

## Introducing the 6-Page 'MILITANT'

(Read our editorial, page 6, to learn why we've changed the name of the paper.)

TO OUR READERS: With this issue, we begin publication as a six-pager. Much important class-struggle news which we were unable to find room for in the four-pager will now be yours each week. In addition, we shall have room now to print more analytical articles on the war and the labor movement. And last, but at least as important as anything else, we shall now be able to print many more letters and articles from our worker-readers.

Help us get THE MILITANT into the hands of the many workers who haven't had a chance to see our paper as yet. To introduce THE MILITANT to new readers, we have made a special arrangement to get it to them at a very nominal price. Clip the coupon on page 2 and send THE MILITANT to a friend for a trial period.

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# THE MILITANT

Formerly The

# Socialist Appeal

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# NO WORKERS ARE HEARD ON WAR BILL

## Negro Worker Lynched In Government Camp

**Mob Murders Him At Camp Blanding; Tragedy Was Possible Only Because of Government-Approved "White Supremacy" System**

The unpunished lynching of a Negro worker on an army construction project is reported for the first time by THE MILITANT. The story, sent to THE MILITANT by a trusted associate who is now at the scene, has been made available to all Negro and labor newspapers for publication this week. The story follows:

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Jan. 21—A Negro worker employed on a government project at Camp Blanding was murdered in cold blood by a gang of Georgia crackers on Wednesday, January 8. It happened as follows:

A white laborer lost his shovel. Each laborer is charged \$5.00 if he loses a shovel. The white "replaced" his lost shovel by taking one away from a Negro.

When the Negro laborer asked to have it back, pointing to the markings on the shovel proving that it belonged to him, the white assaulted him and was immediately joined by a gang of Georgia whites with hatchets, hammers and pinchbars.

The Negro did not have a chance. He died that same day at the hospital. He was mutilated beyond recognition and his skull was fractured.

It should be pointed out that a great number of these "white workers" at the camp are really farmers who have recently been recruited into the workers' ranks by the lure of war construction work.

It goes without saying that there was no mention of this cold-blooded murder anywhere in the press, nor was there any sort of investigation by the authorities.

Liberals and New Dealers point with pride to the diminishing number of lynchings in the South to show that democracy in these United States does work. This may be true if the definition of lynching is confined to the classical method of stringing the man up on a rope by his neck. But most lynchings now are not "classical." How many lynchings of this

"unclassical" kind are committed? No one knows. They are not recorded anywhere, except in the consciousness of the Negro.

I heard an eye-witness account of the murder at Camp Blanding that same day. The following day I approached a Negro laborer to find out from him the name of the murdered man and to probe his feelings in the matter.

When he found out I was from the North and a friend, he spoke frankly. I asked him what he was going to do about it.

"Sir," he said, "down here when a white man kills a colored man, he's just another dead nigger."

I suggested that a day will come when the Negro people will find their revenge. He brightened up and said, "Yes, sir, every dog has his day."

This worker spent hours trying to get for me the name of the murdered man. All he could find out is that he is a Jacksonville resident. Nobody knows names

around here. They go by numbers on the job.

The white and the Negro laborers are kept divided as a matter of policy. The whites are given the easier jobs and all the dirty work is done by the Negroes. This gives the white laborer the feeling that he is one step higher on the social ladder.

Mind you, all this occurs at a camp which is owned and administered by the federal government to train our youth to "defend democracy." The minute I saw the camp I was impressed by the total absence of Negroes among the soldiers. Only later I found out that there is a separate section under construction for the Negroes.

What will Negroes be told after they are stationed in their Jim Crow section? What will be the definition of the democracy they are supposed to defend?

## BILL AIMED AT "COMMUNISTS" IS ANTI-LABOR

An American Legion-sponsored bill to abolish the Communist Party in New York State, introduced into the state legislature last week, will be vigorously combated by the Socialist Workers Party, it is announced by Murry Weiss, New York Local organizer. "We are preparing an all-out campaign to fight the passage of this bill," Comrade Weiss stated.

"It is our duty, as a party which defends the interests of the working class, to muster all our forces against passage of this anti-labor bill. Although the bill is ostensibly aimed at the Communist Party, it really paves the way for the suppression of any workers' organization which dares to oppose the schemes of the reactionaries, and, in particular, which dares to voice any opposition to the war-aims of the ruling class."

### WHY WE FIGHT IT

Making clear that our opposition to this bill is not based on any belief in the Communist Party as being either a revolutionary or truly anti-war party, Comrade Weiss declared that "nevertheless we defend any workers' organization, regardless of how violently we disagree with its program and leadership, against the attacks of the boss class and its government."

"The job of exposing and destroying the Stalinist influence in the labor movement belongs only to the workers themselves. It is not a job we can entrust to the bosses, because their opposition to the Communist Party is only a pretext for striking blows at the genuine working-class militants and trade unionists."

The proposed measure for banning the Communist Party has been described by Edward N. Scheiberling, chairman of the N. Y. Legion's executive committee, as "the most important bill" on the Legion's legislative program.

Comrade Weiss concluded his announcement by stating: "A formal call is being sent to every branch of our New York local to place at the top of their agendas the fight against this vicious bill, and to take immediate organizational steps to carry out the campaign of action which we are preparing."

## One Militant To Another!



## 2-Day Protest At Bethlehem Steel

BETHLEHEM, Pa., Jan. 26—The workers in the Bethlehem Steel plant here are getting steamed up for union action. The first serious stoppage in the plant here, which employs 18,000, ended today, after 5000 Bethlehem workers went on a two-day "protest demonstration" because of failure of the plant management to meet with the union committee to settle a rising flood of grievances.

The halt began January 24, at 1 P. M., when the workers in the billet yard decided to stage a one hour "protest" while their representatives sought a meeting with the management.

Word of the stoppage spread quickly through the plant. By nightfall six departments were involved, the billet yard, bridge shops, tool steel, structural steel and the power house in the Lehigh and Saucon plants.

The men agreed to return to work today after company officials promised to meet with the union representatives to discuss the grievances.

News of the stoppage spread like wild-fire through Bethlehem. It has been on the lips of everyone here, and is all one hears.

Company officials labeled the stoppages as "sit-down" strikes, but the men asserted they were merely limited "protests." When the men insisted, during the initial stoppage in the billet yard, that they were not attempting to occupy the plant, the management gave them 15 minutes to leave the plant.

A squad of company police were brought in to forcibly eject the workers. Howard T. Curtiss, Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) organizer, has reported that one union man required medical treatment after being rough-housed by the company cops.

Workers from other departments and shifts refused to enter the plant when they discovered that the company was attempting a lock-out of the protesting workers.

## U.S. STEEL AT WARTIME LEVEL OF PROFITS

Net profits of \$102,000,000 for 1940 were announced Tuesday by the United Steel Corporation.

If to this is added an additional seven millions of profits, earmarked for a newly-created "pension fund,"—not to mention a dozen other items similarly earmarked and thus withdrawn from the net profits column where they belong—the 1940 profits are matched only by figures during the last war. The last quarter's profits, it was announced, are the best since the World War.

The 1940 profits are a gain of 148 1/2 per cent over the profits of 1939!

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## All Who Testify Are Handpicked

**House Foreign Affairs Committee Ignores Request of S.W.P. Spokesman To Be Heard; AFL, CIO Leaders Avoid Chance To Testify**

The Roosevelt Administration fears any real discussion or debate on the "Lend-Lease" War Powers Bill. That became thoroughly obvious when the "hearings" conducted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee were concluded without permitting any except hand-picked witnesses to be heard on the bill, and the parallel committee in the Senate opened "hearings" of the same fraudulent kind.

Numerous labor and other organizations vainly served notice on Chairman Sol Bloom, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, requesting to be heard. A telegram from the Socialist Workers Party to Bloom, naming Grace Carlson as our spokesman at the hearings, was simply ignored.

Why this fear of permitting opponents of the bill a hearing? The results of a Gallup poll, released Monday, indicate why. All that the Gallup poll could claim for the bill was a 54% majority. Even that, in a properly-conducted poll, would have been cut down considerably, for the report admits:

"Many of those voters who favor the bill attach important qualifications to their answers: in fact, about one person in every six approving the bill wants some sort of amendment made to it. The chief qualifications are that a time limit should be set on the bill, and that the measure should specifically PROHIBIT THE PRESIDENT FROM SENDING AMERICAN TROOPS ABROAD, OR ANY PART OF THE NAVY ABROAD."

