

## NEW BOARD STACKED AGAINST LABOR

### OPM Parley Rejects Auto Union Plan

#### Bosses, OPM Are To Blame For Shut-Down

By DON DORE

The 450,000 auto workers who face total unemployment by mid-February because the auto corporations thought it unprofitable to prepare for a speedy transition to war production, can draw no hope of quick re-employment from the results of the OPM auto industry conversion conference in Washington last week.

Heads of the auto industry, backed by William Knudsen, former chief executive of General Motors and now OPM director, flatly refused to consider any proposals for quickly expanding production which might limit their control or cut into their profits.

Auto union leaders who came to Washington hoping to receive a voice in the planning of production in the auto industry, were forced to express "keen disappointment" at the outcome of the conference, as the CIO auto workers union President, R. J. Thomas, put it.

The conference established a seven-man joint labor-management committee, including one government representative, "to assist in the development of the best methods for the utilization of labor, tools, machinery facilities, etc., for the most expeditious conversion of the automobile industry for the production of war materials."

At the demand of the corporation representatives it was decided that this committee's functions will be purely advisory and "subject to the determination of the Office of Production Management."

#### COMMITTEE'S COMPOSITION

The committee's members are Edsel Ford, president of Ford Motors, C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors and C. C. Carlton, vice president of Motor Wheel Corporation, as direct bosses

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#### At The OPM Conference



Shown as they discussed the auto industry situation at the OPM conference in Washington are Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas, officers of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, William Knudsen and Sidney Hillman of the OPM, and C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors.

### Youth Play Increasing Role In USSR Defense

#### Gaining Confidence As They Bear Brunt of Struggle At Front and Behind the Lines

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

In the resurgence of the Soviet masses which came with the German invasion of the USSR, the youth is playing a role of exceptional importance. The preponderance of the youth in the crucial spheres of Soviet life has marked the development of the workers state since its foundation in October, 1917. Under the impact of the war this preponderance has assumed unprecedented proportions.

The majority of the front line fighters of the Red Army are young. A great many are in their teens. In point of age as well as formation, the Red officers' corps is the youngest of any army in the world.

The predominance of the youth is even more accentuated behind the lines, especially in industry. In 1940, on the eve of the Nazi invasion, a decisive section of the giant Soviet proletariat consisted of young men and women under 27. In the year that has since elapsed, children of fourteen and fifteen have become indispensable parts of the labor force.

#### YOUTH IN INDUSTRY

According to the official report of the Labor Reserves Administration issued in Sept., 1941, more than two million of these children were already working in the basic industries. The official program called for drafting several more millions not only for industry but also for labor on the farms.

In a dispatch from Kuibyshev, Eric McLoughlin, correspondent of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, reported:

"The younger children will be taught the cultivation of vegetable, berry and fruit plots. Boys and girls 12 to 14 will learn how to handle hand tools and care

for stock while youths from 14 to the time they enter military training (the present age is 16-JGW) will undergo a course of tractor and combine operation" (*New York Times*, Jan. 7).

It is clear that the Kremlin which began employing child labor on a vast scale prior to the outbreak of the war has now extended its plans to include children of twelve and even younger.

This proletarianization of children and youth is taking place under conditions without parallel in history. These same children are simultaneously being trained in the art of war. In the above-cited dispatch McLoughlin reports that lectures in a Soviet school he visited were "punctuated by the intermittent crackle of gunfire from the basement below, where boys and girls were learning how to use a rifle. . . . This is a picture of a typical Russian school in wartime" (*idem*).

#### MILITARY TRAINING FOR CHILDREN

"As I walked out into the streets of Kuibyshev," continues McLoughlin, "I met boys and girls from 14 to 16 practicing grenade throwing. . . . Brushing shoulders with me. . . . were boys a little older than those engaged in the grim grenade-throwing game. They were wearing the Red Army uniform for trainees and were undergoing the toughest and most exacting course in the business of dealing out death" (*idem*).

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#### 450,000 Face Long Term of Unemployment

By JOE ANDREWS

Hundreds of thousands of jobless auto workers today are asking why in the midst of the war the greatest manufacturing industry in the world is shutting down.

The Jan. 2 issue of *U. S. News*, an authoritative dope sheet for big business, gives the real reason for the plight of the unemployment auto workers. "Until now: Industry had more to gain by producing peacetime gadgets than by converting to war production, than by speeding arms output. Now: Industry no longer can obtain materials for peacetime production. . . . So there is every incentive to convert to war production."

This is a confession that the big industrialists run their plants only to grab the greatest possible profit in the shortest possible time.

For a year the UAW and CIO have been proposing a plan to pool auto productive forces to prevent mass unemployment during the transition from automobile to military production. This was to be carried out by an industry-labor council. This proposal was shelved as "impractical" and "socialistic" by the OPM and the employers. They were busy figuring out the more "practical" problem of operating the auto industry to maintain maximum profits.

#### "PRACTICAL" RESULTS

C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors has admitted that General Motors turned out more automobiles in 1941 than at any time in its history and made more profits in 1941 than in any other year. In 1941 GM hauled in a profit of close to a quarter of a billion dollars.

This was a quarter of a billion dollars worth of reasons for GM to hang onto the automobile market and to give the union the run-around on its conversion plans. It is also a good reason why General Motors can now afford to take 9 months to convert their plants. But 450,000 jobless auto workers will have no such reserve to fall back upon.

*U. S. News*, January 2nd, states: "High officials in agencies concerned with speeding war production are continuing to haggle over terms of contracts, trying to strike bargains." This is big business double-talk to cover up the fact that it was the auto barons who were "haggling" over military contracts, both to get the most profitable terms, and to postpone military production while they still had a chance to sell automobiles.

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### 3 GROUPS SEND MONEY TO AID 18

#### Church Relief Group, Unions, Help Defense In Minneapolis Case

The Church Emergency Relief Committee of 287 4th Ave., New York, last week contributed \$50 toward the relief of the families of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, convicted in Minneapolis last month of violating the 1940 Smith Gag Law. At the same time two unions, one independent and the other affiliated with the CIO, contributed money for the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the organization conducting the appeal of the Minneapolis case to higher courts.

Accompanying the donation from the Relief Committee to the Civil Rights Defense Committee was a letter which stated:

"I am enclosing a check for \$50 from the Church Emergency Relief Committee to be applied for relief expenses of the families of the Minneapolis prisoners. This Committee does not raise money for legal or organizational expenses, but has for some years raised funds for strike relief and relief of families of labor prisoners."

"We would be glad if you might convey our good wishes to these families. The money comes from liberal-minded church people from all parts of the United States. With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,  
JAMES MYERS, Secretary"

#### UNION CONTRIBUTIONS

The Civil Rights Defense Committee also reported that Local 103 of the International Typographical Union, independent of Newark, N. J., had pledged moral support to the appeal being made by the defense movement, and sent a donation to aid in the work.

Local 433 of the Plaything and Novelty Workers of America, CIO, of Bridgeport, Conn., likewise sent money to aid the defense.

#### NEW PAMPHLET REVIEWS CASE

Announcement was also made this week by the National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee that a new pamphlet on the Minneapolis case is being prepared for distribution by local branches. The pamphlet will contain a complete review from the time the indictment was handed down through the trial and sentencing by the judge.

### Majority Of The War Labor Body Is Pro-Employer

#### Board Is Almost Duplicate of Discredited National Defense Mediation Board Attacked By the CIO for Upholding the Open Shop

The new 12-man War Labor Board named last Monday by President Roosevelt is virtually an extension of the discredited National Defense Mediation Board, from which the CIO representatives were forced to resign three months ago because of its pro-employer bias.

Heading the new board as chairman and one of the four so-called public representatives is William H. Davis, who received the condemnation of the CIO when he headed the NDMB and supported the open-shop steel corporations against the CIO miners union in the captive mine dispute.

Five others of the new board, in addition to Davis, were also members of the defunct NDMB, including one of the present "public" representatives, Dr. Frank Graham, who also voted for the open shop in the captive mines case.

The two other "public" representatives, who hold the balance of power on the new Board, are George Taylor, professor of eco-

nomics at the privately-endowed University of Pennsylvania, and Wayne L. Morris, Dean of the University of Oregon Law School. The four employer representatives are all of the hard-bitten open-shop variety. Thus, the very composition of the board guarantees that it will be overwhelmingly pro-employer in attitude. The powers of this War Labor Board go far beyond those of the old NDMB. The Executive Order gives it binding authority, including the power to invoke compulsory arbitration. The NDMB conducted only voluntary mediation and its decisions were not binding.

### FRED BEAL IS RELEASED ON PAROLE

#### Leader of Gastonia Strike Served Almost Four Years of Term

Fred Beal, serving a 17 to 20 year sentence in a North Carolina jail for his labor activities in the Gastonia textile strike of 1929, was paroled last week by Gov. J. M. Broughton, after having served 3 years and 11 months of his sentence.

