

# Michigan Unionists Advocate Independent Labor Party

## LNPL Delegates Cite Need For Speedy Action

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Mich., June 14. — A demand for the "immediate establishment of an independent party of labor and working farmers" in Michigan was voiced by the overwhelming majority of the 262 delegates, representing approximately 200,000 members of CIO unions affiliated with the Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League, gathered in annual convention at the Fort Shelby Hotel on June 11-12.

Although Michigan CIO Council President August Scholle spoke against the immediate launching of a labor party and although the two and a half hour debate on the resolution showed that all the international officers of the CIO were also against such action at this time, the delegates nevertheless ignored the wishes of the top officials and, with only ten dissenting votes, adopted the resolution on the labor party.

"that the time was not ripe to break with company unions." And Leonard Kluk, Local 238, warned: "I am sick and tired of company unionism in the political

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## Anaconda Fraud Trial Ends With Slap On Wrist

"The most obnoxious fraud ever presented to a court of the United States!" That was how Pat Coon, special assistant to the Attorney General, described the criminal practices of the Anaconda Wire and Cable Company in his speech for the government at the trial of Anaconda in Fort Wayne, Ind., last week.

The company and its leading officials were on trial for conspiracy to defraud the government by selling defective wire and cable to the armed forces of the United States and its allies. The government charged that the company had done this deliberately and had taken special steps to deceive government inspectors.

Nevertheless, not a single one of the guilty parties will spend an hour in jail for these practices which endangered the lives of countless men in the armed forces.

Some of them were fined and given prison sentences, but all the prison sentences were ordered suspended on payment of the fines. The fines in this \$5,000,000 fraud case amounted to only \$31,100, which amounts to a drop in the bucket of war profits coined by Anaconda.

The company got this light slap on the wrist by pleading nolo contendere, that is, not contesting the case, thus avoiding a jury trial and throwing itself on the mercy of the court. Its lawyer admitted "technical guilt" but not "moral guilt."

### MERCY—AND HOW!

The court was excessively merciful. In pronouncing the penalty, Federal Judge Thomas W. Slick explained that he was suspending the prison terms because he felt the guilty officials "could better serve the war effort by going back to work." He did not explain whether he meant the same kind of work they had been indicted for.

He also said he thought the disposition of the case would "stop anything of a similar nature elsewhere." But apparently this view was not shared by Attorney General Biddle.

### BIDDLE'S COMPLAINT

The penalties in the case were so glaringly light and the crimes of Anaconda so scandalous that Biddle angrily issued a statement immediately after the trial

### Bloody Money?

According to the annual report of U. S. Steel Corporation recently filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, U. S. Steel's president, Benjamin F. Fairless, received \$154,800 "for his services during 1942." Enders M. Voorhees, comptroller for the corporation, received \$106,200 and Irving S. Olds, board chairman, got \$104,910 during the same period.

The report did not indicate what proportion of this money was realized from the criminal activities of U. S. Steel's subsidiary, the Carnegie-Illinois Corporation, which was indicted last month for falsifying its test records and selling the government sub-standard armor plate used by the armed forces and merchant marine of the United States and its allies.

declaring that the government believed "that only imposition of maximum sentences would serve the ends of justice. The government made it clear that was its recommendation in this case." He also charged that Anaconda had been following its criminal practices "for 10 years or more."

The sentences in this case are in strong contrast to those in the case of ten welders in a Baltimore shipyard who were speeded up by the piecework system and then accused of faulty work and arrested by Department of Justice agents on charges of sabotage. One was sentenced to 18 months in jail and the others were held on \$5,000 bond. The sentence was NOT suspended.

### ANOTHER SCANDAL

One day after Biddle's complaint about the farcical "punishment" of Anaconda, a new fraud scandal of a similar character was bared when the government secured an indictment against the Collyer Insulated Wire Company of Rhode Island and eight of its officials and employees. As in the Anaconda case, the company was accused of selling the government defective war material and conspiring to deceive government inspectors.

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## Roosevelt Gets Anti-Strike Bill As Mine Truce Deadline Nears

### Pa. Mine Operators Tear Up Contract Reached With UMW

June 15 — The Roosevelt government has mobilized all of its resources to keep the miners in the conditions of poverty and hunger against which they are revolting. The government wants to deny the miners the major concessions they seek and thus give all of labor the dramatic warning that the workers must face a lowering of their living standards and that they will be pushed back with bayonets if they intend to fight.

Under administration tutelage, both houses of Congress passed the infamous Smith-Connally anti-strike bill, which is now

suspended like a Damocles sword over the heads of the miners and their leaders. It is expected that Roosevelt will take no action on the bill until after the expiration of the mine strike deadline on June 20.

### PROTESTS

The labor movement is becoming aroused over this bill, which proposes to scrap the rights of the working man, gained in years of struggle and effort. William Green, reflecting the anger of labor's ranks, dispatched a special letter to President Roosevelt demanding on behalf of "millions of members of the AFL together with all their friends" that Roosevelt veto the bill.

"The workers of our country would never become reconciled to this legislation," the letter stated. "They would protest against it and rebel against it in the event it would become the law of the land. This legislation is fascist in character. For the first time in the history of our country, Congress has enacted legislation depriving workers of the exercise of the right to strike. This legislation strikes at the very heart of democratic processes."

Philip Murray declared in a letter to Roosevelt that the bill "set aside the Bill of Rights of the United States—Constitution" and called upon the president to veto it. Protests were also sent by the executive board of the Teamsters International and A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Train-

men. The American Labor Party, representing 500,000 workers in New York State, wired the president twice calling upon him to veto the bill.

### HOLLOW SERMONS

The War Labor Board has announced that it will render its decision on or about June 16. All newspaper commentators are anticipating a decision hostile to the United Mine Workers, and one that will deny them their fundamental demands on portal-to-portal pay. Thus the Roosevelt government is shutting every door to the mine union, and is using the whole of its weight and authority to prevent the miners from obtaining an agreement.

How hollow, how idiotic, appear today all those sermons preached to the mine workers that they would be better off if they meekly and politely placed their case in the hands of the War Labor Board and then went back quietly mining coal!

By their militancy and their solidarity, the miners more than once had the operators backed up against the wall, ready to cry for mercy. On at least two different occasions, the UMW was on the verge of obtaining a signed contract from the operators, and failed only because of the hostile interference of the Roosevelt Government.

On June 2, in the midst of the second coal strike, the operators' ranks were beginning to crack under the pressure and for the first time, the negotiators were getting down to brass tacks. At

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## INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION CAN SMASH ANTI-UNION DRIVE

### An Editorial

The Smith-Connally anti-strike bill has been passed by Congress and is now before Roosevelt. This bill, aimed at the miners as well as the ranks of all labor, is the most monstrous piece of union-busting legislation ever enacted in Washington.

The Smith-Connally bill prohibits unions from exercising the right to strike, from aiding one another, from contributing to political parties. It makes a mockery of democracy by robbing organized labor of its most precious rights acquired at the cost of decades of struggle and sacrifice. No wonder pussy-footing AFL President Green has called it "fascist in character."

How has Congress dared to pass such totalitarian legislation against the unanimous opposition of a labor movement 13 millions strong? Congress dares because of the treacherous and cowardly policies pursued by the AFL-CIO leadership since the war began. This leadership voluntarily relinquished the strike weapon and disarmed the workers, leaving them helpless before the employers. They channelled all agreements, disputes, grievances into the WLB where they were sidetracked, lost or denied. They told the workers to trust in Roosevelt instead of in themselves, their own organizations, their own power.

Under pressure from the Roosevelt war-machine they surrendered step by step to the dictates of the bosses until the profiteers and their Congressional agents feel safe to imitate Hitler and Mussolini in outlawing strike action. They are reaping the bitter fruit of their own policies. Congress has repaid their groveling, not by making concessions to labor, but by speeding up the campaign to wreck the unions.

Today Green and Murray are issuing last-minute protests and demands that the president veto the bill. These demands are in order but they are not enough.

Last week when the fighting miners threatened "direct action" against Ickes' million dollar fines, Ickes promptly backed down. The entire labor movement must exhibit the same militant spirit

in united protest against the Smith-Connally slave-labor bill. That is the only way to make Roosevelt veto the bill.

"The workers of our country would never become reconciled to this legislation. They would protest against it and rebel against it in the event it would become the law of the land." Coming from William Green, this is an empty threat. But the workers mean business; they are ready for resolute action.

The AFL Executive Council now comes forward and warns that labor "shall endeavor to vote out of office any member of Congress who supports it." What a confession of bankruptcy! The AFL and CIO leaders helped put into office most of the Democrats and Republicans who voted for the Smith-Connally bill. They supported the Roosevelt administration and his Democratic Party who sponsored the legislation. And now they can propose nothing more than to vote these scoundrels out of office.

Who will they then vote back into office? Another set of scoundrels, Democratic-Republican "friends of labor" who will again sell out the workers to the corporations?

By going on record in favor of the immediate establishment of an independent party of labor and working farmers, the militant workers of Michigan have declared that the ranks of labor intend to follow a road different from that of the Murrys and Greens.

If the correct lessons are drawn from the current labor struggles, organized labor will break with the Roosevelt administration and its reactionary program of hunger and repression. Organized labor will build its own Independent Labor Party equipped with a militant program of action that can beat back the union busting offensive and cope with the basic social problems confronting the workers in this war-torn capitalist world. The Michigan workers have indicated the right road for the American labor movement.

