

# An Eyewitness Report: CHINESE CITIES

See page four

# THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V—No. 23

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1941

267

FIVE (5) CENTS

## CIO Indicts Navy As Union-Buster

### Union Charges Union Leaders in Navy Yard Were Fired in Scheme to Smash Their Union

PHILADELPHIA, June 3—Suspension of eight active unionists from their jobs at the Navy Yard here was characterized by Darius Kline, national representative of the United Federal Workers of America (CIO) as part of "a union-busting program" of the Navy Department.

Included in the suspensions, said Kline, are the secretary of Local 118 of the United Federal Workers, a former vice-president, the editor of the union's paper, the legislative director, and a shop steward. Two other union men were discharged previously.

A special meeting of the union is scheduled for Friday evening to take action for the reinstatement of the union members.

The union demands their reinstatement pending hearings at which they can defend themselves against any charges by the Navy Yard officials.

The union statement said:

"The Navy Department accused the discharged union secretary of getting orders from his union for a 'slow-down' at the navy yard. Is the Navy Department afraid of a hearing on this charge because the CIO could so easily prove it a malicious falsehood?"

The Navy's conduct in the suspensions was bitterly scored:

"These suspensions were made in the best copyright tradition of the Gestapo—a sudden tap on the shoulder and a quick marine escort out of the yard—no charges, no chance for reply or defense, no

### How to Carry Water On Both Shoulders

"No doubt much ink will be spilled on both sides to show that the Pope's world-wide broadcast Sunday was anti-Fascist or pro-Fascist, but a preliminary study of this Pentecost message, made both in and out of the Vatican, agrees that the balance has been kept pretty finely. Some shrewd blows are dealt at the Fascist conception of life, but there are other passages that appear to support Fascist theses. The Pope seems to envisage the new order as a compromise that would satisfy certain Fascist aspirations but, above all, preserve the freedom of the individual."—New York Times, Rome dispatch, June 2nd.

previous warnings, no hearings such as are accorded even criminals."

## The First Naval Convoy



The first naval "convoy" has been used against striking American workers. Here is the scene of navy trucks and drivers carrying scabs through the picket lines of the 1900 AFL and CIO machinists on strike at 11 San Francisco shipyards. Government strikebreaking, however, has not succeeded in getting production started at the struck plants.

## Local 544 Mobilizes In Showdown With Bosses

### Minneapolis Drivers Faced By Battle Like That Of 1934; And Again Tobin Is Aiding The Bosses With His Red-Baiting

MINNEAPOLIS, May 31—The latest attempt of the Minneapolis employers to break up the militant Teamsters Local 544 got a crushing answer last Tuesday night, when a huge overflow meeting of the membership roared unanimous approval of their Executive Board's action in serving strike notices upon all trucking bosses who have been stalling on negotiations for renewing contracts expiring June 1st.

In resisting the union's demands, the employers are obviously basing their hopes upon the disruptive activities of a small employer-inspired clique inside the

local which has been conducting a red-baiting assault upon the Local 544 leadership with the apparent support of International President Daniel J. Tobin. Timing his moves with the new union-busting campaign of the employers, Tobin has repeated his strike-breaking role of 1934 by publishing a vicious attack upon 544's leadership in the May, 1941, issue of his personal organ, the official journal of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The contracts with the employers expire June 1. Tobin has summoned the leaders of Local 544 to appear before the International Executive Board in Washington on June 3rd for "trial" on charges made by the employer-inspired "Committee of 99" that 544's leaders "support the doctrines of Trotsky" and "are members of the Socialist Workers Party."

### UNION MEN MOBILIZE

Against this united front of the bosses, their tools inside Local 544, and the \$30,000 a year President of the International, the huge membership of 544 is rising up in a solid fighting mass behind the militant union leadership who built their union and gave life to their slogan: "Make Minneapolis A Union Town."

From all indications Minneapolis is scheduled to be the arena of another great battle equal in significance for the national labor movement to the strikes which stirred the whole country in 1934. Over 2,000 men packed the third floor hall of the General Drivers Union and overflowed into the second floor hall and into the streets on Tuesday night. Two tremendous banners dominated the front of the hall with slogans reading: REVIVE THE SPIRIT OF 1934! and WE MADE MINNEAPOLIS A UNION TOWN—LET'S KEEP IT THAT WAY!

### V. R. DUNNE SPEAKS

V. R. Dunne reported for the Executive Board on the status of negotiations with the bosses. He charged that the employers have been stalling on every major negotiation ever since the demands

### He Voted for Draft For Your Son — But Not For His

Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith is a 100% American patriot. He's against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Reds, Unionism, the Wagner Act, the Wages and Hours Law, the Anti-Lynch Bill, and anyone who's against a war for "democracy."

"Cotton Ed" voted for conscription with both hands. Recently "Cotton Ed" Smith's son was reached by the conscription law. Young Smith had no dependents. He was of sound body. The draft board put him on the eligible list.

"Cotton Ed" Smith got mad. He demanded deferment for his son on the grounds of his essential occupation.

Young Smith's "essential" job? He is a secretary, at \$3900 a year, on a legislative committee of which his old man is the chairman.

So, young Smith's classification has been changed. He's too "essential" to "Cotton Ed" Smith.

it will be a strike that they will remember for a long time.

### A UNION-BUSTING MOVE

Why have the bosses taken the stand they are taking at this time? "I must be frank," Dunne declared, "I believe the bosses have been heartened by what they think is a stir and a split in the ranks of this union. They think they see in the various 'Committees' a place to brace their feet and strike a blow against our union. The bosses have also taken note of President Tobin's criticism of the union leadership. The bosses are beginning to think this is their day, that this is the time to push you as far back as they can, to throw a scare in you about the bogeyman who lead Local 544.

"The bosses believe the union has enough new members who have not been through the battles of 1934 and the succeeding years, and who will fall for their lies and their slander. They think they can force the union into submission, or can bring about a split in our ranks. We don't think this will happen.

"I think the bosses and all our critics are wrong, if they believe (Continued on Page 3)

## Eden Talk Bares Real War Aims

### Churchill-Roosevelt Are Not Fighting Against Fascism, But To Keep Europe Divided And Put The German Nation In Chains

Reassured by Roosevelt's speech that the American imperialists will do their utmost in the war against Germany, Anthony Eden last Thursday exposed with the utmost frankness, the brutal war aims of the British "democratic" ruling class against the German nation. The British Foreign Secretary, commenting on Roosevelt's speech before a gathering of Britain's "most prominent citizens," made very clear that it was not Hitler that Britain intended to annihilate, but Germany itself. This time Versailles would be made to stick:

"We must never forget that Germany is the worst master Europe has yet known. Five times in the last century she has violated the peace. She must never be in a position to play that role again. Our political and military terms of peace will be designed to prevent repetition of Germany's misdeeds."

