

New Nazi Drive Puts USSR In Gravest Peril

By M. Morrison

Hitler's armies are once more advancing in the Soviet Union and once more the heroic resistance of the Red Army is unable to stem the tide. With the passing of each day the danger to the Soviet Union becomes ever greater.

Every worker who understands the great significance which the existence of the Soviet Union has for his class necessarily feels deeply anxious as the news reveals the conquest of one important Soviet center after another by the armies of German imperialism.

Military authorities are of the opinion that the strategy of the German General Staff is to drive a wedge between the northern and southern sections of the Red Army, thus isolating the northern section from the oil of the Caucasus and the southern section from the armaments produced in the northern centers of the Soviet Union. After driving this wedge into the Soviet army, the German forces will try to march on the Caucasus with its priceless treasures of oil.

What Loss of Oil Fields Would Mean

Whatever the strategic plan of the German staff may be, the fact remains that the Red Armies are retreating and the danger is growing. If the Caucasus should be successfully invaded, it would constitute the greatest single blow to the Soviet Union. For without oil the effectiveness of the Red Army will be reduced by a very large percentage. Undoubtedly the Red Army is storing large quantities of oil for just such an emergency, but without oil to replenish used-up supplies, mechanized warfare must sooner or later come to a halt.

Hitler has still a long distance to go before he reaches the Caucasus, and the soldiers of the Red Army plus the vast spaces may still stop him. But we must face the tragic probability that Hitler may succeed and deliver a most serious, if not a fatal, blow to the country which every advanced worker must defend to the last because it is a country from which the capitalists and landlords have been eliminated and where the foundations of socialism in the form of nationalized property still remain.

The Stern Realities

The Stalinist bureaucrats have been boasting that Hitler will be defeated in 1942. We hope that this will be so. But the Stalinist boasters proclaimed, before Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, that in case of an attack on the USSR, the Red Army would be fighting on German soil, and not vice versa. To rely on the empty boasts of Stalin and his henchmen is to lean on a broken reed.

We must face the fact that the German army is stronger now, as against the Red Army, than it was a year ago when Hitler launched his attack. In June, 1941 the Red Army was superior in man power and, in the opinion of most experts, was the equal of the German army in quantity and quality of armaments. Stalin blames the defeat of the Soviet forces on the element of surprise. If that is so — and it isn't — he admits his criminal incompetence. If that is so — and it isn't — it could explain the Red Army defeats for the first month or so, but it cannot explain the continuous defeats from June until late November, 1941. Stalin did not and will not place the blame where it belongs — upon himself who is guilty of murdering the best of the commanding forces of the Red Army and thousands of competent officers loyal to the cause of the Soviet Union.

With a large section of the Soviet Union in Hitler's hands, the productive capacity of the country has been reduced considerably. The fact that Stalin has had to make frantic appeals for tanks and planes to England and the United States indicates how much weaker the Red Army is now in comparison with Hitler's army.

Why German Victories Create Concern

The representatives of the imperialist allies of the Soviet Union are worried by the advance of the German armies; not because they fear for the existence of the Soviet Union. They

(Continued on page 2)

Seamen Ask for Higher Bonus As Dangers Increase

Even Insurance Rates Are Raised

For the past two months the merchant seamen belonging to the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific have been attempting to wring from the Maritime War Emergency Board an increase in bonus received for sailing in dangerous waters.

While the Maritime Commission has been combating these demands by the issuance of optimistic statements on the course of the "battle of the Atlantic," the ever increasing toll of American shipping and lives was indisputably verified this week when the marine insurance underwriters boosted all hull and cargo rates by 5%.

The increased insurance rates apply to practically all voyages to and from United States Atlantic and Gulf Ports and Canadian Atlantic ports. The action of the underwriters only confirms a fact long known by everyone familiar with maritime problems, but it comes at an embarrassing moment for the Maritime Board which in the past has shown a determination to resist all attempts to improve seamen's living standards regardless of the hardships they endure.

In reality the seamen's income is lower today under a 100% bonus than it was two months ago under bonus payments amounting to 70% of monthly wages. The reason for this is that the War Emergency Board, when forced to grant the increase to 100%, stipulated that all time spent in port (North, Central or South America) should be deducted from the accrued bonus at the end of the month.

Thus the seamen, in asking for an increased bonus, are actually asking relief from a reduced wage scale at a time when they suffer the greatest dangers and hardships and when the cost of living ashore rises day by day.

Any Caves Today?

DETROIT — This is a story the workers tell here to illustrate the present housing situation:

A man was drowning in the lake and yelled for help to a passer-by, who said: "Are you drowning? Where do you live?" The drowning man told the passer-by who yelled "Thanks" and rushed off to the house where the man lived.

When he got there, he told the superintendent, "I wish to see apartment such-and-such. I know it is going to be for rent soon." The super replied: "Oh, THAT apartment, it's rented." The man said, "No, it isn't, because the man who lives in it is out in the lake drowning right now." The super answered: "Yes, I know, but the man who pushed him in has rented it."

Only Masses Sacrifice Under "Equal Sacrifice" Program

Steel, Aircraft Wage Demand Under Attack

WLB Is Expected to Reject \$1-a-Day Rise For 'Little Steel'

The powerful steel and aircraft corporations are coining the highest profits in American history, even after taxes are paid. But the government's War Labor Board and Office of Price Administration do not intend to permit the steel and aircraft unions to receive wage increases to compensate the workers for even the price rises of the last year. That was the gist of OPA statements and of reports about WLB wage hearings this week.

According to these reports, the demands of the United Steelworkers of America for a dollar-a-day wage increase for 157,000 "Little Steel" workers, will be turned down by the WLB late this week, despite the findings of a three-man WLB panel that the corporations were able to pay the increases. It is expected that small increases, amounting to perhaps less than half the rises demanded, will be granted by the Board, thus setting a precedent which will be used in other important cases now pending decision.

The OPA, through its deputy administrator, Richard Gilbert, attacked the joint demands of the UAW-CIO and AFL International Association of Machinists for an increased minimum wage in nine aircraft plants on the west coast.

BELOW 1932 LEVELS

"Before the war ends, the living standards of the American people will be reduced below the level prevailing at the bottom of the great depression," Gilbert said. The implication was that the aircraft workers might just as well get used to it now as later.

In stating his disapproval of the joint CIO and AFL demands for a 95 cent minimum wage to replace the 60 and 75 cent minimums now in effect, Gilbert repeated the usual vague promises of the administration about controlling the spiraling profits of the aircraft corporations. No concrete proposals were made to effect this curb on profits, but it was made very clear that wage increases would be held down.

The AFL and CIO have been negotiating in a government sponsored labor-management conference during the past week, for wage increases which would cover an approximate 1,250,000 aircraft workers.

At a meeting of this conference on July 9, the government representative, Paul R. Porter, stated: "It is the opinion of the War Production Board that the wage increases (in aircraft) are inconsistent with the seven-point program to control the cost of living as stated by the President in his message to Congress on April 27."

"DICTATORIAL METHODS" A joint AFL-CIO statement warned that any rigid stabilization of war industry wages might "stifle collective bargaining and threaten the whole labor movement," and charged that "the drive to stabilize wages threatened to substitute dictatorial methods for collective bargaining."

With indications that wage demands of the CIO would not be met by the War Labor Board decision, the USA-CIO has called a meeting of its Policy committee to discuss the situation.

With the "Little Steel" and aircraft cases as precedents, and with the strike weapon surrendered by the top officialdom of the AFL and CIO, the wage demands of the General Motors, Ford and other war production workers generally will undoubtedly be vigorously opposed by the government.

Senate Committee Votes to Lift Ceiling On Bread

Shows Indifference To Policing of the Price Regulations

Because of price rises due to ineffective enforcement and outright violations of the price regulations, the working people have already suffered substantial cuts in their living standards since the OPA price ceilings went into effect in May.

Last week the Senate Appropriations Committee acted to add another cut in their living standards by voting to forbid any ceilings on important food items — including bread, breakfast foods such as oatmeal and corn flakes, and other wheat, cornmeal, oatmeal and agricultural commodities — until prices reach 110% of parity.

It is estimated that if the ceiling is removed, bread prices would shoot up 10 to 20%, with the price of other agricultural products increasing similarly.

The Senate Committee also voted to allow the Office of Price Administration a fund of \$120,000,000 for expenses. This sum, although \$45,000,000 more than that voted by the House of Representatives, is \$20,000,000 less than the absolute minimum requested by OPA administrator Leon Henderson.

The House first, and now the Senate Committee, show their real attitude toward price control by refusing sufficient funds for even Henderson's bureaucratic and impotent plan.

Price control — to be effective — must be based on the mobilization and participation of trade unions, housewives, dirt farmers and consumers' organizations. Such a price police force is opposed by Henderson as well as the House and Senate Committee.

WPB Reshuffled, But Still Controlled By \$1-A-Year Men

On July 8 War Production Board chief Donald Nelson announced another shuffle in the personnel of the WPB. This was his answer to the charges made last month by the Truman Senate Committee and various other groups that the dollar-a-year men are running the war production program in the interests of the large corporations.

But Nelson's new shakeup brings no fundamental changes, not even any new faces. The dollar-a-year men are still in the saddle. So meaningless are the shifts that Nelson did not even call it a "reorganization"; he dubbed it merely a "realignment."

At first Nelson tried to have the Truman report suppressed. He failed, and the public was able to learn from the Committee, which timidly voices the small capitalists' opinions and complaints against the large corporations, that:

"This committee has repeatedly concluded that the work of the OPA and WPB has been hampered by the extent to which their personnel was predominantly drawn from the big business groups. Many of the large industrialists are, of course, men of unquestioned capacity and the overwhelming majority are possessed of patriotism and integrity. The attitudes and associations which these men have acquired through the years, however, make it undesirable to rely upon them exclusively for direction of the war production program."