## COAST-TO-COAST WAVE OF VIOLENCE STRIKES AT NEGROES AND MEXICANS

By PHILIP BLAKE

The latest outbreaks of violence and prejudiced action against Negroes and Mexicans have extended from coast to coast, menacing minority groups not only in the South, but in the North, the West and the Industrial Midwest. Taken together, they represent the most widespread and ominous attack on the victims of racial prejudice in any comparable period since the so-called race riots that followed World War I.

LOS ANGELES AND VICINITY. In this area, which has been given the widest publicity, hundreds of Mexican and Negro youth and adults have been beaten senseless and stripped naked on the streets by sailors, soldiers and civilians; hundreds of others have been arrested without warrant. The capitalist press helped to incite these attacks, and many police stood by laughing while they were carried out.

NEWARK, N. J. A scuffle which began between some school

children after a track meet on June 2 quickly spread through a large part of the city, involving many adults and resulting in arrests and terrorization of large numbers of Negroes. One Negro youth was shot dead, one white boy was seriously wounded and many others were assaulted and injured.

CAMP STEWART, GA. Military officials are still investigating the pitched battle between white military police and Negro troops that broke out in this army camp on June 9. Although few details were given, it was strongly reminiscent of dozens of similar fights that have taken place, mostly in Southern camps, since Pearl Harbor. The only difference in this instance was that no Negroes were reported injured. One white M. P. was shot dead, four others wounded. (Gun fights between Negro soldiers and white cops in Mississippi last week yielded the usual number of Negro casualties.)

NEW YORK CITY. In this, the most liberal city in the country, workers at a small war plant, the Acme Backing Corporation, went on strike on June 9 after a Negro had been transferred to a key department. They had numerous grievances against the company, but permitted themselves to be maneuvered into expressing them in this reactionary manner. After intervention by their CIO union they expressed regret for their prejudiced behavior and returned to work.

PHILADELPHIA. Four Negroes were severely beaten and shot at by a band of 25 white boys on June 12. After being treated at the hospital, the Negroes were arrested — "for their own protection," according to the police.

MOBILE, ALA. The regional director of the Office of War Information on June 12 charged company officials with the re-

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## C. P. Earns Title Of Strikebreaker No. 1

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The Communist Party has been gaining considerable notoriety since the beginning of the current coal wage negotiations as the most blatant enemy of the miners in the labor movement. But since the second mine walk-out on June 1 the Stalinist leaders and press have been outdoing themselves and are today in a position where they can challenge any manufacturers' association or capitalist newspaper for the title of Strikebreaker Number One.

The Stalinists like to brag that they are the vanguard in the war against Hitler, but a quick check of their press since June 1 shows that nowadays they are devoting a far greater proportion of their attacks and denunciations to the leadership of the United Mine Workers than they are to Hitler.

Their original would-be face-saving formula was: FOR THE MINERS' justified demands, AGAINST Lewis. Now they have thrown all caution to the winds, only rarely mentioning the miners' demands and concentrating most of their attention on attacks and slanders against Lewis. They even go to the extreme of declaring that Lewis isn't "really interested in winning anything

for the miners" (Daily Worker editorial, June 10) although everyone knows that Lewis is staking his whole future precisely on winning sizeable concessions for the UMW.

100% AGAINST MINERS, 100% FOR ROOSEVELT

Whatever Lewis does, they attack him for it. When, for example, Lewis succeeded in splitting some of the mine operators last week at a crucial point in the struggle, and persuaded the Central Pennsylvania Operators Association to agree to wage raises of about \$1.50, the Daily Worker in a front page editorial on June 11 condemned this move as a threat to the nation and warned: "Under no circumstances should the government give way to the Lewis conspiracy."

The best the editorial had to offer the miners was this: "Wage adjustments must be based on more production. . . Why not a [WLB] provision that would give the miners extra compensation above a certain norm of output?" (The Stalinists are not missing a chance to try to sell their speedup "incentive wage plans,"

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# Why No-Strike Pledge Is Meeting Opposition

There is a growing opposition to the no-strike pledge in the ranks of the militant unions. The explanation for this was recently given by James F. Lucas, president of Pontiac Local 653 of the United Auto Workers, in a letter printed in the June 5 Detroit Times, the major parts of which are reprinted below.—Ed.

Management in this country has actually gone on strike against collective bargaining, and is waging a terrific war in an effort to discredit and destroy labor organizations. They have taken every advantage possible, no matter how small, to cause dissension and dissatisfaction among the workers in the plants.

Under the guise of patriotism, they grab at every opportunity to insult the men and women working for them. The worker becomes discouraged when he sees a

sign or poster in the plant which says "AN HOUR LOST MAY MEAN MANY LIVES LOST"—then, later, the company penalizes a man two days for smoking, or for the violation of some minor shop rule.

They [the workers] see the indifference of management to the war effort. On cost-plus contracts, they are told by supervision to slow down and, when there is just a straight contract, management tries to use the whip and install their so-called "incentive" plans.

In plants where they have "suggestion" plans, as in General Motors, the rewards for a suggestion which causes a man to put forth more manual effort (such as running two machines, instead of one) are high—whereas a suggestion which actually increases production (without speed-

ing the operators up) is treated much less favorably.

## PROFITEERING

They read in the papers of the "lush" profits being made by the manufacturers, and wonder why the same government who is denying them an increase in wages, is permitting these enormous profits to be made by the corporations. They hear and read about price control—yet, when they go to the store to buy the necessities of life, they find that these things are just so much "talk," and that their groceries cost them from 25% to 75% more than they did a year ago.

They wonder why the government can give billions of dollars to these corporations in new plants, subsidies and what have you, yet when a man is called to the colors, the most that his family can get is \$50 per month for his wife, after \$22 is taken

from his meager pay, plus \$12 per month for the first child, and \$10 per month for the rest.

The worker sees his buddy on the next machine called into the army and wonders how his mother, father and wife will get along, while his foreman, or the son of the foreman or superintendent, who is oftentimes single, is deferred, because it looks to him like the corporations control the draft boards.

## POST-WAR WORLD

His son and daughter are serving in the armed forces and he wants to be sure there will be a decent job for them when they return—and that they will not find conditions as he found them after World War I—no money, no job and no hope. He doesn't want his son to have to make a pilgrimage to Washington begging for a bonus that is rightfully his, and for which he offered his life, only to be chased out by the government, who should have grasped his hand in welcome, in place of giving him tear gas and bayonets.

He wonders if all the things he reads in the papers about "patriotism" and "giving his all" are not just a lot of balderdash, when it looks like he is the only one expected to make sacrifices.

His government, in which he has a right to have some confidence, was to see that adequate machinery was set up for the speedy adjustment of grievances, and provide the necessary price control and rationing program to guarantee against an increase in the cost of living.

This has not been carried out, and won't be, unless the worker is able to create enough pressure through the only organization which has demonstrated it has his interests at heart, and that is his labor organization, who (out of

a true sense of patriotism, which since proved to be a mistake, and a rather naive and trusting sense of confidence in its government officials) has disarmed itself, by pledging "no strike" for the duration.

## COWARDICE OF LEADERS

He wonders why some of his labor leaders, who know only too well that the "no-strike" pledge is not working, still want to cling to the thing that has made some of them look silly in the past few months. Some of them, it appears, are just as much interested in crushing the legitimate aspirations of the workers as the corporations themselves.

When the workers see gains being taken away that they fought for years to acquire, they grow desperate and cast about for some weapon to defend themselves, and the only weapon they have is mediation, conciliation

and arbitration, and, as a last resort, the strike.

When the first three become so notoriously slow that it takes six months to settle a grievance, then they are useless, and the only recourse left to the worker is to exert his economic power by resorting to strike action.

No amount of anti-labor legislation will settle these grievances. The only effect it can possibly have is to build up resentment in the hearts of the workers, which sooner or later will erupt, causing him to revolt against whomever it may be that is holding him down, whether it be government, management or the leaders of his labor movement.

This has happened in the last few months, and will happen again unless labor rescinds the "no-strike" pledge and provides a safety valve by authorizing strikes in extreme cases.

## Unionists Advocate Independent Labor Party

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field. We will withdraw from the LNPL if this convention does not go down the line for a labor party."

Marrin, financial secretary of Local 157, recalled how the auto workers were told they couldn't organize Ford. "When we made up our minds to do that, we did organize Ford. I am sick and tired of being told that we cannot do this job now."

### "WHAT WE NEED"

"Labor in England was told that the time was not ripe for the formation of a labor party," advised Ed Carey, president of Chrysler Local 7. "We laid down the strike weapon, the only weapon we had. What can we lose? Who champions the cause of labor today? Let labor form its own party now for we have absolutely nothing to lose."

"If it is eventually yes, why not now?" asked Leonard Newman of Briggs. "The trouble is some of our people are better Democrats than they are trade unionists. What we need are leaders with a strong trade union philosophy."

And Pleasant, rank and file delegate from Briggs, showed how deep was the feeling for independent labor action: "I would rather die with labor than live a living death with the Republican and Democratic Parties."

The speeches were short and to the point. It was the answer of the ranks to the Smith-Connelly bill and the cringing attitude of their top officials. These delegates were not popping off for the record. They were a determined group of men who knew what they were about and meant to carry through this business to the very end, with or without their international officers.