In these words, Eden is saying plainly that, even if the German people overthrow the fascists tomorrow, Germany is to be given no other alternative except to be carved up and put in a strait-jacket when peace comes. Versailles wasn't anything compared to what the British ruling class has in store for the German people this time.

If Eden were in the pay of Hitler, he could render him no greater service than these words. The German masses do not want the yoke of a foreign invader; yet that is all that Eden is offering them.

### DOROTHY THOMPSON ON EDEN'S PROGRAM

Even Dorothy Thompson, one of the most vociferous proponents of the "war for democracy" was appalled by Eden's declaration of Britain's real war aims.

"Mr. Eden seems completely to have forgotten that the peoples of Europe — as contrasted with their governments — and especially the people of England, took up the sword not against Germany but against Nazism," she writes (N. Y. Post, June 2). And she warns:

"If the suspicion arises, however, that the shape of things to come is to include another attempt to forge guarantees against the industrial strength and work capacity of the Ger-

man nation, and to attempt to keep her weak on all points because she is a formidable competitor, then no 'moral' order can be claimed (by Britain)." "The war is lost," she says, if Eden's is the program of the democracies.

Dorothy Thompson's dismay at Eden's speech indicates she thinks this the first such utterance from a responsible British official. She is mistaken. There is no "if" about it; the British government has as its fundamental aim, not the fight against fascism, but an imperialist war to destroy a powerful competitor, whether that competitor has a fascist government or a democratic government.

### VANSITTART'S SPEECHES SHOWED BRITISH WAR AIM

All through last November and December, weekly broadcast talks were made in London by Sir Robert Vansittart, Chief Diplomatic Advisor to His Majesty's Government.

Those speeches, to justify post-war destruction of Germany developed a racial theory, that Germans were vicious by nature.

The German, said Sir Robert, is a "butcher-bird," "which looks harmless enough to deceive its neighbors, but which is continually springing on them when they least expect it and butchering them."

Although Germany complains of the hostility of other nations, says Vansittart, "So far from there having been any prejudice against Germany, the reason the butcher-bird has been given every conceivable chance is that everybody has always wanted to believe the best of it, or rather not to believe the worst, and this charity, always disappointed, come up smiling again between catastrophes. That is exactly what the butcher-bird wants. He likes

### Uncle Sam's Stock Exchange Hero: Chapter 2

When William McChesney Martin, president of the New York Stock Exchange, was recently drafted into the army, the boss press made quite a to-do about it.

Martin, it was pointed out, wasn't going to seek any special privileges. He was going to be a foot-slogging, gun-toting, potato-peeling private. He was getting ready for the firing lines.

The newspapers haven't talked much about Martin in the past few weeks. They aren't publishing any more pictures of him engaged in his army duties.

A close-up of William McChesney Martin at his present army tasks would not show him drilling at Fort Dix. He isn't there any more! He's moved to comfortable Fort Jay, Governors Island, sitting behind a desk, the place he feels at home. No favoritism—Oh no!

his victims to get cosy and confiding, before he pecks them to death."

"Let me now try to show you why it is wrong to count on the better nature of the butcher-bird, and why naturalists know he hasn't got one. We must all drop the habit of making allowance for the Germans. It isn't fair to ourselves. And if anyone asks you to do it again, ask him in return if he knows the German record."

Here is a particularly crude expression of the racial-theory as expressed by Vansittart:

"This bird of prey is no sudden apparition. It is a species. Hitler is no accident. He is the natural and continuous product of a breed which from the dawn of history has been predatory and bellicose..."

"Of course, there have been (Continued on Page 4)

## Typographers Refuse To Return To AFL

The membership of the International Typographical Union, by a vote of 33,498 to 25,632, has voted against re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, International President Claude M. Baker announced Tuesday.

The referendum was held on a unanimous recommendation of the International's executive board.

The union was suspended from

the AFL on January 29, 1940, for refusing to pay an assessment specifically levied by the AFL for the purpose of fighting the CIO.

The AFL executive board recently did away with that assessment, replacing it by adding 1 cent to the previous 1 cent per capita collected by the AFL from all affiliated Internationals, and it was on this basis that the ITU board recommended re-affiliation.

as well tell also how our eyes were opened.

"Good Commercial Morals and Shady Transaction Prevention Week," opened our eyes. The Japanese government is holding it this week.

Nothing more. Nothing less. Far from being the rapacious and brutal freebooters we have been imagining them to be, the Japanese rulers are actually mild and honest men who wouldn't ever dream of doing his neighbor out of a yen, a dollar, a franc, or a guilder. Why else would they sponsor a Good Commercial Morals and Shady Transaction Prevention Week? Doesn't this show that we actually have to do with sound, sober, honest, unacquisitive people?

Let's not be wedded to our grudges. Why they've even got banners up in Japanese theatres and public places which say: "No soul looking up to the Rising Sun Flag will besmear itself with dishonor doing shady business." And others say: "Let the gracefulness of Japan be reflected in her commercial morals." And the police even conducted a band of some 1,500 of these misunderstood Japanese businessmen to the Meiji Shrine, where they pledged themselves "to liquidate their conventional (?) tradesmen's spirit and serve the country."

Now when people will do and say such things, who's going to cavil over matters like invasions, air bombings, mass murders, wholesale seizures and wholesale destruction? And that's what we've been doing. We're sorry as anything. Honest we are.

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

It is to be feared that we've all been sadly misjudging Imperial Japan. Somehow in recent years we have gotten the impression that the rulers of the Island Empire are willing to go to any violent lengths in order to acquire market, raw materials and profits.

Maybe it was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 that gave rise to this notion. Or perhaps it was the twice-repeated devastation of Shanghai. Or was it the bestial massacres and rapine which accompanied the Japanese occupation of Nanking in 1937?

And somehow the scourge of Japanese war planes over Chinese cities or Japanese armies careering through the peaceful Chinese countryside, seizing, burning, destroying, raping, have all contributed to the impression that the capitalist morals of Japan are just about the same, say, as Nazi Germany's Britain, the United States, or even Italy.