As a concession to the middle class, one of the chief targets of the Truman report, Philip D. Reed, head of General Electric, has been kicked upstairs to go to England to work for the WPB.

The new setup leaves the Army Procurement Service in active charge of the distribution of contract and production. According to the Truman report, as well as the WPB, has tended to concentrate contracts in the hands of Big Business.

Eighty per cent of all government contracts have been awarded to a handful of corporations, which have been getting large profits and free plants from the government.

"EVERY 5 OR 6 MONTHS" A few months ago Alex Taub an industrial engineer who had just returned from England, testified before the Tolan Committee that "failure to coordinate production on the necessary scale aroused so much criticism that popular opinion had to be allayed by changes in the Ministry of Supply every five or six months."

Such changes in this country every time the war production boards came under criticism have resulted in the creation of new boards and the selection of new faces to take charge of them. But absolutely no one expects any change from the new setup announced by Nelson last week, which didn't even introduce a new face. The corporations will keep making their huge profits while the "realigned" board will continue the same policies favoring those corporations which the Truman report condemned.

The solution of the problem for the workers does not lie in the direction of introducing shakeups and new faces every six months. It lies, rather, in taking control of production out of the hands of both the corporations and their government agents. It lies in the confiscation of all war profits (the expropriation of all war in industries and their operation under workers' control).

As for the price regulations, no one takes them seriously — neither the manufacturers who get around them by quality deterioration or outright violation; nor Congress which refuses to appropriate enough money for their enforcement; nor Henderson who raises the price ceilings under manufacturer pressure.

In other words, it is the same old story as in the last war — the workers are the ones who do the sacrificing, the bosses are the ones who benefit from the war program.

Nor is this surprising when one understands who is running the war program. The War Production Board is staffed with dollar-a-year representatives of the big corporations; the OPA is staffed with representatives of the manufacturers; and Congress is filled with the tools of big business and the monopolies. Who can seriously expect such people to run a war in anybody's interests but the ruling class?

"Equality of sacrifice" will always be a fraud and a come-on to the workers so long as the capitalists rule the nation and the government. The slogan the workers should raise is not "equality of sacrifice" but:

"Take control of the nation out of the hands of the capitalists and their political stooges who are interested only in their own profits and privileges. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government that will guarantee genuine equal treatment and opportunity to all the toilers!"

Equality Promise Is a Fraud While Boss Agents Rule

Gov't Keeps Its Promises to Bosses But Not to Workers

On April 27 President Roosevelt sought to justify additional sacrifices for the war on the part of the workers by promising that the employers would also be forced to share the war burdens. The events of the last three months have placed the workers in a good position to estimate the value of such "equality of sacrifice" promises.

The administration promised the bosses that it would prevent strikes, "stabilize" wages and place heavy taxes on the workers' incomes.

With the aid of the subservient labor leaders, it has reduced strikes to virtually zero. It has used almost every device at its command to prevent pay increases demanded by the workers to compensate for price rises of the last year, or to keep such increases as low as possible. Taxes on the low income earners are being increased this year by from 100% to more than 1600%.

The government's promises to the bosses have been kept. But what about the government's promises to the workers to limit personal incomes to \$25,000 a year; to keep corporation profits at "a reasonably low level"; to eliminate price profiteering thru price control?

Personal incomes of the employers are taxed, it is true, even more than in peace time. But there is no limit of \$25,000 on the amount the bosses keep.

Corporation profits, even after the new taxes proposed by the House Ways and Means Committee this week, are going to reach new levels, higher than in the most prosperous years of American capitalism. These profits do not include the billions of dollars worth of plants given the bosses as gifts by the government. Of course, the bosses are yelling "murder" at the taxes proposed, but they always do that with all taxes.

Not only have the profits of especially the huge heavy industries leaped upward, but just as important, their control has grown. The entire war program of the administration has been just so much fodder for the monopolies. Every day sees a greater concentration and centralization of ownership and control of the basic industries of the nation.

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Puerto Rico Is Given An 'After The War' Promise

But People of the U. S. Colony Want Their Freedom From Wall St. Imperialism Now

By HOWARD ALLEN
Puerto Rico, U. S. island colony in the Caribbean Sea, came into the limelight on July 5, with the report that President Roosevelt had approved a plan proposed by New Deal appointed Governor Rexford Tugwell, under which the island could elect its own governor in 1944 or thereafter, if the war lasted beyond that date.

On July 6, Bolivar Pagan, Resident Commissioner for the colony, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives proposing election by the Puerto Ricans, of a Governor in 1942 and demanding the removal of Tugwell.

Both proposals ignore the basic and insistent demand of the Puerto Ricans for immediate and unconditional freedom. However, even the promise of the right to elect a governor — remote as it leaves the Puerto Rican people from actual freedom from American imperialism — reflects the growing disturbance of the administration.

Roosevelt's promise is not a sudden spasm of generosity. It is a promise calculated to further the interests of American imperialism and does not at all signify any intention to give up control over Puerto Rico.

Even as Roosevelt made his promise about the sweet by and bye, leaders of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party languished in the Atlanta Federal penitentiary with ten year sentences on charges of "sedition," for having advocated independence.

The right to elect a governor "after the war" — that sounds like Cripps' fraudulent offer to India — while those who ask for national independence are kept in jail, will hardly satisfy the aspirations of the Puerto Rican masses. The administration's move is a

Union Paper Exposes Huge Rise in Profits

The American Federation of Labor publication, Trade Union Courier of June 29th, prints the following item:

No comment is necessary!

Last year the United States corporations doubled their 1940 net incomes. In many instances profits rose by 40% — even after all federal taxes were paid. Many corporations have set aside, for depreciation, sums even greater than retained net income. The major iron and steel companies boosted their profits by 90% and the machinery groups by 25% over the preceding year.

NEGRO IS LYNCHED IN TEXAS, SOLDIER KILLED IN ARIZONA

Following closely on the heels of the legal lynching of Odell Waller, Virginia Negro sharecropper, came the lynching this week of a Negro worker in Texas and the cold-blooded murder of a Negro soldier in Arizona.

It is clearer than ever that this war, which Washington says is going to bring "democracy" to the whole world, is only bringing increased and intensified Jim Crow violence and brutality to the Negro people in this country.

The Texas lynching is typical of the kind of justice a Negro gets in the south. The 25-year old victim, Willie Vinson, was shot and seriously wounded by two white men on charges that he had attempted to rape a white woman in Texarkana on July 12. The woman visited the hospital and said that he "looked like the man."

The next day a lynch mob broke into the hospital, seized the wounded man, tied him to the rear of an automobile and dragged his body through the Negro dis-

trict of town. While all this was going on, the police officers were conveniently absent.

Then the lynch mob hanged Vinson from the winch of a cotton gin. The sheriff reports that none of the lynchers has been identified, although the men who took Vinson from the hospital were unmasked.

The Vinson lynching is very reminiscent of the Jan. 25 lynching of Cleo Wright, who was also accused of attempted rape, wounded, taken from a hospital by a mob, dragged behind a car and killed in Sikeston, Missouri.

WEARING U. S. ARMY UNIFORM

Not all the facts have been given out by Army officials, but what is known of the killing of Jesse Smith, a private wearing the uniform of the U. S. Army, is also typical of the wave of violent attacks against Negro troops which have increased in number since Pearl Harbor.

According to the Army version of the killing, police in Flagstaff, Arizona, arrested a negro soldier

for "disturbing the peace." (A worker in a restaurant where the incident began, told the UP that Negro soldiers had accused him of refusing to serve Negroes.)

The soldier's friends, according to the official version, took him away from the police, and then a fight began. Jesse Smith is accused of refusing to give up his gun and was shot dead. The next day a coroner's jury ruled that the man who killed Smith "acted in the pursuit of duty."

Army officials have attempted to clear their skirts of responsibility by talk of "drunkenness," etc., but it is plain to everyone that the hated Jim Crow Army regulations and continued acts of civilian discrimination and insult against Negroes are at bottom the cause of Jesse Smith's death.

Since the United States entered the war, at least six Negro soldiers have been murdered by civilian or military police, and scores have been wounded and beaten up. In every case, the killers have been exonerated by civil or military courts.

Army Contracting Agents Favor Anti-Union Firms

Charge Unemployment in New York Is Due to Anti-Labor Bias of Army, WPB

by W. GRAY

The mounting unemployment situation in New York City has called attention to new anti-union activities on the part of the War Production Board and the Army officials responsible for the placing of war contracts.

Close to a half million men and women, a large percentage of whom are union members, are without jobs today, while state officials hold out little hope for their re-employment in the near future. Skilled workers of all kinds, including the building trades, printing, shipbuilding and marine industry, needle trades, and many others are idle. At the same time reports are published in the press about the shortage of skilled labor in the country.

New York City, which in peace time produced 7.6% of the nation's manufactured goods, has received only 3.7% of the war orders so far awarded. Despite protests from many sources, including labor, there is no indication that the War Production Board and the Army contracting agents, intend to substantially remedy the situation.

The reasons for their attitude are not hard to find. They are

most glaringly revealed in the situation in the needle trades industry in New York, which is almost entirely unionized, produced 85% of the country's women's needle goods. Today, with few war orders, some 90,000 of the 163,000 of the union members in the industry are unemployed.

During the last few months, however, the WPB and Army agencies have let huge contracts for a thousand and one articles made by the needle trades. These contracts have gone to the low-wage, open shop, southern garment manufacturers!

The seriousness of this threat to the existence of the ILGWU is revealed in the statement by Fred

Umhey, executive sec'y of the ILGWU, at last week's conference of New York state and city AFL unions called to consider the unemployment situation. Umhey said that the Washington officials place orders in communities where garments for the armed forces can be made a bit cheaper "without regard to the welfare of the workers in this city or post-war readjustment."

