

SMITH 'GAG' ACT CONVICTIONS UPHELD

ANTI-USSR AGREEMENT PLANNED AT QUEBEC, SAYS FORREST DAVIS

By John G. Wright

While the Roosevelt administration keeps issuing disclaimers of anti-Soviet bias or plans to isolate the USSR, unofficial sources with connections in Washington are permitted to talk more and more openly about the rift with the Kremlin. The Sept. 18 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* carries an article by its Washington editor Forrest Davis who undertakes to tell what has really been going on "behind the screen of diplomacy."

Mr. Davis' article is of particular interest because he is reported to have been utilized "unofficially" on previous occasions by the State Department in order to air the latter's viewpoint.

Davis states plainly enough that "it was no secret that the closer we approached to victory the more divergence appeared in the postwar aims of the Kremlin on the one hand, the English-speaking powers on the other."

He goes on to talk about the "serious breach between Russia and western powers" as a matter of common knowledge in Washington and dates the crisis to the midsummer of this year, when "Russia had become the suspect ally in Washington's moody esteem."

CONGRESS COMMITTEES STUDY PLANS FOR RECORD TAX BILL

Developments since the reconvening of Congress show no sign of relief for the workers who are hard hit by the weekly deduction of withholding taxes. On the contrary the reactionary gang in Congress is preparing to take another deep bite into the workers' wages.

Roosevelt has demanded the imposition of "stiffer taxes." Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has specified the sum of 12 billion dollars. How does Congress propose to raise such staggering amounts? Will they dip into the overflowing treasuries of the giant corporations who are earning the greatest profits in their history? Or from the rich who now escape the tax collector through the loopholes of tax-exempt securities, joint returns, etc.?

THE RICH ARE SPARED

The upper-income bracketers will again be spared if the two Democratic leaders in charge of drafting the Congressional tax bills have their way. Representative Doughton of North Carolina, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, says his committee wants "a bill that won't put businessmen out of business or break the back of any individual taxpayer."

Senator George of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee which is exclusively composed of millionaires or ex-corporation lawyers, is not satisfied with the Roosevelt-Ruml tax grab he helped put over during the last session. Now he is reported talking about increasing the tax rates in the lower-income brackets, and favoring "compulsory savings." George is strong-

Germany Committee." As Davis puts it by midsummer "the Kremlin was embarked upon its own independent course toward all postwar Europe."

Davis then asserts that the main point on the agenda of the Quebec Conference was to cement a two-power alliance between England and the United States against the Soviet Union. This is worded in the text of the article as follows: "The prime purpose of this (Quebec) conference was agreement upon a common policy by the advanced, democratic, western powers against the day that the Germans surrendered."

Furthermore, according to Davis, such an agreement was actually reached at Quebec, where "unless instructed opinion in Washington was amiss, the English-speaking statesmen [that is, Churchill and Roosevelt] contrived a joint policy toward Europe. . . and, consequently, against the USSR."

PLANS AGAINST USSR

Davis then goes on to explain that "the more apprehensive statesmen in Washington and London had begun to wonder if we might not be destroying the Nazi hegemony over Europe only to open the way to civil war and a new reign of terror. There were no reassurances from Moscow."

The most sensational part of Davis' article consists of broad

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Court Sustains Minneapolis Trial Verdict

Six of the 18 Defendants Convicted



Reading from left to right, top row: Farrell Dobbs, editor of The Militant; James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; V. R. Dunne, national labor secretary of the SWP. Bottom row: Albert Goldman, attorney for the SWP; Grace Carlson, New York SWP organizer; Felix Morrow, editor of Fourth International.

Rollback Program Will Cut Prices Only \$3.17 A Year

American workers, who are asked to accept wage freezing in return for a promise that living costs will be reduced to the Sept. 15, 1942 level, are now going to get a price rollback—if the latest promise of OPA Administrator Bowles is carried out—of \$3.17 a year.