And just to show how deeply this mistaken impression has ingrained itself, we have very definitely had the feeling that the Japanese seizure of Indochina and its extended reach toward the Dutch East Indies have been motivated by the simple and unbecoming desire to appropriate for Japan the French and Dutch "right" to sweat and exploit the native peoples of Southeast Asia.

But it's never too late to make amends for a mistake. We've had the Japanese all wrong all this time. And it's high time we said so quite publicly. And we might

## 14,000 Soldiers Stage Fort Dix Demonstration

### Furloughs Denied, Soldiers Hurl Rocks At Headquarters; Papers Suppress Story

The 14,000 soldiers from Fort Dix whose 10-day furloughs had been cancelled at the last moment on May 29, and who staged violent, rock-heaving protest demonstrations after hundreds had been halted at railway stations and ordered back to camp, have now been promised their full furloughs on their return from maneuvers and training inspection.

The big dailies cooperated with authorities in suppressing the story of the demonstrations.

The New York Daily News, the only newspaper to carry accounts of the demonstrations, reported on May 31 as follows:

### SOLDIERS STAGE VIOLENT PROTEST

"Fourteen thousand soldiers from Fort Dix, with 10-day furloughs in their pockets suddenly had their leaves cancelled last night as they headed home for the Memorial Day week end. Hundreds were halted at railroad stations and other points and ordered to return to camp. Enraged, they returned to the fort and staged demonstrations which officers appeared helpless to check.

"Rocks were hurled at post headquarters; there were demonstrations in mess halls and other scenes of disorder developed. Long into the night

wrathful groups prowled the reservation, defying military police to curb them.

"The order cancelling the leaves came from the War Department. Those who had already left Fort Dix were stopped by M. P.'s and relieved of their passes. They were told to get back to camp post haste..."

"Many of the men were still at the fort, but hundreds already were in trains, buses or private autos. When they got back to camp they were furious.

### FIRST DEMONSTRATE IN MESS HALL

"The first demonstrations came at mess. Many refused to eat. They banged their tin mess kits and set up a general din which went unchecked.

"Later they began parading the reservation, bellowing their

### Ammunition Uses

"Congressman J. Parness Thomas said that, at Fort Dix, there was a 'deplorable state' in that there was no reserve supply of ammunition and not enough small arms ammunition to deal with an internal disorder."—New York Times, June 3.

displeasure. Windows were smashed in the officers' club, post headquarters and other buildings. As far as could be learned no arrests were made."

New York Daily News reporters who confronted the camp commander, Major General Powell, for a statement on the demonstrations were assured that there hadn't been any "real trouble."

However, Powell was compelled to confirm the fact that there had been "some trouble" and stated: "I have received information there were a few isolated cases of window breaking, but that was all."

All metropolitan newspapers, outside of the "isolationists" Daily News, reported the cancellation of the leaves, but suppressed completely the story of the soldiers' militant demonstrations.

# 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.

## How Chiselers Avoid Paying Overtime Under The Wage-Hour Act

EDITOR: Here is some information about the way employers get around what is politely called the "intent" of the Wage-Hour Act. A variable work-week plan is operated as follows. The employer hires new employees—or rehires his old employees—on the basis of getting "the week's job done" and not on the basis of a fixed number of hours. Payment is by the week, hence as hours increase, hourly wages decrease; consequently the base on which overtime payment are figured grows smaller the more overtime is worked.

Here is an example, which shows how much the employer can, chisel by using the variable work-week plan. Suppose he has been operating on an eight-hour day basis, paying \$25 for a 40 hour week, or \$.625 per hour. His men are getting in a lot of overtime, which has to be paid for at the rate of \$.9375 per hour. He has a happy thought and rehires his employees—or at least hires all new employees (which in course of time will mean most of his employees)—on the basis of a flat \$25 per week, without any understanding as to hours (except for the time that work is to start in the morning). The Wage-Hour Act requires him to pay an additional half-hour's wage for each hour over 40, but the more hours worked in a week, under this plan the lower the overtime rate becomes, because the hourly rate goes down.

I don't think this variable work-week plan is being used extensively yet, because it involves more bookkeeping, but bookkeeping after all is designed for fine-tuning extra money, so the plan will get more use as employers get wise to it. The minimum wage plan is also perfectly legal. In other words, an employer who has customarily had a work-week of, say, 56 hours, and finds he has to pay overtime on 16 of those hours, can re-figure his hourly wage so that he won't have to pay any more wages per week than he did before he complied with the Act; the only restriction is that he can't go below a 30c. an hour minimum.

The way to cope with businesses that try to use this scheme to cut down on overtime payment is, of course, a union contract that defines the work-week and contains an hourly wage stipulation. Some liberals thought that the Wage-Hour Act would be a substitute for unions in small businesses which are hard to organize. Precisely such small businesses, however, are most apt to use such legal devices as the above to get around the Wage-Hour Act.

### INDUSTRIAL ENGINEER

## Rubber Workers Win Wage Increases When They Reject First Offer

EDITOR: I read your report in the May 17 MILITANT about the membership meeting of the Goodrich Local of the United Rubber Workers (CIO) here in Akron, on May 11, when the members gave such a cold reception to Sherman Dalrymple, the international's president, and refused to go along with him and accept the company's measly offer for the new contract.

You may be interested to learn the results of the militant stand taken by the workers at that meeting. As soon as the workers showed they meant business by taking a strike vote, and sending back the negotiations committee with instructions to get more than the three cents an hour increase the company offered, the company came through with an offer of a blanket five cents an hour increase and a 4½ cents raise on the base rate of piece work.

If the workers had listened to the cowardly advice of Dalrymple, they would have accepted terms which would have meant practically no increases at all. As it is, the final terms, which

the members approved at a mass meeting, are not at all to the real liking of the workers. I am sure that if terrific pressure had not been put on the local officials by the international officers, particularly Dalrymple, the workers would have gone through with their planned strike and would undoubtedly have won far better terms.

At the last membership meeting the local officials had to plead almost feverishly with the members in order to get a favorable vote for the five cents increase. And even then, none of the local officers dared to claim that the terms were good.

Dalrymple again did the dirty work in forcing the company's terms down the workers' throats. The whole appeal was on "national defense," "aid to our ally, Great Britain," etc. Well, the Goodrich workers have seen the results of what a little militancy can bring them if they had been permitted to follow their own instincts, and if the local leaders had not weakened, they would have got a great deal more, I am certain.