It is clear from Umhey's remarks that the aim of the WPB and the Army officials is not only to favor the unorganized section of the garment industry at the expense of the unionized higher paying section, but also to build up a huge unorganized industry that will be a real threat after the war to the existence of the union.

This double threat to the needle trades union does not arise from any special dislike for the ILGWU on the part of the Brass Hats. The same trend is observable in other industries. In every case the unorganized, low-wage section of industry is awarded contracts while union members pound the streets. Considerations of capacity to produce, experience, etc. which exist in unionized plants, seem to be secondary.

Despite all the talk about the necessity to utilize the full productive capacity of the nation, the WPB and Army officials' actions show that they are carrying out what they consider to be one of their primary tasks—the undermining of the trade union movement.

Big Victory For CIO In Southern Textile Mills

One Year Organizing Campaign Breaks Vigorous Boss Resistance

The Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills of Danville, Virginia, claiming to be the world's biggest textile mills, have been successfully organized by the CIO. In a labor board election held in this important southern industry during the last week of June, the CIO Textile Workers Union of America scored what it aptly describes the "greatest election victory of the textile labor movement."

By a vote of more than 3 to 2, the textile workers rejected the anti-union propaganda directed at them by powerful employer groups and chose the TWUA as their collective bargaining agency. More than 12,000 workers were eligible to vote; the result was 7,204 for the TWUA, 4,716 against Textile Labor, the union's paper, estimates that probably more people voted in this union election than in any other single election in the entire history of Danville.

BOSS CAMPAIGN
Realizing that a victory for the union would inspire the exploited workers of the whole area, the bosses organized and financed various groups to carry on a campaign of slander and intimidation. Among these were the so-called "Anti-CIO Association" and a "Citizens Committee." The management in the plant also tried to coerce the workers into voting against the union.

But neither these methods, nor radio time, sound trucks, huge newspaper ads, and at least one different anti-CIO leaflet a day during the week before the voting, had the effect desired by the bosses.

What repeated attempts to do in the past — going as far back as 1900 and including campaigns during the last war and a strike in 1930 — had been unable to accomplish, the workers in the Danville mills were able to achieve in this, the latest campaign, which lasted exactly one year.

One significant feature of the campaign was the support given

the CIO by local AFL and typographical unions. Negotiations are now being opened for a signed union contract with the management. The local unionists are holding meetings to work out the demands to be included in the contract. Wage increases are the most important issue.

Textile Labor reports that, "This victory in Danville adds another 'biggest' to the growing TWUA list. It also means that now three out of the big five in the South are organized, the other two being the Marshall Field and Erwin chains. Only Cannon and Cone remain."

ORGANIZE THE SOUTH!
The vote in Danville also shows that it is possible, even in wartime, for the CIO to proceed successfully with a campaign to organize the exploited workers of the South. The last national CIO convention voted to undertake such a campaign, but with the exception of drives by individual internationals, little attention has been paid thus far to the convention decision.

Recent moves by army and navy agencies favoring southern unorganized plants in the granting of war contracts, has made the need for organizing the South greater than ever. Organize the south! is no longer a slogan that can be disregarded by the union leaders. Either the unions in the other parts of the country will help the workers in the south to organize and win conditions comparable to those in the north — or the bosses will be able after the war, with the aid of the plants and profits they are now getting from the government, to undermine the union movement.

A NEW PAMPHLET THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

One Year After

by ALBERT PARKER

An attractive 16 page pamphlet of the Fourth International article of which George S. Schuyler, noted Negro columnist, said in the May 30 Pittsburgh Courier: "Best critique of Randolph's March-on-Washington movement... The caustic comments of the author, Albert Parker, and his sound logic should provoke considerable thought in colored America about the eminent labor leader and Spingarn Medalist."

Price: 3 cents per copy; 2 cents per copy plus cost of postage for bundles of 5 or more.

Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK

The Minneapolis Drivers Movement One Year After The Indictment

Help Is Needed to Defend Union Leaders from Attacks by Tobin and Government

MINNEAPOLIS — President Roosevelt and Minnesota's Governor Harold Stassen say they have an unlimited supply of democracy for export purposes; but in the year that has passed since the Minneapolis drivers voted to leave the AFL and join the CIO, neither the National Labor Relations Board nor Stassen's state labor board has permitted a democratic vote to the drivers here.

In the only test vote — that permitted by the NLRB among the drivers at the Waterman-Waterbury plant on January 30 — the workers demonstrated their feelings about the situation by voting for 544-CIO by a 2 to 1 majority. Their union showed its calibre by winning them a contract \$1 a day better than the sell-out contracts negotiated here by Tobin's agents.

After that one test vote, both the national and state labor boards again resumed their strict rationing of democracy to the drivers of Minneapolis. No more votes were permitted. The Ramsey County district court upheld the crooked Stassen-Blair decision of last September, denying drivers' elections. Tobin put in his two-bits' worth by maintaining his iron receivership over AFL-544 and refusing to permit an inner-union election.

LABOR LEADERS RETREAT

The retreat of the local labor leadership before the wave of reaction, which started in June, 1941, when the fight between Tobin and the Minneapolis driv-

ers opened up, has continued unabated during the year. The bosses and the government have met no resistance from either AFL or CIO leaders in their campaign to dump the burdens of the war on the backs of the workers.

Far from resisting, the union leaders, taking their cues from William Green and Philip Murray, have joined the bosses in attacking the union ranks. Tobin's insistence that his labor lieutenants "Smash Those Pick-et Lines" — voiced in the May and June issues of the AFL International Teamster — has been faithfully followed by his Minneapolis stooges.

Conditions of workers in the Minneapolis drivers' movement have steadily worsened in the past year. In every craft, drivers have been laid off. Taking advantage of the war situation, the bosses have ruthlessly fired drivers. Tobin's receivers took a beating in their effort to raid the Brewery Workers Union. Attendance at meetings of AFL-544 is almost nil. Only a fraction of the drivers still continue to pay dues, and then only un-

der threats.

The following examples will best illustrate the present state of the drivers' movement here:

1. Tobin's AFL-544 hasn't been able to sign a single major contract this summer. The bosses only laugh at Tobin's inept leaders. It is an open joke around town that the employers are toying with Tobin's agents and plan to take advantage of the present weakened state of the union movement by cracking down on the drivers.

2. Most of the drivers and warehousemen have lost all faith in Tobin's agents. Grievances are seldom cared for. A few weeks ago AFL warehousemen at a large plant pulled a quickie strike of their own — against both the boss and their own union leadership.

3. The Minneapolis Milk Drivers Union Local 471 has just staged a five-day strike which ended in disaster for the union. Hundreds of milk drivers have been laid off in recent months, and the dairies were threatening to start every-other-day delivery. In an effort to save their union, 471 leaders called a strike and countered with the demand that the companies pool deliveries — which would take the jobs of several hundred drivers.

In other words, because of the false demands by their union leadership, the milk drivers were striking to do themselves out of their jobs. Four days after the strike began, Tobin sent Attorney Goldberg here. Goldberg insisted the strike be called off immediately, no matter what the consequences to the drivers. Tobin and Goldberg had their way.

4. Not all the AFL leaders here are willing to go all the way with Tobin in breaking all strikes. Up in Duluth when an AFL Teamster official told the Trades & Labor Assembly about Tobin's

orders to break all picket lines, an AFL Longshoremen's official shouted: "Our men may have to strike here within a few days. If you Teamsters try to break our picket lines, I just hope Dan Tobin is in the first truck."

5. Distrusted and despised by their own membership, the AFL Teamster leaders in Minneapolis sought and found an ally — in the Stalinist CIO leadership. A bloc, in the form of a joint council, has been formed between Tobin's agents and the Stalinists. This bloc has since been extended to the political field, with President Harold Seavey of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council trying to lead the unions back into the Stalinist-controlled Farmer-Labor Association. The Stalinists are laying the groundwork for supporting the laboring Governor Stassen and Senator Ball in the fall elections.

CASE OF KELLY POSTAL

For over a year now, Tobin has continued to have the wholehearted support of the Minneapolis employers, the city, state and national administrations, the Stalinists and the right-wing CIO leaders, in his fight on the Minneapolis drivers and Local 544-CIO.

Every effort of 544-CIO to obtain democratic elections for the drivers has been blocked by a combination of the above forces. It is doubtful if the drivers and their leaders will be able in the immediate future to break out of the trap into which Tobin and the bosses and boss politicians have placed them.

For the present Local 544-CIO is confining itself to a program of keeping together the basic cadres that forged the great drivers' movement in the heat of the great 1934 strikes and the subsequent years of struggle; of maintaining contact with the best militants in the industry, in Minneapolis and the area; of continually exposing Tobin's anti-union position; of trying to protect the drivers from Tobin and the bosses; and, very important, of defending the 544-CIO leadership from Tobin's frame-up system.

The most pressing problem today involves the defense of Local 544's secretary-treasurer, Kelly Postal, and the 544 organizer, Carl Skoglund.

After winning acquittal in the first trial (in February, 1942), Postal was found guilty in a second trial in May of "first degree grand larceny" by a district court jury. The charge against him was that he had "embezzled" \$5,000 from Tobin.

Actually the issue in the trial was whether a union membership has the right, by a democratic majority vote, to decide what international union they shall belong to, and what disposition shall be made of union funds.

The first trial judge, Judge Hall, recognized this when he instructed the jury to find Postal innocent, stating that "by a resolution of the majority of the men majority of the membership, Kelly Postal was directed to turn over all of the moneys of the union to the Union Defense Committee. That this resolution di-

recting him to turn over these monies was open and avowed can not be disputed. . . The membership of the union must have believed they had a right to transfer these monies by resolution as they attempted to do. Postal, the defendant, was the agent and steward of this membership and turned over their monies at their direction. . ."