With great fanfare Bowles announced on Sept. 13 that the OPA was going to cut the cost of living at least 2.3% by lowering retail prices on apples, oranges, onions, potatoes, lard, vegetable oils and peanut butter.

But when economists had checked the specific reductions in these items promised by Bowles, they found that the OPA program would result in lowering annual living costs by less than 1%, or \$3.17, for each person consuming the average amount of these foods.

"Unless there is some magic," said Boris Shishkin, chief economist for the AFL, "these figures [of Bowles] are exaggerated. The 2.3% reduction promised by Mr. Bowles doesn't stand up under examination."

A CIO official was quoted as saying "that one danger of the 2.3% program is that it rolls back the cost of living index faster than it rolls back the cost of living." (PM, Sept. 15.)

Even if the OPA were to reduce prices by 2.3%, the cost of living would still be high above the Sept. 1942 level. But the OPA gets around this by pointing to the governmental Bureau of Labor Statistics which has reported a decline in the cost of living for the last three months.

GOVERNMENT FIGURES

The unreliability of this bureau's index is indicated in the August issue of the CIO's *Economic Outlook*, which says:

"It is a well known fact that the BLS index does not reveal the full increase in cost of living since 1939. It does not reflect all price violations, for example. The OPA has admitted that prices would be reduced by 5% if all price regulations were enforced. Insofar as these violations are only partially caught by the

Bureau, the index underestimates the cost of living.

"In addition to illegal price markups, prices have been indirectly increased through quality deterioration, upgrading of goods, elimination of bargain sales, and a myriad of devices which are not and cannot be reflected in the index. Taking all of these factors into account, it is certain that the BLS index understates the true rise in the cost of living by a considerable amount—probably as much as 10%. Allowing for all this, there is no possible doubt that real average hourly earnings have not increased at all during the war. On the contrary, they must have fallen by 5 or more per cent."

Besides, the everyday experiences of housewives in the last three months demonstrate beyond all question that the only place prices have fallen is in the government's index, and not in the places where food and other necessities are purchased.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The rollback program will cut living costs by \$3.17 a year—that is, if Roosevelt and Bowles make good on their latest promise. Let every worker and housewife ponder the significance of this sum, and they will come to realize that the rising scale of wages advocated by The Militant is the only way to meet the rising cost of living.

STALINISTS PUT OVER LINE AT UE GATHERING

By Miriam Carter

NEW YORK — The ninth annual convention of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, the third largest union in the CIO, concluded its sessions in New York City Friday, September 17.

The strong Stalinist machine in the UE dominated the convention and made it a vehicle for the expression of their reactionary line: the shackling of the workers to the Roosevelt program of wage freezing, heavy taxation and rising prices. Even the gallery was filled with Stalinist visitors who participated in the voice votes and in general acted as a pressure group in the convention.

Caught in the vise of steadily rising living costs and frozen wages, the 575,000 UE workers will look in vain through the minutes of this convention for an answer to their problems. To the Stalinist leadership of the UE the paramount issue is not the workers' problems but the cementing of Stalin's partnership with Roosevelt. They demonstrated that the only collective bargaining in which they are interested is bargaining with the membership for an increase in the per capita tax to the international union.

In a jingoistic atmosphere created by the Stalinists, a resolution was passed, with no discus-

sion and with only one dissenting vote, calling for a fourth term for Roosevelt. The UE leaders bleated against the reactionary Congress, but opposed any attempt on the part of the workers to elect their own representatives to Congress.

"For the present, at least," they said, "labor must work within the framework of the two main parties."

Resolution after resolution was pushed through condemning any kind of independent action on the part of the workers to improve their conditions. The no-strike pledge was reaffirmed. The Stalinists declared that wage increases should be sought only through the channels of the War Labor Board.

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Pardon For Kelly Postal Urged By Unions, Liberals

The text of a strongly-worded joint letter to Governor Thye of Minnesota, urging an immediate and unconditional pardon for Kelly Postal, was released last week by the Workers Defense League.