RUBBER WORKER  
Akron, Ohio.

## Charges Stalinists Beat Up Student For Leaving Y.C.L

EDITOR: Harvard students have recently received an object lesson in the meaning of Stalinism. At three o'clock in the morning, May 17th two Harvard Y.C.L.'ers entered the room of Murray Lampert, a fellow-student. Lampert, who had previously been threatened with physical assault by these and other Y.C.L.'ers, realized their purpose and remonstrated with them in the darkness for about three minutes. They did not answer, hoping—to no avail, however—that they would not be recognized. Finally, as Lampert stretched forth his hand to put on the light, the Y. C. L.'ers threw hot water into his face, blinding him, and then proceeded to beat him. Although Lampert protected himself by holding his hands in front of his face, the blows were of such violence that he was dazed for a few minutes, while the Stalinists unscrewed an electric-light bulb and shattered it on the floor, preventing him from following them in his bare feet as they made their escape. Next day, when Lampert spoke to the parties concerned, he was told to keep quiet about the affair or he would get worse.

What was Lampert's crime which aroused the Stalinists' animosity? He had been a member of the Young Communist League, had come to see the wrongness of the Stalinist course, stated his conviction of the degeneration of the Comintern and fraternized with members of the Socialist Workers Party. To question the official Stalinist mythology—this was sacrilege. Old friends refused to greet him, he was viciously slandered to his acquaintances, a systematic campaign of character assassination was carried on. For Lampert was a dangerous example—he might set others to questioning, to thinking independently, or even actually to reading Trotskyist literature. Each Stalinist proved his loyalty to the organization and stifled whatever doubts or misgivings he might have had by the bitterness of his attack.

This was the poisonous atmosphere out of which the assault developed. Almost certainly the two Y. C. L.'ers acted on their own initiative, probably in an instant of sheer inspiration. Even the local Y. C. L. is not capable of such stupidities. However, the physical attack on Lampert was merely a continuation "on a higher level" of the previous attacks on his character. Stalinism is the school of which these two students are the worthy graduates—and it is Stalinism which is guilty of this cowardly attack.

Cambridge, Massachusetts P. S.

## Reason For Lag In 'National Defense'

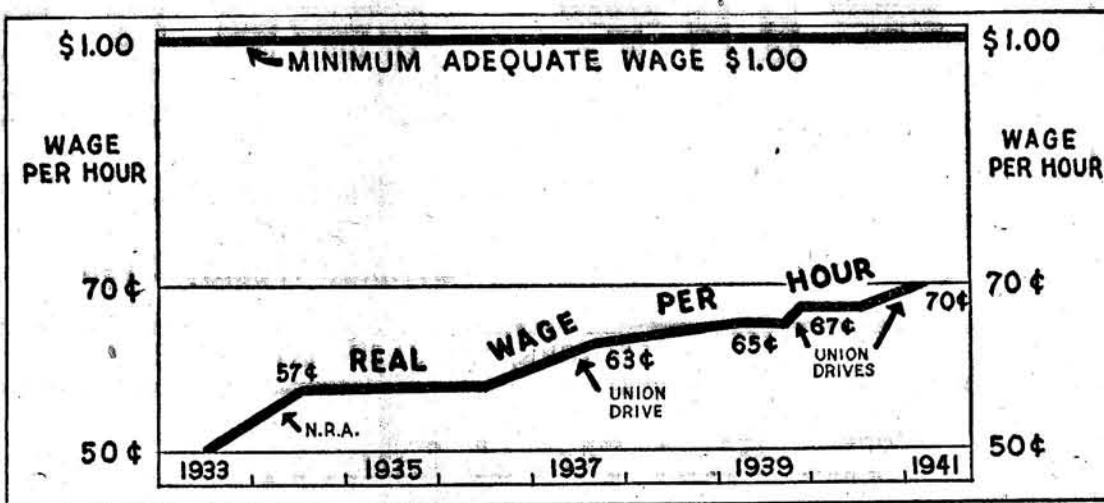
Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, addressing a New York state health conference on May 20, declared:

"In 1940 disability took 50 times the losses due to strikes and lockouts. Though little discussed, this is the single greatest factor slowing up the production schedule."

Working time lost through illness and injuries, according to Dr. Parran, reaches the total of 350,000,000 work-days per year.

However, the boss press and politicians haven't the time to notice—they are too busy with "important" problems of "national defense"—anti-strike laws, curbs on organized labor, bigger sales taxes and the like.

## WAGES FAR BELOW ADEQUATE LIVING STANDARD



Source: U. S. Department of Labor.

This chart, based on Department of Labor figures, shows two things: 1. that wages rise in direct relation to the strike struggles of the workers; 2. that despite the wage increases won in the past six years by the militant strikes of the workers, average hourly wages are still far below the \$1 per hour minimum which the government agency concedes is necessary for a minimum living standard.

# FBI Seeking Wiretapping Authority From Congress

## Is Already Training Army Of Wiretappers; Would Use Them In Attacks On Labor, As The Same J. Edgar Hoover Did In 1918

Now pending in the House of Representatives are two bills which would authorize the F.B.I. and other police agencies to engage in wiretapping. Representative Hobbs, sponsor of one of the bills, is also parent of the "concentration camp" bill for aliens.

The bill which he introduced was drafted by Alexander Holtzoff, legal advisor to the F.B.I. and has the approval of the Department of Justice.

The threat to the labor movement in such legislation is clear to those acquainted with the use made of wiretapping in the past.

In the last war, although wiretapping was supposedly illegal, the Department of Justice practiced it freely.

### THE F.B.I.'S LONG ANTI-LABOR RECORD

For every case of espionage and treason prosecuted against German agents or sympathizers there were hundreds of raids against "reds" and militant workers. The campaign of intimidation, mass raids and strike breaking, with wiretapping as one of its main weapons was directed at that time by the same J. Edgar Hoover who now heads the F.B.I. Nor did he stop when peace came.

On January 3rd, 1920, some three thousand workers and radicals were arrested simultaneously in a score of cities. In many cases these people were held for questioning, treated brutally (some committed suicide or went insane) without the pretense of a warrant of arrest. Much of the information, often false and worthless, leading to such raids was obtained through wiretapping.

J. Edgar Hoover, as special assistant to the Attorney General in charge of "counter-radical activities," directed and played a leading role in the strikebreaking activities of the Department of Justice agents in the 1919 steel strike, and the coal and railway strikes of that period. And this is the man who would be given free rein in wiretapping by the Hobbs bill!