In plain English, the "some sort of amendment" turns out, in reality, to be a basic opposition to the contents of the bill! It is clear, then, that the government does not have behind it a majority of the people for the bill.

THE ELECTION FRAUD  
And no wonder! A few short months ago, when Roosevelt sought re-election, and when he certainly already had in mind this War Powers Bill, he did not permit a hint of his plans to appear in his campaign speeches. He and Willie joined in assuring the people of their agreement on a "peace policy." What they really had in mind is first revealed to the people by this war bill.

The first staggering realization of what Roosevelt's "all-out aid" policy really means has come to most people with this bill. War and dictatorship, they now realize, are Roosevelt's plans for the United States. And, despite the fact that they have gone this far down the road with Roosevelt, accepting the arms program and conscription, now they halt at the brink of the precipice. That is the meaning, despite the attempted distortion, of the figures released by the Gallup poll.

OPPOSITION LEADERLESS  
The mass opposition to the War Powers Bill is practically leaderless. The ultra-reactionaries, like Hanford MacNider and Hamilton Fish, who call themselves "isolationists", do not represent that opposition. Nor does Norman Thomas, who was invited by Hamilton Fish to speak at the House hearings; what he said was in no way differentiated from the arguments of MacNider, who spoke at the same time.

Those who should—as an elementary duty—represent this op-

position, first of all, are the leaders of the AFL and CIO, for undoubtedly the bulk of the workers. Nothing, however, is further from the minds of the AFL and CIO leadership. They have studiously avoided any appearance at either the House or Senate hearings, either for or against the bill.

Why? The answer is simple. These trade union "leaders" know that the government and the capitalist class is dead-set to adopt the bill and plunge the country into all its consequences. To come out in opposition to the powerful rulers means a kind of gigantic and irreconcilable struggle which is foreign to the minds and the backbones of the AFL and CIO leaders.

On the other hand, they know, even better than we or the Gallup poll, the sentiments of the trade union membership. They know that the workers are disturbed about the full implication of Roosevelt's plans. Hence these union "leaders" fear to stand out publicly as sponsor of the War Powers Bill. They fear retribution at the hands of their members, when the full realization of the reactionary character of this war galvanizes the American workers into action.

So these union "leaders" demonstrate their utter bankruptcy in this, the most important issue that has ever confronted the American working class. They "lead" by...  
STALINIST FRAUD  
The fraudulence of the Stalinist activities against the War Powers Bill is indicated by the silence of the Stalinist press on the behavior of the CIO top leadership. Still hanging on desperately to their bloc with John L. Lewis, the Stalinists cover up his treacherous conduct.

Nor is there an ounce of proletarian consciousness in the Stalinist propaganda against the bill. All their activities are centered in the American Peace Mobilization, studded with sentimental preachers and college boys.

The A.P.M. program differs in nothing essential (except the call for "friendship with the Soviet Union"—i. e., a pact along the lines of the Stalin-Hitler agreement) from the "isolationist" clap-trap of Norman Thomas. Not a breath of internationalist class-struggle is there in it.

Let us, then, record the truth: great though the opposition is to the War Powers Bill, it has no leadership, its opposition, to this or anything else, will avail little.

The building of the Socialist Workers Party and the winning of the trade unions to a class-struggle leadership, these are the first steps on the road to peace and freedom.

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Last week's explosion in Rumania mirrors the state of affairs into which capitalist society is so swiftly descending. Total war has led in Rumania to almost total anarchy. In that country we get a glimpse of what lies not very far below the surface in the other warring nations where the external controls are still held by the governments in power.

Inssofar as the internal conflict in Rumania can be said to have a comprehensible pattern, it would appear to be a conflict between rival claimants to Hitler's favor. In essence, however, the war stirred the uneasy brew of Rumanian social and political relations and has brought to the surface the foul and scummy matter now forming a scabby crust on the body politic. The peasants, the workers, the Jews of Rumania, are at the mercy of predatory animals in power or in search of it.

It is not a new phenomenon. We saw it before in Italy, in Germany, and in Spain, where the Fascist gangs took over the power on behalf of a diseased and failing capitalist class no longer able to wield the power for itself. Nor were these the first instances. Modern capitalist society had a glimpse of its future evolution as far back as the days of Louis Napoleon in France ninety years ago, when the criminal dregs of the country—organized into the "Society of December the Tenth"—were elevated to the seats of power.

Capitalist "order" is based in all cases ultimately upon the

rule of naked force. When this force can no longer be wielded in an "orderly" manner (army, courts, police) it is transmitted to the "disorderly" tools of the regime (Fascist gangs, vigilantes, the Iron Guard). The elements in particular countries or situations can vary. All the links cannot always be clearly followed—as is certainly the case in Rumania now—but the identical essence is there. Declining capitalist society is extruding the vile sores of its fatal disease.

It is interesting, therefore, to add the footnote that this was the regime fostered and nourished and held up for twenty years by French "democracy." Rumania was the keystone in the French imperialist system of alliances and ententes in Central Europe. The Rumanian army was armed and equipped by the French. The Rumanian regime was fed and supported by French money. In those dim days that ended only a little more than a year ago, Rumania was the firm friend and ally of "democratic" France, its obedient minion at Geneva, its faithful retainers at all the conference tables of that forgotten era.

What we see in Rumania today is the spawn of twentieth century "democratic" capitalism. In the Rumanian mirror we see what awaits the whole world unless the workers lead the peoples out of these dark depths into the new horizon of a new kind of order, a socialist order.

# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## What Big Business Thinks About the Labor Situation

Editor:

Referring to the new "super defense board," so ably analyzed in the last Appeal, here is what a widely-used business information service has to say of it. "The President is giving this new super defense set-up the production and priority power to go ahead and act—rather than advise. This is the last ditch stand before full emergency."

In the same report, it is said: "The campaign to repeal the Walsh-Healey Act and at least suspend the Wage-and-Hour Law in its application to defense industry is already well under way. But don't indulge in premature expectations. The counter-attack by labor has not yet begun; it is being formulated now. Also under consideration now is a move by organized labor to reveal the extent of inefficiency in management itself. Labor intends to publicize not only the number of men still unemployed, but also the fact that lay-offs have occurred even in aircraft plants working on military orders. If the move to limit labor's powers is successful and if labor legislation is suspended in defense industries, business should be prepared to expect a major campaign by labor for the actual conscription of wealth and a complete commandeering of defense industries."

A conflict is gleefully noted within the defense machine as to labor policies. Procurement Circular No. 43 of the War Department specifies that defense contracts are governed by the existing body of labor legislation, state and national, and indicates that a statement to that effect by the NDAC has the President's approval. But this fact did not prevent Knudsen from telling his brothers of the National Association of Manufacturers that: "Congress has not directed that (Sherman Act, Clayton Act, National Labor Relations Act, and the Wage-and-Hour Law) be written into government contracts." Knudsen argues that, whereas Congress made the Walsh-Healey Act apply to government contracts, the fact that it did not make these other laws applicable to government contracts means that it did not intend

them to apply to defense orders.

Knudsen's analogy is phony, of course, for the simple reason that the Walsh Healey Act applies to NOTHING BUT government contracts, and for the additional reason that this Act purports to enforce compliance with labor legislation on government contractors.

The big-business commentator goes on to say that compulsory mediation of labor disputes affecting defense orders is not a probability, but that attempts will be made to secure from labor a promise not to strike in defense industries. (Looks like a job for Hillman.) He also anticipates uniform or constant wage plans in the "critical" industries, whereby wages will be keyed to the cost of living. (Of course the rub is: Who makes the key and how well does it fit the lock?) He thinks that the Smith Bill has only a long shot chance of passage at present. He looks for a mediation board without compulsory powers. It is possible, however, he says, that the administration may outlaw strikes, compensating labor by compulsory union membership in all defense plants.

As these things are said in a private information service, one may take them seriously as indicating the present thoughts of big business.

## Nazi Make Ghettos In Poland; And In the South

Editor: The Detroit Free Press on its pictorial page today, January 6, 1941, has in big headlines, "Nazi Conquerors Revive Ghettos of the Middle Ages in War Ravished Poland."

This refers to a picture of a street-car with a placard on the side dividing the passengers in two sections. The sign indicates one section for Jews and the other part for non-Jews.