The letter was signed by Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Alfred Baker Lewis, chairman, League for Industrial Democracy; A. J. Muste, secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Norman Thomas, chairman, Post War World Council; Oswald Garrison Villard, writer; John Dewey, educator; Charles D. Egle, manager, Farmers Union Live Stock Commission; Reverend Clarence T. Nelson, president, St. Paul Branch of the NAACP; Frank Boyd, executive secretary, Twin Cities Branch of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Owen Cunningham, Minneapolis Board of Education; and Morris Milgram, secretary, Workers Defense League. The WDL is cooperating with the Civil Rights Defense Committee in its campaign to free Kelly Postal.

This letter pointed out that Postal, who is now serving up to five years imprisonment in Stillwater State Penitentiary on trumped-up charges of "embezzlement" of union funds, "is no more guilty of embezzlement than any other CIO official who transferred funds from one federation to another at the direction of their membership. We believe that keeping Postal in prison any longer constitutes a grave injustice against him. . . We urge you to give most serious consideration to an immediate and unconditional pardon."

PROSTITUTION OF JUSTICE

In a letter to the Governor, Emil Mazey, president of Local 212 UAW-CIO, states: "The membership of Minneapolis Teamsters, Local 544, disgusted with the dictatorial policies of Daniel Tobin, International President, voted almost unanimously to leave the AFL and join the CIO. Kelly Postal, in his capacity as Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544, was instructed to transfer the local's funds to the CIO and he carried out this order to the last decimal point. . . no one has accused him of misusing these funds personally. . . The indictments were pressed by Daniel J. Tobin as a part of his campaign to herd the drivers back into his union."

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Appeal Will Now Be Taken To The U. S. Supreme Court

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis delivered a blow to labor's rights and civil liberties in its Sept. 20 decision upholding the conviction under the Smith "Gag" Act of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO.

The defendants immediately announced through the Civil Rights Defense Committee that the Circuit Court's decision will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Attorneys for the 18 defendants will apply next week for a 30-day stay of the Circuit Court's mandate. This stay will enable the defense to file a petition for a writ of certiorari in the U. S. Supreme Court, asking that body to review the Circuit Court's decision. If the Circuit Court mandate is stayed, the defendants will remain out of prison on the present bail arrangements until the Supreme Court decision is announced.

The appeal to the Supreme Court will be handled by Albert Goldman, attorney for the Civil Rights Defense Committee and one of the 18 defendants, and Osmond K. Fraenkel, acting for the American Civil Liberties Union.

BACKGROUND OF TRIAL

The Minneapolis trial was the first conducted under the 1940 Smith "Gag" Act, the first peacetime legislation since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which makes mere advocacy of ideas a felony. The trial began while the U. S. was still formally at peace—the defendants were sentenced on Dec. 8, 1941, the day Congress declared war—but its origin, cause and significance were indissolubly connected with the war situation.

Both Washington and its servile supporters in the trade union bureaucracies knew that the existence of a militant, independent political and union leadership constituted an obstacle to the war program, which requires a housebroken labor movement.

In the spring of 1941, AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin came into conflict with the leaders of Minneapolis Local 544,

who refused to accept Tobin's order that they abandon their vigorous struggles to improve working conditions and resisted his attempts to set up a dictatorship over the local union. When the local voted to transfer its affiliation to the CIO, Tobin appealed to the White House for aid and Roosevelt seized this opportunity to deliver a demonstrative blow against labor militancy. A federal indictment was issued against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Trotskyist-led Local 544 on July 15, 1941.

As the American Civil Liberties Union noted at that time: "It seems reasonable to conclude that the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies."

PROSECUTION'S CASE

The indictment made two main charges: 1. That the defendants were guilty of seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence, and 2. That they had violated the Smith Act by advocating the overthrow of the government.