The function of wiretapping to obtain information for use against workers, and expose their union activity and political affiliations, was revealed by J. Edgar Hoover himself in a Congressional hearing last year. In admitting the

use of wiretapping he said he did not use in court evidence thus obtained. BUT he "supplies information to employers on criminal or subversive records of potential employees." (our emphasis).

Without even waiting for the law to be passed, the F.B.I. today conducts schools for training in wiretapping, not only for their own agents but for hundreds of local police. To offset the bad odor attached to this practice, the F.B.I. has dignified the "pupils" by calling them "supervisors" or "wire technicians" and the eavesdropping itself is sometimes referred to as "surveillance."

Although Congress outlawed the use of wiretapping in 1934, the F.B.I., protected by its parent, the Department of Justice, blandly considers itself immune from the provisions of this law. In 1940, however, the authorities decided to seek Congressional sanction. The first Department of Justice bill was introduced in 1940 but killed in committee. Now, in the favorable war atmosphere, it has been re-introduced.

The sponsors stated in recent hearings before the House Judiciary Committee that they were willing to limit the use of wiretapping to "kidnapping, extortion and violations of the espionage and sabotage laws." Not much of a limit! These last two categories can be used to apply to any worker engaged in war production, the majority of workers today. Last week, for example, THE MILITANT published the story of how the F.B.I. arrested Charles Virok, a SWOC shop steward in the John Roebling Sons Co. New Jersey plant, on charge of violating the Federal Anti-Sabotage Act by allegedly closing switches controlling the power blocks "with intent to obstruct the defense of the United States." The charge against Virok resulted from a strike, and similar charges can be made to cover any strike action. Under the terms of the bill the F.B.I. could tap the wires of any union headquarters and home phones of union members.

Often the information obtained from wiretapping is not used in court against a victim. No! but it is used to keep him from getting a job, or to fire him, when his union connections are uncovered by this method. Wiretapping has proved invaluable to private detectives, "red" squads and anti-union employers. The National Labor Relations Board reported tapping of the wires of Ford employees at the Dallas, Texas plant. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, the wires of the Oil Workers International Union were tapped by private detectives and the Oklahoma National Guard to provide information to the oil companies about employees.

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported on wiretapping in 1940: "Persons who have committed no crime, but whose economic and political views and activities may be objectionable to the present incumbents of law enforcement offices, are being investigated and catalogued... the information may be used in extra-legal controversies."

But that was in 1940. President Roosevelt, in stating his views on wiretapping in February, 1941, said: "As an instrument for oppression of free citizens I can think of none worse than indiscriminate wiretapping." The catch here is the word "indiscriminate." For Roosevelt immediately added that, in cases involving the "national defense," he considered wiretapping to be justified! And that of course, means a free hand for J. Edgar Hoover.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

## BUILD YOUR MARXIST LIBRARY NOW!

### SPRING CLEARANCE OFFERS

To clear our shelves for new pamphlets, we offer the the following combinations:

WORLD REVOLUTION—1917-1936  
By C. L. R. James ..... (429 pages) \$3.50

RUSSIA TWENTY YEAR AFTER  
By Victor Serge ..... (298 pages) 2.50

Total list \$6.00

NOW YOU CAN HAVE BOTH FOR ONLY \$2.00!

We also offer the following combinations:

RUSSIA TWENTY YEARS AFTER  
By Victor Serge ..... \$2.50

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN SPAIN  
Felix Morrow ..... (202 pages) 1.00

Total list \$3.50

SPECIAL PRICE—\$1.25

WORLD REVOLUTION, 1917-1936  
By C. L. R. James ..... \$3.50

FROM LENIN TO STALIN  
By Victor Serge ..... (112 pages) .50

Total list \$4.00

SPECIAL PRICE—\$1.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York City

# War Chest Drive Starts Moving; First Returns In

Hardly has the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party been launched to raise a \$10,000 War Chest fund when money begins to pour in. Almost a thousand dollars has reached the national center—and the drive has in reality hardly begun!

Here is a token of the spirit with which those who learned the great lessons of Lenin and Trotsky rise up to meet the demands that history makes upon them. While others either skulk cowardly in dark holes or leap hysterically on the wagon to play in the band of the enemy class, the Trotskyists in true Bolshevik fashion prepare to play a leading part in the offensive of their class in the struggle already under way.

These \$10,000 will be simply the surface evidence of the role of the Trotskyist movement in the life of the working class.

Watch the money come in!

## \$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
Buffalo	\$ 60.00	\$ 14.00	23%
Boston	350.00	75.00	22
Newark	500.00	100.00	20
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	187.00	19
Portland	30.00	5.00	17
Philadelphia	125.00	20.00	16
New York City	2500.00	275.00	11
Chicago	1200.00	117.62	10
Members-at-Large	480.00	50.00	10
Reading	25.00	2.20	9
Detroit	500.00	35.00	7
Minneapolis	1200.00	35.00	3
New Haven	50.00	1.50	3
Los Angeles	500.00	00.00	00
St. Paul	300.00	00.00	00
Flint	200.00	00.00	00
Cleveland	150.00	00.00	00
Youngstown	150.00	00.00	00
Louisiana	100.00	00.00	00
San Diego	100.00	00.00	00
Akron	50.00	00.00	00
Fresno	50.00	00.00	00
Rochester	50.00	00.00	00
Toledo	50.00	00.00	00
Pittsburgh	40.00	00.00	00
Allentown	25.00	00.00	00
Seattle	25.00	00.00	00
St. Louis	25.00	00.00	00
Quakertown	25.00	00.00	00
Texas	20.00	00.00	00
Baltimore	10.00	00.00	00
Milwaukee	10.00	00.00	00
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	917.32	9%



CONCENTRATE ON SUBSCRIPTIONS  
Subscriptions for May from the branches reached only 78, but we have good reason to believe that the record for June will go much beyond that.

The city of St. Paul led off this month with nine six-month subscriptions, although Los Angeles, the runner-up with eight, beat out St. Paul in the amount of money represented. Minneapolis came in third with seven subscriptions. For the first time in a dog's age feeling how it is not to come in way ahead.

One of our surest guarantees of continued support from subscribers comes from the fact that we put out so good a labor paper that it solicits renewal by itself. "In this crisis, more than ever, we need a paper such as THE MILITANT, which talks common sense and prints the news behind the news," writes one of our renewing subscribers in the note accompanying his payment.