However, Judge Selover at the second trial, on identical evidence, denied that union memberships had any democratic rights, and instructed the jury to find Postal guilty. On May 1, Selover sentenced Postal to serve up to five years in Stillwater penitentiary.

Local 544-CIO is appealing Kelly Postal's conviction to the Minnesota Supreme Court. \$1,500 is urgently needed to provide new bail for Postal, to obtain a printed transcript of the trial record and to carry the case to the higher court.

In addition new bail bonds must be furnished this month for 544-CIO President Miles Dunne; Organizer Moe Hork; and Organizer Carl Skoglund. Dunne and Hork face charges similar to that on which Postal was convicted. The bail bonds alone for the four will cost \$649.50.

A number of progressive unions throughout the country, realizing the union principle at stake, have contributed to Postal's defense fund. The Civil Rights Defense Committee has endorsed the Postal case and sent out an appeal for funds. Funds and resolutions should be mailed to the Civil Rights Defense Com., 160 Fifth Ave., New York, or to Ray Rainbolt, 544-CIO Recording Secretary, 7 West Broadway, Minneapolis.

THE SKOGLUND CASE

Last week Local 544-CIO was confronted with another defense case, which, like the Minneapolis "sedition" trial and the Postal case, grows directly out of the struggle between Tobin and the Minneapolis drivers.

Only July 18, 1941, Carl Skoglund, organizer and former president of 544, was arrested and held for deportation on \$25,000 bail. Skoglund was one of the eighteen subsequently convicted of violating the Smith "Gag" Act last December.

His deportation case, which has dragged along for a year, came to a head last week when on July 3 Federal Judge Joyce denied his application for American citizenship and ordered him deported to Sweden.

With communication with Sweden severed because of war conditions, local federal authorities doubt the probability of Skoglund's deportation at this time. Whether he will be deported rests with the Department of Justice in Washington.

Brother Skoglund, long a militant fighter against fascism, would face certain death if deported to a Sweden which in recent months has come more and more within Hitler's orbit.

Only mass protests — from unions, from all concerned with civil liberties — can save the life of this fine old union warrior.

Republicans Help Democrats To Bury Anti-Poll Tax Bill

Both Roosevelt and GOP Want to Keep On Good Terms With the Poll Tax Democrats

Unless additional pressure is placed upon the members of the House of Representatives in the next few weeks, the Geyer bill abolishing poll tax requirements for federal elections will die in committee where it has been pigeon-holed by Southern Democrats who were elected with the aid of the poll tax.

Hearings on the bill were held in the spring of 1940 before a sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee, of which poll tax Representative Hatton Sumners of Texas is chairman. The committee refused to permit the printing of the hearings on the bill, an unusual procedure, and has refused to report the bill out to the House.

A petition to force the bill out of the committee out onto the House floor for debate and vote has been signed by a number of House members. Known as Discharge Petition No. 1, it needs 218 signatures, or just over half

the number of members of the lower house.

88 SIGNATURES STILL NEEDED
By this week 135 signatures have been secured, all but four of them coming from the non-poll tax states. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax announces that a large number of national and local trade union bodies have already passed resolutions demanding the abolition of poll taxes. In the state of Virginia, for example, both the Virginia Federation of Labor and many local AFL unions have endorsed the Geyer bill.

It is significant to note that the Roosevelt administration and the leadership of the Democratic Party have done nothing to help the passage of the Geyer bill, although Roosevelt sanctimoniously said last February that he has been opposed to poll taxes all his life. Usually, when Roosevelt wants a bill passed, he puts up a real campaign on its behalf. But it is not surprising that the man who was three times elected to the presidency with the aid of the poll tax Democrats of the south, and who seeks their support in Congress, does not want to do anything to offend them,

especially during an election year.

Equally significant is the attitude of the Republican members of the House, who always go to the Negro voters with the cry that they stand for equal rights and that it was they who helped free the slaves, etc., etc.

For while only 72 Democrats, or 27% of the Democratic members of the House, had signed the discharge petition by last week, the Republican record is no better. Only 50 Republicans, or 30% of their delegation in the House, had signed the petition. The northern Republicans have also been working closely with the reactionary poll-tax Democrats on anti-labor legislation and other such questions, and like Roosevelt they don't want to offend the Bourbons.

Every trade union should demand the abolition of the poll tax which give the southern enemies of labor such a strong grip on the national government, and should put all possible pressure on the House to force a vote on the Geyer bill.

But to effectively conduct the fight against the poll tax, the unions should form their own independent labor party and send to Congress this year representatives of the labor movement who can be depended on to fight the poll taxers on this and all other issues, instead of cooperating with them as the Republican and Democratic Parties do.

New Nazi Drive Puts USSR in Grave Peril

(Continued from page 1)

would like nothing better than to see the achievements of the October Revolution destroyed, but they do not want too quick an advance by the German army. They prefer a slower advance and the exhaustion of both the German and the Soviet armies.

The Stalinist bureaucrats are worried although they conceal their anxiety by their boasts. The destruction of the Soviet Union means of course their own destruction as a usurping caste ruling over the Soviet workers with an iron hand and consuming the largest proportionate share of the income. Many of the bureaucrats can and undoubtedly will make their peace with Hitler but as a group their power will be destroyed.

The Soviet masses and the advanced workers the world over are anxious because the Soviet Union represents the greatest social revolution in history and the greatest step forward ever made by the exploited masses in their struggle for emancipation.

How to Turn Defeat Into Victory

While the danger is great, the situation is by no means hopeless. If supplemented by correct revolutionary policies, the heroic efforts of the Soviet masses will turn defeat into victory.

Within the Soviet Union the policies followed by Lenin and Trotsky, when the Red Army achieved victory under more difficult conditions than exist at present, must be instituted.

It is necessary to restore the democratic rights of the masses and permit their initiative and energies free play. It is necessary to re-establish the democratic Soviets as the organs of government. All political prisoners accepting the Soviet regime should be released and their abilities utilized for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The campaign of hatred against the German people, a campaign which the Stalinist bureaucrats have initiated and developed although formally they make a distinction between the German people and the Nazis, must be stopped. The German army and the German masses must be flooded with propaganda assuring them that the Soviet Union has nothing in common with imperialist England or United States. They must be made to feel that a defeat of the German army does not mean a division of Germany and the exploitation of its people. They must

be told that a defeat of the German army will mean the possibility of a socialist Germany united with the Soviet Union and leading to a Socialist United States of Europe.

Revolutionary Propaganda Necessary

Every article in the Soviet papers advocating hate against the German people is a weapon in Hitler's hands. Every pact signed by Stalin with the imperialist allies, implying Stalin's consent to punishing the German people, is a weapon in the hands of Hitler. Revolutionary propaganda is a powerful weapon against Hitler. It would destroy his trump card, the masses' fear of a German defeat by the rival imperialist forces. Once the German masses were affected by such propaganda — and it would not take long to achieve this — Hitler would be doomed.

To conduct the war as it should be conducted means that the Soviet masses must rid themselves of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is a task of great difficulty because the main imperialist enemy is at the gate. Continuing to fight heroically even under Stalin, they must not forget the necessity, in order to assure victory, of overthrowing the Stalinist dictatorship and of taking power into their own hands. They must do this, of course, at the proper time, and without endangering the fight against imperialism.

Outside of the Soviet Union the advanced workers will continue to defend the Soviet Union. The real defense consists not in supporting the imperialist representatives who are not interested in defending the Soviet Union, but in educating the masses to the idea that a Workers' and Farmers' Government is alone capable of defending the Soviet Union and achieving victory against fascism.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

Harlem Meeting Protests the Execution of Odell Waller

Breitman Calls for Negro-White Unity to End Jim Crow Terror

NEW YORK, July 11—Fifty workers, more than half of them Negroes, were present last night to voice their protests against Jim Crow injustice at the Harlem "Odell Waller Memorial Meeting" held under the auspices of the Harlem Workers Club at its headquarters, 72 W. 125th Street.

The chief speaker of the meeting, George Breitman, editor of THE MILITANT, recounted the story of Waller's life and death, showing that he had been a victim of the sharecropper system, the poll tax law and Jim Crowism.

"We are not gathered here as at a wake to mourn an individual," Breitman said. "We have come to pledge the continuation of the struggle to abolish the Jim Crow system that bayed for Waller's blood. . . . The N. Y. Times," he continued, "tells us that now Waller is dead, it will no longer be important to determine whether or not he was unjustly executed. But the

Waller case will always be important to us—who already know that he was the victim of lynch law.

"We reject the attempts of the ruling class and their press to make us forget the Waller case. We say: An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth! We are going to get vengeance for the murder of Waller and the oppression of the millions of other Wallers who are still alive—a terrible vengeance which the ruling class fears more than anything else the workers could do.

"We are going to replace their system of oppression, discrimination, exploitation and misery with a new world where all workers will have equal rights and opportunities. Taking your place in that fight is the best way to honor Waller's memory—and the only way to prevent the other Odell Wallers from falling victims of class injustice."

The main speech was followed by a lively question and discussion period, and the sending of a telegram of sympathy to Odell Waller's mother, and a message of condemnation to President Roosevelt for his failure to exercise his right to intervene in the case. W. Brann, Negro trade unionist, acted as chairman.

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT BELONG TO THE STRUGGLE WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" - KARL MARX

By Albert Parker

During the last year the Communist Party has done a lot to discredit itself among the Negro people. Once looked upon as uncompromising fighters against Jim Crowism, the Stalinists have repelled many of the Negroes who looked to them for leadership by their attacks on the March-on-Washington movement, their role in the Waller case, their calls for "national unity" with the enemies of labor and the Negroes, etc. It is even reported that members of the Communist Party both rank-and-file and prominent figures, have become so disgusted with its policies on this question, that they are dropping out in large numbers.