As a member of the Communist Party and a leader of the textile strike, Beal was framed up and convicted of conspiracy to murder Chief of Police O. F. Aderholt in 1929.

Beal, acting on the advice of the Stalinists, forfeited his bond and fled to the Soviet Union where he remained for 7 years. Disgusted with what he saw of Stalinism in the USSR, Beal broke with the Stalinist movement and returned to the United States, where he gave himself up to serve out his sentence. The Communist Party in this country refused to support the movement to secure his freedom as the victim of a boss frame-up.

The union leaders enter this Board in a much weaker position than they held with respect to the NDMB. They have already agreed to a no-strike policy; and are therefore committed to an acceptance of the Board's decisions irrespective of how biased and harmful these decisions may be to labor's interests. The CIO in particular, by recognizing and serving on a board similar in so many basic particulars to the NDMB is in a far less favorable position to defend those policies it upheld in repudiating the NDMB. Moreover, the new board is not dependent on prestige for its authority, and has less need to maintain a surface appearance of impartiality.

As outlined in the Executive Order, the procedure of the Board will result in entwining the unions' demands in endless red-tape and delay. It provides for six possible separate steps in the settlement of a dispute. Each of these steps alone may entail weeks if not months of delay. During this time, the workers must continue to endure the conditions imposed on them by the employers.

During the last war, a similar procedure prevented the workers from getting 90 per cent of their grievances even heard by the Board. Of the cases considered, the 1918 Board made decisions in only a third, most of them in favor of the employers. The present size of the union movement, as compared to that of the last war, means an even greater volume of grievances and the possibility that the new Board will settle relatively few cases.

While the no-strike agreement and the activities of the Board will be a serious impediment to strikes, there is every likelihood that the war labor policy will not suppress strikes altogether. As in the last war, rising prices, intensified exploitation, intolerable hours and working conditions, aggravated by dissatisfaction with the delays and bias of the Board, will undoubtedly arouse the workers to resistance which in many instances will take the form of strikes.

### On The 18th Anniversary of Lenin's Death

By C. CHARLES

January 21, 1942 marks the 18th anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin, who together with Leon Trotsky led the Russian workers and peasants in 1917 in the revolution which established the Soviet Union.

Lenin, the architect of the Soviet Union, built well. He laid the foundations of the Soviet Union deep and strong. Neither Hitler's assaults nor the undermining effects of Stalinist rule have yet been able to destroy Lenin's work.

Everywhere Hitler triumphed until he turned east against the Soviet Union. In Lenin's Soviet Union, after months of bitter fighting and retreats, the morale and fighting capacity of the Soviet masses remain so high that Hitler's troops were brought to a dead halt for the first time, and now are actually retreating.

#### Why Soviet Morale Is High

The capitalist journalists and statesmen either do not see, or pretend they do not see, the real cause for the enthusiasm and morale of the Soviet masses which is:

In place of the ownership of the factories and land by a small minority of capitalists and landlords, the Russian Revolution under Lenin's leadership established the national ownership by the workers and peasants of the means of production. The Red Army and Soviet masses are fighting for their own revolution and not for a band of parasites. They are fighting for their socialist future.

In the Soviet Union alone Hitler has not found any Fifth Column to carry on his work behind the lines. The Fifth Column was destroyed—mark well the date, ex-Ambassador Davies and you Stalinist pen-prostitutes—in 1917, when under Lenin's guidance, the government of the capitalists and landlords was replaced by the Soviet government of workers and peasants and when the factories and land were nationalized.

Everywhere else, Hitler's Fifth Column has found a base among the large industrialists, bankers and land-owners, who prefer the foreign invader, Hitler, to revolution by their own workers.

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### New Tax Plans Hit Workers Most

From reports of preliminary Congressional tax discussions on the new gigantic war budget of \$59 billion, two facts emerge:

1. Congressional leaders are placing their main emphasis on raising war revenues through lowered income tax exemptions, payroll, excise and general sales taxes, all calculated to shunt

annually (United Press dispatch, Jan. 10).

#### PAY-ROLL TAX FINE FOR BOSSES

Under the proposed pay-roll tax, a family of two having a combined income of \$2,000 yearly would have approximately \$5 a week deducted from their pay by the bosses. Since the bosses fix their own salaries and would make their own deductions, they would see to it that their salaries would not suffer by taxation. Significantly, there is as yet no report of any proposals for drastically increasing the rate of taxation on incomes in the highest brackets.

Another focus of Congressional interest is sales and excise taxes.

Sales and excise taxes reach most deeply into the pockets of the low-wage earners, who spend almost all their income. Such taxes affect only a small fraction of the incomes of the wealthy, who save and invest most of their money.

A United Press Washington dispatch, Jan. 8, reported that "President Roosevelt's tacit approval of a general sales tax" in his budget speech is being "seized upon" by Congressional tax leaders.

Commenting on this section of President Roosevelt's speech, the United Press, Jan. 8, stated that "Congressmen noted that Mr. Roosevelt said 'later,' but they believed he might even now approve a sales tax program as a 'temporary necessity'."

#### "THE BIG ISSUE"

But, adds the U. P. dispatch, "not as well received as the sales tax hint" was the President's re-

commendation for a "revision of the excess profits tax, the big issue of the 1941 tax program."

The "big issue" concerns only a difference in the methods for computing the base for profits taxes. Neither method proposed is a radical departure from existing methods, neither would result in cutting effectively into war profits.

#### EASY ON PROFITS

While ready to place staggering burdens on the workers, Congress is displaying touching solicitude for big business. "Congressional tax leaders have taken the view," reports the *New York Times*, Jan. 8, "that to cut down corporation profits too radically would injure small business, would remove a great incentive to efficient operation of industry generally and would in the long run hurt the war effort more than help it."

This does not mean that there will be no increases in corpora-

tion income and profits taxes. Undoubtedly, there will be. But, the increases will not cut very deeply into the augmented profits in the war industries, where production and profits are expected to be doubled and tripled.

Such increased taxation as may be placed on big incomes and profits will be only a gesture to appease the masses, as Thomas L. Stokes, Scripps-Howard staff writer, pointed out in his Washington dispatch of Jan. 8:

"Administration leaders recognize the disturbing effect of tremendous war profits upon rank-and-file labor, particularly with taxes and living costs going up. Therefore, to prevent unrest among the great masses from whom the administration is asking great sacrifices, they see the necessity of putting a limit on profits in order to demonstrate an effort to distribute the burdens of war as equitably as possible."

# Goldman Discusses The Government Witnesses

We must proceed now to analyze the testimony of some of the witnesses for the prosecution but I shall confine myself primarily, ladies and gentlemen, to only one witness. I confine myself largely to the witness who, in the words of Mr. Anderson, "continuously rose in stature during the trial until he reached way beyond the limit of the ceiling." Maybe I didn't understand Mr. Anderson correctly. Maybe he was really sarcastic.

There obviously are times in a man's life when he changes his opinions about important questions. I would be the last man in the world to attack anyone who, after spending a certain number of years in the socialist movement, would finally reach the conclusion that the movement is based on a wrong philosophy.

## JAMES BARTLETT, CHIEF WITNESS

If James Bartlett were that type of man, I would, of course, regret his leaving the movement. But I would not attack him. If he were that type of man, he would never testify against us. He could not possibly be an honest man and testify as he did.

From his testimony Bartlett can be designated as a careerist — a man only interested in carving out a career for himself. He goes from one party to another, always with the idea in the back of his mind of assuring for himself a comfortable living.

Why does he claim he left the Socialist Workers Party? Because he found out that we were advocating force and violence. On the face of it, that is unbelievable.

## WITNESS FOR PROSECUTION PROVED A PERJURER

Then in 1936 he comes to Mr. Vincent Dunne, and according to Bartlett's testimony, Mr. Dunne asks him to join the Socialist Workers Party. At that point I very quietly asked him: "Did Mr. Dunne tell you or give you to understand that the Trotskyists claimed to be the real Marxists as against the Stalinists?" Bartlett's answer was yes. Consider Mr. Bartlett's testimony! He says he left the Communist Party because he found out that it advocated the violent overthrow of the government. He comes to our party and knows, before joining our party, that we claim to be the real Marxists and he also testified that he read books by Marx and Lenin which, in his opinion, advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. It must follow, then, from Bartlett's testimony that he should have known before he joined our party that we also advocated the violent overthrow of the government. But according to his testimony, it took him three years to find that out. He found that out early in 1940 when he left our party. He joined our party in 1936 or 1937 so it took Mr. Bartlett all these years to find that out.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the dumb government witnesses who followed Bartlett — Novack, Harris and others whose names I don't remember — testified that at every party meeting they attended there was a discussion in which the violent overthrow of the government was advocated. Violet Williams testified that she attended many meetings, heard many lectures, did not remember the subject of the lectures or the contents of the lectures, but she remembered in general that we advocated the violent overthrow of the government. So we have people like Novack and Harris and Violet Williams — not very smart — and they find out that we advocate the violent overthrow of the government after attending two or three meetings.

