointments and much deception in the times that lie ahead," said Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in his speech to the House of Commons on Feb. 23.

At last—a promise Churchill's government will fulfill!

working class, to safeguard the interests of the workers and soldiers in the impending period of economic crisis and to defeat the aims of Australian capitalism to regiment labor.

The Manifesto reaffirms the adherence of the Revolutionary Workers Party to the principles of international socialism and the unshakable conviction of its ranks in the triumph of the Trotskyist program in the period ahead.

International Notes

GERMANY

So great is the antagonism and bitterness against the Nazi regime among Berlin workers, that Hitler keeps the city heavily ringed with SS (Elite Guard) troops in anticipation of violent mass outbreaks, according to an eye-witness account relayed from Stockholm, Sweden, to the N. Y. Times, Feb. 25.

"The atmosphere in Berlin is oppressive, with a feeling of bitterness among the masses," reported the returned traveler, a Swedish worker. "Although the Nazis try to paint a picture of 95 per cent solidarity with the regime, anyone who has been mingling with the workers and been 'back stage' as I have, knows it is a lie. Pessimism is rampant in all camps, and above all, among workers and women, who only want a quick end of the tragedy at any price."

Only the fear of violent reprisal thus far has curbed open demonstrations of the widespread hatred against the Nazi regime, stated this worker. A recent speech of Goebbels praising "total war" aroused a tremendous wave of anger.

The proletarian revolutionary volcano in Nazi Germany is rumbling and boiling.

INDIA

The bestiality of British rule in India, exceeded not even by the Nazis in occupied Europe, is underscored once more by the announcement of the British authorities that women are again to be employed in the place of draft animals in the Indian mines.

Two years ago this abominable slave practice was suspended as part of the unsuccessful British attempt to win the support of the Indian masses for Britain's war against Japan, at a time when

the British empire in the East was in a precarious situation.

An Indian correspondent writes in the *British New Leader*, Jan. 8, that the women were employed to do the "work that is done by pit ponies. They were actually strapped to the coal wagons, which they were compelled to haul along the roads and up steep inclines." They were paid about 15 cents for 10 hours work. With no place to leave their babies, the women workers were compelled to feed them opium to keep them quiet.

IRELAND

The Irish Labor Party, which has been making impressive headway during the war years, has suffered a serious setback according to reports received here. This is the result of the withdrawal from the party of the important Irish Transport and General Workers Union, headed by William O'Brien.

This backward step is the consequence of an unprincipled clique fight between O'Brien and James Larkin, head of the Irish Workers Union.

The Irish Labor Party up to the time of this split had been making rapid progress in cementing working class unity around an independent labor political program against the nationalist capitalist parties. Within the past four years the party had grown from a small propaganda group to a mass party, with branches throughout Ireland and in every Dublin ward. Its representatives in the Dail, the Irish Parliament, had increased from 3 to 17 in a single election. It had made sizeable inroads into De Valera's ruling party, whole branches of which came over to the Labor Party.

If the breach created by O'Brien's split is not soon closed, it will provide a dangerous opportunity for the Irish capitalists and landowners to strike new blows against a politically weakened and divided working class.

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PORTUGAL

When widespread strikes took place in Portugal last July immediately following the overthrow of Mussolini, Dictator Salazar felt his regime shaking. Upon coming to power in 1926, he had banned the labor unions; now he retaliated against the aroused workers with more ferocious repressions. 12,000 were arrested. At the end of September 3,000 strikers were still in prison, some in old ships, others in labor camps.

By the middle of September Salazar's Fascist Legion, equipped with new arms from the Allies, was parading "against the elements of national disruption within the country."

In a speech reported in the Feb. 18 issue of the *London Tribune*, Salazar boasts:

"There will be no intervention from the Allies to help democratic forces in Portugal, because after the end of this war the greatest need and even a greater one than hitherto will be for order. This is recognized by the most eminent representatives of the United Nations."

This assurance to Salazar, adds the *Tribune*, "can have been made only by either Churchill or Roosevelt or both."

READ
'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Huge Wartime Increase in Child Labor Exploitation

Part of the Big Business wartime drive to break down labor standards and undermine progressive social legislation won by decades of working class struggle is the tremendous increase in child labor during the past three years.