### ATTITUDE OF THE "LABOR STATESMEN"

Tracy M. Doll, newly re-elected president of the Progressive Labor League, the new name adopted by the convention for the LNPL, indicated the type of labor party he had in mind when he urged legislation "similar to that of New York State which allows labor candidates to run either on the Republican or Democratic ballot." The Michigan law does

not permit a candidate to run on more than one party ticket.

Dean Alfange, 1942 candidate of the American Labor Party of New York and guest speaker at this convention tipped off the delegates as to what kind of party the "labor statesmen" want when he called for the creation of a "Peoples Party" to support Roosevelt in the 1944 elections. This also represents the position of Doll and the international officers.

On March 29, 1943 the Executive Board of LNPL passed a recommendation to this convention that it form an "Independent Liberal Party to support President Roosevelt and the New Deal." So unanimous were the ranks for a truly independent labor party that the resolution of the Executive Board was not even brought up for discussion although drafts of the Board resolution were given out to the delegates.

The recent labor struggles have given the ranks a splendid political education even though the leadership has not profited from these events nor learned from the defeats of the European working class. Labor is getting ready to fight with all the weapons at its command, political as well as economic.

### OTHER ACTIONS

This convention further showed its progressive character by the other resolutions adopted. It unanimously passed a resolution attacking the coal operators for their uncompromising stand against the miners. It attacked Secretary of the Interior Ickes for fining the miners and called upon the WLB and other governmental agencies to follow the contract already signed by the commercial operators of Pennsylvania for the settling of the dispute.

The delegates also opposed the Smith-Connelly anti-strike bill and the newly adopted tax bill; demanded that prices be rolled back to May 15, 1942; called for the abolition of Jim Crow in the armed forces and for equal status for the Negro worker in the plants; demanded the repeal of the poll tax; called for the release of the Spanish Loyalists from the concentration camps of North Africa and condemned Stalin for the murder of Alter and Erlich.

## Text Of Labor Party Resolution Adopted By Michigan LNPL

The following is the text of the resolution on labor party action adopted by the convention of the Michigan Labor's Non-Partisan League in Detroit on June 11-12:

WHEREAS: The recent history of the labor movement constitutes adequate proof of the statement that it is impossible for labor to depend upon either the Democratic or Republican parties for the expression of its aims or the carrying out of its program, and

WHEREAS: Union members are becoming more and more reluctant to participate in election campaigns for the support of old-line politicians, or the candidates of the two major political parties, and

WHEREAS: The greatest showing of labor political strength of rank and file participation in elections, and of the possibility of direct labor representation in government, was in the Vote Labor Campaign in Detroit, in 1937, and

WHEREAS: Labor is now, and will be from now, engaged in a life and death struggle with employers and other sinister influences whose aim is to establish the dictatorship of the few over the divided and disorganized workers, and

WHEREAS: Labor is sick and tired of depending upon so-called "friends" in public office who are, in fact, in almost all instances, better friends of employers and reactionaries than they are of labor, and

WHEREAS: The unionists of other countries, especially in Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, have made great strides forward on the political front through their Labor Parties, and

WHEREAS: The Republican and Democratic parties have demonstrated their growing inability and unwillingness to solve the basic social problems of the workers of the nation, and

WHEREAS: Labor must have its own political party to successfully cope with the problems of unemployment and the social disorder that

will exist in America in the post-war period.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That this Convention of Labor's Non-Partisan League go on record in favor of the immediate establishment of an independent party of labor and working farmers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this Convention recommend to the Michigan State CIO Convention the formation of a Labor Party and call upon the State Convention to issue a Call for Constitutional Convention for the formation of a Labor Party within ninety (90) days after adjournment of the Convention, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the CIO Convention be asked to establish a Committee to work on a full-time basis to obtain and coordinate the active participation of the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, Independent Unions, Farmers Unions, Political Workers' Organization and Negro Organizations for the establishment of a Labor Party, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That Labor's Non-Partisan League prepare adequate material on the Labor Party question to be distributed to the delegates of the State CIO Convention, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That pending formation of a Labor Party we propose to organize on a residential basis through Ward and Precinct Committees and Labor Political Clubs in support of candidates selected by labor in all elections both primary and general throughout the State, in conformity with CIO policy, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That the Secretary of Labor's Non-Partisan League be instructed to call a delegate body meeting of Labor's Non-Partisan League within a period of thirty (30) days following the adjournment of the Michigan CIO Convention to determine the future course of action of the League.

## Dobbs Speaks In Twin Cities

### Urges Labor Party Action in Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., June 12—Before an audience of members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, many of whom had been closely associated with him in the great Minneapolis truck drivers' strike of 1934, National Labor Secretary Farrell Dobbs appealed for working class solidarity on the political field.

"It is time that the workers refuse to continue to be the pawns of the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. Labor must organize politically as well as economically by building an Independent Labor Party, based on and controlled by the trade unions," he declared.

Comrade Dobbs' forthright support of the miners in their struggle against the greedy coal operators and the government officials who do their bidding was applauded enthusiastically by Minneapolis workers who have had a long tradition of militant trade unionism. A lively discussion period followed the speech.

Evidence of the whole-hearted endorsement of the S.W.P.'s campaign to speed the creation of a labor party was shown by the audience's generous contributions which totalled \$288. V. R. Dunne acted as chairman of the meeting.

ST. PAUL, June 12—An enthusiastic group of friends and sympathizers here on June 9 heard Farrell Dobbs speak on the need for a nation-wide labor

party. Comrade Dobbs analyzed the plight of the mass of the people caught between the ever-rising cost of living and the wage-freezing program of the government. He pointed out that not one voice in the government—from the mayor of the smallest village to President Roosevelt—was raised in defense of the miners' struggle.

The speaker drew the lesson that only through a party of their own can the workers adequately defend themselves. And, he added, through the development of a labor party the workers can complete their political development and find the socialist road to the real and lasting solution to their problems.

Following a discussion period in which many took part, the audience showed its whole-hearted approval with the ideas presented by Comrade Dobbs by contributing to a collection of \$54.

### OTHER STOPS ON TOUR

Dobbs was scheduled to speak in Milwaukee and Chicago this week. The dates for the remainder of his national tour follow:

DATE PLACE  
June 19, 20—St. Louis  
June 23, 24—Flint  
June 25, 27—Detroit  
June 28—Toledo  
June 29, July 1—Cleveland  
July 2, 4—Akron  
July 5, 7—Youngstown  
July 8, 10—Buffalo  
July 11, 12—Rochester  
July 14, 15—Boston  
July 16, 17—New Haven  
July 18—New York

Dates have not yet been announced for meetings in Newark, Philadelphia, Reading and Bayonne.

## SWP Protests Against Davies' Film in San Pedro

SAN PEDRO, Cal., June 10—A Socialist Workers Party demonstration calling attention to the lies in "Mission To Moscow" was held in front of Warner Brothers theatre here today at the opening of the Davies' film.

Many workers stopped to ask the demonstrators the meaning of the demonstration, and took copies of "The Truth (About 'Mission To Moscow') And The Moscow Trials" into the theatre with them after they were informed that they were not being asked to boycott the film. Numerous other passersby took copies of the four-page tabloid home to read.

The only objection to the demonstration was from a Stalinist who viciously assured anyone who would listen that "These people are Trotskyists! People like them are killed in Russia. We don't do things that way here, or these people (indicating the girl demonstrators) would be dead long ago!"

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## Flint Chevrolet Local Holds Labor Party Discussion

FLINT, Mich., June 3.—Nearly 100 men and women at the Town Hall educational meeting of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, last night indicated determination to work for the realization of an independent labor party.

The two hours of discussion was led by Frank Marquart, veteran educational director of Ford Local 600, Detroit, who pointed out how everything formerly bargained for is now regulated by the government, in which labor has no representation.

Wages, prices, hours of work, overtime pay, amounts and kinds of food, rents, jobs, job transfers, "everything today is a political question," and with government siding with the employers, workers are getting a cut in real wages—in standard of living, while prices and profits and high executive salaries are allowed to skyrocket. While the worker's dollar of 1939 was worth only 76 cents in 1942, war profits increased 200 to 900 per cent in the same years according to an Office of Price Administration survey.

### WORKERS WANT INDEPENDENT POLITICS

Except for the squabbling of top officials of unions, the rank and file workers would readily achieve unity for a labor party, in Marquart's opinion. He added that the great mass of working farmers and farm hands have common interests with labor and would support a labor party. He cited the high New York vote for the American Labor Party in 1942, when elsewhere, for lack of labor candidates, labor generally boycotted the polls, showing utter indifference as to whether Tweedledee Democrats or Tweedledum Republicans were elected to side with the boss class.

Marquart's talk proved the necessity for labor action in the political field, since union bargaining has completely broken down. "The whole purpose of unions," he said, "has been legislated out of existence. We can't get grievances settled."

The audience roundly applauded the most concrete suggestion, a proposal from the floor to "elect delegates to our convention who will demand a labor party."

### WANTED

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## ANTI-STRIKE BILL IN ROOSEVELT'S HANDS

(Continued from page 1)

this critical moment the War Labor Board saw fit to intervene and order the operators to halt negotiations with the union.