We have below the Mason and Dixon line the same street cars worded likewise. Waiting rooms, buses, trains, stores and what have you. I laugh at the irony of it. Not with glee, but with bitter resentment. We have our un-walled ghettos not of the Middle Ages but of today in the land of liberty. In the land of the free and the home of the brave.

What difference does it make where, who, or when a person is

# Worker Pictures Conditions On Army Camp Construction Jobs

## Old Union Men Have To Struggle Against Rotten Conditions Without The Help of the Unions; But They Do Find Way

By A Construction Worker

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Jan. 20—"The American Spirit in Action" is the title of a very exuberant editorial in praise of the AFL Building Trades Department in the leading Jacksonville daily, *The Florida Times Union*.

The Building Trades Department has decided to ban all strikes on war projects. This suits fine the labor-hating newspaper representing the opinions of the open-shop bosses of the South.

It goes without saying that these unions, which until yesterday according to such newspapers were nothing but "rackets", are now praised as "setting a fine example of patriotism and loyalty..."

I observe that this patriotism is of a peculiarly pragmatic character, weighed strangely enough by no more lofty ideals than dollars and cents.

### \$\$\$ PAYTRITISM

When you read the local papers here in connection with the appropriations, you find that they immediately break down all figures to find out what's in it for the South and especially for Florida, and by and large they feel amply compensated. Here and there they have some criticism of too much money being spent, for example, in Los Angeles, where there is "too much labor trouble."

When the heads of the AFL Building Trades Department wave the flag and prohibit strikes on defense work, they too, like the bosses, feel they are amply compensated. Most of the Building Trades unions collect from the workers in the camps two to three per cent of their weekly wage and innumerable permits are given out to non-union workers at the rate of one dollar per day. The only concern the union officials

ostracized, Jim Crowed or segregated? Call it medieval or ancient, it is modern to the American Negro who was the first to shed a drop of blood on American soil for American independence.

The American Negro has felled the forests, cultivated the earth, built the roads and melted the ore and laid the tracks for industry. So I have at last found the age I am living in is still the Middle Ages. Would that I could have been born at a later date when cruel rich men shall have perished from the earth, and workers in the vineyard shall get what they deserve and deserve what they get regardless of race, creed or color! No, I shall not give up because I was unfortunate enough to be born during this dark age. I will fight to prepare a better place for my children's children and they might say, "We modern workers of the world shall never know the hardships confronted by our forefathers during the dark ages of America in 1619, 1865, 1918 and 1941."

Detroit, Mich. LEWIN

rect action. This happened when one plumber's foreman made himself particularly obnoxious to the men. He was driven out of the camp by the concerted action of the workers.

Another instance occurred last Wednesday. When the ten hour day was established for the plumbers, electricians and sheet metal workers on January 13 it became impossible for these workers to meet the train to Jacksonville—a special Blanding train leaves at 5:15 P. M., while the workers had to stay at their job till 6:30. The first few days, special trucks were provided to convey the workers to Jacksonville.

### SPONTANEOUS PROTEST

Wednesday night, however, without any previous notice, the trucks took the workers to the Administration area of the camp where they were told that the conveyer system would be discontinued and that they would have to travel by bus. The bus fare is sixty cents, and besides, there were only three broken down old buses available that could not possibly accommodate the several hundred men. A spontaneous protest demonstration broke out and within a few minutes the place was surrounded by the Military Police riot squad with drawn pistols. Whoever could, proceeded to Jacksonville by bus. All three of them broke down under way. The rest of the workers were conveyed by trucks. Since that night, the train schedule has been rearranged to take care of these workers.

But it certainly was not the voice of the unions that was heard in this instance. The union officials have two full-time tasks which exclude any other: Cashing in on Roosevelt's war program and making in return for it no strike declarations and patriotic speeches.

This is the "American Spirit in Action," the American spirit of 1941. Uncounted millions of dollars into the coffers of the munition makers, a rake off into the pockets of many trade union bureaucrats as hush money, the workers often left to their own initiative to carry on the struggle for maintenance of conditions on the job.

The contractors and union officials work hand in glove, and the workers do not even bother to take their grievances to the union. When the situation in some instances becomes particularly unbearable, they resort to direct action.

## It's True About New York! Says Grace Carlson

By GRACE CARLSON

NEW YORK, Jan. 25.—(Note to Minnesota comrades. It's true what they say about New York! The general character and tone of the New York party has changed completely in the past eight months since the departure of the members of the Minority. The comrades here are workers now and their contacts whom they bring to meetings are also workers.)

(Remember the indignation of our delegates to the Party convention in New York last April at the outrageous behavior of the undisciplined petty-bourgeois Minority members—whispering, shuffling around, laughing, etc., etc. Last night's mass meeting here was completely different. Everyone sat quietly in his place and listened to the speakers! Revolutionary!

(Furthermore, the 250 members and friends in attendance, who came to the meeting despite the heavy snow storm, contributed over \$130 in response to Comrade Morrow's masterly collection speech.)

My second meeting in Boston held on January 20 in East Boston, was also a very inspiring one. Approximately 150 attending and these were chiefly Italian and Spanish workers. The meeting was held in the hall of an Italian workers' group, with the cooperation of a number of the youth of this group.

The Boston branch too reflects the great change in the character of the party since the loss of the petty-bourgeois Minority. This loss was our gain.

In Los Angeles Buy the MILITANT at Lazerus Candy Store 2109 Brooklyn Ave. Book Store E. 1st St. & Rowan Ave. Sam Smit's Newsstand 5th & Main St.

## HILLMANITES DEFEATED IN U. E. ELECTION

### Key New York Local Re-Elects Previous Administration

The pro-Hillman forces in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (CIO) suffered a defeat on January 24, when the membership of the important New York Local 475—the Amalgamated Machine and Instrument local—voted to keep in office the present administration.

The local has contracts with key war-industries plants such as Bliss, Mergenthaler Linotype, International Projector, etc.

The opposition represented a coalition of former supporters of the local's administration and ex-progressives, united today on a program of supporting the Roosevelt war machine. While attempting to hide their real program from a militant membership through the use of progressive-sounding leaflets, these reactionaries were easily recognized by the membership for what they are when they repeatedly refused to answer as a group what their attitude was toward Sidney Hillman and his reactionary policy. Individual leaders of this group have not hesitated to indicate that they stood completely for Hillman's policy.

It is interesting to note that in the period previous to the war when the Stalinist-dominated administration had a pro-war policy and a labor policy similar to Hillman's today, most of the present opposition supported the local administration.

### PROGRESSIVE POLICY

The real progressives in the local indicated their desire for a militant class struggle union by supporting all those in the administration who declared their opposition to the sell-out line of Sidney Hillman.

The Stalinist bureaucrats, due to their present temporary position, were forced to accept this program of working class struggle. The real defense of the program remains, however, with the rank and file of the union and those militants who have consistently fought for it.

### CAREY TURNS TAIL

The danger from the reactionaries, both in local 475 and the U. E. as a whole, is far from over. James B. Carey, President of the international union and secretary of the CIO, has indicated in his columns in the U. E. News that now he too is prepared to fight the "Communists." He writes in his column in the U. E. News of January 18th as follows:

"Abuses do take place, and I believe it a healthy sign and quite proper for sincere members to express concern of domination by a group not comprising the whole membership."

"I have been charged with indifference on this question of domination, especially in regard to members of the Communist Party, but actually my apparent unexcited state is due to my confidence in the U. E. membership."

So after years of collaboration with this same group, Carey suddenly turns. Rank and file can very well question his motivation and perhaps inquire whether his sudden "discovery" has anything to do with his support of the war machine. Reactionaries throughout the union will rally behind Carey. The rank and file, on the other hand, must rally behind their program of militant struggle to save and build their union.

## Picket Jim Crow FDR Inaugural Concert

WASHINGTON, D.C. Jan. 24—Protesting against the Jim Crow program set up for Negroes by the Inauguration Committee for President Roosevelt's third inaugural, representatives of 26 organizations picketed the government auditorium where a "special"—i.e., Jim Crow—musical concert for Negro visitors was being held Monday evening.