Browder Speaks

At any rate the Stalinist leadership considers the situation has become so serious that it was felt necessary for Earl Browder in his speech at Madison Square Garden on July 2 — the first public speech he has made since his release from prison — to devote about an eighth of his remarks to it.

Yes, said Browder, the Stalinist have "declared for the unconditional subordination of all issues to that one issue of winning the war." But, he continued, "it does not mean, as some persons have charged, that we advocate that all redress of grievances should be postponed until the war is won. A typical and pressing demand for redress of grievances is that being made by Negro citizens for the removal of disabilities and discriminations which have long denied their full rights under the Constitution. The Communist Party supports these demands of the Negro people unconditionally, and we declare that they must be granted now, at once — precisely in the interests of national unity, of utilizing every productive force, for winning the war. Support for the war requires support for the demands of the Negro people, and not silence on these demands or their denial."

For if the Negro people put up an all-out fight, might that not perhaps "hinder" the war, "hinder" the "national unity" that the Stalinists demand, "hinder" attention to other questions which the Stalinists consider more important? Obviously, and that is why the Stalinists are opposed to those Negroes who say that their job is to fight for democratic rights at home now.

Of course the Stalinists are in favor of "redressing" grievances — but only in such a way as to "help" the war. That is, they think the Negro people should keep asking for "redress" — and then leave the matter up to the administration which the Stalinists claim "has proved its sincere desire to work in this direction." That is, leave it up to an administration which has already so many times shown that it does not intend to grant anything to the Negroes which the Negroes don't force them by mass action and pressure to grant.

"It's All a Little Misunderstanding"

Certainly, says Browder, the Stalinists support "the demands of the Negro people unconditionally, and we declare that they must be granted now, at once." But they do not fight for these demands, nor organize the Negroes to fight for them. And that is the decisive question.

Speech Changed: Actions the Same! In the coming struggles for Negro rights, which are much closer than most workers realize, the Negro masses are going to judge the Stalinists, and all other political forces, by what they do as well as what they say. They will reject the Stalinist policies, despite their artful phrases and cunning verbal declarations of support — and they will do this, we are certain, not on any basis of any "misunderstanding" but because they will realize that their one interests have absolutely nothing in common with the interests of the Kremlin which the Stalinists support.

Does this mean that now the Stalinists will change their line on the Negro struggle? If you think so, then you don't know

Letter From A Worker In The German Underground

Editor's Note

The following excerpts are from the private letter of an anti-fascist, socialist worker active in the underground movement in Germany, to a friend in the United States. The letter was written in the last month of 1941. For obvious reasons, neither the route of the letter, nor the identity of the writer and the recipient can be revealed.

THE MILITANT publishes this interesting letter without taking responsibility for the political ideas expressed, or the accuracy of the information given. THE MILITANT is satisfied, however, that it is an authentic letter from a German underground worker.

We disagree in particular with the last paragraph of the letter in which the writer states that before striking a blow the German people should wait until all the armies collapse; that otherwise the effect would be to aid British imperialism.

We hold that the German workers

should strike a blow against their ruling class as soon as possible. The struggle for socialism in Germany today is not a struggle on behalf of British imperialism; the British imperialists don't want such a revolutionary struggle in Germany any more than do the Nazis. A socialist struggle in Germany today no more helps British imperialism than a socialist struggle in Britain would help German imperialism.

Likewise, we believe that the workers in the "United Nations" should not wait until the collapse of German imperialism before going ahead with their struggle for socialism. Indeed, the best way to bring about the defeat of fascism is for the workers in the "democratic" countries to continue that struggle, to declare that they are not going to permit another Versailles Treaty. This would do more than anything else to inspire the German masses with confidence and arouse them to take action to overthrow their oppressors now.

Dear Friend and Comrade:

Of myself, I shall not write you very much. There are, however, moments when I suffer. Mainly, they are moments when I am compelled to appear at Nazi meetings — in opposition to the so-called Jewish plutocracy. After such speeches, I feel like an innocent girl who sells her body for the first time. One is helpless, however. Our underground activity demands many mean acts.

At the same time, I do not spare the German plutocrats and world capitalism. In the Third Reich, it is permissible to come out in opposition to capitalism — especially the capitalism of England and the United States. The leaders of the Third Reich would not have permitted such opposition; in order to maintain the morale of the rank and file of the populace, however, it is permitted. Thanks to the attacks on capitalism, and the warning that, in the event the war is lost, a second Versailles would emerge, the "morale" is maintained.

If the Nazis think the people believe their demagogy, they are mistaken. Hitler may cry a hundred times that he cannot rest as long as he is unable to realize his "Socialist program"; the people, however, don't believe him. The young Nazis alone have faith in his lies — but not the workers, who keep asking: "Is Russia, too, a plutocratic country?" The only reply which the Nazis offer is — that Stalin has betrayed Lenin's ideas, and has become associated with the capitalism of England and the United States. . . . In Germany, folks have ceased to laugh; but when they hear such a phrase, they do laugh. And when one laughs, folks often joke and say: "Quiet, the Gestapo might hear."

And it is no wonder folks don't laugh in the Third Reich. Almost in every family, a son, a father, or a brother — sometimes two — are missing, and many families can point to their beloved ones who are still in the prisons and concentration camps and have become old, gray and ailing there. So lives the "Hexrenvolk" with which the Nazis have "blessed" us.

The world does not know how the "Herrenvolk" lives under the Nazi regime. But when we tell of our sufferings, we are asked: "Why don't you revolt?" According to the opinions of the politicians in the democratic countries, it follows that if we do not revolt, it indicates we are satisfied with the Nazi regime. Thus, an untruth is turned into a truth, and vice versa. And that is called freedom of speech and press.

The Weimar Constitution

So reason also our political emigrants in the democratic countries, who urge us, by radio, to revolt and renew the Weimar Constitution. Maybe they would like to see the Weimar Constitution reestablished — not we! They, who were the grave-diggers of the German Republic, call upon us to resurrect the corpse. Luckily, they have few adherents. The adherents they do have are as old as they, and, like their adherents, are in their declining years. But those who are still "very much alive," are not eager to see the Weimar Constitution revived. And we are not alone. Our Polish and Jewish comrades in Poland do not wish to see their republic resurrected, either.

I have myself been in Poland and have talked with responsible Polish Socialists, members of the Jewish Bund, and Trotskyists. How I obtained these connections, I shall omit telling in this letter. I assure you, however, that they have no association with the Polish Government-in-Exile, in London.

The Polish Socialists, Bund members, and Trotskyists work under very difficult conditions. Their work is connected with grave danger, but death does not frighten them. And remember that our Polish comrades are being pursued — not only by the Gestapo, but also by the Polish agents who are in the service of the Gestapo. . . .

The war did not come unexpectedly for Russia. In April 1941, we had already informed the Soviet Embassy in Berlin that the German War Council had mapped plans to attack Russia. In May 1941, we informed the Soviet Embassy as to which military units have been hurled on the Eastern front. On the day Russia was attacked, we issued a proclamation to the German people, in which we condemned the war.

How The Underground Functions

We rarely employ written agitation and propaganda, since we want to avoid arrests of our comrades. For that reason, we are conducting verbal agitation and propaganda in the factories, at meetings of Hitler's Labor Front, and on excursions. To describe the group work and the manner in which the complicated work is conducted would necessitate a complete volume, and I shall therefore omit it. Despite our lack of written propaganda, we still succeed in reaching the masses. We even reach the very discontented middle class. Naturally, this demands caution, and we have learned that thoroughly.

The Nazis understand our work and they

employ every means to hinder us. Thus, for example, they compel the workers to listen to the Nazi radio propagandists. The teachers very often ask the children in their classes whether the parents have listened to this or that Nazi radio speaker. The agents of the Nazi Labor Front in the factories ask the workers whether they have heard this or that speaker. This is being done so that the workers should remain at home and not meet their comrades over a glass of beer. Our comrades, however, find a way out, for when a worker goes to have a drink of beer and meet his comrades, his wife remains at home and listens to the radio. When the comrade returns home, his wife conveys to him the gist of the Nazi speech, so that he can know what to reply to the Labor Front agent in the plant.

Were it possible for the Third Reich, to do without skilled labor, the Nazis would have to build new prisons and concentration camps. But in view of the fact that such workers are often indispensable, many strict regulations are overlooked. Because of this, a large number of political prisoners have been released from the jails and concentration camps, because there is urgent need for them.

This is the real Germany — contrary to the opinion of professors and scholars that Hitler expresses the sentiments, thoughts and aspirations of the German nation. We read all these "scientific" treatises of the professors and scholars of the democratic countries who base their views on Fichte, Nietzsche, Hegel. We can, however, assure the "scientists" of Britain and the United States that they do not know Fichte, Hegel and Nietzsche. Don't these scholars realize that, advancing such contentions, they are under the influence of the Nazis? Don't they realize, indirectly, they preach Nazi theories of higher race and chosen peoples? Their contention that Nazism is the expression of the German spirit is just as true as the Nazi argument that Roosevelt expresses the spirit of North American gangsterism. Hitler expresses the spirit of the German finance and industrial handits who want to change the world for their own political purposes; the Fuehrer does not express the spirit of the German people.

Who Is Responsible For Hitler?

If, however, these scholars would have been acquainted with Marxist methodology, they would have had to conclude that it was not the German people — but, rather, German and world capitalism — that brought Nazism into being. . . .

I have sidetracked a little from my theme, but I trust, my old comrade, that you will not accuse me of German nationalism. I am as much a German nationalist as you — and other internationalists. It hurts, however, when one hurls false accusations against a nation which has, without trial, been condemned to hard labor. These scholars should have accused the capitalists of their own countries who invested billions of dollars in German war industries — but not the German nation which has been betrayed by everyone: Social-Democrats, liberals, democrats, Catholics, Communists (Stalinists).