### GOVERNMENT HOSTILITY

The government again displayed its enmity to the miners and their cause on June 10. Lewis and the UMW negotiation committee finally succeeded after three months of negotiations and the calling of two general strikes in breaking the solid front of the coal operators and in securing a tentative agreement with the Central Pennsylvania Coal Producers' Association, calling for the payment of \$1.30 a day as allowance for portal-to-portal travel.

This time it was Harold L. Ickes, the government "custodian" of the mines, who intervened to announce that he was levying a fine of one to two dollars a day for four days against the 450,000 soft coal miners on the charge that they had broken their contract by the strike. The union immediately demanded to know "how fines can be levied under the provision of an expired contract." John L. Lewis denounced the action as "an unwarranted, illegal act—an act which takes nearly three million dollars worth of food from the fingers and mouths of children of the mining camps—a brutal application of economic sanctions against free citizens. Another step toward political tyranny in America."

What was the purpose of this infamous order, this baring of the teeth against the miners? It was to embolden the operators to refuse the miners all concessions, to give them assurance that the government would use all its strength on their behalf, and to attempt to strike fear into the hearts of the miners that they had better give up all thought of fighting and resisting.

### MINERS' REACTION

But the miners demonstrated again what stuff they were made of. As soon as word of Ickes' order spread in the mining villages, local after local prepared to hold special meetings to take a strike vote. The miners were ready to walk out again.

Two days later, Ickes shamefacedly backed down under the barrage and lamely explained that he was leaving the collection of the fines up to the operators. The operators let it be known that they would not attempt to collect the levies and so the matter was dropped. But the Roosevelt government had accomplished its purpose. By this act, they made clear to the coal barons that their intentions were to go all-out against the miners and that the operators need have no fear about the retroactive clause, under which any increases granted shall be retroactive to April 1. The commercial operators were thus left isolated while the Northern and Southern Appalachian operators, dominated by the powerful steel corporations, broke up negotiations with the unions again, and dumped the case back into the hands of the "graveyard of grievances," the WLB.

They then exerted such strong pressure on the commercial coal operators that the Central Pennsylvania Coal Operators, who the week before had agreed to sign a contract acceptable to the UMW, broke up negotiations with the union. Charles O'Neill, spokesman for the group, declared that negotiations had collapsed, and he likewise dumped the case into the hands of the WLB.

### THE MINERS' ALLIES

The coal miners have put in three months of tough fighting. In battling for their own just demands, they have been fighting the battle of the whole American labor movement. Why is it that they have been forced to carry

this heavy burden alone? Why is it that the other unions have not put their strength behind the miners in an effort to hurl back the arrogant anti-labor offensive of the administration?

The main responsibility for this disgraceful state of affairs lies on the heads of the top officials of the AFL and CIO. They have betrayed the miners' struggle. Their cowardice has given courage to the corporation lackeys in Congress to pass the anti-strike bill.

The latest act of treachery came on June 15, as the Smith-Connelly bill was in the hands of Roosevelt, awaiting his action. Robert J. Watt, AFL representative on the WLB, took this time to announce that even if the bill were signed by the president and enacted into law, the AFL would still continue to support the labor-hating corporation-dominated War Labor Board.

But the miners, like all other militant workers fighting for their rights, have never had any friends among the top bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO. The support for their struggle has come solely from the rank and file of the auto workers, the rubber workers, and in lesser degree, from militant unionists throughout the labor movement. It is to them again that the miners must turn for unity and aid in the fight.

## Central Branch Conducts 'Militant' Sub Campaign

The Central Branch of Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, is now concluding a successful four-week drive to get subscriptions to *The Militant* and *Fourth International* from sympathizers and friends of the Trotskyist movement in the metropolitan area.

At the end of the third week of the drive with complete reports not yet in, 43 subs totalling \$70 have already been turned in. The comrades report an enthusiastic response, especially from those contacts who know our paper and magazine. One comrade has sold, in addition to a number of subs, two volumes of Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism," and other party literature.

The drive is being conducted in campaign fashion, with a number of squads participating each under a squad captain directing and spurring the activities. Each member of a squad has been assigned a number of names, and as new names are secured they are being added to the lists. Competition between the different squads is keeping every sub-getter on his toes. The winning squad will be given a celebration supper in its honor; and the individual obtaining the greatest number of subs will be awarded a special prize.

The Central Branch is bent on equalling if not surpassing the excellent results achieved by Los Angeles in its recent sub-drive.

Moreover, an increasing number of inquiries are being received by the National Office regarding the press. From the miners' field have come requests for bundle orders of *The Militant*, accompanied with such comments as "this is the only paper that tells the truth."

The campaign will wind up with a Red Sunday, June 20.

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## The Negro Struggle

By DAVID RANSOM

### FEPC Approves Segregation in Industry

The Fair Employment Practices Committee set up by President Roosevelt with the proclaimed purpose of weeding out discrimination in war industry has now become a government instrument for furthering segregation in the plants. This is the meaning of the approval given last week by the new FEPC chairman Haas and high government officials, to the separation of white and Negro skilled workers in the Mobile shipyards of the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co. This is Roosevelt's method of up-grading skilled Negro workers. It smells of Jim Crow.

According to Lawrence Cramer, executive secretary of FEPC, "The FEPC has in the past refused to decide hypothetically that segregation of Negro workers from white workers was discrimination referred to in the President's Executive order. We always take the position that if in a situation any individual can show that by being segregated he is discriminated against, we will take action."

The implications of this statement of FEPC policy are staggering. This attitude is identical with the viewpoint held by the military authorities who insist that segregation is not a form of discrimination and have, therefore, maintained a rigid pattern of Jim Crow in the armed forces. This Mobile shipyard decision is a direct and serious blow at the Negro people at the precise moment when they are struggling for the right to skilled jobs. And now the government, under the pressure of the Southern reactionaries, has arrived at the "Haas compromise," which is no compromise at all but a direct concession to racial prejudice. The vile meaning of this decision is clearly expressed by the

Pittsburgh Courier of June 12 which says, "Opponents of the recent FEPC decision point out that if Negroes are segregated from whites on the job, it will be impossible to prevent discrimination against them; that in fact segregation is discrimination. They point out that the Alabama decision threatens to establish a Jim Crow job pattern throughout the country of frightening proportions. That every industry all over the country will seize on the formula of a segregated section or plant for Negro workers, and that after the war the Negro will be driven out of industry completely."

How quickly has this new FEPC outlived its time without any semblance of usefulness! Chairman Haas was appointed on May 31. His first act was to postpone the hearings against the Washington Capitol Transit Co., which refuses to hire Negro workers. Haas gave as reason for indefinite postponement the fact that the personnel of the 6 man FEPC has not yet been appointed. Yet Haas did not hesitate to approve the Mobile shipyard scheme of segregation although he still lacked a committee of six!

It would be fatal for the Negro people to take this blow lying down. This FEPC ruling threatens whatever progress they have made and whatever progress they may hope to make. Those who deluded themselves with the hope that the new FEPC would change things can now see that neither the wine nor the bottle has been altered. Roosevelt is still selling the same shoddy stuff. Now segregation is not only the avowed policy of the armed forces, it is well on the way to becoming the national government policy for war industry.

### Equal Pay for Negro Workers

Jubilant headlines in the Negro and labor press greeted the "equal pay for Negro workers" ruling handed down last week by the War Labor Board in the case of a Texas oil company. According to Dr. Frank P. Graham, who wrote the decision which was adopted unanimously by the WLB: "In this small but significant case the National War Labor Board abolishes the classifications 'colored labor' and 'white labor' and reclassifies them both simply as 'laborers' with the same rates of pay for all in that classification without discrimination on account of color."

The WLB ruling must be recognized as a concession to the gathering strength of the Negro people and to the fight of many unions for equal pay. But it is also necessary to understand how far this concession goes. In the first place the WLB is no friend of the workers, Negroes or white. It is an agency whose main job is to keep the workers from raising wages to meet the

rising cost of living. Negro workers, who for the most part are confined to unskilled, low-paying jobs, are the hardest hit by the WLB's wage-freezing policies. This is not the first time that the WLB has handed down an "equal pay" ruling. They did the same thing a few months ago in the case of women. But their rulings of this kind generally remain on paper, as the record with regard to equal pay for women demonstrates. It is only in the cases where the unions boldly and militantly fight for the women workers' rights that equal pay is won for them.

The same thing is true of the new ruling. In 99 cases out of 100 it will remain inoperative except where the unions push for its enforcement. Vigilant and militant action by the workers' own organizations, not reliance on the War Labor Board, will make the "equal pay" ruling a reality for the Negro masses.

## STANDARD OIL GOT JUICY CONTRACT FROM GOVERNMENT

A new "Teapot Dome" oil scandal has just boiled over in Washington. Congressmen have forced the revelations that under a contract signed by Navy Secretary Knox last November an affiliate of Standard Oil of New Jersey was virtually donated more than one-third of the oil from the nation's richest oil reserve. This Naval Oil Reserve No. 1 is the same Elk Hills reserve in California for which oil magnate Doherty gave a \$100,000 bribe to Harding's Secretary of the Interior Fall.

The contract was signed by Knox upon the approval of President Roosevelt and Rear Adm. Stuart, director of Naval Petroleum Reserves. Now that the terms of the contract have been publicized, there will be some hasty back-tracking in Washington.