Bartlett — the smart fellow who read the "Communist Manifesto" and the "State and Revolution" before he joined the Communist Party in 1932, who, while in the Communist Party read all of the Communist Party literature and spoke for that party and wrote in the *Daily Worker*, who read many pamphlets while he was in our party — took three years before he found out that we advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

Mr. Anderson, for you to stand up now and say that you believe every word that Bartlett testified to would convict you of something more than sarcasm.

Let us go on. When, on cross-examination, I introduced certain statements made by Mr. Bartlett, I think that Mr. Schweinhaut and Mr. Anderson were overjoyed. It seemed that I had made a terrible blunder. I introduced the statement that Bartlett made when he joined the Socialist Workers Party; also the statement that he made when he campaigned in his own union against an opposition; and also the letter that he had written to the *Star-Journal*. The gentlemen of the prosecution did not catch the significance of those statements that I introduced. I did not care what Bartlett said about himself in those statements. But what I was interested in was one assertion that he *didn't* make in any of these statements.

Bartlett claims, ladies and gentlemen, that he left the Communist Party because it advocated force and violence. Now, wouldn't it be natural to expect that if that were the truth, he would say so in the statement giving the reasons why he left the Communist Party? The only reason that he mentions *now* for his leaving the Communist Party, he never mentioned in the statement in which he explained why he left the Communist Party. Is there any sense in that?

When Bartlett issued the statement against some of our members who were running in opposition to him in the warehouse union elections, he had already left the Socialist Work-

## THE ONE THING THAT ALL THE WITNESSES REMEMBERED

Those of the government witnesses who were former members of our party could testify to nothing about our program, with the exception, of course, that they testified that we advocated the armed overthrow of the government. I mentioned before that these people never remembered the subject or contents of a single pamphlet or party discussion, but always remembered that the defendants advocated the violent overthrow of the government. Mr. Eugene Williams, for instance, on direct examination remembered that Farrell Dobbs spoke at the first meeting he attended and naturally he also remembered that Farrell Dobbs advocated the armed overthrow of the government. On cross-examination he forgot that it was Farrell Dobbs and said that it was Felix Morrow, but still he remembered that, no matter who it was, the speaker ad-

## Defense Counsel Analyzes Testimony Of Government Witnesses In The Minneapolis "Sedition" Trial

Bartlett is a smart man — he is not an intelligent man — but he is a smart fellow, there is no question about it. Under certain circumstances he would make a good business agent — better perhaps than most business agents. He can read. He testified that he wrote articles for the *Daily Worker*. He admitted that he read the "Communist Manifesto" before he joined the Communist Party. He admitted that he read "State and Revolution" by Lenin before he joined the Communist Party. When I asked him whether he knew that these two books advocated an armed overthrow of the government, he answered in the affirmative; that is, he knew that before he joined the Communist Party. He also admitted that he read a great deal of literature after he joined the Communist Party. He said he joined the Communist Party in 1932 and left it in the middle of 1933; and during this year and a half he read the literature of the party, he made speeches and wrote articles for the *Daily Worker*.

And then he states that he left the Communist Party because he found out that it advocated the violent overthrow of the government. So, after reading the "Communist Manifesto" and "State and Revolution", the two documents which, in his opinion, advocated the violent overthrow of the government, it took him another year and a half to find out that the Communist Party advocated that doctrine!

ers Party. And according to his testimony here he left the party because he found out that it advocated force and violence. Where, in the statement he wrote in 1940, is there any assertion of that kind? It isn't in that statement!

In the early part of this year Bartlett wrote a letter to the *Star-Journal*, a letter that I introduced in evidence. In it he claims that he left the Communist Party in the summer of 1934 and not in 1933 as he testified to on the witness stand. It is obvious that he was lying on the witness stand. It is obvious that he wanted to justify his statement from the witness stand that during the 1934 strike he told Dunne that he was out of the Communist Party. A liar, no matter how clever or how intelligent, finds it impossible to remember all the lies that he utters.

Why did he not, in the letter that he wrote to the *Star-Journal*, give as his reason for leaving the Socialist Workers Party that it advocated the violent overthrow of the government? There is not a single mention of that. He never mentioned his alleged real reason for leaving the party in any of the statements that he made before the trial. In the parade of perjury represented by the government witnesses, Bartlett "rose to the ceiling" and way above it.

Mr. Anderson did not know that yesterday or the day before yesterday he, himself, convicted Bartlett of perjury. I shall show you how. Mr. Anderson was examining Mr. Dobbs. He had in his hand either the "ABC of Marxism" or "What is Trotskyism" and he gleefully asked Mr. Dobbs: "Well, this was written in 1941, wasn't it?" Mr. Dobbs answered: "That is right."

When did Bartlett last visit the party headquarters? I asked him: "Was it March, was it February, was it April?" And finally he said that "It could not have been later than April, 1940."

Then I had to maneuver carefully — because Bartlett is a smart fellow — to get him to admit that he bought "What is Trotskyism" and the "ABC of Marxism" in the party headquarters. He stated definitely that he bought them in the headquarters.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if the last time that Bartlett was at the headquarters was in April, 1940 and if the pamphlets — as is proved by their internal context — were written after Trotsky's death, were published in February or March, 1941, how could Bartlett get those two books in the headquarters? Try to solve that riddle, Mr. Anderson.

Is there any question but that Bartlett is a perjurer? Would any witness for the defense guilty of such perjury be permitted to be free at the present time? There would be an indictment out against him, but Bartlett is a government witness and the government wants to prove its case regardless of the evidence and Bartlett, the greatest perjurer and the greatest liar that ever sat in the federal court, is permitted to go free.

AFTERNOON SESSION  
Friday, November 28, 1941

THE COURT: You may proceed.

MR. GOLDMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, by this time you know enough about our theory to understand that it is difficult for me to speak with bitterness against any individual. By and large we hold that social conditions are responsible for the character of an individual and it is almost impossible for me as a Marxist to be bitter towards a government witness regardless of the depths of perjury which he reaches. That does not, of course, prevent me from pointing out the false testimony which the government witnesses gave.

Most of the important government witnesses — whose names I enumerated and who are directly or indirectly connected with the Tobin administration of Local 544-AFL — are helpless people who were motivated by a desire to get jobs in the local and they could only do so if the defendants were pushed out of their positions.

vocated the armed overthrow of the government. And that's all he remembered.

Another significant point. A great many of the witnesses claimed that Vincent Ray Dunne who, as the outstanding leader of Local 544-CIO, is more or less of a chief devil in this picture, discussed with them the question of what our party wanted to do after the passing of the Selective Service Act. They testified that they had conversations with Dunne about this matter long after they were out of the party, even after they had fought in the union against our party members.

It looked peculiar, did it not, that Dunne who, you will all agree, is a highly intelligent person, should talk to people who were no longer members of the party and who were enemies of the party, about such delicate questions as inciting insurrection in the army. I think the jury must have seen

the absurdity of that testimony.

Then something occurred which gave the whole show away. Sidney Brennan got on the stand and of course testified that he also had a conversation with V. R. Dunne, subsequent to the passing of the Selective Service Act, in which conversation Dunne told him that the party was trying to stir up trouble in the army. Assistant Attorney-General Schweinhaut asked Brennan the following question: "Were you on good terms with Mr. Dunne at the time of the conversation?" and Mr. Brennan obediently answered in the affirmative. It was so glaringly obvious that Bartlett or someone else realized the absurdity of the claim that Dunne spoke to these people after they had ceased to be members and after they had ceased to be on good terms with him. It was therefore necessary to say that Brennan was still on good terms with V. R. Dunne. A minor point but very significant!

Another piece of testimony that shows how much perjury the government witnesses really committed was their story that the executive board of the union paid Emil Hansen's weekly salary at the time he was acting as a guard for Leon Trotsky. This evidence, of course, could not possibly help the jury arrive at a decision as to whether or not the Socialist Workers Party conspired to overthrow the government by force and violence, but I presume the prosecution used it for some effect on the jury. But somebody had forgotten to coach Miss Hanifan, the bookkeeper of Local 544-AFL, and when I asked her: "Did you issue checks for Mr. Hansen when he was in Mexico?" she answered, "No." This admission came from a government witness and now I suppose the government will be forced to contend that Mr. Hansen was paid out of the cash box.