Should the war today lose its imperialist character, the German people will answer that it regards itself — not as a "Herrenvolk" (master people). To act now, means giving support to British imperialism. This we shall never do. As long as the war leaders of the democratic countries will employ fine phrases, rather than fine deeds, we will wait until all armies will collapse — and they will collapse! However, as soon as the war will be turned into a war for real freedom, we will act. True, we will not make a revolution, because we cannot; but we will paralyze the Nazi war industry much more effectively than tens of thousands of bombers. For that purpose we are organized, prepared — and waiting.

We Support The Struggle Of China

By M. MORRISON

Serious people assuming to be Marxists never reject or modify a policy long adhered to by the revolutionary Marxist movement without saying so in so many words and furnishing reasons for rejection or modification. Would any one, for instance, knowing what he is talking about and taking himself and others seriously, reject or modify the Leninist theory of the party, without clearly saying so and giving his reasons for it?

In his article on "China in the World War" published in the June issue of *New Internationalist* as an answer to Comrade Wright's article on China published in the April issue of *Fourth Internationalist*, Max Shachtman rejects or at least modifies, the colonial policy followed by all revolutionary Marxists since it was formulated by Lenin — and he does this without so much as a suggestion that he has revised that policy. Is it possible that Shachtman is unaware of the fact that he has revised the colonial policy adopted by the Communist International in the days when it was headed by Lenin and Trotsky? That is difficult to believe.

It is of course not to be contended that a policy should not be revised because it was formulated by Marx or Engels or Lenin or Trotsky. Revolutionary Marxists are not blind followers. If one is convinced that a certain idea or policy advocated by any of the great socialist teachers is wrong, then it is his duty to say so. But he must say so openly and present his reasons. Any other course is dishonest and completely lacking in seriousness.

The struggle of a colonial or semi-colonial people against an imperialist nation is supported by revolutionary Marxists because it is in the first place a blow at imperialism, the most reactionary phenomenon of our time. A victory of a colonial or semi-colonial nation also permits the development of the productive forces of that nation. Imperialist rule retards such a development because it is not in the interests of the imperialists to develop the productive forces of a backward country. And the right of every people to determine their own fate is a democratic right always supported by Marxists unless it conflicts with the interests of the proletarian revolution.

It follows that Marxists support a colonial struggle against imperialism even if it is led by the colonial capitalists. It is of course true that the colonial bourgeoisie is incapable of waging the struggle as a victorious working class would conduct it. The interests of the colonial capitalists are to a large extent tied up with the imperialist world. While they are interested in obtaining freedom for their own country because that would give them a larger share in the profits derived from exploiting their own working masses, they are at the same time interested in preserving the capitalist system, a factor which must necessarily make their struggle against the imperialist oppressor less effective, and making a betrayal of that struggle on the part of the capitalists very probable.

Understanding the weaknesses of the colonial bourgeoisie, Marxists do not give a colonial bourgeois government political support even while it is involved in a war against an imperialist oppressor. They continue to struggle against the capitalist government at the same time that they support the struggle against the imperialists. The independence of the working class must be retained under all circumstances.

That Chiang Kai-shek is a reactionary of the worst type is an old story. His brutality is no less than that of Hitler. It so happens, however, that he is the head of a semi-colonial nation struggling against an imperialist oppressor while Hitler is at the head of an imperialist nation fighting to gain control of other nations.

Representing the Chinese cap-

italists who do not want to give the foreign capitalists too large a share of the profits and who want to see the productive forces of China grow, Chiang Kai-shek leads the struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Marxists support that struggle. Representing the same capitalists, Chiang Kai-shek suppresses all organizations of workers and is ready to mow down tens of thousands of workers to guarantee the rule of the capitalists. Marxists call upon the Chinese masses to destroy the regime of Chiang Kai-shek.

Such was the attitude of the Trotskyists before Pearl Harbor and such is still our attitude. Shachtman had the same attitude prior to Pearl Harbor but now he has changed. He no longer supports the struggle of the Chinese against the Japanese imperialists and in explaining his change of policy in his article mentioned above he has in effect rejected the colonial policy followed by revolutionary Marxists since it was first formulated by Lenin.

Shachtman's general proposition is that it is not permissible to support the struggle of a colonial or semi-colonial nation against an imperialist nation that is involved in a war with another imperialist nation, so long as the colonial nation is under the control of the capitalist class. When Japan was not at war officially with the United States and Great Britain, it was correct to support China but it became incorrect to do so as soon as fighting began between Japan and the United States and Great Britain. Shachtman's conclusion constitutes a rejection of the colonial policy of revolutionary Marxism because at no time did any one recognized as an authority by revolutionary Marxists make any claim that the policy of supporting a colonial or semi-colonial nation against an imperialist oppressor is applicable only when there is no imperialist war going on or when the imperialist oppressor against whom the colonial nation is struggling is at peace with all other imperialist nations.

That Shachtman is aware of the fact that he has, so to speak, advised the colonial peoples not to fight against an imperialist oppressor during an imperialist war is evidenced by the question which he himself asks: "Is there then no future for China's struggle against imperialism? Is the struggle for freedom of the colonial countries and peoples in general a hopeless one, at least while the World War is on?"

And he proceeds to answer that it is unless the proletariat assumes power in the colonies. But the essence of the colonial policy of revolutionary Marxism is to support the struggle of the colonial people against an imperialist oppressor even though it is led by the bourgeoisie and without making any exception during a period when an imperialist war is raging. Shachtman considers a colonial struggle during an imperialist war as a hopeless one. To that we can only give Lenin's answer to a similar argument: a hopeless struggle is still a struggle.

Shachtman's advice to the colonial peoples amounts to this: do not struggle against your imperialist oppressor while he is at war with a n o t h e r imperialist oppressor. Fourth Internationalists say to the colonial peoples: follow the advice of Lenin and Trotsky, who said that the time when your imperialist oppressor is involved in a war with a rival imperialist nation is the best time for you to revolt. Lenin's and Trotsky's advice to the colonial peoples was to take advantage of the difficulties created by war in order to throw off the chains of imperialist oppression.

This is not to say that revolutionary Marxists support all colonial nations when their governments declare war against an imperialist country. Marxists know no such general rule. The conditions determining whether or not they support a colonial nation will be discussed next week.

the compulsory transfer of skilled men.

The Durham miners' strike at the border line between Scotland and England was called to protest the forcible sending of 2 young lads into the mines.

The Betteshanger strike of miners at the southeastern-most tip of England was called to demand that the bosses live up to the minimum wage agreements. The leaders of the strike were imprisoned under the rulings of the Essential Works Order. This group of miners, who had worked steadily under the severe bombings of 1941, fought a heroic

battle, freed their leaders, and won their demands.

The Blackhall miners in northwestern England had a strike a number of months ago against the weighing set-up mentioned previously. In Birkenhead, an important docking center across the river from Liverpool, there were recently victorious strike struggles involving overtime pay.

When one remembers that strikes, and "illegal" strikes at that, are called only as a last resort by the workers, one can get a picture of how deep the undercurrent of resentment in Britain has become.

Britain Since The Air Raids

An American Visitor Describes Resurgence Of The British Working Class Movement

By L. LAWRENCE

(The author of this article has recently returned from England, where for many weeks he had the opportunity to observe conditions among the workers at first hand, and to have discussions with various trade union and political leaders and rank-and-file workers. In this article he reports some of the things he learned about working standards and strike struggles. In a future issue of THE MILITANT he will write about the political organizations and tendencies of the British working class. — THE EDITOR.)

A tour of England reveals

first of all the horrible disasters caused by the air raids of May 1941. Whole sections of Liverpool and London lie in ruins. Under these ruins still remain many uncovered bodies. On the streets one always sees the direct victims of the blitzes. Missing legs, the blind and all types of cripples. The government never printed the figures of killed and wounded in the air raids. I was not surprised, therefore, to observe very little enthusiasm for the recent raids over Germany among the British

workers, despite their desire to defeat Hitler. The average worker remembers too well his own family terrors during the nights of last year.

Many's the family that has already lost a son or husband in the war against the Axis, that has had someone wounded or has heard of a dear one captured as a prisoner of war. Rommel's recent advance into Egypt must have created the deepest anxiety in the hearts of the people of Britain, for it is to Egypt that many of the drafted lads have been sent.

The full effects on the working people of close to three years of imperialist war are evidenced everywhere. The working class works long hours and full weeks under a regimented industrial set-up, including the Essential Works Order which has even encroached on their "democratic" right to choose their own employer.

The condition of women in industry is no better than that of the men. They are, like the men, subject to compulsory placement in industry; single women without jobs are not only deprived of any due role them, but are given either the choice of certain jobs or legal prosecution. Those women who refuse the jobs offered them — usually because the jobs consist of a terrific 7 day a week grind in a munitions factory or because the place of occupation is hundreds of miles away from home — find that to avoid prosecution they must join the armed forces, that is, the semi-military and near military forces of women.

Prices are sky-high in Eng-

land. Fruits and vegetables are luxuries.

CAPITALIST MISMANAGEMENT

The glaring failures and inadequacies of the British capitalists to organize production for the war stand out above all else in the eyes of the workers.

Throughout the country the working class comes face to face with idle industry. Receiving profits on the basis of 10% above cost, the capitalists in many instances let the workers stand idle for days with the continuous payroll charts being included in their bookkeeping accounts with the government. In Liverpool, for example, this was a frequent complaint I found voiced by shipyard workers.

Capitalist management of industry in England develops no initiative in the workers. The regimented, compulsory set-up in England disregards the workers' standards, rights and conditions of labor.

COMMON COMPLAINTS

In the most important Royal

Ordnance factories in England, in Nottingham, the government owners, cooperating with private industry, have attempted to carry out compulsory transfers of skilled men. No attempt is made to gain the consent of the workers involved who are taken from their homes hundreds of miles away, to live under the most disorganized and haphazard conditions, etc.