Representative Voorhis of Cal. has declared: "Under the terms of this contract, the Standard Oil Co. is guaranteed all costs of production in the Elk Hills field. For Standard can deduct such costs from the Navy's share of the oil. Therefore a monopoly has been given to the Standard Oil Co., without that company assuming any risk whatsoever, financially or otherwise, as to all future exploitation of the Elk Hills field."

A Congressional investigation of this latest Rockefeller oil grab is under way. In war as in peace, under a Democratic or Republican administration, the oil corporations continue to loot the property of the people—and find willing accomplices in the high places of the government.

### LOS ANGELES PROTEST MEETING

against "Mission To Moscow"

Speaker: Murry Weiss

Sunday, June 27, at 8 P. M.

EMBASSY AUDITORIUM BUILDING

517 W. 9 Street, Los Angeles

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

# Communist Party Earns Title Of Strikebreaker Number 1

(Continued from page 1)

despite the kicking around they got at the hands of the militant auto union.)

At the same time the Stalinists are ready to support any step the government takes in cracking down on the miners. On June 1, as the miners walked out everywhere in another great demonstration of their strength and militancy, the National Committee of the Communist Party issued a statement:

"The miners must return to work immediately. . . The whole working class and its trade union movement will uphold the Commander-in-Chief in WHATEVER STEPS MAY BE NECESSARY to insure uninterrupted production and orderly labor relations." Browder and Foster were probably as sorry as the coal barons that Roosevelt did not then feel it expedient to go the whole hog against the miners and their leaders.

### CAMPAIGN IN AFL AND CIO

On June 8 the Daily Worker editors wrote: "We trust that the government will not let Lewis get away with his sabotage and deception, and we trust that every responsible labor leader will stand up and be counted on the side of the President." They know they can "trust" the government in this respect and they are not worried about the "responsible labor leaders" who trot along at Roosevelt's heels and who can always be swung back in line with a little pressure. What troubles them is the great sympathy to be found in the ranks of the labor movement for the miners' fight, and this they are trying to counteract and destroy with every dirty weapon at their command.

As a result the pages of the Stalinist press are filled with attacks on Lewis day in and day out. The handful of miners who

wanted to scab in the last strike are praised and pointed to with pride. Every tin horn labor faker who attacks Lewis is quoted at length in the pages of the Daily Worker.

The Stalinists have put on a real drive in the AFL and CIO unions and councils and wherever they get resolutions passed, they are well publicized. Every local dominated by the Stalinists has already been presented with three or four such resolutions.

Stalinist union leaders are quoted with regularity. Reid Robinson of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers says: Lewis' policies are unfurling under "the banner of treason—the sign of the double cross." Harry Bridges calls Lewis "the single most effective agent of the fascist powers within the ranks of labor" and "a fascist in his own right." And so on.

### THE ANTI-STRIKE BILL

Like the other labor zombies, whose constant capitulations, retreats and cowardice give aid and encouragement to the labor-baiters in Washington, the Stalinists blame Lewis and his "followers" for the passage of the Smith-Connally anti-labor bill. (They conveniently forget to blame congressmen like New Deal Senator Pepper of Florida who voted for the bill, because in recent months they have hailed him as the "best" member of the Senate and had him speak at a number of their front mass meetings.)

Even more fantastic, they accuse Lewis of WANTING AND SEEKING the passage of this bill which is aimed first of all at the UMW and Lewis!

### HOW THE C.P. "FIGHTS"

Naturally the Stalinists are beating the drums around the issue of the anti-union bill in the hope of isolating the miners from the rest of the labor movement. They say: "The AFL is on record

against this vicious legislation. Does the AFL Executive Council believe that welcoming Lewis into the AFL will mobilize support in favor of a Presidential veto of the Smith-Connally bill?" (Daily Worker editorial, June 9.) In other words, why don't the AFL leaders do what the Stalinists are doing—curry favor with Roosevelt for a veto of the bill by placing all their support behind the administration in its efforts to crush the UMW leadership?

Far from being an exaggeration, that is an accurate summation of the C.P. policy for "fighting" the Smith-Connally bill. For several days on end the Stalinists have been announcing that the only way to get the bill vetoed—is by repudiating and denouncing Lewis! They say this although they know very well that the real purpose of the bill is not only to raise a club over the head of Lewis and the miners but to cripple the whole labor movement as well. Yet they go on writing: "Only . . . condemnation of Lewis and assurance that his treacherous policies will be rooted out wherever they appear, wired immediately to the President and proclaimed in newspaper ads and radio broadcasts, holds out the hope of a veto." (Daily Worker editorial, June 14.)

### THEIR "MAIN ENEMY"

The National Committee of the Communist Party met in plenary session on June 12-13 and had an opportunity to review its strike-breaking policy in the mine fight. Needless to say, there was unanimous support for continuing and extending it. Every member of the C.P. National Committee remains today, as he was before the Comintern dissolution, a slavish follower of Stalin's policy of repaying his democratic capitalist allies for their material aid by crushing the independent struggles of the masses in the capitalist countries.

The Stalinists used to explain Lewis' opposition to Roosevelt as the result of "personal" antagonism, but Earl Browder at the National Committee meeting insisted the C.P. must condemn Lewis' conflicts with Roosevelt "as not narrow personal partisanship, but fascist partisanship for Hitlerism." This foreshadows a sharpening of C.P. attacks on the miners. Browder also called for "rallying every patriotic element in the population against him [Lewis] and his fascist collaborators." Every "patriotic element" of course includes the capitalist class.

Browder said further that the home front is "our most vulnerable point" and "the campaign of John L. Lewis and his long list of helpers in these past weeks is nothing less than an insurrection against the war." This, he warned, was the front on which the Stalinists must concentrate in the coming period.

In the last war Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks hailed Karl Liebknecht when he said, "The main enemy is at home." Browder is saying the same thing—with this one difference: Whereas Liebknecht meant the capitalist class at home was the main enemy, Browder says the main enemy is Lewis and "his long list of helpers."

In Browder's language this means the miners and the rest of the militant working class. The Stalinists are concentrating their attacks on Lewis and the UMW because they are today the vanguard of the American union movement. By destroying and making an example of Lewis, they hope to head off every manifestation of militancy in the labor movement. Their aim is nothing less than the complete throttling of an independent labor movement and its conversion into a house-broken instrument for pushing speedup plans, labor-management committees and war bond drives.

# Coast-To-Coast Wave Of Violence Strikes At Negroes And Mexicans

(Continued from page 1)

sponsibility for inciting the May 25 battle at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, which began because some Negro welders were upgraded and which ended in the severe beating of 80 workers, most of them Negroes and a few of them white workers who had tried to defend the Negroes against the attacks of the company guards.

DETROIT. Responsibility for the recent anti-Negro strike at the Packard plant has already been placed on company officials and Ku Klux Klan elements by union officials and Negro leaders, as The Militant reported last week.

To prevent repetitions and extensions of these attacks on the safety and rights of racial minorities it is first necessary to understand what causes them. In some of the cases reported above, namely the Packard walkout and the Mobile outbreak, the explanation is fairly obvious. The employers arouse prejudice and race hatred for the purpose of dividing the workers and destroying their unions. Ku Klux followers, also bitterly anti-union, naturally pitch in to help the employers. In the case of the New York strike, the workers were misgued into fighting their employer on the wrong issue, but the basic cause was their dissatisfaction with working conditions.

The case of the Camp Stewart battle is also quite understandable. The Negro soldiers are bitterly and justifiably resentful at the way the government segregates them and the local authorities discriminate against them in such things as recreation, transportation, etc. Southern whites acting as M. P.'s follow the tradition of the South—brutality and insult for all Negroes, whether in or out of uniform. They get beaten up for nothing too often and they decide to defend themselves. The result is often fist fights, clubbing, shooting. The number of victims in such cases is beginning to mount up into sizeable figures.

But in the other cases—Los Angeles, Newark, Philadelphia—the cause is not so directly discernible. There one must search a little deeper.

### LOS ANGELES

In and around Los Angeles a considerable minority of the population is Mexican or of Mexican descent. They are and for years have been the victims of discrimination in much the same way that Negroes are in the South. They are not wanted in many restaurants, etc.; they are segregated in housing, and consequently in

the schools; they are barred from many jobs; they are the victims of police persecution and brutality. Many of the youth form together in "gangs"; some of them wear "zoot suits" as a form of self-expression, as many Negro and white youth do.

The capitalist press, largely anti-Mexican, has labored to create the impression that everyone wearing a zoot suit is a gangster, just as the New York press recently tried to smear every Negro as a "nigger." As a result of their propaganda, lies and half-truths they whipped up a certain hysteria against all dark-skinned people and helped to inflame the servicemen into vigilante action, praising them after the fighting had begun for doing a better job against the "gangsters" and "petty crooks" than the cops had done. The servicemen, joined by anti-Mexican elements, went after everyone with a dark skin. Carey McWilliams, author and president of the National Lawyers Guild in Los Angeles, reports that at least half of the people seriously injured were not wearing zoot suits and that the same proportion holds true for the hundreds arrested by the police.

The City Council voted to make the wearing of zoot suits a misdemeanor; the police arrested a lot of Mexicans and Negroes; Los Angeles was declared out of bounds for the servicemen. For the time being the violence has subsided, and the press—seeing a decline in the city's business with the servicemen barred—is sanctimoniously calling for peace. But it is perfectly plain that no problems have been solved and that at the slightest provocation the whole thing may flare up again, if not through servicemen then through civilians.