The role of the party press as an organizer is seen in a few reports which have come to us in recent days. Boston sends in a subscription which it reports as having been received as a result of consistent door-to-door work on the part of the comrades there. Philadelphia reports that the coverage given a strike in a plant in its neighborhood induced one of the leading strikers to kick in with the price of a year's sub.

GETTING PARTY MEMBERS THROUGH THE PRESS

But Allentown has the best report of all to make. As a result of the consistent and devoted work of a few members there who have attended to the job of literature distribution with Bolshevik tenacity, they now find themselves rewarded in the finest way a worker in the movement can hope for.

In a few weeks they will find their membership substantially increased by the coming in of a number of new workers who have been drawn to the party and given an understanding of its

principles through the literature supplied them over a number of months by the Allentown unit. We can understand how these comrades feel when they say that the experience of seeing their group thus begin to grow is a "pleasure incomparable."

The record of subscriptions for May stands thus:

Allentown	1
Baltimore	1
Boston	3
Buffalo	2
Cleveland	1
Detroit	4
Los Angeles	8
Minneapolis	7
Newark	1
New Castle	2
New York	5
Pleantywood	1
Philadelphia	1
Rochester	3
St. Louis	1
St. Paul	9
San Francisco	2
Seattle	2
Tacoma	1
Texas	2
Toledo	2
Youngstown	3
Miscellaneous	17

Now Available In Limited Quantity

Bound Volumes

## 1940 SOCIALIST APPEAL

\$2.50 each

Place your orders immediately

Socialist Appeal  
116 University Place  
New York City

For the fourth consecutive year  
**Chicago Announces**  
its  
**FAMOUS BASEBALL BARBECUE**  
Sunday, June 8, all day  
Westchester — Grove No. 2  
22nd & Mannheim  
Lunch, dinner; games; bonfire  
Auspices: Chicago Local, SWP

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







**THE MILITANT**

VOL. V—No. 23 Saturday, June 7, 1941

Published Weekly by  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:  
**FELIX MORROW** **ALBERT GOLDMAN**  
Business Manager:  
**LYDIA BEIDEL**

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle  
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents  
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

“Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941  
at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of  
March 3, 1879.”

**JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:**

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

**Shrunken Bellies**

“Demagogue” and “liar” were two of the terms applied to John L. Lewis by the bosses when he asserted last year that there were “52 million shrunken bellies” in this country.

But we now have public admissions to the same effect from leading government officials. Last week at the National Nutrition Conference for Defense, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace said:

“We find that at least three-fourths of the people of the United States do not have what can be called good diets by any reasonable standard.”

“At least 40,000,000 people in the United States are suffering from very bad diets.”

Federal Security Administrator Paul McNutt followed Wallace with a statistical report showing that a minimum of 45,000,000 persons in the United States are suffering from malnourishment and malnutrition.

This unprecedented admission by the Roosevelt administration is, to say the least, a paradox. It comes at precisely the moment when the government is urging the workers to pull in their belts still more in the interests of “national defense.”

Deliberate curtailment of mass purchasing power and civilian consumption, in order to feed the war machine is admittedly one of the intents of the proposed new federal tax laws, the high-pressure “defense bond” drive, the effort to “freeze” wages, the slashing of WPA.

Why this sudden and unprecedented administration hullabaloo about America's 52 million shrunken bellies? Why wasn't such concern expressed two years ago, or six years ago, or nine years ago, when there were even more shrunken bellies?

For eleven years of the depression, the workers were starving even worse than today. We didn't hear army generals and high government spokesmen getting up at public conferences and bewailing the terrible undernourishment and hunger. They didn't attend such conferences. They didn't hold such conferences.

Yet even a reactionary brass hat like Brigadier General Lewis Hershey, deputy director of the Selective Service Act, today joins in the “shocked” chorus.

“We are physically in a condition of which nationally we should be thoroughly ashamed,” declared Hershey, who had previously observed the ravages of eleven years of depression without once opening his mouth.

Hershey then gives the show away by expressing what he and the administration are really concerned about. He cites the figures of over 40 per cent of potential draftees having to be rejected for physical reasons, and adds:

“Probably one-third of these are suffering from disabilities directly or indirectly connected with nutrition.”

The very name of the conference at which

Hershey, Wallace and McNutt spoke is a dead give-away of the reason for their concern—National Nutrition Conference for DEFENSE.

Roosevelt, Wallace, McNutt and the brass hats aren't worried about the 52 million shrunken bellies as a matter of principle.

All this hypocritical agitation represents nothing more than the desire of the government to fatten up more lambs for the imperialist slaughter. It has nothing to do with any genuine desire or attempt to straighten out the wrinkles in the 52 million shrunken bellies.

All the administration can do, however, is become the situation. It cannot take measures to improve the health of the working population, which is the reservoir of fighting man-power. On the contrary, the administration is driving in the opposite direction: reducing the living standards still further by deliberately curtailing the production of consumers' goods and mass purchasing power.

**A Straw In the Wind**

The latest returns in the national referendum of the International Typographical Union indicate—the ITU officers concede it—that its members will reject William Green's invitation to reaffiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

This is a straw in the wind of more than passing significance.

In arriving at this decision, the ITU members were voting against the unanimous recommendation of the ITU executive board that the union return to the AFL. They voted in this fashion despite the fact that the AFL leaders had come to terms with the leaders of the ITU, and had agreed to discontinue the special assessment for a “war chest” to fight the CIO. The ITU was suspended from the AFL in 1939 for refusing to pay this assessment.

What is of most significance is that this continued opposition to the policies of the AFL is expressed by members of a union which has had its deepest roots in the AFL craft tradition.

The attitude of the ITU membership can be taken as nothing less than a reflection of the sentiments of an ever increasing number of craft unionists who have come to realize that the craft union policies of the present AFL leadership are wrong and detrimental to the labor movement.

It is a sign that the ranks of the craft unions have been observing the superior merits of the industrial union policies represented by the CIO.

Step by step the AFL has had to yield in power and prestige to the CIO. Today no one can seriously dispute the fact that the CIO is the outstanding organization of American labor, and that its recent material contributions to the welfare of the working class have far surpassed the small change which the AFL has offered.

The vote of the International Typographical Union should not be viewed as a mere reflection of continued disunity in the ranks of organized labor. It is a hopeful token of the growing desire amongst the craft union rank and file to achieve labor unity on a progressive, industrial union basis against the reactionary opposition of the AFL leaders.