In and by itself a minor point like this is not worth much but when you take all the little and big falsehoods testified to by the government witnesses, you have before you a case based on witnesses whose testimony indicated one thing, and one thing only — they were not afraid of a possible prosecution for perjury.

## GOLDMAN SHOWS REAL MOTIVES OF THE WITNESSES

The government witnesses organized a Committee of 99 to fight socialism in Local 544. That is what they claim. Samuel Johnson said: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" and if ever this phrase applied, it applies to the government witnesses. These perjurers wrapped themselves in the American flag, not because they cared a tinker's damn about patriotism, but because in this way they think they can succeed in gaining a victory over the defendants. Their real motive was not to fight socialism but to get a few more dollars and get positions to which they could not be elected.

With great difficulty I succeeded in presenting the true motives of the government witnesses. It was the situation in the Minneapolis Brewery that gave the jury a clue as to their real motives. I do not intend to examine the evidence on that point in detail. You remember what the situation was there, the struggle between the executive board of the local composed largely of the defendants on the one hand, and government witnesses Holstein, Eugene Williams, Al Williams and Buckingham, on the other hand. You realized from the testimony of the government witnesses themselves that these people were participating in a racket. The government witness, Blixt, who worked in the market, was in the same boat. When I asked him whether, contrary to the orders of the executive board, he stopped farmers' trucks from coming into the market, he tried to excuse himself by saying that he stopped only the "wildcat" operators.

It was a great racket for these witnesses until the Executive Board of Local 544 stepped in and compelled them to give up their racket of charging small distributors, who wanted a load from the Minneapolis Brewery, a minimum of four hours' pay regardless of the time that it actually took to load the truck — whether it was 15 minutes or 20 minutes. You noticed that it was after the executive board compelled these witnesses to give up the racket that the Committee of 99 was organized to oppose the leadership of the union.

And this Committee of 99 could not convince the membership of 544, so the Committee invited the FBI to participate in the meetings of the Committee. The FBI, in fact, became part of the Committee of 99. This testimony comes from the government's own witness and is uncontradicted.

## WHY THE GOVERNMENT WITNESSES JOINED THE PARTY

Some of the government witnesses were at one time members of the Socialist Workers Party. What made these people join the party?

In commenting on the testimony of defendants Rainbolt and Orgon, Mr. Anderson said that had these defendants testified that they joined the party in order to get jobs, then he would have more consideration for them. Mr. Anderson doesn't see the significance of his remarks. He seems to think that the government witnesses who testified that they joined the party to get jobs have thereby cleansed themselves of any possible sin they committed by joining the party, while Mr. Rainbolt and Mr. Orgon are still criminals. The conclusion is: If people join the party because of idealistic reasons, because they are convinced that the party represents a cause worth fighting and dying for, then they belong in jail; but if they join the party in order to get a job, they should be released.

The defendants Rainbolt and Orgon did not know all the principles of the party when they joined. They joined because they knew the Dunes; they knew Farrell Dobbs and Carl Skoglund and knew how honest these men were. Had there been, by the way, the slightest question of the honesty of the defendants in the leadership of 544, it would have surely been brought out in the evidence. No one dares impute any dishonest motives to any of the defendants —

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Now, just a moment. I wish your Honor would instruct the jury that we could not have proved in evidence here that these men were dishonest except by criminal records, if any.

THE COURT: That is true. The jury will so heed that statement. Until a man proves his own character in evidence, it can't be impeached or criticized by the government.

Yesterday I argued that even if you would consider the witnesses for the government as absolutely honest, you should disregard their testimony concerning statements allegedly made by the defendants two or three years ago because you have far more reliable, documentary, evidence on which to base your decision. But you are not confronted with honest witnesses. On the contrary, you are confronted with witnesses who are now officially connected with Local 544-AFL — some of them paid organizers, most of them having taken the positions of the men who are now in the prisoners' dock — who were opposed to and fought the leadership of the defendants in 544 and whose testimony is shot through with falsehoods and perjury. There is nothing else for you to do but to give no credence whatever to this testimony.

## THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE MUST DECIDE

Mr. Anderson made much of the fact that most of the testimony of these witnesses stood uncontradicted and un denied. This is a common trick used by lawyers. If a witness for one side makes 500 statements and the witness for the other side denies only 450 of them; then the other 50, undenied, prove the case. Suppose I had put all the defendants on the stand and all the defendants had denied all the statements which the government witnesses claimed they had made; wherein would that be of any help to you?

In this case, ladies and gentlemen, we are confronted with this situation: Either our program and our documents advocate the armed overthrow of the government by force and violence, in which case we are guilty; or else they do not advocate such a doctrine, in which case we are not guilty. The individual oral statements alleged to have been made by defendants a year or two or three years ago should play no role. I do not try cases simply by denying statements attributed to defendants. I prefer to get to the very heart of the issue.

The charge in this case is conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. Was there or was there not such a conspiracy? The government has introduced more than 150 exhibits consisting of articles, pamphlets and official declarations. Let the jurors determine their decision by those and not by isolated statements alleged to have been uttered by some of the defendants two or three years ago.

Do not misunderstand me, ladies and gentlemen, I do not claim that the Committee of 99 was powerful enough to initiate and set into motion this prosecution — not Bartlett, not Tommy Williams, not these witnesses, oh no, men higher up, men who appointed a Receiver to take the defendants out of their jobs — these are the people who had the power to initiate and set into motion —

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: That is absolutely not true, if your Honor please.

THE COURT: I don't think that is appropriate argument, Mr. Goldman; I don't think it is appropriate argument in the face of the state of this record, and I don't think you should pursue it.

MR. GOLDMAN: The Committee of 99 could not convince the members of Local 544 through argument. Is that in the record? Witness after witness testified that they had a chance to run opposition candidates. That is in the record. Members of the Committee of 99 testified here one after another to this effect.

## THE DEFENDANTS BUILT THE UNION

"Under whose leadership was Local 544 organized?" I asked some of the government witnesses. They had to admit that the union was built by the Dunes, Dobbs, Carl Skoglund, Harry DeBoer and everyone else who is a defendant and connected with Local 544. From a membership of 200, the defendants raised the local to 6,000. Do you think any of the government witnesses were capable of creating this powerful union that exerted tremendous influence throughout the northwest area? Who built the Over-the-Road Committee? Farrell Dobbs. And these government witnesses, members of the Committee of 99, some of them unfortunate half-wits, are now in the offices that the defendants had prior to Tobin's appointment of the Receiver.

"Were you elected to office?" I asked Sidney Brennan, who testified that he is now Secretary-Treasurer of 544-AFL. "No," he answered.

"Who appointed you?" "Neal," was the answer.

"You mean the Receiver for Tobin?" "Yes," was the answer.

MR. GOLDMAN: It is in evidence that the union executive board did not permit racketeering. It is in evidence that all these government witnesses who testified that they joined the party in order to get jobs in the union, didn't get jobs; that all the government witnesses who testified that they joined the party to hold their jobs, didn't hold their jobs. The government witnesses finally succeeded in getting jobs in the union, only when the defendants, who built the union by their blood and their sacrifices in the course of many strike struggles, were pushed out and are now threatened with deprivation of their liberties. Take the testimony of all the members of the Committee of 99 and everything that I say will be borne out.

The government witnesses told the truth when they testified that they joined the Socialist Workers Party in order to get jobs. They probably thought that the Socialist Workers Party was like the Republican or Democratic parties. They saw the defendants in charge of a union and they thought they could get jobs by joining the party of which the defendants were members. Quickly, however, they were disillusioned. They didn't get any jobs because men like the defendants don't put people into jobs in a union unless these people are capable.

(To be concluded next week)

## PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Next week will announce the publication of one of the most important pamphlets it has ever issued. See next week's issue of THE MILITANT for full details.

## The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

### 15 Other Negro Heroes

After reading again the other day about the heroic exploits of the Negro mess attendant on the sinking battleship, U. S. S. Arizona, my mind went back to the case of 15 other Negro mess attendants on another Navy ship, the U. S. S. Philadelphia.

The Arizona mess attendant, I thought, "forgot his place," which, according to Navy regulations, is down in the galley. On Dec. 7, at Pearl Harbor, he "forgot his place" and seized a machine gun and used it till his ammunition ran out.

The 15 Philadelphia mess attendants also "forgot their place." They had joined the Navy to become sailors and soon learned that in the Navy Negroes can serve only as sea-going dishwashers and lackeys. On top of this, they were subjected to all kinds of insult and abuse from their officers.

They sat down and wrote a letter to a Negro newspaper, The Pittsburgh Courier, protesting against the Jim Crow regulations which bar them from Navy positions outside of the mess division, and expressing the desire to get training in the Navy just as all other sailors do. They all signed their names to the letter.