In the mines are glaring examples of disregard for human life and safety. Physical hazards in the mines are greater than ever before, this friend I spoke of above explained to me.

A common complaint of the miners is against the chiseling weighing set-up whereby the workers are gyped by the managers at the weighing scale.

Working long hours, with short lunch periods, the workers are forced to eat at the factory canteens. These food holes are totally inadequate, filthy, neglected, showing a complete non-concern on the part of the bosses for the workers.

But the workers of the British Isles have not been sleeping. They have struck back in defense of their rights. Even before the war they had powerful unions and with the development of the war their class instinct to fight

back has become more sharply expressed. In the factories almost all the organized workers have revived the shop stewards movement. Bound by a no-strike agreement which the trade union bureaucracy has made with the government and the employers, the workers look to the shop stewards, their immediate representatives on the job, to help them settle grievances with the management.

RECENT STRIKES

Particularly since the start of this year, the workers have been forced to call "illegal" strikes, unsanctioned and usually denounced by the trade union bureaucracy. Many shop stewards in these cases, having a legal status, but being close to the masses as against the far-away bureaucrats, have either stepped aside and given passive consent to strike or found themselves discredited among the workers.

This spring has seen a strike movement of sizeable strength, and all of it "illegal," among the miners, dockers, shipbuilders, machinists, Royal Ordnance workers, etc.

In Nottingham, in the Midlands, in the most important Royal Ordnance Factory District in the country, the workers recently went out on strike against

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

What Latest Losses Mean For The USSR

The Red Army continues to suffer one major defeat after another. The Nazi armies have encircled the Donets basin; they have broken thru beyond the Don river and are within striking distance of the central Volga region. The main communication lines with the Southern Front have already been cut. The threat to Rostov and the Caucasus is now an immediate one, thereby endangering supplies of oil to all the Soviet armies.

Even should the threat to the Caucasus be averted, the latest Nazi successes have dealt terrible blows to the USSR. The areas the enemy has overrun or threatens directly to capture during the latest offensive contain not less than 25% of the key industries originally constructed under the Five Year Plans. In the first year of the war the Nazis captured not less than 40% of the total Soviet productive capacity. Should they retain their present hold on the newly conquered areas, they will have deprived the Red Army of approximately two-thirds of the vital industries. Material aid from England and the United States has not and cannot possibly plug the gap resulting from such terrible losses.

During the first year of the war, the Soviet Union was compelled to engage in struggle after losing two-fifths of its productive capacity. The first workers' state is now confronted with the perspective of continuing its struggle with only one-third of its industries operating to supply the front and the rear. This is the desperate situation in which the USSR finds itself after a year of unprecedented heroism, sacrifice and exertion. This is the ripe fruit of Stalin's leadership.

Such an unequal struggle continued under the same leadership and with the same policies can lead only to the complete destruction of the Soviet Union.

But the whole point is that the Soviet Union possesses forces which by far outweigh any combination of factors on the military and economic planes. Once these forces were brought into play, Hitler would find himself confronted with far greater contradictions and difficulties than any now confronting the Red Army and the Soviet masses. These forces can be summed up in a single phrase: *the methods and program of revolutionary struggle, that is, those methods and that program which led to victory of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917.*

The greatest of all the crimes of Stalinism is the fact that it continues to deprive the Red soldiers and the Soviet Union of these unconquerable socialist weapons of struggle. An open struggle for socialism under the banner of international solidarity is the only road left open to the USSR. Only in this way can the grave military and economic losses already incurred be made good and the road to victory cleared.

The powers of the Soviet masses are not inexhaustible. But despite the fearful losses, they still retain sufficient resources to turn the tide of battle, given the correct program and Leninist leadership.

France's Struggle

General Charles De Gaulle received greetings on Bastille Day, July 14, from the statesmen of the "democratic" imperialist nations. The Stalinists and Social-Democrats chimed into this hypocritical chorus of hosannas with their amens.

It is necessary to ask: Who is De Gaulle? What is his program?

De Gaulle is an outstanding French monarchist. The Great French Revolution of 1789, which began with the storming of the Bastille on July 14, was fought to abolish monarchs and monarchies. For a monarchist to receive greetings on Bastille Day is a piece of crude burlesque.

De Gaulle's program is the advancement of French imperialism. He is the spokesman for that group of the French capitalist class who place their hopes on Allied victory for a return of at least a part of their former wealth.

On June 25, 1942 De Gaulle issued a declaration in the name of the Free French (since renamed the Fighting French) in which he says the Free French stand for "restoration of the complete integrity of both our home country and the French empire."

In this statement we hear the plaint of a slaveowner whose slaves have been highjacked from him by other slave raiders. Previously the French capitalists were able to exploit not only the French workers but millions of inhabitants of the French colonies such as Syria, Algeria, Morocco, Central Africa, Indo-China and other areas. French imperialism kept the masses of these sections in a condition of ultra-poverty; refused the colonies civil rights; crushed by prison and even execution the struggles of these colonial peoples to obtain their national independence from France.

Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito have conquered many of these colonies and are now themselves oppressing them. De Gaulle wants French capitalism to regain these lost colonies. And the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders support this program and this man!

This Bastille Day was the third the French people commemorated under the Iron Heel of Hitler. The German General Staff forbade all observance of the day. With its slogan of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality the French Revolution is even today a challenge to fascism with its oppression, racialism and bookburnings.

But when De Gaulle, representative of French capitalism, attempts to put on his shoulders the mantle of the French Revolution, even with the aid of his Stalinist and Social-Democratic valets, it obviously does not fit. The French Revolution was led by the rising capitalist class when it was young and progressive; now capitalism is old and reactionary. Capitalism in 1789 brought technical and political advance in the form of industrial development and democracy. Now it is reactionary and can bring only fascism, war and imperialism.

The French working class is not interested in restoring monarchists to power nor in helping the slaveholders to regain their slaves. It will carry on the traditions of the sans-culotte stormers of the Bastille by fighting against national oppression, fascism and imperialist war — for socialism and peace.

Tobin and Foster

There are times when dictators don't like dictatorships... when it is somebody else's!

Such is the case of Daniel J. Tobin, dictator of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters who published an official pronouncement purporting to give reasons for the refusal of the AFL Executive Council to cooperate with the Russian trade unions.

Dictator Tobin does not charge the Soviet trade unions with being radical or communistic, nor does he even revive the old old bogeyman that the Russians are interfering in the internal affairs of the American labor movement.

Obviously he could not freely charge the Russian trade unions with any of these so-called crimes as it is a well-known fact that these unions are neither radical nor communistic, and have under the rule of Stalin not the slightest intention of giving any inspiration to the militant rank and file workers in the American trade unions.

"The AFL," says Tobin, "will not cooperate with the Russian trade unions because it does not recognize the Russian trade union movement as a free trade union movement."

Tobin is unquestionably right in every phase of this charge — the leadership of the Stalinist unions is bureaucratically appointed and removed by higher officials; the rank and file has no voice either in formulating policy or in choosing their own leaders.

Tobin has the dirty hands of a dictator — and so have his associates, Hutchinson, Woll and Co. It is a well-known fact that an opposition in Mr. Tobin's union has a slight edge over the opposition in a Russian union: Tobin's boss, Roosevelt, can drag Tobin's opponents to court on charges of "sedition" as in the case of the leaders of Minneapolis teamsters Local 544-CIO. The Russian Tobin's boss, Stalin, can do all the things Roosevelt can — and in addition he can have his opponents placed before a firing squad.

Before we leave this little dictator's quarrel, we should not neglect the indignation of William Z. Foster who grows wrathful at the "Russian unions being lectured on democracy" by Tobin and Co. who "prevent the rank and file from having practically anything whatever to say in shaping the policies of their unions and in choosing their officials."

But it is not a secret that in the organization known as the Communist Party, Foster and Co. "prevent the rank and file from having practically anything whatever to say in shaping the policies and in choosing their officials."

It's a nasty business when these small-time dictators spill the beans about each other. There is this much to be said for them in this case... they do tell the truth about each other.

Wallace Can't Deliver A Quart Of Milk a Day

Unless the Working Class Intervenes, the Same System That Prevented It Before the War Will Prevent It After the War

By GRACE CARLSON

In his now famous speech of May 8 before the Free World Association in New York, Vice-President Henry Wallace said, "Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Madame Litvinov: 'The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day.'"

Wholly seriously, as the then Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace wrote in the foreword to the 1939 Yearbook of Agriculture, "Fundamental to adequate training and decent opportunity is food. Fifty percent of the people of the United States do not get enough in the way of dairy products, fruits and vegetables to enable them to enjoy full vigor and health, and a large number of them do not get enough because they cannot afford it."

From the extensive data gathered in the Consumer Purchases Study made by the United States Bureau of Home Economics and reported on in the 1939 Yearbook, the glaring fact emerges that the United States, under the leadership of the Wallaces and the Roosevelts, did not even come close to the goal on milk-consumption which Wallace has now set for the entire post-war world.

One-third of a quart was the average daily consumption of adults and children alike in the families of employed city workers studied in the survey. Employed Negro workers in southern cities were able to supply only an average of a quart a week to the members of their families. It should be noted that the amount of daily milk consumption reported on in the Consumer Purchases Study included milk in all its forms, except butter: whole milk, skim milk, buttermilk, evaporated and condensed milk, cheese, cream and ice cream.

If families on relief and the families of both white and Negro sharecroppers in the south had been included in this survey, the daily per-capita consumption of milk would have dropped down to only a tiny fraction of a quart a day.

M. Morrison, in his column dealing with the Wallace speech in the June 27 MILITANT, very pointedly asked, "What prevented anybody from giving the masses a quart or even a pint of milk a day before the war started?"