# Highlights In The Labor Press

By CARL O'SHEA

The Cleveland CALL-POST, Negro paper, publishes a letter from Private John Cole stationed at Fort Knox:

"Today, Christmas, we again witness something that happens to us every day here. Segregation. Cleo Spivey and several of the soldiers here went to the post theatre. They were denied seats because all of the 50 seats for the 250 Negroes were filled. There were plenty of empty seats in the theatre. It seems kind of hard to believe that in the Army there would be segregation. Here at Fort Knox we witness it every day. I wonder why these things exist in the Army... Here in the camp we have the worst accommodations that the Fort has to offer. We live in old dilapidated barracks. Our recreation facilities are nil. We have a barn-like structure which houses our barber shop, recreation room and canteen. Here if you are eating, you are liable to have eaten a mouthful of hair before you leave. Even on the railway station doors of the post they have signs 'Colored Waiting Room' and 'White Waiting Room' all around you. You are made to feel conscious of the fact lest you forget you are black. Most of the soldiers here are from Ohio and Indiana and if they have to live under such conditions for a year, they won't feel much like fighting for this myth, 'Democracy.'"

Weston of the Dining Car Employees Union and E. J. Bradley of the Sleeping Car Porters—are in the cabinet of "Mayor" Rev. W. A. Cooper. The election was sponsored by the St. Louis CALL, Negro paper.

The Progressive Miner for January 2 hails the release of the five Du Quoin boys from the penitentiary, and points out "the number of members of the Progressive Union who remain in prison drops to eight, five in federal institutions and three in state."

The Shipyard Worker says Todd Shipyards Corp., which has just received contracts for 60 tankers from the British government, has made 85% profits in 24 years. "The original investment of \$6,300,000 has been repaid in dividends over three times... The corporation has paid at least 350% in cash to stockowners." The union reports that Todd pays "miserable wages."

The KENOSHA LABOR, AFL organ of that Wisconsin town, is advocating that Roosevelt name "as our next ambassador to Great Britain an outstanding representative of labor such as William Green." Such a move, it is said, will "tacitly signalize the British people that we approve labor's rising influence and wish to see it continue." That's exactly why Roosevelt sends Willkie to Britain.

LABOR, railroad unions' organ, records in its Jan. 7 issue the acclaim of the National Mediation Board for 1940. "In an industry (railroads) employing a million persons and spanning the country, only one minor walkout occurred during the year—on a small switching road owned by a steel corporation—and it lasted only a week, with a victory for the workers." But what about the failure of the unions to win their many demands? The paper is mum on that.

LaFollette's PROGRESSIVE in its January 4 issue complains editorially that "President Roosevelt's incendiary oratory the other night—it could hardly be called a fireside 'chat'—came as a shock to those millions of people who supported him in the belief he was determined to keep this country out of the European war. Last fall, as a candidate for reelection, the President was cheered to the echo when he said: 'This country wants no war with any nation.'"

The North Dakota UNION FARMER, organ of the best organized state Farmers Union, states (January 6) that "The National Farmers Union... is the only national farm organization that frankly faces the facts that European markets are gone, that temporary tax subsidies are about ended, that we must work out a Western Hemisphere economy and trade with South America, and that farmers and workers must unite to protect and extend American democracy if a fake national unity is not to be imposed from above by a few profit-seeking capitalists as dangerous to the American way as Hitlerism itself."

LABOR, railroad union paper, reports on some interesting statistics issued by the Bureau of the Census, showing that more than half of the people in the United States over 14 years of age are workers. "In the 14-year-and-over age group there are 100,972,000 persons, of whom 52,810,000 are placed in the 'labor force'... The census returned 5,111,000 workers who were totally idle and about 1,500,000 who were unable to work. The proportion of male to female workers is about three to one, but they are running neck and neck among 'new workers.'"

THE CIO SHIPYARD WORKER for January 14 carries an editorial condemning the no-strike policy of the AFL Metal Trades Council as a betrayal of the interests of the shipbuilding workers.

The St. Louis UNION ADVOCATE carries a picture of the new Negro "Mayor of Brownville" and his cabinet, and announces that two union members, Leyt-

## TROTSKY MEMORIAL FUND

The Fund campaign closes on February 1st. The following is the standing of the branches on Monday, January 27, with four more days to go. Next week we will publish the final score!

Branch	Quota	Amount paid	%
BOSTON	\$ 100.00	\$ 150.00	150
NEW HAVEN	20.00	26.00	130
DETROIT	200.00	235.00	118
LOS ANGELES	150.00	162.45	108
QUAKERTOWN	7.00	7.50	107
BUFFALO	25.00	26.15	105
PORTLAND	10.00	10.50	105
LYNN	100.00	103.00	103
TOLEDO	50.00	51.00	102
Minneapolis & St. Paul	1000.00	1001.00	100.1
New York	1000.00	1000.00	100
Chicago & Indiana Harbor	200.00	200.07	100
Pittsburgh	10.00	10.00	100
Allentown	15.00	15.00	100
Milwaukee	5.10	5.10	100
Reading	5.00	5.00	100
Baltimore	10.00	10.00	100
San Diego	8.50	8.50	100
Rockville	7.00	7.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
Newark	150.00	150.00	100
Hutchinson	10.00	10.00	100
St. Louis	5.00	5.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Philadelphia	30.00	30.00	100
Rochester	15.00	15.00	100
San Francisco	100.00	100.00	100
Williston	10.00	10.00	100
Flint	150.00	138.00	92
Youngstown	50.00	20.00	40
Cleveland	70.00	18.00	26
Individual Contributions		4.30	
TOTAL	\$527.60	\$347.57	100%

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## SCHEDULE OF CARLSON TOUR

Thurs. Jan. 23	New York
Sun. Feb. 1	Newark
Mon. Feb. 3	New York
Tues. Feb. 4	Trenton
Wed. Feb. 5	"
Thurs. Feb. 6	Allentown
Fri. Feb. 7	Reading
Sat. Feb. 8	Quakertown
Sun. Feb. 9	Philadelphia
Mon. Feb. 10	"
Tues. Feb. 11	"
Wed. Feb. 12	Baltimore
Thurs. Feb. 13	"
Fri. Feb. 14	Pittsburgh
Sat. Feb. 15	"
Sun. Feb. 16	Indianapolis
Mon. Feb. 17	Indianapolis
Tues. Feb. 18	"
Wed. Feb. 19	St. Louis
Thurs. Feb. 20	"
Fri. Feb. 21	Memphis
Sat. Feb. 22	"
Sun. Feb. 23	Arkansas
Mon. Feb. 24	Arkansas
Tues. Feb. 25	Texas
Wed. Feb. 26	Texas
Thurs. Feb. 27	"
Thurs. Mar. 13	"
Fri. March 14	Los Angeles
Sat. March 15	and vicinity
Sun. March 16	"
Mon. March 17	"
Tues. March 18	"
Wed. March 19	"
Thurs. March 20	"
Fri. March 21	"
Sat. March 22	San Francisco
Sun. March 23	"
Mon. March 24	"
Tues. March 25	"
Wed. March 26	"
Thurs. March 27	"
Fri. March 28	"
Sat. March 29	"
Sun. March 30	Portland
Mon. March 31	"
Tues. April 1	Seattle
Wed. April 2	"
Thurs. April 3	"
Fri. April 4	Plentywood
Sat. April 5	Williston
Sund. April 6	"
Mon. April 7	Fargo
Tues. April 8	"
Wed. April 9	Twin Cities



# Trotskyists Are Arrested In Britain

## Protest Is Sent To Lord Halifax

### Letter to Halifax Proves Our British Comrades Are Victims of Crude Frameup

A protest against the arrest of four members of the Fourth International in London was sent to the new British ambassador, Lord Halifax, by the Socialist Workers Party this week.

No direct word has been received from those arrested, or from their organization in Britain. The first word of their arrest was learned from a small item in the London *News Chronicle* of December 17, which has just arrived here.

The Socialist Workers Party's letter to Lord Halifax points out that the charge made against the four men is plainly a frameup.

Under the heading, "Members of Fourth International Put on Trial," the *News Chronicle* story reads:

"Four men, stated to be members of the Fourth International, were charged with conspiracy at Leeds Assizes yesterday.

"They were also charged, under the Defense Regulations, with 'doing an act likely to assist an enemy.'

"This referred to the alleged removal of medical cards and other stationary from the Ministry of Labour office in Sheffield to London so that men liable for military service might secure unlawful exemption.

"Two of the prisoners worked in an engineering factory, the third was a Ministry of Labour medical orderly, and the fourth was a crane driver.