Child labor, one of the vilest features of capitalism, has increased 400 per cent between 1940 and 1943 in the state of New York which boasts of its progressive legislation against this social evil. This includes almost 50 percent of the young people between the ages of 14 to 17. Before the present anti-child labor legislation was on the New York statute books, in 1920 during the worst sweat-shop era, only 37.5 per cent of this age group was gainfully employed.

According to the report of the State Department of Labor, which revealed the foregoing figures, over 400,000 children are now employed in low paid sweat-shop industries in New York State, where only 76,000 were employed in 1940.

The state statutes and the federal Fair Labor Standards and Walsh-Healey Acts, which specifically enumerate and prohibit many illegal child labor practices, are being openly flouted under the pretext of wartime necessity with the full knowledge and support of state and federal authorities.

These are the facts fully known to N. Y. State Industrial Commissioner Corsi, who piously observed recently that "the contributions of youngsters to the war effort should not be made at the expense of labor standards and protection. . . . Honest gains of . . . social progress must be preserved. This is especially true of youngsters, who must not and will not be exploited."

Fascist Cartel Interests Thrive Under Allied Care

American and British authorities have been according suspiciously considerate treatment to the Western Hemisphere interests and transactions of Alberti Pirelli, one of the "Big Three" leaders of Italian monopoly capitalism and a chief fascist cartel partner of American Big Business.

Pirelli, with extensive holdings in Latin America, particularly Brazil and Argentina, has managed to keep his enterprises off American and British blacklists. He has been able to buy war materials from Allied sources to keep his companies in operation and to provide his Spanish and other neutral countries subsidiaries with scarce machinery and supplies, enabling these in turn to feed wire and rubber products into the Axis countries.

The British government intervened to protect the Pirelli interests in Brazil, when that government tried to take over his properties as enemy-owned.

Pirelli has a tidy royalties fund piling up in England, his share of profits from the international patents pools in which he participates. Other American royalties awaiting him are one-fourth of those from a war-vital rayon process used in the fabricating of tires from synthetic rubber, the patent for which is owned by the duPont subsidiary, U. S. Rubber.

Pirelli was one of the heads of the Fascist Union of Italian Industrialists, a senator and minister of state in Mussolini's government, and a member of the Fascist Grand Council. His American cartel partners include General Electric, Standard Oil, International Telephone and Telegraph, and U. S. Rubber. He is also connected with I. G. Farben, and other Nazi trusts.

Kaiser Yards Turn Out Ships That Fall Apart

Liberty ships constructed in Henry Kaiser's West Coast super-speedup shipyards have been cracking up wholesale on the Alaskan run, according to evidence disclosed before the Truman Senate investigating committee early last January and only revealed in the past two weeks.

Most recent development in what Senator Wallgren of Washington, a member of the Truman committee, has been forced to term a "major scandal", is the report in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, that a troop-laden Liberty ship tied up to an Alaskan dock recently split wide open. The same paper reports that 10 other ships, costing \$21,000,000 and representing 100,000 tons of tied-up shipping, are being held in the Seattle area because the Army and Navy fear to use them.

So damning is the evidence placed before the Truman committee that only the Shipyard Worker, official organ of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, has thus far dared to publish the full facts. The capitalist papers have buried them.

Included in the evidence before the Truman Committee is the testimony of Congressman Warren Magnuson who revealed that in one run to Alaskan waters 14 ships cracked up due to defective construction and materials.

One crew member who escaped alive from a crack-up testified to 10 fatalities among his shipmates and stated flatly, "They will never get me on another Liberty ship."

The testimony further disclosed that the shipbuilding corporation and the Maritime Commission knew about the unsafe construction but ignored the facts. The Kaiser management wanted "to achieve a reputation for speedy construction," — thereby cornering more profitable government contracts — and "violated all established principles of shipbuilding construction, sacrificing the safety of the cargoes, crews and troops," reports the Shipyard Worker.

Robert P. Day, a former Maritime Commission inspector at the Kaiser yards, testified that he had reported the dangerous practices both orally and in writing to the company and Maritime Commission. On one occasion, his senior inspector told him, "To hell with it. We don't care about that — forget it."

Against instructions not to go over the head of his immediate superior, Day wrote detailed reports to Rear Admiral Vickery, vice-chairman of the Commission in Washington. The reports were completely ignored.