WHAT PREVENTED IT BEFORE THE WAR

The answer to this and to all of the other questions which have been raised by those who see widespread want and hunger in this land of plenty is that the capitalist rulers of America cannot organize the social system so as to provide plenty for all. Workers do not receive high enough wages for their labor to enable them to buy enough milk or the other protective foods such as butter, eggs, fresh meats, leafy green vegetables and fruits. The higher the weekly wages of workers studied in the Consumer Purchases Study, the higher was the daily average consumption of milk as well as of other protective foods.

It is estimated by agricultural experts that if every individual in the United States were living or what government nutritionists writing in the yearbook call a "good diet" that 30 to 40 million more acres would be required to produce the additional food required. Such expansion would be a boon to farmers, who cannot find markets for their crops in normal times. Hazel Stiebeling, Senior Food Economist in the Bureau of Home Economics, estimates that the following percentage increases of these foods would be needed:

	Percent Increase
Milk	20
Butter	15
Tomatoes, citrus fruit	70
Leafy, green and yellow vegetables	100
Eggs	35

THE APATHETIC EGYPTIANS

An editorial reprinted from the Negro weekly, "Pittsburgh Courier," of July 11:

There are as many people in Egypt as there are in New York and New Jersey combined, and more than there are in Canada or Argentina, and yet, with Rommel half way to the Nile, it is reported from Cairo that the Egyptians are "apathetic."

This is added proof that chickens do come home to roost, for the conditions which England fostered and maintained in Egypt since 1882 may now lead to another disaster.

The Egyptian Army consists of not more than 40,000 troops purposely ill-equipped, there is no war industry and the population is 90 per cent illiterate with disease and malnutrition widespread.

Every effort of the masses to improve their conditions has been ruthlessly suppressed by native satraps acting for absentee European planters and financiers. Egypt is Malaya, Java and Burma all over again.

Naturally the Egyptians are apathetic. The other Africans will probably prove equally apathetic when the war reaches them. They have been robbed so thoroughly that they have nothing to lose, or at least they feel that way.

the globe after the end of this war.

Three-fourths of the world's 2,000,000,000 people are ill-fed in normal times, wrote Dr. Merrill K. Bennett of the Food Research Institute of Stanford University in a recent issue of the *Geographical Review*. Low-income levels are to blame for the fact that from 60 percent to 90 percent of the diets of so many millions of European, Asiatic and African peoples are made up of potatoes, breads and cereals, he reported. A really liberal diet, it is estimated by experts, should contain only 21% of these foods, with the other 79% coming from the protective foods, milk, fresh fruits, etc. The American diet, composed of cereals, breads and potatoes to only about 30 to 40% is one of the best in the world, Dr. Bennett maintained.

But the existence of "hidden hungers" in millions of American men, women and children is a well-substantiated and tragic fact. To eliminate these widespread "hidden hungers," vitamin deficiencies, and malnutrition, the American working masses must learn to depend, not on the demagogic promises of capitalist politicians, like Henry Wallace, but on militant, independent working-class action.

Puerto Rico Is Given An 'After The War' Promise

(Continued from page 1) longer, he said, the first election of a governor will be postponed until the close of hostilities."

But the administration has also stated that America will have to police the world for the next 100 years, and won't naval bases be necessary for that, together with "political stability?" Yet even if we assume that this promise is kept, it still does not mean freedom for Puerto Rico! Nothing has been said about Wall Street's domination over Puerto Rico's economic, judicial and educational systems.

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES

The entire history of American intervention in Puerto Rico belies the sweet promises of the administration. In 1898, when the United States seized the island, General Nelson A. Miles assured the Puerto Ricans that "the people of the United States come to promote your prosperity and to bestow on you the immunities and blessings of enlightened civilization."

In 1929, the hey-day of American capitalism, there were 35,000 cases of tuberculosis, 200,000 cases of malaria, and 600,000 cases of hookworm among a population of about 1 1/2 million Puerto Ricans. The General could not have meant immunity from disease and hunger.

In 1938, pre-war boom year, the annual per capita income on the island was \$70. Was this what the General meant by prosperity?

According to Jerome B. Cohen in the October 1941 CURRENT HISTORY, "As late as 1936, 80 percent of the people were on one form of relief or another. The death rate for TB is the highest in the world. 85% of homes (if one may dignify them with such a term) lack sanitary facilities of any sort. Dysentery is widespread and in many cases chronic." Is this what the General

meant by the blessings of enlightened civilization?

BLESSINGS BY BULLET AND RIFLE BUTT

On March 21, 1937, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico lined up for a parade in behalf of their independence from these "blessings."

The Mayor of the City of Ponce had given a permit to the demonstrators, but the police forced its revocation. According to the Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Civil Rights in Puerto Rico, Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union, Chairman, there were about 80 cadets and a small contingent of girls dressed as nurses and a brass band in the rear of the procession.

Before the march started, the police opened fire on the unarmed and shotguns, shot-guns and Thompson sub-machine guns. Women and children were mowed down by bullet and rifle butt. "A woman was clubbed to death. Her husband ran over to lift her up, took her in his arms, whereupon a volley of shots was poured into him." Twenty were killed and 150 to 200 were wounded.

In accordance with all the rules of imperialist "enlightened civilization," Governor Blanton Winship completely whitewashed the officials responsible for the massacre and in their place twenty Puerto Rican nationalist leaders arrested and charged with riot and murder.

Next week, in an article dealing with the history of American rule in Puerto Rico, we shall show why the people are so anxious to free themselves from their "Big Brother."

WHY we Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

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What Has Happened Since Boss Parties "Adjourned Politics"

By M. STEIN

The Early Promises

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Democratic National Chairman Flynn wired Republican Chairman Martin: "In the face of war, politics are adjourned. I suggest that the (Democratic and Republican) committee organizations be made available immediately to the President and the departments engaged in defense preparations."

Mr. Martin's reply was not quite as sweeping, accepting the proposition with some reserve:

"The Republican organization will gladly answer any call to national service. Republicans will not permit politics to enter into national defense." The president sent his thanks to both of them. This made it practically unanimous.

Since then we have been waiting bat in hand, ready to strike down the first one who dares to violate the noble spirit expressed in the above exchange of telegrams. One great deed inspires another. Surely, it must have been hoped, if the boss politicians are ready to sacrifice their politics, then the labor leaders will sacrifice the strike weapon, and the workers will sacrifice their right to higher wages to meet the increasing cost of living.

Flynn and the Paving Blocks

At one time we were going to pounce on Ed Flynn himself when someone spilled the beans about his use of New York City-owned paving blocks hauled by city workers on city-owned trucks to his summer estate to pave his Belgian court. We let it pass however. Flynn had promised to adjourn politics, but we weren't sure that the paving blocks affair was, strictly speaking, in the sphere of politics. While it is true that he could get the paving blocks, the city trucks and the workmen only because of his political position, and at the price of some political favor and patronage, the affair itself transcends the political plane and rests much more on the criminal. Besides, we figured that a well-paved back yard would afford the Democratic Chairman the possibility of keeping out of the mud, and that his visitors, even though they would not leave with clean hands, might at least leave with clean feet.

But even before we could pass final judgment on the Flynn scandal, our attention was absorbed by the President's nomination of Thomas F. Meany, Hudson County Democrat, to be a judge of the United States District Court in New Jersey. We do not know this man Meany, but we do know something about "I Am the Law" Hague and we were informed that Meany is a henchman of Hague. No less a personage than Governor Edison of New Jersey, himself a Democrat who had had a falling out with Hague, informed the President of Meany's background and pleaded with the Senate not to confirm the nomination. In a letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee, Mr. Edison disclosed the tie-up between Hague and Meany:

"Mr. Meany was a part in the notorious series of moves in our State that put Frank Hague Jr., a lawyer who had never practiced law, upon our highest court. This young man had no record and no career, except that he was the boss' son, to justify his elevation to the Court of Errors and Appeals. A judge was induced to resign to make way for young Hague; then Judge Meany was induced to resign as Common Pleas Judge of Hudson County to make way for that judge and then Meany was rewarded by being appointed counsel in a bankruptcy case from which he has recently been removed, on the grounds that his fees and expenses were excessive (a measly \$20,000 per year — M. S.) and that he did not do the work for which he was paid. It is now proposed to reward this obliging jurist by installing him for life in a Federal Court."

Roosevelt and "I Am the Law"

Mr. Edison was trying here to save the good name of the President, the good name of the governing party in the country, and incidentally his own neck, for Hague has been gunning for him. But neither the President nor the Democratic Party would be saved. And they were very stubborn in their refusal to be saved. They installed Meany for life in the Federal Court and they had it approved in the Senate by a strictly partisan vote.

Why, we ask, should the President get mixed up with such a low-life as Hague? Why should he do his bidding? Shouldn't a man in his position keep his skirts clean? He is after all the head of the greatest democracy in the world, who has set out to make American Democracy triumphant the world over. This is a man sized job. Why does he have to mess around in Hague's dirty puddle in New Jersey? What will his friends think? What will his enemies say?

And what about those pledges to adjourn politics? Is this the right example for the President to set?

As we were pondering all these confusing questions, finding occasional comfort in that stream of very distinguished visitors pouring to the White House—visitors who included Prime Ministers, Kings and Queens—we noticed that the President had been receiving an unusual number of politicians from New York. They included James Farley, who is boss of the Democratic Party in the State, National Chairman Flynn who is also the boss of the Bronx County Democratic Party machine, Michael J. Kennedy, Tammany Hall boss, the New York Senators Wagner and Mead. Even Al Smith was taken out of moth balls, dusted off and brought to the President for a visit.

If this means anything, it is that the President is apparently taking an active hand in the muddled affairs of the New York Democratic machine which is to nominate a gubernatorial candidate to succeed Lehman.

The President has made an early start in preparation for the 1944 Presidential elections. He is tuning up the various State machines according to their specific conditions. With every passing day it becomes clearer that not only have politics not been adjourned, but that they fly thicker and faster than ever.