"The hearing was adjourned till today."

### A CRUDE LIE

In branding this story as an obvious lie, the Socialist Workers Party called upon Lord Halifax to provide it with the names of the arrested men, and to arrange that an attorney, to be designated by the Socialist Workers Party, shall confer directly with those imprisoned.

The letter of the S.W.P. to Lord Halifax stated:

"If these men are accurately identified as members of the British section of the Fourth International, it is plain to any politically literate person that they could not have sought 'unlawful exemption' from military service.

"Our British co-thinkers, like

ourselves, disdain to conceal our true views. They, like ourselves, are not pacifists, but Marxist revolutionists, who believe that only a Workers' Government can put an end to this war. They recognize the necessity of the revolutionists to go wherever the working class goes—to the army, as well as to the factory. Hence, although they struggle for workers' control of military training and accept no political responsibility for any other system of military training, they share the fate of their fellow-workers and go with them into the army.

"That is why the May, 1940, conference of the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Section of the Fourth International, adopted a resolution on the war which declares that attempts to seek exemption from military service are incompatible with membership in the organization.

"These facts can readily be confirmed in Britain.

"The fact that our British co-thinkers have not communicated the news of these arrests to us makes us fear that the British authorities have made it impossible for them to communicate with their arrested comrades.

"We therefore call upon you to provide us with the names of the arrested men, their place of imprisonment, and to secure permission from the appropriate authorities that an attorney designated by us confer with the men and represent them in further judicial proceedings."

## Trotskyist Papers Before The Six-Page MILITANT



The Militant was born on Nov. 15, 1928 (reproduced at bottom of photograph) as the organ of the Left Opposition of the Communist Party. In 1933 the Left Opposition became the Communist League of America; in 1934 it united with the American Workers Party to establish the Workers Party, and the paper was named The New Militant. The fusion of the membership of the

Workers Party with the left wing of the Socialist Party brought forward the Socialist Appeal, which with this issue returns to the name of The Militant. Each change has recorded a new stage of growth of the revolutionary forces of the American working class! (See editorial, "Why The Militant", page 6 of this issue.)

# Harlan Miners Freed at Last

Al Benson, one of the four Harlan County union miners serving life on murder charges in the Evansville cases of 1931, was unconditionally pardoned Jan. 22 by Acting Governor Rodes K. Myers of Kentucky on the ground that he was innocent. Sentences of the other three—W. B. Jones, Chester Moore, and Jim Reynolds—were commuted to 21 years, making them eligible for immediate paroles.

Mr. Myers, who is Lieutenant-Governor, took this step under the authority which was his in the absence of Governor Keen Johnson, who had not yet returned from President Roosevelt's inauguration.

The order for Benson's release was carried to the penitentiary at LaGrange by Edward H. Weyler, secretary of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, and Herbert Mahler of New York, secretary of the Kentucky Miners Defense. They took Benson to Louisville, where he planned to wait until his family come from Harlan County to join him.

Word of the Acting Governor's action was telephoned to the Kentucky Miners Defense headquarters here by Mahler, who has worked unceasingly in behalf of the Evansville men ever since their arrest.

"The state parole board will meet next week," Mahler explained. "Meanwhile we will endeavor to meet the board's requirements so there will be no hitch in getting Jones, Moore, and Reynolds out of prison. The main requirement is that jobs be found for them."

Benson and the others were accused of conspiring to murder three deputized coal-company gunmen who were killed in the Evansville battle May 5, 1931. But the defense had presented a mass of new evidences to show that they were framed up by anti-union forces; that there was no conspiracy; that the battle was provoked when the "deputies" and others attacked a picket-line with ma-

chine-guns hidden in their automobiles; and that the prosecution used faked photographs to indicate a false line of fire to the Benson jury. Surveys established that the building from which Benson was alleged to have fired a rifle was not visible from the battle scene, 1,900 feet away, because of tall and wide trees between.

Studying the trial records and the new evidence carefully, the Acting Governor said he was fully convinced of Benson's innocence. And he found the testimony concerning the others "so conflicting" that he reduced the charge against them to involuntarily manslaughter, and cut their sentences accordingly. Mr. Myers declared that he wanted to wipe out "the only unsettled affair of past strife in the Harlan coalfields."

In freeing Benson, he took a responsibility which Governor Johnson had declined to assume—"the responsibility of determining whether or not the courts made a mistake."

Benson is 44 years old; Jones 58; Moore 36; Reynolds 50.

Seven in all were originally convicted on essentially the same faked evidence. Through the efforts of the Kentucky Miners Defense, three of these were set free by retiring Governor Ruby Laffoon in 1935. They were William Hightower, then 80; Elzie Phillips, and William Hudson.

### In NEWARK, N. J.

Buy the MILITANT at Newsstand, Broad & Wm. Sts. Cohen's Confectionary, 11 SPRINGFIELD AVE near Court House.

## The Militant Our Teacher In China

By LO SEN

On China's war fronts today, there are young militant revolutionists who will feel a thrill of pride and recognition when they see this newspaper once more under its old masthead, *The Militant*.

For it was in the days of the old Militant most especially that the young Chinese adherents of the Fourth International were aided by this paper in unifying their ideas and coming together to form the basis of the present-day organization in China.

Only a few of our Chinese comrades, naturally, could read English. This was not permitted to act as a definitive handicap, however. Material published in *The Militant*, including all the wealth that came from Trotsky's pen, was translated and issued in Chinese. It was read, digested, and explained at meetings.

In 1929, *The Militant's* first year, Trotsky's letters on the Chinese question were first published. His letters and articles on the Spanish revolution came in 1931, and then the long and illuminating series dealing with Germany in 1931 and 1932. These and the accompanying material provided by *The Militant's* editors exercised a profound influence upon the education of our Chinese cadres.

And in 1933, in the fateful weeks of the Stalinist capitulation in Germany and the victory of Hitlerism, *The Militant* carried across ten thousand miles the rallying spirit needed to help them overcome the effects of that terrific defeat.

Our Chinese comrades have always had a sound and profound concern with international events in the working class movement and *The Militant* helped educate this concern, direct it, enlighten it, in the days when our young Chinese organization was still trying to fight its way clear of the deadening effects of the revolutionary defeat in China of 1927.

Of course there is no essential difference, whether the name on

# Democracy And Churchill's Ban On the "Daily Worker"

We characterize the British government's suppression of the *Daily Worker* as a blow aimed in reality at the entire working class, and we denounce the complicity of the British Labor Party leaders in the suppression as an act of treachery against the working class.

"But you come to these conclusions," someone may perhaps say, "through your theory of the class struggle. The rest of us, proceeding from the theory of democracy, have a right to conclude that this suppression may be justified if it preserves democracy."

Let us see! We ourselves do not for a moment leave the solid ground of the class struggle. It is child's play to demonstrate, however, that the suppression of the *Daily Worker* is incompatible with the theory of democracy.

Let us begin by quoting the arguments given by Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, in his speech in Parliament justifying the suppression. He begins with a hypocritical sigh: "Any step which has even the appearance of a departure from our traditional policy of allowing freedom of expression for minority opinions must be a matter for regret." The British ruling class has always been skilled at surrounding its most brutal acts of oppression with an aura of pained regret!

The justification for this "departure" has stated as follows by Morrison: "It was not for any isolated transgression that these publications were suspended but because they deliberately sought to foster a spirit of defeatism among the people and thereby were sorely trying the patience of the government which was doing its utmost to win the war.

"Last July the attention of our masthead by the *Socialist Appeal*, the *New Militant*, or the *Militant*. Our program is the same, our fight the same. But the present writer, who like so many others was led out of the Stalinist morass by the old *Militant*, feels a thrill and a pride in the continuity and the integrity of our program symbolized by our return to the original name. Our comrades on the fighting front ten thousand miles across the sea will feel that same thrill. We of *The Militant* send them our militant

not for the purpose of defending freedom and democracy but merely for the purpose of proffering from every extension of the war."

### HITLER COULD HAVE SAID THE SAME THINGS!

We have quoted all this at length so that thoughtful workers can study it carefully. Observe that, apart from its tone of wistful regret and its formal obeisance to the abstraction "democracy," there is not one reason given by Morrison which might not have been employed by Hitler for the same purpose.