As soon as the letter was printed, they were placed under arrest. A few weeks later, during the first week of Dec., 1940, almost a year to the day before the attack on Pearl Harbor, when the case had reached its end, they were fired out of the Navy with "undesirable discharges"—for "the good of the service," as it was put by Admiral Nimitz, then chief of the Bureau of Navigation.

I was reminded of those 15 Negro sailors because to my mind, although they did not get honorable mention, although practically nobody wrote about their bravery, their action was every bit as heroic as that which characterized the mess attendant on the Arizona. Their action in writing that letter should be remembered and honored just as much as the different kind of action of the Arizona sailor.

P. S. After looking up the stories about the 15 sailors printed in this paper over a year ago, I find that at the time they signed that letter, the Philadelphia was stationed at... Pearl Harbor.

### The Symbols of Democracy

Democracy apparently means different things to different people. It certainly doesn't mean the same thing to an auto magnate and an auto worker thrown out of his job. It doesn't mean the same thing for a worker on strike and a boss trying to break a strike. It doesn't mean the same thing for a lynch mob and the intended victim of a lynch mob. It doesn't mean the same thing for Secretary of the Navy Knox and a Negro mess attendant.

But what we want to discuss here is not democracy, but a symbol of democracy. We are certain that there are many symbols of democracy, and that they differ as much and as often as the definitions of democracy itself. To a member of the Sixty Families, democracy's best symbol is probably a dollar sign. A rope and a torch would go good as a symbol of democracy as it is understood by the defenders of Jim Crow.

Mr. S. Sloan Colt, Director of the Red Cross War Drive, has his own ideas about democracy and its symbols.

In reply to a letter from a doctor protesting the refusal of the Red Cross to accept blood from Negroes for its blood bank, Colt wrote as follows: "The Red Cross is now able to obtain from white donors enough blood to keep all the processing plants fully occupied so that the total amount of blood plasma available to the armed forces is not lessened by our inability to accept Negro donors."

If this statement has any pertinence, it is that the Red Cross doesn't care very much if Negroes are angry about being Jim Crowed even when they want to donate their very blood, as long as they were able to get the amount of blood they want from white people. This implies that maybe later on, when it needs more blood than it can get from white donors, the Red Cross will do something about the protests of the Negro people.

Then after admitting that there are no scientific objections to transfusions of the blood of Negroes, Colt went on to say:

"It seems that the feelings and perhaps even the prejudices of individuals to whom transfusions are given should be respected as a symbol of democracy."

If Jim Crow prejudices are the symbol, then what must be the democracy they symbolize for which Negroes are called on to give up their lives?

### Joe Louis and the Navy

Joe Louis was on the receiving end of a lot of applause on Jan. 9 because he risked his title in a bout against Buddy Baer without getting a nickel in return. Even Secretary of the Navy Knox sent a telegram and a special representative for the occasion. All of Louis' share of the purse was contributed to the Naval Relief Fund.

But if Louis had gone down to the Naval recruiting station the next morning, he would still have been told that they were sorry, "but Negroes are admitted into the Navy only as mess attendants."

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co.—whose campaign to put over the "incentive" system of more work for less pay on its workers led to a strike recently—has a mighty big incentive of its own. The net profits for the company—after taxes—was \$12,455,843 for the first nine months of this year as compared to \$5,265,492 for the comparable period of 1940. That's an increase of 136 per cent. Some incentive!

# OPM Parley Rejects Auto Union Plan

## Bosses, OPM Are To Blame For Shut-Down

(Continued from page 1)

representatives. Walter Reuther, Richard Frankenstein, and George Addes, officers of the UAW-CIO, represent labor.

The seventh and government representative, who will act as chairman and have the deciding vote, is Cyrus Ching, vice president of the United States Rubber Corporation. Ching was a member of the National Defense Mediation Board, and voted against the union shop for the captive coal miners. It is obvious that this committee, dominated by corporation heads, will "assist" the auto industry according to the dictates of the auto bosses.

### STATEMENT OF THOMAS

UAW President Thomas summed up the results of the conference by stating: "The scope of power accorded the sub-committee is such that labor will have no effective voice. The attitude of the spokesmen of industry, clearly indicated in our conference, is such that we must conclude that conversion will be handled in a leisurely way, and that there will be no pooling whatever, between the companies, of available machinery and skilled labor."

Of course, the auto magnates will not act "leisurely" in the sense of wanting to take their time about converting the industry to war production. They will naturally try to get production started as quickly as they can in order to benefit by their present sources of profits, war production. They will be "leisurely" only in the sense that they will undertake conversion in an individualistic fashion, without real industry-wide planning, pooling of resources etc. They will hold out for better contract terms. The various corporations will compete to get a monopoly of raw material supplies.

The basic problem of achieving maximum production by planned, coordinated operation of the industry as one unit thus stands as far from solution as ever. Each of the big three corporations, GM, Ford and Chrysler, is free to determine its own production policies and utilize its facilities as it pleases.

This means that they will pool facilities and resources only when and if they think it profitable. But there will be no central organization of production.

### RE-TOOLING THE INDUSTRY

A great to-do has been made over the fact that the industry is undertaking the fulfillment of five billion dollars more of Army and Navy contracts. C. E. Wilson, president of GM, revealed at the conference, however, that his company does not expect to be in position to undertake actual production on any considerable scale for nine months to a year. That is how long it will take to re-tool the industry. This belies the deliberate impression given the public by the OPM and auto bosses that auto unemployment will be virtually eliminated in a few months.

The auto bosses will, of course, parcel out work to smaller parts and machine tool companies. This has been standard practice for the big companies up to now. However, the work will be subcontracted on the basis of the highest and most profitable bids from the thousands of competing small companies. Under genuine industry-wide organization of production, the government would contract directly with the small companies, issuing orders where they can best be fulfilled and eliminating hundreds of millions of dollars in added costs that go as profits into the pockets of the big auto moguls.

UAW leaders had demanded that auto labor be given an equal

voice with management "to determine and make effective" the best policies for the operation of the auto industry. This idea was given a complete brush-off by the auto manufacturers and the OPM, including Sidney Hillman.

### WHY AUTO BARONS OPPOSE POOLING

"The attitude of the auto corporations toward any delimiting of their control over production, even if this would expedite production, was expressed by C. E. Wilson, in reply to the question, 'If the Government called on General Motors to pool its facilities under a joint management-labor-government board, would General Motors do so?', Wilson replied:

"To divide the responsibility for management would be to destroy the very foundation upon which America's unparalleled record of industrial accomplishment has been built." This was said as over 100,000 auto workers pounded the streets in Detroit alone.

Wilson then showed what was really sticking in the craw of the auto bosses. "There is no way to pool the facilities of the country," he said, "without the socialization of industry."

Wilson, speaking the mind of the industry, cannot argue effectively against pooling because it will not achieve greater and speedier production. He is against it because it implies possible limitations upon the powers of the individual corporations to operate as they please. As between greater production through "socialization"—that is, pooling—and lesser production through "undivided responsibility of management," Wilson and his colleagues are 100 per cent for lesser production.

### WHITEWASH BY OPM

So far as the OPM is concerned, its only purpose in calling the conference, it seems, was to give the auto bosses a public white-washing by referring to the "complex" problems involved. On Dec. 22, Knudsen said: "There isn't a person living who could give an accurate figure as to the percentage of American industry that could be put to work on military orders."

This statement is either a self-

## 450,000 Face Long Term of Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

While this "haggling" went on, in recent months only 50% of machine tool capacity of American industry was being utilized as the National Association of Manufacturers has admitted. A recent survey of the UAW revealed that 35% of machine tools in the auto industry were being used.

### WHO BLOCKS EXPANSION?

Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold stated on Jan. 3, 1942 that:

"Anti-trust investigations have shown that there is not an organized basic industry in the United States which has not been restricting production by some device or other in order to avoid what they call the 'ruthless over-production after the war.'"

"These groups have been afraid to develop production themselves. They have been afraid to let others come into the field. They have concealed shortages by optimistic predictions of supplies and talked of production facilities which do not exist," Arnold said.

In order to preserve their monopolies, the owners of basic industries, including the auto industry, have disrupted and hampered production by falsifying the facts and blocking expansion. What did the Office of Production Management do to remedy this situation?

### KNUDSEN'S ROLE

William S. Knudsen, OPM head and former General Motors President, has repeatedly replied to union demands for pooling production by referring to the "complex" problems involved. On Dec. 22, Knudsen said: "There isn't a person living who could give an accurate figure as to the percentage of American industry that could be put to work on military orders."

This statement is either a self-

damning admission of complete technical incompetence and ignorance, or an attempt to hide the truth behind the so-called "mystery" of American industry. Knudsen hasn't "bungled," as some would claim. He deliberately sought to protect the industrialists while they maneuvered for profit advantages. If the OPM cannot give "accurate figures" on conversion, it is because it never seriously tried to get them.