What is necessary, if the situation is really to be corrected, is an end to all discrimination and segregation practices against Mexicans and Negroes in industries, in social life, in housing, in the press, plus enforcement of their democratic rights, plus a widespread and deep-going educational program on the meaning and effect of race discrimination, which can be launched most effectively under the leadership of the labor movement.

### IN NEWARK

The initial participants in the Newark fighting were much younger than in Los Angeles, but fundamentally the same conditions prevailed and were responsible. Segregation in Newark is not so great as in the South, but there are pretty well-defined "Negro neighborhoods." Negroes have made some gains in industry in northern New Jersey in recent years, and many of them are now members of unions, increasingly determined to secure equality. But with an increase in their militancy has grown the determination of anti-Negro elements to keep the Negro "in his place."

The boys and girls who began fighting at the track meet could not possibly have been acquainted with the underlying causes of the struggle that followed nor with the full meaning of race division so assiduously fostered by capitalist society. But to a great degree they sensed and they reflected the dissatisfaction and prejudices of their families and the community around them.

The superintendent of Newark's schools has promised to hold student assemblies throughout the city to explain the need for Negro-white tolerance and collaboration. "This is all to the good. But since it will not abolish the root cause of the outbreak—discrimination against Negroes and the cultivation of prejudice in the minds of white workers—it will be at best a partial measure."

### EDUCATION NEEDED

William R. Jackson, Negro member of the Newark Board of Education, has stated: "The parents must take a greater interest, both Negro and white, co-operating in changing the views of some of the children." (N. Y. Post, June 12.) But what about the views of some of the parents? Can they give their children the correct views when they themselves are victims of bias? Who will change their own views?

That the question of education is the basic one at bottom has been ably demonstrated in the new Pioneer Publishers pamphlet, "The Struggle for Negro Equality," by John Saunders and Albert Parker. The very first paragraphs of the pamphlet say: "Scientific research proves that

race prejudice is not hereditary. No one is born with it, not even the worst cracker in the South. It is generally non-existent among children before they enter the primary schools. It arises and flourishes as the result of the miseducation of the child by the school system, the press, the radio, the motion pictures—in short, by the entire propaganda, educational and informational machinery of present day society. "This is a fact of vital significance. For since it is possible to implant a child with race prejudices, it is equally possible to train him from the very beginning to believe in and practice race equality."

Every worker who has been disturbed and set thinking by the recent racial conflicts in all parts of the country is urged to read this pamphlet so that he can learn the cause and cure for race division and antagonisms.

## ACLU Report Emphasizes SWP, 'Militant' Cases

In its recent report on "War-Time Prosecutions for Speech and Publications" the American Civil Liberties Union emphasizes the importance of two cases: the conviction of the 18 Socialist Worker Party members and Local 544-CIO unionists in December 1941 at Minneapolis under the Smith "Gag" Law and the revocation of The Militant's second-class mailing privileges by the Postmaster General.

"The ACLU has protested resort to the peacetime sedition act," the report says, "the constitutionality of which is challenging in the case of the Socialist Workers Party members tried at Minneapolis before the war and now on appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals."

"The Civil Liberties Union is necessarily concerned with all prosecutions for speech and publication and has therefore examined with care the charges and trials in all these cases. . . The Union raised the question with the Attorney General as to . . . a clear and present danger . . . particularly in the Post Office proceedings against The Militant, initiated by the Department of Justice."

The Union also records the fact that the government's proceedings against The Militant has aroused more public opposition than in any other wartime case involving freedom of the press.

## Who Gains From The Dissolution Of The C.I.?

By M. Morrison

Stalin dissolved the Communist International in order to please his capitalist allies and make it easier for him to bargain with them. Did he succeed in his aim? The answer must be an unequivocal affirmative. By and large the most influential section of the capitalist class has applauded Stalin's order to the C. I. to announce its suicide.

Here and there dissident and skeptical notes appear in the chorus of approbation. The die-hard reactionaries who refuse to make a single concession to the Soviet Union so long as there exists within its borders the most important reminder of the October Revolution, nationalized property, refuse to be mollified and consider Stalin's dissolution of the C. I. as a deceitful maneuver and of no value. These reactionaries want the whole hog, and immediately, in order to be satisfied.

Even in that section of the capitalist class which is willing to accept the theory that it is best to come to an agreement with Stalin and which hopes for a gradual restoration of private property in the Soviet Union, there are those who warn about excessive optimism with reference to the dissolution. Some of the representatives of the capitalist interests want to save their unbounded enthusiasm until they see the dissolution of the Stalinist parties and, what is more important, the opening of the Soviet frontier to permit an unhindered flow of capitalist goods.

In general, however, the responsible leaders of the capitalist class congratulated Stalin and themselves when the dissolution of the C. I. was announced.

The question presents itself: why should any of the capitalists and their spokesmen evince such satisfaction at the announcement of the formal burial of an organization which, in reality, represented no danger to their system? Is it because of their stupidity, their failure to recognize the real nature of the Comintern as an organization completely indifferent and hostile to the world revolution?

The hypothesis of stupidity is probably applicable to many of the capitalist spokesmen. There is a terrific lag between the transformation of the C. I. from a revolutionary body into an instrument of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy and the recognition of that fact by many of the capitalist representatives. But this hypothesis can not explain the thinking of all capitalists and their spokesmen.

Two primary factors explain the well-nigh universal applause of the capitalists at Stalin's dissolution of the C. I. The first is that they correctly see in it a very serious indication that Stalin is ready to yield on more important matters. The intelligent capitalist representatives did not fear the Comintern; they fear Stalin as the head of a powerful state in which capitalism no longer exists. In the dissolution of the Comintern they see a serious promise that Stalin is willing to go along with them on such important and fundamental questions as stabilizing Europe (meaning the suppression of any workers' revolution), possibly granting political and economic concessions within the Soviet Union and the surrender of Stalin's claims to territorial expansion.

The second factor explaining the attitude of the capitalists is that they see in the dissolution a promise on Stalin's part to eliminate his fifth columns, that is, to eliminate the Stalinist parties. That they consider this factor an important one is evidenced by the assertion of many editorial writers that Stalin's good faith in dissolving the C. I. will be shown by whether or not he dissolves his parties.

Here another question presents itself: why should the capitalists want the dissolution of the Communist parties? Since the Stalinist parties at the present moment are super-patriotic organizations, wholeheartedly supporting the policies of the capitalist state and doing their best to tie the working masses to the war-machine, one would suppose that the capitalists would not only be reconciled to their existence but would actually urge that they be not dissolved.

Intelligent capitalists fear the

Stalinist parties not because they believe they are revolutionary factors but because they are instruments, in their midst, of a foreign power. No capitalist state can look with favor upon an organization which is obviously a tool in the hands of a foreign power, even a friendly one. The capitalists want to rid themselves of the most disciplined and effective potential fifth column and in the dissolution of the C. I. they see a portent that their hopes may soon be realized.

Hitler did not create the anti-Comintern pact because he considered that body as a danger to fascism. It was a convenient cover for his designs against the Soviet Union. The dissolution of the Comintern has no effect whatever on Hitler's plans and purposes. It is true that for popular consumption he shouts that the dissolution is a fake but that is an exceedingly minor factor. For Hitler the Soviet Union represents territory to be conquered, annexed and exploited by German capitalism.

Because the capitalists of the democratic countries happen to be in alliance with Stalin, they follow a different tactic. For them the Soviet Union is a land from which their system has been eliminated and their products excluded; it is not for the present territory for conquest and annexation. Because they are far richer than Hitler's Germany, they can afford to be patient and depend on more gradual and subtle methods to achieve their end, the re-introduction of capitalism into the Soviet Union. The Comintern represented no obstacle to their designs and its dissolution by Stalin does not mean that their end has been achieved. It is only a promise for better things in the future.

Was there any specific agreement between Stalin and his capitalist allies for the dissolution of the C. I.? Did Roosevelt's message brought to Stalin by his messenger boy, Joe Davies, contain a request, demand or suggestion for the elimination of that body? These are questions that can not be settled until the archives are opened. But they are of no importance.

It is unnecessary to consider the dissolution as part of a specific agreement between Stalin and his capitalist allies—although such an agreement is not excluded—but as part of Stalin's policy to come to an agreement with them. Behind that policy is the fundamental factor that Stalin has long ago given up any idea of world revolution. It can be said that he has given up the idea of building socialism even in one country. He is interested only in preserving the rule of his bureaucracy. His capitalist allies are far stronger and can give him far greater help in preserving that rule than the Communist International or the Stalinist parties.

The dissolution of the C. I. brings Stalin closer to the capitalist states and the closer he comes to them and the more he leans on them for support the less he needs his parties.

If one adds to the basic factor of the elimination of world revolution the more immediate factors, such as Stalin's desperate need for economic and military help, his anxiety to avoid any conflict with his present allies and his desire to extend the boundaries of the Soviet Union, it can be seen that from Stalin's point of view the dissolution of the C. I. is a very minor concession.

Stalin's brusqueness towards and his demands upon his allies every now and then in no way contradict his general policy of yielding to them. He simply knows how to bargain.