Through the entire explanation runs the single substantial thread: the paper was suppressed because it spoke against the war and the government. Suppression is justified of "those forces . . . which would consciously or unconsciously place impediments in the way of our war effort." In other words, any systematic criticism of the government or its conduct of the war, whether or not it is made with defeatist intent, should, the government contends, be suppressed.

### THE PRINCIPLES OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The British government's alibi plainly violated the avowed principles of bourgeois democracy. Voltaire formulated most precisely the democratic concept which was the flaming banner of the capitalist class in its bloody conflicts with the feudal rulers.

Voltaire said: "I abhor everything you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

For centuries, the bourgeois democrats pronounced this principle. At first, fighting for freedom against feudalism, they pronounced it sincerely. Since then they have observed it more in the breach than in the observance.

Finally, Supreme Court Justices Holmes and Brandeis, seeking a rational basis on which to accept Voltaire's principle and yet at the same time guarantee the continuation of the bourgeois state, limited Voltaire's doctrine as follows: that the government had no power to suppress any group or utterance unless the govern-

## Notes From Latin America

CUBA.—Some time ago we reported the steps taken by the forces of the Fourth International of Cuba to transform their propaganda groups into a fighting party of the revolutionary masses. As a result of these steps, according to the latest information we have received, new contacts were established in many parts of the country where there had never been any before; among these is a new branch in one of the most important railway centers of the island. Serious efforts are also being made to stabilize the issuance of the paper, "Cuba Obrera".

BOLIVIA.—The Revolutionary Workers Party, section of the Fourth International, informs us that it now has over 100 members, and a particularly important branch, with a large following, in the mining region of Potosi. This mining branch is now trying to establish others in the mining territory. Several students' organizations, formerly quite conservative, now play under new leadership a progressive role in Bolivia.

URUGUAY.—The Bolshevik-Leninist League was able not only to consolidate its forces, but to gain new valuable comrades. It publishes "La Battalla". The GOR, which Shachtman calls the "Uruguayan Section", was originally composed of two persons (M. and L.) who, like Shachtman, deserted the ranks of the Fourth International; but, the so-called GOR has now been reduced to one person, M., L. having retired to private life.

The Latin-American forces of the F.I. are making a special effort to give wide circulation to the Manifesto of the Fourth International on the War. The Grupo Obrero Revolucionario of Argentina publishes this Manifesto in a pamphlet splendidly set up. The comrades of the Liga Obrera Socialista have published the manifesto in a special issue of the paper "Tricolor," issued in 6000 copies. In Mexico as well a pamphlet containing the Manifesto is being prepared. Comrade Q. of Argentina has just arranged for the publication of two pamphlets with Trotsky which will contain some of his writings dealing with the problems of building the F.I. and the war question.

The reaction of some of the Latin-American workers against the GPU assassination of Trotsky is indicated by the following facts: The Fifteenth Congress of the street car workers of Buenos Aires, upon motion of Garcia Fuentes, rose for a minute of silent homage to the martyred revolutionary and expressed their indignation against Stalinism. The wood workers' union and allied trades also protested in resolutions against the assassination, overruling the objections of the Stalinite agents in the union.

### "CONTINENTAL DEFENDERS"

In this period when we hear so much about the establishment of American armed angels for the "defense of democracy" on the American continents, it is worth while mentioning a few instances of the behavior of these angels in those places where they have been able to enforce their authority, namely in Porto Rico and Cuba. These "defenders of continental democracy" have reached such a point of brutality that the native population of Porto Rico, as a means of self-defense and in indignant protest, put pressure on the owners of public places to prohibit the admittance of men in U. S. army uniform. Three American Navy men, stationed at the Guantanamo Station killed a Cuban native, as a result of which the whole population became so indignant that, for fear of riots against these "saviors" and "defenders," the authorities were forced to close even the local post office.

The "old deal" and "New Deal" of Wall Street are maintaining and keeping Porto Rico oppressed and suppressed as a U. S. colony; anyone who dares to fight for the national liberation of this island finds his place in the penitentiaries of the U. S. In recent times, and precisely under the administration of the New Deal "good neighbor" policy, quite a few of the nationalist leaders of Porto Rico, such as Albizu Campos, Soto Velez, Corretjar, etc., have been thrown into the jails of the U. S. for the "crime" of having fought for the liberation of their country from Wall Street domination. A good picture of the state of terror imposed by these "guardians" of "democracy" and "national respect" is found in the following case, which was reported in Bulletin No. 5, published by the Cuban Committee for the liberty of Porto Rican Patriots: Francisco Lopez Quinones, editor of the weekly *Pro Republica*, was sentenced to a year in jail for "insulting" Franklin Delano Roosevelt publicly.

Senator Smothers of New Jersey, who feels so indignant about aggression against "small" nations that he is willing to send American troops to Europe, introduced a resolution in the U. S. Senate asking the annexation of Cuba as a state of the union.

General Jorge Ubico, so-called President of Guatemala, has executed 13 conspirators who attempted to overthrow him. This member of Mr. Roosevelt's "democratic bloc" of the "new world" rules that little country as a feudal lord. Stalin and Hitler can learn from him when it comes to the suppression and oppression of any opposition group; anyone who dares to express a view against him simply disappears without trace or trial, executed behind closed doors in strict secrecy.

ment was in "clear and present danger" of being immediately destroyed by the group against whom measures of suppression are taken. Short of such an extreme and immediate blow at the existing state, in which the life of the state is clearly in the balance, the government cannot abridge the rights of free speech and press of any group. Otherwise democracy cannot be said to exist. Such in brief, is the famous Holmes-Brandeis "clear and present danger" doctrine.

BY THESE PRINCIPLES THE BRITISH ACTION IS DAMNED

Within the framework of the bourgeois democratic principles laid down by Voltaire, Holmes and Brandeis, can the "democratic" British government justify the suppression of the *Daily Worker*? Obviously not. The small Communist party of Great Britain not only constitutes, no "clear and present danger" to the British state, it is scarcely even a potential menace.

This act illumines the fact that British capitalism can no longer afford the luxury of "democracy." It does not fear the feeble British Communist party, or the aggregation of parsons, students, professors and petty-bourgeois pacifists

who made up the bulk of the Stalinist Peoples Convention recently held in London. What it fears is the British working class. The *Daily Worker* was banned, not because it was a "clear and present danger," but precisely because the government struck at the weakest link in the working class. The Stalinists, smeared by the Stalin-Hitler pact, could not muster great mass support in defense of the *Daily Worker*. Therefore the government could chance this suppression with relative safety—and thereby establish a precedent for proceeding likewise in the coming months against other sections of the labor movement which it would hesitate to strike at without first creating the precedent of the *Daily Worker*.

The suppression of the *Daily Worker* is symptomatic not of the "temporary" crisis of war, but of the permanent crisis of a whole social system in its death agony. The British and American "democrats" are hurling death-blows at their own state-form, long before Hitler can get within reaching distance.

That is why the struggle of the working class for freedom has nothing in common with the Roosevelt-Churchill war for "democracy."



THE MILITANT

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions. 2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers. 3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection. 4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control. 5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army. 6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism. 7. An end to secret diplomacy. 8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

- 1. A job and decent living for every worker. 2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs. 3. \$90 weekly old age and disability pension. 4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people. 5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks. 6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed. 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families. 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions. 9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Why 'The Militant'

With this first edition of our enlarged paper, the banner on our masthead is changed from the Socialist Appeal to THE MILITANT.

This "new" name is, in reality, old and dear to us. It was the name of the first publication issued by our movement, almost thirteen years ago.

By returning to this name, we symbolize before the workers of America and the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world that our party proclaims today that program of uncompromising international class struggle which we inscribed on our banner from the first moment of our existence.

The Socialist Workers Party has been compelled by a reactionary federal law, the Voorhis Act, to discontinue its organizational affiliation with the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.

But by this banner, THE MILITANT, we make known to the revolutionary vanguard everywhere that we remain loyal to our common goal and principles.

Our original name was never more appropriate than now. "Militant" implies proletarian activists in the very midst of the class struggle. Our party is today made up of such proletarian activists, and every sign testifies to a new stage of the class struggle in America, of far greater intensity and significance than anything that the American working class has ever known.