Walter H. Wheeler Jr., deputy director of OPM's contract distribution service, testified before the Tolson House Committee late in December 1941 that:

"The OPM is just now approaching the question of conversion in an industry-wide manner."

Only now, after the last drop of profits has been wrung out of "business as usual," are the industrialists and the OPM tackling the problem of conversion.

The order has been given by OPM for the complete change-over in the auto industry to military production. According to the *New York Times*, Jan. 4, "The new order has been accepted cheerfully and willingly by the industry." The same articles admits the auto workers, looking forward to months of unemployment, are not so cheerful.

### THE CIO PLAN

Why has the OPM refused to accept the CIO plan to pool the resources of the industry and give labor a voice in the management of this conversion?

Arthur Krock in his *New York Times* column, made clear the reasons for this refusal: "What was proposed was a social economic revolution in American industry." Pooling was out of the question, Krock insisted, because "the Reuther idea would cut across corporation lines."

The OPM has made it clear that nothing will be done to limit the power of the corporation owners to completely control and operate the industry. The system of "crossing corporation lines" and pooling of production will not be used, because it conflicts with the private interests of the respective corporations, who in-

sist on "freedom" to bargain and maneuver for the best contracts, highest profits, etc.

Behind this is the industrialist's fear that if labor were given a place in management, if representatives of the workers were let into the secrets of management and given access to the corporation books, the whole system of private ownership and control might be exposed for the terrible drag on production that it is.

The bosses want to be free to convert their plants to military production only in such way as to protect their privileges and profits. They insist on this even though it will mean continued waste and inefficiency, the hampering and future dislocation of production.

### WHAT THE BOSSES COST IN PRODUCTION

What the bosses are costing this country in production losses is shown by the following figures. In the next few months, priorities and industrial dislocation are expected to result in the unemployment of 2,500,000 workers in all industries. That is a loss of 70,000,000 man-days of work per month. In all 1941, only 22,000,000 man-days of labor were lost through strikes. The present curtailment of auto production, for which the bosses are responsible, will cost a greater loss of production in one month than all the auto strikes since 1933.

When the bosses raise a hue and cry about the loss of production due to strikes, they are trying to cover up the real disrupters of production, themselves, as the above figures graphically testify.

The situation in the auto industry merely underlines the incapacity and unwillingness of the industrial monopoly owners to operate industry in the interest of the masses of people.

Only a Workers and Farmers Government, which will take over the operation of the basic industries and run them under the control and management of the workers, can gear the nation's plants to maximum production. Only such a government will plan the economy in a rational manner that will provide steady jobs for all.

## Relations Between Great Britain And The U.S. In the War

By A. ROLAND

### British Resentment About U. S. Role

It was a Labor Party member of parliament who expressed the feeling of resentment of the British ruling class over its complete dependence on the United States in the war. He called attention to the fact that England was in "danger of becoming the Helgoland base of the United States in Europe. The world press, including the press of the United States, featured the apt expression without disputing it or commenting on it.

The actual entry of the United States into the war (formally speaking) has tended to re-adjust the balance somewhat in the English favor and they have not failed to take quick advantage of this new fact. It will be recalled that the United States exerted pressure through its lease-lend aid, to force England to forego exporting any real quantity of goods to South America for the duration of the war. Much as this action angered British business, it was compelled to obey and the United States was given a free hand in South America.

United States diplomacy was engaged just before the fateful Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, in trying to come to some agreement with the English government concerning the post-war handling of the return of lease-lend equipment—or some equivalent. There can be no illusion that the "loans" made by the United States to its allies will ever be repaid in cash. All that the United States can do is to try to extract whatever advantages it can in place of repayment in cash or in kind.

Thus the press contained references to the fact that negotiations were going on with a view to adjustment of lease-lend aid by the ceding of naval bases and territory in the Western Hemisphere to America. This was to be not merely a matter of long leasing but of actual change of sovereignty. Some congressmen had advanced this idea when the lease-lend act was first broached.

### The Negotiations Have Halted

The magazine *Newsweek* now points out in an editorial that the formal entry of the United States into the conflict has halted these negotiations and has brought a change in English attitude. Whereas previously the English seemed quite ready to discuss the matter of post-war settlement in all its phases, that has now changed. From Churchill down to the lower rungs of the diplomatic ladder, the new line is followed of refusing to discuss post-war settlements. "First let us win the war; that is the only question of importance now," says Churchill. He prefers leaving other matters to the future.

This new attitude represents a first faint revolt against United States domination. But the relations between the two countries remain and must remain pretty much the same, despite the fact that they are now "equal partners" in the war. The fact that all discussions center in Washington is evidence of the role of this country. Churchill travels to Washington not only because of the war dangers abroad, but because the last word must be said there.

Not only Churchill himself, but the governments of the English colonies and dominions recognize their dependence on United States help. The situation of Australia is becoming rapidly more critical as the Japanese threaten to take Singapore. The loss of this Pacific base would be a tremendous blow at both allies. The way would become open for the Japanese to strike further south towards Australia and New Zealand. Their complete control of the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean, would enable the Japanese to threaten seriously India itself.

No wonder then that Premier Curtin of Australia appealed for help to the United States, and made a none too veiled threat to take Australia out of the Empire. His later denial of any such intention does not change the actual situation. In the next period of the war Australia will be completely dependent on the naval forces that the United States can dispose as a screen between the South Pacific and the Japanese.

### What Fall of Singapore Would Mean

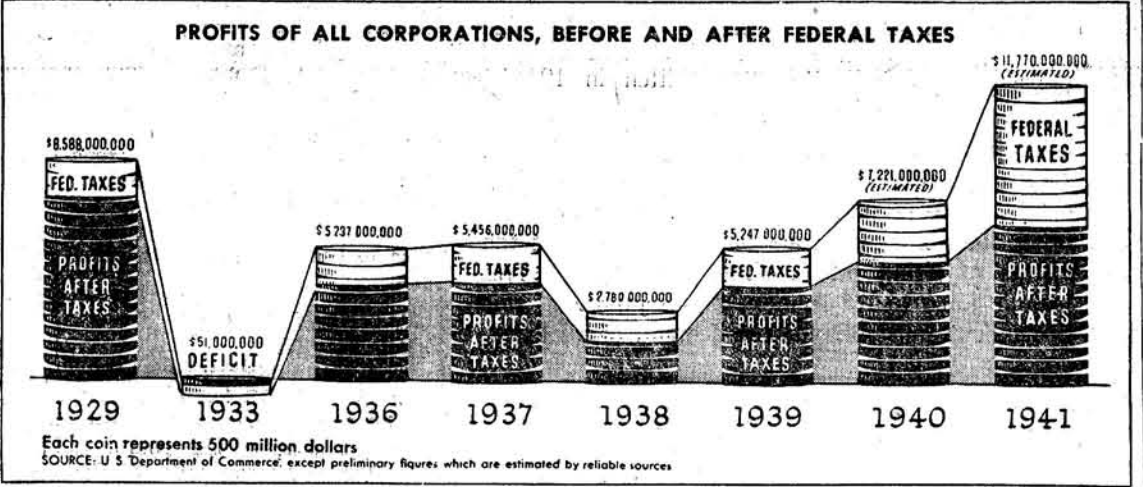
There is another aspect also to the possible fall of Singapore. That great base with its naval facilities, represented one of the most powerful bargaining points for England in its relations with the United States. Should it be taken by the Japanese, then England has that much less to offer to the United States for its help in the Pacific. There can be little doubt that to gain an ultimate victory over Japan, America would have to regain the vital Singapore base. It will be at heavy sacrifice of American planes, ships and tanks that the Western Pacific area will be retaken by this country. This will complicate the status of the colonial empires all the more.

Naturally both England and the United States will fight as desperately as they can to hold Singapore. This is the critical center of the Pacific War, now and in the future. Here again, while most of the fighters may be soldiers of Australia, India, England itself, the equipment in planes, guns and munitions must come in the main from the U. S. A.

The stupendous program of armaments production of Roosevelt means that the dependence of England on the United States will increase in the future rather than decrease. Thus the real relation of forces cannot help assert itself through diplomacy. The English will hardly be able to throw off the "yoke of dependence." The voice of the American government is the dominant one in the councils of the "United Nations." It will have the last say on any vital questions in dispute.

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## Corporation Profits Rising in Spite of Taxes



# Contract Negotiations Break Down At Kearny

## U. S. Steel Again Rejects "Maintenance of Membership" Clause At Federal Shipyard

Contract negotiations between the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers and the management of the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company's huge shipyard broke down on Jan. 7, 24 hours after the yard was returned by the Navy Department to the full control of its U. S. Steel Corporation owners.