**Gene Debs' Tradition**

The war mongering Social Democratic Federation has presumed to speak in the name of Eugene Debs.

In a statement to the press attacking the pacifist Norman Thomas, the Social Democrats this week asserted that Thomas does not represent the movement of Debs. These recruiting sergeants for imperialism attempt to represent themselves as the continuators of Debs!

Every word and act of these “socialists” betrays the ideas for which Debs lived and died.

The Wilson administration murdered Debs for his uncompromising opposition to the last imperialist war. Old and sick, Debs went to federal prison rather than agree to maintain silence against the war. He died of tuberculosis contracted during his years of prison confinement. To his last breath he called for unyielding class struggle against the boss class and its wars.

Yes, Gene Debs was the mortal enemy of all the Social Democrats uphold.

And he would have spat with equal scorn upon the pious pacifism of Norman Thomas. Debs would never have joined hands with capitalist politicians like Senator Wheeler and pro-fascists like Lindbergh. He would never have slobbered pacifism to the plaudits of Bundists and Christian Fronters.

Debs was no pacifist. He did not fight against capitalist war by piling appeals for “peace.” Debs sought to end imperialist war by the proletarian class war.

Whoever would speak in the name of Gene Debs, must address the world in the true spirit of Debs' immortal words:

“I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. . . I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world wide war of social revolution.”

Only one political party of the American working class today has the right to speak in the name of Debs. That is the Socialist Workers Party, our party. We, like Debs, are opposed to every war but one. We, like Debs, are heart and soul for the world wide war of social revolution.

Let the “socialists” of the Social Democratic and Norman Thomas stripe dare to profess as much, before they ever again presume to utter the name of America's greatest proletarian fighter.

**A Big Business Threat Against Wage Raises**

**David Lawrence, Big Business Spokesman, Threatens That If Wages Are Not Kept Down, Inflation And Fascism Will Follow**

David Lawrence, spokesman for America's most reactionary big capitalists, has just made two threats to the Roosevelt administration: first, inflation—second, fascism!

Mr. Lawrence's threats are contained in a signed editorial appearing in the May 21st issue of The United States News. This weekly magazine (of which Lawrence is editor) is not read by the general public but serves rather as a sort of internal news bulletin for the capitalists. It is not a magazine given to hysterics; rather it is a calm and thoughtful expression of opinions held by a very weighty section of the bourgeoisie. When Lawrence speaks through this medium he is not talking for effect, he is speaking, in all sobriety, directly to the President over the heads of the people.

Lawrence begins by deploring Roosevelt's inability or unwillingness to crush the CIO's strike wave and wage gains:

“... President Roosevelt (recently) suffered the most ignominious defeat of his public career... Unable or unwilling to deal with the CIO in any other way, he permitted his own National Defense Mediation Board to grant 100 per cent the wage demands (on General Motors)... thus set the pace for a nationwide set of wage increases even as the Government strove feebly in other quarters to argue against price rises and inflation.”

Lawrence then makes clear that big business has no intention of paying wage raises out of its profits, but will try to pass them on to the consumer.

“At a time when the youth of the nation is being compelled to serve at \$21 a month, the auto workers had their pay boosted by \$208 a year. With overtime it will mount still higher... The General Motors Corporation can stand the increase but can the American people? The American people will pay the increased cost all along the line. Prices can not

be held down if wage costs increase.”

**RATHER INFLATION THAN A CUT IN PROFITS**

Thus Lawrence reveals that not only do the big capitalists intend to absorb no part of increased labor costs, but also that they plan to brand labor with the responsibility for the coming inflation. He admits the inevitable scarcity of consumer goods as production is geared to war goods, but denies inflation would result if it were not for increasing costs.

Why, then, don't these patriotic corporations aid in avoiding inflation by absorbing at least part of increased labor costs? The question stares Lawrence in the face and he tries to answer:

“On most of the defense contracts, the big manufacturers are making less profit by a good deal than on their normal operations,” he says.

In short, if it's a choice between inflation and cutting profits, it will have to be inflation:

“The amount of purchasing power created by the payroll increases must go somewhere. It will soon be bidding for consumer goods. The Government will try to hold prices down. This is impossible unless wage scales are held stagnant.”

In this paragraph Lawrence is warning Roosevelt and Henderson that price control will be sabotaged by big business unless they appease business at the expense of the workers' wage scales. His minimum demand is “stagnant” wages.

“We are on the threshold, therefore,” he warns, “of an inflation cycle of incalculable proportions.”

To secure the cooperation of business in avoiding inflation, Lawrence demands from the Government, not only a reduction of workers' wages, but also an increased tax burden upon what would be left.

“The well-to-do will be taxed heavily—in fact to the point of confiscation,” he laments. “Meanwhile, because of politics, about

\$12,000,000,000 of gross income earned by 80 per cent of America's families in the lower brackets will escape income taxes and direct defense taxes.”

In reality of course, the “lower brackets” are taxed indirectly in a hundred different ways. But that still isn't enough for Lawrence.

**THIS “DEMOCRAT” IS READY TO INVOKE FASCISM**

And if business is not appeased? Lawrence, in a scarcely veiled threat, sees fascism.

“It is precisely this sort of decay and disintegration from within Democracy,” he says, “that gave Hitler his chance in the last eight years. The French Republic collapsed because of this very internal poison... For the economic collapse that must someday follow such foolhardy policies (wage increases and taxing capital)... must inevitably produce a terrible reaction against democratic government and sow the seeds of fascism in America.”

Such are the “democrats” who rule big business. This war to “save democracy” is their war—it is at their instigation that Roosevelt is entering it. Lawrence has no quarrel with Roosevelt on foreign policy! But he, and those for whom he speaks, will brook no interference in their manner of conducting the war on the home front. Their main enemy is at home! The war is a golden opportunity to crush that enemy... the workers. That, indeed, is one of the main objectives of their “war for democracy.”

The American capitalists have grandiose plans for crushing their enemies abroad (the rival imperialists), but these plans would never be prosecuted at the cost of a defeat at home. The home front must be secured at any price. If, to defeat the enemy at home, it becomes necessary to make peace with the enemy abroad, they will not hesitate to do so. That is the class outlook which Lawrence expresses.

**Business Goes In For ‘Bootlegging’ Metals**

Manufacturers and metal producers have developed several devices for beating the price regulations on metal upon which the government has fixed restrictions.