Thirteen years ago the name of our paper seemed to many to be a misnomer. Our movement began its separate existence in 1928 as the Communist Left Opposition, defending our program of international socialist revolution against Stalin's reactionary doctrine of "socialism in one country." The question of "socialism in one country" seemed then, to most workers, even to most revolutionists, the height of abstraction. We appeared to be concerned with issues far removed from the fields of militant class combat.

The name which we chose thirteen years ago proved only too well justified. The "abstruse" issue over which we first unfurled our banner has determined the fate of the world during these momentous years.

The strangulation of the October revolution by Stalinism; the slaughter in the GPU execution chambers of the entire generation that made the October revolution; the revolutionary upsurge of the workers in Germany, Spain, France, China, smothered by the traitorous embrace of Stalinism; and the parties of the Third International, once flourishing on the European continent and now ground into dust; Stalin's support, first of the "holy" war of the bourgeois "democracies" and, then, of the invasions of the Axis powers—all this has come to pass. Cain-Stalin has slaughtered our militants, not by the tens or hundreds, but by the tens of thousands.

Yet the counter-revolutionary services rendered by the Stalinist bureaucracy to the capitalist world

has not availed either Stalin or the capitalists. Through all the horrors of this epoch, our program has made its way. Stalin could murder Trotsky, but not the party of Trotskyism. Our party has grown, for only our program illumines what has happened and shows the road out of this epoch of the death agony of capitalism.

That is why we have survived and grown, while others who seemed far stronger thirteen years ago have disappeared. The Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 by the Lovestone leadership; for years the favorite slur of the Lovestoneites was that we were "Three generals without an army." When the Lovestone group first found itself outside the Communist Party, it could still call itself "Communist Party (Majority Group)." Now it has disappeared without a trace. The Socialist Party used to refer to us contemptuously as a "splinter group." It has since splintered unrecognizably, and both its right-splinter, the Social Democratic Federation, and its pacifist-splinter, Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, (now just split in twain again) are fading from the scene.

The working class political arena is clearing! The revolutionary worker is contested for by only two parties now: ours, and that of the Stalinists.

We welcome the combat. Unwavering in our course for thirteen years, we enter this struggle for the leadership of the American working class with boundless confidence in our final victory. Then shall come the gigantic struggle between proletarian and oppressor to determine the fate of mankind! As the herald of our future triumph, the triumph of the socialist future of mankind, we unfurl the banner of our first battles, THE MILITANT.

A Touchstone

Ask any man how he feels about the Churchill government's decision that workers may be forced to labor wherever the government so decrees, may not leave their places of employment, etc. Examine any man's answer to that question very carefully; for his answer tells you what he will do when similar anti-labor proposals are made in this country.

Examine, for instance, William Green's few words on this subject (reported in the New York Times, January 22). Green is quoted as saying:

"We cannot consider such a thing here because there is a different situation in this country. There is plenty of man-power available here and we have not yet reached the desperate state of Great Britain."

Green's words mean: 1. He is not against such forced labor in principle. He is for it in Britain because of its desperate state".

2. That "desperate state" is determined to exist on the say-so of Britain's rulers. In other words, Green is only for slave labor when the ruling class says it "needs" it.

So much for Green and the AFL leadership. And the CIO chieftains? Not a murmur out of them so far.

Yet it should be as plain as Philip Murray's brogue or John L. Lewis' paunch that this anti-labor move in Britain is the direct consequence of Roosevelt's "all-out" aid program. The powerful backing of Washington produces reactionary fruits everywhere. The forced labor decree and the suppression of the Daily Worker in London are the latest British examples. Washington's loan to Chiang-Kai-Shek has been followed by new blows against the Chinese labor movement. The Latin-American dictators in Roosevelt's "democratic bloc" are now more arrogant and cruel to the peoples they oppress than ever before.

We repeat: The British events are a touchstone. One's stand on those events indicate one's program for labor in this country. Trade unionists: find out where your officials stand on this key question.

McReynolds Retires

If Justice McReynolds had announced his retirement two years ago, great clamor would have shaken the land. Dire portents and prophecies would have flooded forth from Republican headquarters. The news and editorial columns of the press would have pealed forth like the trumpets of the Last Judgment. Usually strong, silent men in silk hats and cutaways would have halted perfect strangers on the corners of Wall and Nassau Streets to blubber on their shoulders, "This is the end, the very end."

Those were the days when the court-packing issue had the Sir Galahads of the press sharpening their editorial lances to tilt at the fire-breathing dragon of "Dictatorship", and "Bolshevism." The idea of a Roosevelt majority on the Supreme Court brought the flag on the Stock Exchange Building to half-mast.

Today the retirement of McReynolds and the fact that Roosevelt now commands an undisputed majority of 5-3 on the highest judicial body—soon to be 6-3—evokes not the slightest stirrings of wrath.

Why do the spokesmen of Wall Street remain silent?

Today there is a difference. The petty and artificial strife of yesterday has vanished. Today all capitalists are rallying around the flag, are merging their differences for the common good of their class. Today American imperialism girds for a life and death struggle with its imperialist rivals. And the Roosevelt of social reform, of the New Deal and the "radical" Brain Trust is already gathering cob-webs in the attic of ancient history. Wall Street knows its man.

Today if a stranger should accost any strong, silent man in silk hat and cutaway on the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets and cry, "McReynolds has quit!", he would be met with a cold stare and the words, "McReynolds? Never heard of the gentleman. Who's his broker?"

Teachers Union's Fight To Protect Its Members

All Unions Should Have Supported Its Struggle To Keep Its Membership Lists Away From the Rapp-Coudert Committee

One of the most dangerous anti-labor precedents created by judge-made law was established when the New York State Court of Appeals last week ordered the New York Teachers Union (Local 5) to hand over its membership lists to the red-baiting Rapp-Coudert Committee.

That committee, set up by the state legislature ostensibly to investigate subversive activity in the schools—actually its aim is to pave the way for slashing the school budget—had been balked previously by the union in numerous attempts to seize the union's membership lists. The Court of Appeals was acting on an appeal by the union from a contempt order of a lower court.

Perhaps the foulest aspect of this situation was the refusal of AFL officials to come to the aid of Local 5 in this important struggle.

Local 5's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers, adopted a perfunctory resolution supporting the local's contention that union membership lists are the property of the labor movement. But, while the decision of the Court of Appeals was still pending, the executive board of the Teachers Federation instituted proceedings to lift the charter of Local 5. The list of charges are a thinly-veiled attack on the "communism" of Local 5's leadership.

One charge, for example, blames the local for the fact that the ultra-reactionary leadership of the Central Trades & Labor Council suspended the local from membership!

These opening moves to lift the Local 5 charter, coming when they did, were a treacherous blow to the moral authority of the local in its fight to protect its membership lists.

COWARDS DESERT

A similar treacherous blow was dealt by the withdrawal from Local 5, in the midst of the fight with the Rapp-Coudert Committee, of a group of so-called progressives, including Norman Thomas Socialists, Lovestoneites and "Workers Party" elements.

Blinded by their vulgar anti-Stalinism, which cannot in practice be differentiated from the anti-Communism of the reactionary war-mongers, these pseudo-progressives deserted the union while it was under fire.

They, together with the right-wing group which calls itself the

admit that Local 544 was absolved on all the basic charges.

That victory was not won in court. The judge merely recorded, as it were, the victory already won by the Local 544 leadership when it succeeded in mobilizing the entire labor movement to support its fight to protect the union's membership lists and records.

In order to help other unions in similar struggles, the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council has published a huge edition of a pamphlet telling the whole story of the fight. It can be obtained by writing to the Council, at 257 Plymouth Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Just as 544's victory was won outside the courtroom, so Teachers Local 5 lost its battle outside the courtroom. The failure of Local 5 to secure widespread labor backing must be analyzed by the Local 5 membership. Those treacherous elements who refused to defend Local 5 must be condemned as disloyal to their class.

But after that, one must place due responsibility upon the Local 5 leadership for the false policies it pursued which made it impossible to secure widespread support.

PRICE OF FACTIONALISM

Arrogant, factional, utterly unscrupulous in the vicious methods it employed to destroy honest dissenters in the union, the Local 5 leadership has never itself operated in terms of loyalty to the broader interests of the labor movement.

Typical of its narrow factionalism is the very fact that not once has it referred to the inspiring example of Minneapolis Drivers Local 544, although that example is the most recent, and most directly similar, to that of the Teachers Union. The Minneapolis example could have been a powerful weapon in the campaign to line up AFL unions to support Local 5's fight. But Charles Hendley and the other Local 5 leaders preferred to give up that weapon, rather than admit that the militant and anti-Stalinist Minneapolis drivers union leaders had played such a progressive role.