The principle issue continues to be the "maintenance of membership" clause demanded by the union. This was the clause which the company refused to accept last August, after it had been recommended by the National Defense Mediation Board. The company's high-handed attitude then precipitated a 17-day strike of 16,000 workers, which ended when the Navy Department, under orders from President Roosevelt, took over operation of the Kearny plant on Aug. 23, 1941.

Union leaders state they will place the issue of union security before the forthcoming War Labor Board, asserting at the same time that they will abide by the no-strike agreement recently accepted by the AFL and CIO heads.

But the company, as the *New York Times*, Jan. 9, reported, "has taken the view that it could not undertake to put any issue before the board until it had been established and the scope of its authority delimited."

Unlike the leaders of the trade union movement, the open-shop employers—for whom U. S. Steel is an outstanding representative—in no sense have committed themselves to accepting either the intervention of the Board or its decisions. They are holding fast to the attitude indi-

vis, Mediation Board chairman, for "action." Davis, without power to enforce any NDMB ruling, recommended that the Navy take "action." "The Navy did not carry out his decision," states the *New York Times*, Jan. 7.

### COMPANY BENEFITS

Although the plant was nominally under the control of the Navy Department, the private management continued to direct operations to very large degrees. In his statement on turning back the plant to the company, Admiral Bowen declared as much, when he said: "I have had to rely on the former management, yard superintendents and foremen and labor in general, for I brought with me only a small staff."

All the benefits of the plant "seizure," it is now clear, have accrued to the company. It has its plant, and the open shop remains in full force.

Also, the company is receiving full profits from operation of the plant during the time the Navy was in control.

In this connection, the *New York Times*, Jan. 7, reports that "it was learned that the private owners would receive the profits for the operations during that time and would pay to the Navy a sum of money to compensate it for managing the property. Both the Navy and the Steel Corporation declined to reveal the amount of this payment."

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## Who Really Holds Back Production?

Many steel mills are being shut down in the United States because of scrap metal shortages, Washington officials disclosed on Jan. 9, according to a United Press dispatch.

The reason? Because of "large shipments of scrap iron and steel to Japan during the 10 years prior to the war... Huge exports to Japan in particular, they said have resulted in a shortage of scrap..."

Aluminum and copper production is also reported to be grossly inadequate for the needs of the war program.

The reason? Because of "the desires of producers of such materials to maintain and protect what they regard as their vested rights in their industries." (Report of the Special-Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, Nov. 17, 1941)

250,000 auto workers are already out of work and another 200,000 will join them shortly.

The reason? Because of "the attitude of powerful private groups dominating basic industries who have feared to expand their production because expansion would endanger their future control of industry... There is not an organized basic industry in the United States which has not been restricting production by some device or other in order to avoid what they call the 'ruinous over-production after the war.'" (Report of Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold to Congress, Jan. 3.)

Within six months, according to Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, the United States will face a "scarcity in a number of skilled occupations" at the same time that priorities unemployment is expected to reach its peak.

The reason? Because the depression of 1929 up till the war broke out deprived millions of workers, of the opportunity to learn and perfect themselves in skilled trades.

These examples of how the profit system and the captains of industry are responsible for holding up production could be multiplied a hundred times. In each factory there are workers who out of their own experiences could give examples of the same thing on a smaller scale.

And yet the bosses have the nerve to try to justify anti-union measures on the grounds that the workers hold up production!

## Jim-Crowed Sailor May Get A Medal

A Negro mess steward on the U. S. S. Arizona during the bombing of Pearl Harbor so far forgot his "place"—as they put it in the deep South and in the Navy—that he "manned a machine gun on the bridge until his ammunition was exhausted," although he "never before had fired a gun" because such training is denied Negroes in the Navy. (*New York Times*, Dec. 22, 1941).

For his heroic exploit, this Negro mess attendant may now get a medal. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked Secretary of the Navy Knox to grant him the Distinguished Service Cross. Knox has replied: "Please be assured that an investigation will be made relative to the reported heroic action of the Negro mess attendant. The Navy Department will certainly recommend proper recognition for

any such heroic action."

But, even after getting a medal, the Negro mess attendant will still have to remain in the mess steward's division. There he will be able to polish the medal along with the dishes. He—and all other Negro sailors—will still be prevented by Navy regulations from securing training in the handling of a machine gun or in any other fighting capacity.

Knox evidently does not realize the contradictions in his position. He does not seem to understand how hypocritical he appears in offering a Negro mess steward a medal for heroic conduct and then denying him the opportunity to serve in a capacity where he can continue to demonstrate his fighting skill.

Under such conditions, all the medals and explanations in the world cannot satisfy the Negro people. Medal or no medal, they, together with the labor movement, must continue to struggle for equal rights for the Negro people in every phase of national life, military as well as civilian.

## Food Prices Rose 25% In Last Year

A vast majority of American workers are compelled to spend more than half their incomes for food alone. Food prices, therefore, are the most accurate single gauge of living costs for low-wage earners.

That is why every worker can fully appreciate the significance of the figures put out last week by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, showing that retail food prices now average 25.5 per cent higher than a year ago.

This fact exposes the hypocrisy in the talk about labor making "exorbitant" and "unreasonable" demands when it seeks higher wages during the war. Most American workers have through price rises already suffered a sharp slash in purchasing power.

During the past year, moreover, only 4,500,000 of the over 40,000,000 non-agricultural wage-earners secured wage increases—against the bitter opposition of the employers. The average wage increase amounted to only ten per cent. Thus, rising prices in a few short months have wiped out these wage gains. The bulk of workers who secured no wage increases during the past year have received an actual wage cut, since their fixed wages have been able to buy less and less of the necessities of life.

And price inflation will continue. The United Business Service report of Jan. 12 discounts the effect of the price control bill and flatly states that prices will continue upward just as they have in England where, despite government price-fixing and rationing since Sept., 1939, the cost of living has gone up 28 per cent.

The present price inflation is attributable directly to monopoly practices, speculation and profiteering. Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, head of the Department of Justice anti-trust division, on Jan. 3 publicly affirmed this fact.

Against this deliberate price gouging, the workers can have no immediate and assured protection other than a rising scale of wages to offset the effects of rising prices. Each passing day gives greater force to the soundness and justice of this demand. It must become the demand of all labor.

## Pooling In Auto

The auto barons and the OPM last week rejected the CIO auto union's plan for operation of the industry as a single unit, pooling all facilities and resources under the direction of a central joint labor-management board.

C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, gave as a reason for this rejection:

"There is no way to pool facilities in the method suggested without socialization."

This argument against the union's plan for pooling is not that it is technically unsound, or that some other method will do the job of conversion more speedily and ensure greater production.

In respect to speedy conversion and production it is easily demonstrable that the union's method is superior to what the bosses propose.

What the union proposes is that all the resources and facilities of the competing corporations be placed at the disposal of a single directing body, free to determine what each plant is fitted to produce, to shift materials and equipment where they can best be utilized, and to do this without consideration for the narrow competitive interests of the private owners.

The bosses raise no objections to the principle of pooling, but they want pooling by their own "method." Each corporation wants to bargain for the type of work it thinks most profitable, to build up reserve stocks of materials for its own exclusive use, and to let some other corporation use its tools and equipment only when it is to its own advantage.

The bosses' "method" is better for protecting profits and monopoly. The union's method, obviously, is better for expediting production and more quickly reducing unemployment.

But, says Wilson, the union's method means "socialization." It might limit the control and profits of the owners. That makes it taboo, even if it is superior to the boss "method" in all other respects.

Profits and monopoly—these are the essence of boss patriotism. They explain why 450,000 auto workers face months of unemployment. They explain why it is absolutely imperative that the government take over the war industries and operate them under the control and management of the workers.

# Dewey Refutes Davies Whitewashing Of Trial

## Chairman of International Commission of Inquiry into Moscow Trials Objects to Davies' New Version of Stalinist Frameups

Professor John Dewey, in a letter to the *New York Times*, Jan. 11, refutes the latest attempt to whitewash the Moscow frameup trials, the recently published "Mission to Moscow" by ex-ambassador Joseph Davies.

Professor Dewey's answer is based on the voluminous evidence he helped uncover as head of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials.

Dewey's letter makes note of the fact that Davies himself admits that he held an opposite view of the trials at the time he witnessed them.

Professor Dewey then points out that Davies' present view of the credibility of the charges of "fifth column activities" against the Red Army High Command are admittedly based not on "detailed and specific proof, but 'charges' which in retrospect seem to Mr. Davies to justify the belief that the generals were guilty."

The letter further states that

it is impossible to find in the Moscow trials records "any credible evidence of fifth-column activity out of all the contradictions, confusion and patent lying, of accused witnesses and prosecution, without even taking into account such 'promptly exposed lies as the famous testimony about the non-existent 'Hotel Bristol' or that about Pyatakov's alleged secret midnight flight to Oslo."