The “bootlegging” of war materials—particularly vital metals like zinc and aluminum, of which there is a limited supply—has become such open scandal that Leon Henderson's Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply has had to threaten to “crack down” on manufacturers and producers who, in recent transactions are known to have transferred supplies of scrap aluminum and zinc at double the “maximum” official prices.

How these “bootleggers” are operating to make huge war profits despite the price “controls” is described by S. F. Porter, in the June 2, New York Post.

**HOW THE BOOTLEGGERS GETS HIS MONEY**

A manufacturer who is anxious to get some metal—zinc or aluminum, for instance—and is willing to pay any price for it, goes to the producer and offers to pay an amount over the price fixed by the OPACS.

The producer states that he doesn't have any available supply of the desired metal—that is, until the buyer offers a handsome enough price. The producer then “sees what he can do.”

What he can do to beat the price regulations “legally” is described by Porter as follows:

“The producer may sell the buyer of zinc a few thousand pounds of, say, lead—or any other commodity he has around that is not subject to official control—at a price far above the market level.

“Simultaneously, he may sell the buyer the zinc he demands at the official price. The two transactions must be considered as one, for the buyer is taking the lead

only because he wants the zinc. “This system of circumventing the price controls is being used with surprising frequency, it is reported.”

“Or the buyer may make an obviously ridiculous bet with the producer. For instance, he might say, ‘I'll wager \$10,000 you can't jump over this match-stick.’

“The producer sells the aluminum or zinc or scrap steel or iron at the right prices, yes. But when you add in his profits from other ‘sources,’ the prices are way up.”

“In Wall Street, experts are aware of several specific deals that were put through along with wagers.”

These metal bootleggers represent

ent a number of financial big shots, the type who froth at the mouth about labor's “impeding” “national defense.”

Government officials, Congressmen, and Big Business representatives generally, know what is going on. But there is no clamor, no demands for “life imprisonment or electrocution,” for these war profiteers who are beating the law.

At most, when the profiteering and price violations get too raw, and public scandal is about to break loose, the OPACS will threaten some of the small fry malefactors to divert attention from the manipulations of the big fish operators.

**TODAY'S FIGHT Against The Bosses**

New 8 page pamphlet giving in concise terms the immediate program of the Socialist Workers Party for defense of workers' rights in the present crisis . . .

**ONLY 1c PER COPY**

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
116 University Place New York City

**Where We Stand**  
By Albert Goldman

**Roosevelt's “Freedom of the Seas”**

Roosevelt's sudden resurrection of the doctrine of freedom of the seas brings to mind a prediction made by Comrade Trotsky. When the first draft of the Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution came up from Copypacan, it contained a sentence to the effect that American imperialism will intervene in the world war under the slogan of freedom of the seas. That sentence was in the paragraph which is now the first on page 9 of the printed Manifesto. The present formulation is: “Under one or another pretext and slogan the United States will intervene in the tremendous clash.” etc.

I recall that when I read the first draft and saw the definite prediction on the part of Comrade Trotsky that the slogan of freedom of the seas would be utilized by the American imperialists, my usual caution prompted me to raise an objection. It was rather risky, I argued, to make such a definite prediction, especially in view of the fact that the United States had partially, if not wholly, surrendered the right of freedom of the seas by the Neutrality Act. My objection was delivered to Comrade Trotsky and with his customary habit of giving in on secondary questions he agreed to the present very cautious formulation. But he did not agree that the freedom-of-the-seas idea had been surrendered by the American ruling class.

The present formulation in the Manifesto does not exclude the possibility of the utilization by the imperialists of the slogan of the freedom of the seas. Indeed, it was worded so as not to exclude that possibility. But I must confess that at that time the idea that Roosevelt would utilize that slogan appeared extremely improbable to me. It was used by Wilson and because of that, very fact it appeared to me that it would not be utilized by Roosevelt.

Freedom of the seas is not a slogan capable of arousing tremendous enthusiasm amongst the masses. Can one imagine huge numbers volunteering to join the army and navy to protect the right of U. S. merchant ships to deliver goods to foreign countries? It is not a slogan that even the ruling class would become enthusiastic about (although in so far as it is connected with trade and profit it is far more truthful than the slogan of fighting for democracy). As a matter of fact, there was no serious opposition to the passing of the Neutrality Law which in effect surrendered the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. There was some opposition from some elements of the reactionaries, but not on a large or serious scale.

**Why the Slogan is Revived**

It cannot therefore be the purpose of the administration, in its revival of the slogan, to obtain greater support either amongst the masses or amongst important sections of the ruling class. As far as the masses are concerned, the slogan of a struggle for democracy against fascism remains primary. The masses can be gotten to support the war only because of their fear and hate of fascism. And as far as the ruling class is concerned, even that section which is now opposed to Roosevelt's foreign policy, it will support the war because its basic economic interests are involved.

Insisting on the right of the freedom of the seas at the present time can be explained only on the theory that the Roosevelt administration wants to go further than it has gone in helping Britain defeat Hitler and at the same time prepare some “legal” basis for entry into the war. Because Roosevelt made such a flat statement some time ago that conveying means shooting and shooting means war, he would like to find a different way than conveying by which to intervene actively in the shooting war. The doctrine of freedom of the seas might furnish the necessary pretext. It certainly furnishes a legal justification for the “patrol system.”

**What the Slogan Really Means**

And then it must not be forgotten that the doctrine in itself is a very good one to hold in reserve for the future even as against British imperialism. What does freedom of the seas actually mean? It certainly does not mean what it says. For it is obvious that only those countries can have freedom of the seas who are powerful enough to enforce it. The countries without a strong navy must in actuality look to their “protecting” big brothers to give them freedom of the seas. Freedom of the seas in actuality means the right of the strongest to dictate the conditions under which merchant ships of other countries will be permitted to ply the ocean.

Before the war became total in its character—that is, before monopoly capitalism gained complete control of the economic life of the world and before the whole nation became an integrated part of the war effort—it was possible for a number of rules to be observed during a conflict between two nations. It was possible under limited circumstances to make some distinction between contraband and non-contraband goods. But under modern conditions everything is contraband because everything is necessary for waging war. Monopoly capitalism based on the highest development of technique made all rules of war obsolete.

There can be no such thing as freedom of the seas when the world is dominated by a few strong imperialist nations warring amongst themselves for supremacy and exploiting all the weak nations. True freedom of the seas can exist only when world economy is organized on a socialist basis with the whole world freely participating in the production and exchange of goods. Freedom of the seas will come into being when the working masses will organize such a world.