Conscientious Objectors Cannot Stop Jim Crow

By ALBERT PARKER

When Ernest Calloway told a Chicago draft board last month that he wants exemption from military service because he is a conscientious objector against the Jim Crow treatment of the Negroes in the armed forces, he opened up a very important question for all those who are serious about the fight for equal rights in the Army.

That question is: Should other Negroes follow Calloway's example? Should they declare that they are against being trained how to fight, and refuse military training? Can such a course of action have a decisive effect on the shameful treatment of the Negro soldiers by the officer clique in charge of conscription?

There can be no doubt here, of course, of our attitude toward the attacks that the draft officials are going to make on Calloway. Already his local board has turned down his request for exemption, and although he is appealing their decision with the aid of the N.A.A.C.P., it is pretty certain that they will prosecute and attempt to jail him if he persists in his determination not to be drafted. When the draft officials and the army bureaucrats launch their attack against him, they will do it because he has opposed their draft and has given publicity to the Jim Crow regime in the Army. All workers must defend Calloway against such attacks even if they don't agree with Calloway's method.

But it is one thing to oppose Jim Crowism in the army and another thing to oppose it correctly and successfully.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH CALLOWAY'S METHOD

We are certain that actions such as Calloway's will not have any decisive effect on the fight for equal rights in the armed forces. It can't, because it leaves untouched the power of the officer caste to do exactly what it pleases. As long as the labor-hating, Negro-hating officers have the power to do what they want with the rank-and-file soldiers, there will be Jim Crowism in the

army. Not until their complete and all-powerful control over military training is taken from them can the fight for equal rights be won.

What is wrong with Calloway's method, even if it were followed by ten other men, or 1000, or 10,000, is that it does not touch this main problem at all. Whether Calloway is sent to jail or whether he will be set free will not in any way affect or diminish the powers of the officer caste. They'll still have the power to Jim Crow Negroes and treat them as second-class citizens.

The second major weakness in Calloway's method, (which was conceived of and proposed by a Chicago organization known as "Conscientious Objectors Against Jim Crow," headed by St. Clair Drake, who is also executive secretary of the local branch of the Stalinist-controlled National Negro Congress) is that it does not take into consideration at all the need of the Negro people to learn the military arts.

This is a world of war and revolution today. Every important question is being decided by military means. The Negro people too will be able to solve their problems only by struggle against their armed and trained enemies. Whoever denies that the Negro people must master the other military arts is misleading and disarming the Negroes in the face

of their enemies. Whoever says that the Negro people in this country will win their freedom in any way other than by fighting for it is miseducating and confusing the Negro people.

NEGROES MUST JOIN FIGHT FOR MILITARY TRAINING

It is correct and necessary to maintain our opposition to conscription by the boss class, but it is useless to do so unless at the same time we present some other proposal which, while it will eliminate military Jim Crowism and anti-labor practices, will also provide for training the workers in the military arts.

Since the Calloway-Drake proposals ignore both the question of control of military training and the necessity for such training, they cannot be accepted as a program for Negro workers.

Since the Socialist Workers Party program for trade union control of military training has the answer to both these questions, it must be pushed by Negroes as the only real and practical solution of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

To push this program requires not an arms-folded policy of individual abstention, which by itself can never win anything, but militant activity to mobilize the Negroes and the trade unions to struggle against the bosses for its realization.

Chicago Readers!

ALBERT GOLDMAN

has just returned from Mexico, where he represented Natalia Trotsky in establishing the guilt of the GPU murder-machine. His first public appearance on his return will be a speech on

"Proofs That Stalin Killed Trotsky"

TIME: Friday, February 7 8 p.m. PLACE: MIDLAND HOTEL 172 W. Adams St. Chicago, Ill.

The Split In The Socialist Party On Aid To Britain

By ART PREIS

A deep split in the ranks of the Socialist Party became public in connection with the appearance of Norman Thomas last week before the House committee hearings on the Lease-Lend bill.

Coincident with Thomas' testimony, a group of leading figures in the Socialist Party issued a statement to the press, repudiating Thomas' opinions on the bill and declaring that he did not represent the true sentiments of the majority of the Socialist Party members.

The press statement accompanied a petition to Representative Bloom, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, requesting that a spokesman of the petitioning group be afforded an opportunity to speak at the hearing in full support of the bill granting unlimited war powers to the president.

Thomas Loses His Chief Lieutenants

The extent of the cleavage in the Socialist Party and the strength of the opposition to the Thomas faction is indicated by the fact that the petition signers included Thomas' chief lieutenants. Among them were Jack Altman, former secretary of the New York local; Professor Reinhold Neubuhr of Union Theological Seminary; Frank Crosswhite, general organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Alfred Baker Lew's, former Massachusetts party secretary; Murray Gross, former chairman of the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party; Lazar Becker, of the New York state committee; and Gus Tyler, former editor of the Call.

Those of us who were in the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1937 may be forgiven if we laugh in glee at the sight of this roster of denouncers of Thomas. For these were the gentlemen who upheld Thomas' right arm as he smote the left wing of the party in 1937. With their backing Thomas resorted to the desperate venture of expelling the left wing, without daring to wait for the verdict of an honestly-elected party convention. The interested reader—particularly any worker of revolutionary spirit who may have wandered by accident into the Socialist Party since 1937—should read the story of the 1937 split in the issues of the Socialist Appeal (now The Militant) of that period. He will find that we predicted the degeneration of the Socialist Party into a chauvinistic sect like the Social Democratic Federation, once the left wing was not there to prevent it. The left wing is now in the Socialist Workers Party.

Jack Altman, next to Thomas the most important figure in engineering the split in 1937, predicted in a press statement last week that the Norman Thomas group will be repudiated at the S. P. national committee meeting next month. Altman claimed—and the next issue of Thomas' Call has not denied it—that the two largest units of the party, Illinois and Wisconsin, support the Altman group.

Although his name was not attached to this statement, Daniel Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee, has already gone completely over to the pro-war Roosevelt camp. He is now a member of one of Roosevelt's "national defense" boards.

What the Split Is About

The Altman group has adopted a completely pro-war position, indistinguishable from that of the Roosevelt administration, whose policies it now accords full support.

The split in the Socialist Party ranks is not a fight between an anti-war proletarian wing and petty-bourgeois capitulators. It merely mirrors faithfully the differences that exist within the capitalist camp, the "isolationists" versus the interventionists. At no point does the conflict in the Socialist Party take on the aspect of a struggle between two opposing class tendencies.

The basis of Thomas' opposition to the Lease-Lend bill was identical with that of Hanford MacNider, former national commander of the American Legion, who spoke at the same session of the hearings as Thomas and represented that section of the Republican party and Wall Street who disagree with the administration only on the tactics to be pursued leading up to the war.

Thomas, like MacNider, based his principal objection to the bill as it now stands solely on the fact that it is "undemocratic" and gives the President too much individual power.

In the same breath that he condemned Churchill as "an imperialist to the core," Thomas declared that he was for aid to Britain and a British victory. Even in his opposition to the powers given Roosevelt in the bill, he hastened to make clear that he recognized the "excellence" of Roosevelt's "normal intentions."

It is true that Thomas qualified his support of aid to imperialist Britain by stating that he is for only such aid as will help "to repel the Nazi invasion" but will not assist Churchill in his plans for a "reconquest of Europe."

At what point aid to Britain ceases to be for the purpose of repulsing a Nazi invasion and become an aid to British imperialist ambitions, Thomas failed to make clear.

How little principled difference there is between the two Socialist Party factions is indicated by Thomas' recent endorsement of Mathew Woll's committee to aid Britain. The program and sponsors of this committee are completely pro-war and in entire accord with Roosevelt's foreign policies.

During a battle in the War, a soldier was beating a retreat to the rear as fast as his legs would carry him, when he was halted by an officer.

"Don't delay me," said the soldier, "I'm on my way."

"Don't you know who I am?" the officer replied. "I'm a general."

"Go on, you ain't no general."

"I certainly am," insisted the officer.

"Oh, my lord," exclaimed the soldier, as he took a good look at the officer. "You are, I knew I'd traveled back a long way, but I didn't think it was this far!"