Dealing with the political motivations for the trials, the letter points out that they were an attempt to kill off "all potential opposition" to Stalin's rule, as Davies himself admit.

"What more likely foci of opposition could there have been in Russia than the surviving associates of Lenin and heroes of the revolution and civil war..." asks

(Continued from page 1)

Professor Dewey, "And what more effective means could Stalin have found to discredit these men than to force them to confess that they had conspired with foreign powers? It is as though Aaron Burr had seized power and had then consolidated it by bringing George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and other American Revolutionary heroes to trial on charges of having conspired with foreign powers against the state they had helped create.

"Mr. Davies also chooses to overlook the pertinent fact that Stalin himself, at the very time of the trials and thousands of executions without trial, was trying very hard to reach an agreement with Hitler."

"Seen in this light, Stalin's liquidation of the Old Bolsheviks appears not as punishment for their alleged dealings with Hitler but as a possible price of success in his dealings with Hitler."

# Youth Play Increasing Role In USSR Defense

(Continued from page 1)

of any army in the world." This eyewitness report of McLoughlin's supplies some of the most revealing and important information that has recently emanated from the Soviet Union. It shows how deeply the war is plunging into the masses, especially the youngest generations in the USSR. Alongside of the many-millioned Red Army there now stands an armed population.

On Sept. 1, 1941, a decree was passed instituting universal military training for men from 16 to 50. (It went into effect on Oct. 1, 1941). The workers in large Soviet cities began training and arming months before.

Now we learn that without any official legislation this military training has been extended to school children. These developments can tend only to strengthen the fusion between the Red Army and the population—a fusion that has already been welded in battle when the regular army and the workers' detachment—in Rostov, Leningrad, Moscow—fought side by side to beat back the Nazi offensive.

At the same time, the Stalinist

regime which has found itself compelled to unleash these forces cannot permit them to develop freely. Every attempt to curb the self-reliance and participation of the masses, first and foremost the youth, in the defense of the USSR, will make all the more untenable the position of Stalin's regime. Soviet victories which have been brought about by the mass upsurge, act to raise not only Soviet morale but also the confidence of the masses.

It is still too early to predict the final outcome of the processes engendered by the war. But the tendency is already clear: Without in any way reducing the question of the fate of the Soviet Union to the struggle between two generations—the old and the young—we can nevertheless state with certainty that the Soviet youth is now playing and will continue to play a more and more decisive role in the struggle to preserve the conquests of the October revolution.

## INITIATIVE AND SELF RELIANCE

At the front as well as in the rear, initiative and self-reliance are now at a premium. The Soviet youth is learning how to stand on its own feet in the very heat of a life and death struggle. For every thousand that is gaining confidence and authority today, hundreds of thousands will rise on the morrow.

At the same time, the Stalinist

## Marshall Field Is Not So Liberal With Own Workers

Marshall Field III, inheritor of a huge Chicago mercantile fortune, palms himself off as a liberal. He is financial angel of the *New York* newspaper *PM*, which boasts of its pro-labor slant. His most recent undertaking is the financing and publication of a new Chicago newspaper, *The Sun*, ballyhooed as a liberal, pro-labor attempt to break the monopoly of the reactionary *Chicago Tribune*.

All these noble endeavors, as anyone must admit, take money, big money. In fact they take the kind of money that Mr. Field III is making from his string of textile mills down South, about which you will not read in *PM* or *The Sun*.

"After bitter company opposition," reports the Jan., 1942 *Textile Labor*, official publication of the Textile Workers Union, CIO, nine of these mills were organized. But when the TWU sought to renew its contract last month, with "improvements which are now standard practice" in most of its contracts, the company turned thumbs down.

The TWU then petitioned the government for assistance in order to avoid a strike which the members had voted on Dec. 2. The U. S. Department of Conciliation assigned a panel to mediate.

On Dec. 20, the conciliators wired the union a set of recommendations which the union considered a favorable basis for further negotiations and which it promptly accepted. These recommendations covered negotiations for mills in Draper, Leaksville and Spray, North Carolina.

So far, however, the company has ignored these recommendations. It seems that below the Mason and Dixon line Mr. Field's liberal blood is infected with typical Bourbonism.

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# On The Eighteenth Anniversary Of The Death of V. I. Lenin

(Continued from page 1)

## Soviet Union Resists Stalinism

Stalinism reduced the Soviets and trade unions to fictions; established a bureaucratic dictatorship over the Soviet Union, employing a vast GPU terror to enforce it; purged the Red army of its most able officers; saddled the country with a privileged bureaucracy, and murdered the Bolshevik Old Guard, Lenin's comrades-in-arms, on monstrous frame-up charges of being Hitler's agents.

If Lenin were alive today, he would be accused by Stalin of being a Fifth Columnist and Trotskyist!

Stalinism has aided in the destruction of the international working class movement by its criminal policies and thus isolated the Soviet Union.

Yet, Stalin could not destroy the forces of the Russian revolution as long as the main work of Lenin, the abolition of capitalism and the nationalization of the means of production, persist.

## Lenin Was A Marxist

Lenin could give leadership to the Russian revolution as well as the workers' movement of the world, because he was above all a Marxist. He mastered the ideas of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism. An important part of Lenin's work was the defense of Marxism, not only against the capitalists, but also against such "socialists" as Bernstein and Kautsky who wanted to revise Marxism in line with their own opportunist ideas.

Lenin developed Marxism and applied it to the present period of capitalism. Modern capitalism, he showed, must conquer and exploit foreign territories so that the trusts and monopolies can continue to reap profits. Modern monopoly capitalism brings the millions of Asia, Africa and South and Central America within its arena of exploitation. Using Marxism, Lenin analyzed present day world economics in his book on Imperialism.

Lenin showed the need for close unity of the labor and socialist movement of the advanced countries with the masses of the colonies and semi-colonies. Lenin was an internationalist in the true sense of the word.

## Lenin During World War I

When the first world war broke out, Lenin was one of the few socialist leaders who did not betray international socialism. Other "socialist" leaders became cabinet members in capitalist governments; Lenin told the truth. He showed the aim of the war was to determine which group of capitalists would dominate the earth and reap profits from the labor of the toilers of the world. He was merciless in his exposure of those "socialists" who had sold themselves to the capitalists.

These were the most difficult years in Lenin's life. To speak to five or six workers was a grand occasion for him. Yet Lenin remained confident that the workers would rally to international socialism.

Above all, Lenin emphasized the importance of the party to the toilers in their struggle for emancipation. The party is the vanguard, the most far-seeing and self-sacrificing section of the class, which organizes itself into a self-disciplined group to carry on Marxist education and organization for the transition to socialism. Lenin created the Bolshevik Party of Russia which led the Russian revolution in 1917; two years later, in 1919, he formed the world party of Bolshevism, the Third International.

## Fourth International, SWP, Leninists of Today

The Trotskyists, the Fourth International abroad and the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, are the Leninists of today.

Just as Lenin struggled against those who would falsify and emasculate the ideas of Marx, so the Trotskyists battle against the Stalinists who falsify and emasculate the ideas of Lenin.

Just as Lenin struggled against the "social-patriots" for working class internationalism during World War I, so the Trotskyists today struggle against the Stalinists for working class internationalism during World War II.

Just as Lenin struggled against the "yellow socialists" who betrayed the interests of the workers in the first World War, so the Trotskyists struggle against the Stalinists who betray the interests of the workers in the second World War.

As Lenin fought for socialism, so now the Trotskyists fight for a socialist world against the Stalinists and all who say that "socialism is not on the order of the day."

The capitalist system had matured for a change to socialism in Lenin's life time; it had reached and it now remains in a stage of decay and can produce only unemployment, crisis, fascism and war.

The way to honor Lenin's memory today is to continue the struggle against capitalism to which he devoted his entire life.

Stalinism and Leninism are worlds apart. The spirit, ideas and work of Lenin live in the Trotskyist movement.

## "FOURTH INT'L" FEATURES STATEMENT ON THE WAR

A "Statement on the War," by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, is the leading article in the January issue of the monthly, "Fourth International," which came off the press this week.

Three other articles deal with various aspects of the war: John G. Wright on the USSR in the war; James Cadman on "Naval Power Today"; and Leon Trotsky's "Forecasts on the War" consisting of interviews he gave at the time to various newspapermen.

A roundup summary of the conclusion of the Minneapolis "sedition" trial is written by Felix Morrow, one of the defendants.

One of the most famous addresses by the founder of the German labor movement, Ferdinand Lassalle, "On the Essence of Constitutions," is published here for the first time in English translation.

These are the outstanding items in one of the best issues of "Fourth International." If you

cannot obtain your issue at a local newsstand, write to the magazine at 116 University Pl., New York. Single issues are 20 cents, a year's sub is \$2.

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