The capitalists gained nothing of great value and Stalin lost nothing of great value by the dissolution of the C. I. The gain for the revolutionary working class is considerable. Because the formal burial of the Comintern helps destroy the illusion that Stalinism has anything to do with revolutionary internationalism. It thus helps turn the minds of all class-conscious workers to the Fourth International, representing the revolutionary traditions of the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky.



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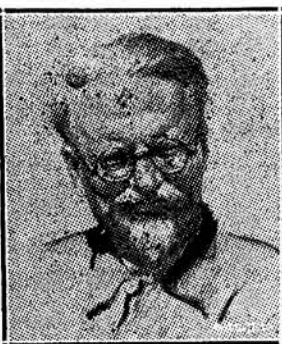
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

### 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. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Our Belgian Martyrs

We have recently received word from occupied Belgium that three of our comrades, members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, have been shot by a Nazi firing squad. These fallen Trotskyist fighters are Comrades Renery, Van Belle, and Lemmens.

At the same time that our Belgian comrades were being executed by the Nazis the frameup film, "Mission To Moscow," was being shown in this country. While the Stalinist slander-machine, helped by Hollywood and the State Department, tries to depict Trotskyists as Nazi agents, Hitler shoots the Trotskyists for fighting against Nazi oppression.

Comrades Renery, Van Belle and Lemmens gave their lives fighting against the Nazis as courageously as they fought against all the exploiters and oppressors, including the Belgian king and capitalists who exploited and betrayed the Belgian people.

They gave their lives in the international struggle of the working class for socialism. The Socialist United States of Europe will be their vindication and monument.

## Two Years Of The Soviet-Nazi War

Two years ago, on June 22, 1941, Hitler launched his assault against the first workers' state in history. Hitler and his general staff expected a quick and easy victory. They based their calculations on the false assumption that Stalin's regime and the Soviet Union were one and the same thing. They identified the internal weakness of Stalin's regime with the Soviet Union's power of resistance. Like others in the capitalist world they thought that Stalin had succeeded in completely destroying the great revolution led by the Russian Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky which had rid one-sixth of the world of landlords and capitalists and lodged a new system of social production there.

Two years of heroic struggle against unprecedented odds have demonstrated not only to Hitler

and his generals but to the whole world that the great Russian Revolution still lives. It was in defense of their revolutionary conquests, undermined but not destroyed by two decades of Stalinism, that the Soviet soldiers, workers and peasants have so gloriously rallied and fought.

They have been fighting a revolutionary war within the straitjacket of Stalinism which deprives them of their most powerful weapon. Victory would have long been theirs had the Soviet Government issued a revolutionary summons to the workers of Europe, above all those of Germany, to join them in a common struggle against all the oppressors and for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

Only this revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky can guarantee them victory as they enter the third year of the life-and-death struggle.

## New Tax Bill Signed

President Roosevelt has signed Congress's version of Ruml's tax-cancellation plan and it now becomes law.

Although Roosevelt's original tax program called for no cancellation of 1942 taxes on high incomes, the bill he approved wipes out 75% of all the 1942 tax liabilities of the upper-income bracketers. This is the biggest tax-grab in all American history.

The workers can now see how the "equality of sacrifice" program has worked out in real life. No limitation on executive salaries while wages are frozen. Cancellation of profiteers' taxes while additional taxes are imposed upon or contemplated for families of low income. Prices and profits go soaring sky-high.

Soak the poor and favor the rich: that's the guiding line of Congress and the administration. Unkept promises are about the only items that appear to be both cheap and plentiful under Roosevelt's regime.

The workers need an Independent Labor Party of their own which can stop such swindles as the Roosevelt-Ruml tax-grab, get after the war-profiteers and make them disgorge their swollen profits.

## Advice To The Italian Masses

In his message to the Italian people last week, President Roosevelt suggested the removal of Mussolini and his personal regime but said nothing about the Italian monarchy which the fascists have been patronizing and protecting for over 20 years.

Roosevelt also said nothing about removing the capitalist magnates who financed Mussolini's Blackshirts and used them as storm troops against the workers who had taken over the factories and the peasants who had seized the land.

Roosevelt, like Pope Pius XII, appears to be mortally afraid of a genuine people's revolution in Italy which will cleanse the country not only of the fascist hirelings but of all the propertied classes and reactionary institutions the Blackshirt gangsters have upheld.

But the inevitable resurgence of the socialist revolution which Mussolini crushed for the Italian capitalists in 1922 will be eagerly greeted by the Italian masses and those of the whole world. Once the Italian masses regain their freedom of action they will not be deterred by fears and warnings either from Washington or the Vatican.

## Milk And Gas

Virtually every order issued by the various government agencies is being used by the corporations against labor and against the public interest.

Thus, the milk monopolies in New York have utilized the gas rationing edicts to double delivery loads and lay off drivers.

The anti-labor bias of government agencies is becoming more and more brazen. As charged this week by Thomas A. Murray, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, the Office of Defense Transportation has been the latest to display a "definite anti-labor policy" and a "cruel and callous disregard for labor's rights."

In a telegram to OWM Czar Byrnes, Murray pointed out that the ODT advisers, who are representatives of the employers, had "placed orders in the hands of employers to make reduction of bus service in such manner as the respective employers saw fit," and that the operators were laying off men, establishing shifts, cutting off less profitable lines while retaining those that bring in the most profits.

Big Business gets what it wants because through its two political parties it packs with its own spokesmen all the government agencies, the state legislatures and Congress.

Isn't it time that organized labor had at least one party to push for the welfare of the workers?

A Marxist Record of the first year of  
World War II

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of

THE MILITANT

for 1942

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# Fear Of German Revolt Worries The Allies Too

By A. ROLAND

The press pictures the frayed nerves of the Axis leaders on the eve of the invasion of Europe. The Hitler gangsters have good reason to fear the retribution awaiting them. Their last hope of forcing a negotiated peace, which might still leave them in power, is waning rapidly. Hitler kept pointing to Soviet Russia as the center from which Bolshevism might sweep over Europe and the world. He hoped against hope that the Allies could be wedged apart by mutual distrust on this score.

But Stalin succeeded in convincing the leaders of "democratic" capitalism that so long as he dictates the policies of the Soviet Union, they have nothing to fear from that quarter. All the infamies of the past offered to imperialism as reassurance against revolution have been capped by a final gesture, the dissolution of the Comintern. Imperialism, seeking in every way to divide the forces of the world proletariat, reciprocates by doing everything in its power to keep Stalin in the Kremlin during the coming trying period of Axis defeat.

But Hitler is not the only one who quakes before the future. The Allied governments look ahead to the defeat of the fascist armies with great misgiving. What will happen after that defeat? What will the Italian, and more especially, the German workers do when the German armies start to crumble? The dread of Bolshevism is no longer dread of Stalin and the Comintern, but fear of the German proletariat. The Allied capitalists face the dilemma that defeat of Hitler means release of the German workers from the chains fastened on them by the Nazis. Much as British and American capitalism would prefer to leave the workers of Germany in chains, they cannot entrust this job to Hitler any longer, in view of his world imperialist aims.

### AFTER HITLER'S DEFEAT

There is at present no force in Germany outside of fascism that can suppress the socialist aims of the working class. The Allies give public recognition to this fact by all their plans for the future of Germany. The defeat of fascism involves, as the shrewd Allied leaders well understand, the collapse not just of a handful of Nazi scoundrels, but of

everything tied up with them; namely, the Junker leaders of the army, all monopoly capitalism which financed and manipulated Hitler's rise to power, and the upper strata of the middle class, that class which only seemingly ruled through Nazism. The German masses are, at this date, under no illusion concerning the nature of fascism. The fall of this brutal dictatorship involves the collapse of the entire ruling class. The Allies cannot, in the immediate future, make any kind of choice of rulers inside of the ruling class which could create the least illusion among the masses that it differs from the old.

That is why Churchill and Roosevelt, in order to save capitalism and stave off the socialist revolution, propose to impose a military dictatorship from the outside. No such dictatorship can be imposed from inside Germany right on the heels of defeat. Sooner than see Germany go socialist, these capitalist statesmen are prepared to split Germany into pieces. They might hope in this way to divide the German masses and deal with any possible revolutionary outbreaks piecemeal. They are prepared, if need be, to keep Allied armies in Germany for the next decade.

It is no easy task to deal with a great nation like Germany in this fashion. The Allies have been training specialized administrative forces to deal with the vastness of their problem once Germany is occupied. The more that is revealed of their future plans for the Continent, the more uneasy become those liberals and Social-Democrats who supported the war as a great progressive undertaking for the liberation of mankind.

### PROFESSIONS AND AIMS

On the one hand, the United Nations profess the aim of re-establishing those small nations that were swallowed temporarily by Hitler. On the other, they propose to break into pieces one of the key nations of all Europe. The effect would be to turn the clock of Europe and of the world back to the eighteenth century. At the same time that they talk of advancing the standards of living of all the peoples of the world, they propose concretely to tear apart the industrial heart of Europe. This would impoverish the entire Continent and have

the most cataclysmic effect in wiping out the standards of living attained over a period of centuries.

It is against the background of these aims that one must place the acts of Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy. The Comintern was a putrefying corpse long before its burial. But the capitalists hail its dissolution as a great victory because they interpret it as marking a definite dividing of the workers of Germany from those of the Soviet Union. Stalin throws off even the semblance of responsibility for what will happen in Italy and Germany and elsewhere in Europe. In place of the German socialist revolution, Stalin offers the Soviet masses more food from the United States. For the second time, Stalin cynically offers the sacrifice of the German working class to the imperialists in order to continue in power in the Kremlin.

### ENEMIES OF GERMAN MASSES

But there is this great difference between 1933 and 1934. In 1933 Stalin had under his control a tremendous Communist Party of Germany which he could mislead into the tragic defeat that brought Hitler to power and that was therefore responsible for the second World War. That Communist Party disappeared from the scene, never to return. Stalin not only has no party which he can manipulate for his own interests inside Germany—he has everything to fear from the upsurge of the German masses when Hitler is defeated. The German revolution must face the enemy, not only of the imperialists, but of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Churchills and Roosevelts are ready to destroy the German forces of production in order to keep them out of the hands of the proletariat. It becomes the task of the German workers to unite, to conserve these precious industrial forces and to utilize them for the building of a socialist Germany. Not the capitalists, but the workers of the world can raise the standards of living of the masses. The German workers can lead the way to the salvation of Europe, to the Soviet United States of Europe, by marching firmly forward after the defeat of Hitler on the road to socialism. They will not receive any help from Stalin, but the aid of the Soviet and of the world working class is assured.

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

FOR MY PEOPLE by Margaret Walker. Yale University Press, 1942. 58 pages.

Union songs on the picket line, strike slogans and the oratory heard at labor rallies are not commonly thought of by workers as a kind of poetry. Yet such they are to the degree that they present in vivid imagery and bold rhythm the story of the worker's everyday struggle. Through song and story, workers share and grasp the meaning of their struggle; they gain a vision of the goal they fight for — a better society. In an age when the capitalists command the popular art forms of radio and film with which to deceive and deaden the feelings and intelligence of the masses, the working class needs the talents of writers who dedicate their art to the cause of the oppressed.

That is why the labor press should welcome the appearance of Miss Margaret Walker's first book of poetry, "For My People." It is important to note that Miss Walker is the first Negro writer to be included in the Yale Series of Younger Poets. This is a tribute to her competency. It is just as important to note that Margaret Walker rescues the art of poetry from the ivory tower of escapism and the sanatorium of personal despair and returns it to the earth. "For My People," she says, and from her people she derives her poetic strength.

In a style which is Miss Walker's own fusion of the Walt Whitman tradition and the spoken biblical accent of her own race she tells us something about her people, wherever they are: "For my people thronging 47th Street in Chicago and Lenox Avenue in New York and Rampart Street in New Orleans, lost, disinherited, dispossessed and happy people filling the cabarets and taverns and other people's pockets needing bread and shoes and milk and land and money and something — something all our own. . ."

With a sharp pen Miss Walker cuts through the myth of the exotic exile and that fraudulent figure, the traditionally happy Uncle Tom. She lets us see her people at their unremitting toil. "For my people lending their strength to the years, to the gone years and the now years and the maybe years, washing, ironing, cooking, scrubbing, sewing, mending, hoeing, plowing, digging. . . Never gaining, never reaping, never knowing and never understanding."

Nor does she idealize her people merely because they are oppressed. She knows their faults and names them with a poetic intolerance — the drugs of drink and religious belief, the escape offered by the excitement of novelties and fads. "For my people walking blindly spreading joy, losing time being lazy, sleeping when hungry,

shouting when burdened, drinking when hopeless, tied and shackled and tangled among ourselves by the unseen creatures who tower over us omnisciently and laugh. . ."

In a gentler mood Miss Walker can describe the bravado and colorfulness of such folk heroes as John Henry. She writes a good set of ballads in dialect form, filled with the extravagant adventures of her heroes and heroines. But somehow they come to no good end. Like a good poet should, Miss Walker thereby implies that personal glorification and lives based on the vices of the ruling class are no way out for her people. The ballad, "Teacher," is a good example:

The Teacher was a bad man  
Not a milky-mild  
Student with a book or rule  
Punishing a child. . .  
Teacher liked his liquor strong;  
Drank his dry gin straight,  
Teacher hung around the Tracks  
Catching juicy bait. . .  
Women sent him to his doom.  
Women set the trap.  
Teacher was a bad, bold man  
Lawd, but such a sap!

In a lyric mood, Miss Walker can also tell us something about herself and the landscape of the deep South, her homeland. She sketches a delicate picture:

"I belong with the smell of the fresh pine, with the trail of coon, and the spring growth of wild onion. . . I want the cotton fields, tobacco and the cane. I want to walk along with sacks of seed to drop in fallow ground. Restless music in my heart and I am eager to be gone."

But the landscape has been scarred by hate. She concludes with this lament, "O Southland, sorrow home, melody beating in my bone and blood! How long will the Klan of hate, the hounds and the chain gangs keep me from my own?"

In the end the personal lyric and the chant of the people blend as a tributary blends with the main stream. Reflecting the new-found militancy of her people, Miss Walker says, "We have been believers believing in our burdens and our demi-gods too long." And she concludes with this exhortation to her people, "Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control."

Reviewed by David Ransom.

## Jewish Suicide Calls Allies Nazi Accomplices

The tragic plight of the European Jews has been dramatized by the recent political suicide in London of S. Zyguelbojm, member of the Polish National Council of the Jewish Socialist Party.

In a letter addressed to the President and the Premier of the Polish Government-in-Exile he wrote: "By my death I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of Jewish people. . . Perhaps by my death I shall contribute to destroying the indifference of those who are able and should act. . ."

Heroic and self-sacrificing as was his final gesture, Zyguelbojm's despairing act reveals the blind alley into which support of the democratic capitalists has led the Jewish masses.

The governments of Great Britain and the United States have stood by, averting their eyes while Hitler has killed hundreds of thousands of Jews. The doors of Palestine remain shut. In fact, London and Washington have aided one another in barring the doors of asylum everywhere on this earth while Hitler piles the corpses high. In appealing to the "democratic" governments, Zyguelbojm correctly says that they have "so far made no effort toward a concrete action for the purpose of curtailing this crime," and that therefore they "have become accomplices of the criminals."

Zyguelbojm's last appeal is personally addressed to Premier Sikorski, head of the anti-Semitic Polish Government-in-Exile, that is, those who mercilessly persecuted the Jews long before Hitler conquered Poland and are not at all averse to having Hitler finish the job which they themselves began.

To escape from the bloody trap in which they have fallen, the Jews cannot rely upon "accomplices of criminals" or Polish anti-Semites. They must ally themselves with the workers of Europe, above all those of Germany, in common struggle against decayed capitalism and for the Socialist United States of Europe. There is no other road.

## Another Challenge to Jim Crow in Armed Forces

Dr. Edgar B. Keemer is the latest colored citizen who, like Winfred Lynn of New York, has protested against the government's violation of its own Selective Service Act by enforcing segregation and discrimination in the armed forces.

Dr. Keemer, a Detroit physician, was turned down when he applied for a commission in the Navy because the Navy does not take Negro doctors even for the exclusive service of segregated colored personnel. He was then offered a commission in the Army, but rejected it on the ground that the Procurement and Assignment Service permits a doctor to decide for himself what branch of service he will volunteer for.

His local draft board then tried to make an example of Dr. Keemer for daring to stand up for his legal rights. Although a father of three children, this practicing physician was called up for induction on May 18 as an ordinary private. Thereupon Dr. Keemer advised the board that he would not appear for induction as a private although he was ready and willing to serve as an officer in the Navy. He has maintained this position since. The next move is up to the government authorities.

Dr. Keemer's request is indeed modest. He does not demand an end to the segregation policy. He simply wants the Navy to accept colored officers on segregated ships and at training stations where colored sailors are stationed. But the brass hats in Washington will not make even this slight concession.

The Keemer case reflects the growing resistance by Negro intellectuals and workers to the Jim Crow system in the armed forces. In the interests of forging the bonds of Negro-white unity against the enemies of the exploited masses the trade union movement should rally to the defense of Keemer, Lynn and other Negroes who are embarking on a similar course of protest and utilize these cases to launch a campaign against all forms of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces.

## Edsel Ford Helps Ford Empire From the Grave

When Edsel Ford died last month, tax experts expected that the taxes on the huge estate would amount to approximately 200 million dollars.

Instead his attorneys estimate that the taxes to be assessed against the estate will amount to no more than about 16 million dollars.

Edsel Ford was the owner of an estate worth at least 500 million dollars. It is commonly accepted that Ford is a billion dollar empire and Edsel Ford was understood to own not less than 41 1/2% of the outstanding stock.

Yet his attorneys have filed claims, according to the N. Y. Times, that the Ford Estate will come to about \$200 million. How is this possible? Well, probate courts have always been very considerate to millionaires. The Ford stock is not listed on the market and the Ford attorneys will be allowed to just about write their own ticket on stating the value of the stock. Thus by one simple sleight of hand, the Edsel Ford estate will be cut in half for purposes of paying taxes.

But that is not all. Edsel Ford has left the bulk of his estate to "The Ford Foundation," controlled since its formation by the Ford family. And, as the Ford attorneys were anxious to explain, gifts to organizations of this kind are tax-exempt. Thus at one blow Edsel Ford who, according even to the crooked tax laws drawn up by a reactionary Congress, should have paid some 300 million dollars in taxes, is allowed to get away with a payment of 16 million, becoming a great philanthropist and even from his grave fighting to keep the Ford empire intact and in the hands and under the control of the Ford family.

## It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party