At the trial the government produced 37 witnesses, the overwhelming majority of whom were Tobin's agents and employees. As evidence it introduced proof that the leaders of Local 544 had organized a Union Defense Guard to protect the union and its property against the threatened attacks of the Silver Shirts and other vigilante groups.

In addition it produced 150 exhibits, consisting of openly-sold documents of the Socialist Workers Party and its press, together with well-known works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

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CRDC Statement On Court's Decision

NEW YORK, Sept. 20. — James T. Farrell, noted author and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, today issued the following statement on the latest developments in the Minneapolis labor case:

"The decision of the Eighth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals upholding the conviction of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544-CIO, defendants in the Minneapolis labor trial of 1941, strikes at the very heart of civil liberties in the United States."

"Immediate steps will be taken by the Civil Rights Defense Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union to appeal the convictions to the U. S. Supreme Court and test the constitutionality of the Smith Act."

"The Minneapolis defendants were the first to be convicted under the Smith 'Omnibus Gag' Act passed in 1940. This Act made the mere expression of opinion a federal crime. Under its provisions a man could be sent to jail for circulating such documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, both of which advocate revolutionary doctrines."

"The Smith Act is clearly unconstitutional and violates the rights of free speech and free press guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

"The defendants in the Minneapolis case are 'guilty' of nothing but exercising their constitutional and democratic rights of free expression. The upholding of their conviction sets an extremely dangerous precedent which can be used in witch-hunts against other trade unionists and minority political groups."

"This case has been nationally recognized as the test case of civil liberties in World War II. Scores of labor unions, liberal publications, civil liberties and progressive organizations have protested the convictions. Both the CIO and AFL have condemned the Smith Gag Law."

Chicago Auto Locals And The UAW Convention

CHICAGO — A rising tide of opposition to the no-strike pledge was given powerful impetus here when the important Buick Local 6 overwhelmingly adopted a resolution calling on the forthcoming CIO United Auto Workers convention to rescind the no-strike pledge, and instructed its eleven delegates to speak for and support such a position at the convention.

Similar sentiments were revealed in the election of delegates from the large General Motors Electro-Motive Local 719, where eight of the ten delegates elected ran on a signed pledge to oppose the no-strike policy. The sole Stalinist who squeezed into the delegation, the former president of the local, Terry Kendall, came in a poor tenth in the voting. Up until last spring, the Stalinists had controlled this local.

In other important locals, such as Illinois Malleable and the new Chrysler-Dodge, definite moves are underway to secure the election of delegates pledged to a similar policy.

Reject Stalinist Program

Along with the increasingly strong efforts of the UAW rank and file here to break the shackles of the no-strike pledge, goes their outright rejection of the Stalinist convention program of "no caucuses, no slates, no discussion, no program but support of our commander-in-chief." In key plants like Buick and Electro-Motive, this Stalinist line was brushed aside without any consideration whatsoever.

Even in the Stalinist-dominated Studebaker Local 998, the membership in a recent meeting rose to its feet in defiance of the Stalinist goon squads and overwhelm-

ingly defeated a resolution of the Stalinists, introduced in the name of the executive board, to bar all slates, caucuses and independent programs in the election of convention delegates. A wide open campaign for delegates is now in full swing, with scores of members running against the Stalinist machine-picked nominees.

The action of Buick Local 6, representing approximately 12,000 workers, was the first decisive move against the no-strike pledge in this area, and is bound to have widespread repercussions. This action also marks the greatest blow so far delivered to the Stalinist machine in the UAW here. Up until recently, the Stalinists had almost succeeded in putting the UAW in this area in their pocket and were running hog-wild in efforts to squelch the attempts of the workers to defend their rights and conditions against the increasingly arrogant corporations.

In the Buick Local 6 elections last spring a Stalinist-backed reactionary group failed in its attempt to secure a decisive hold on the union offices. A more progressive group secured sufficient membership backing to break the previous Stalinist-reactionary stranglehold by gaining a number of important posts.

Progressive Program

Since then, the efforts of the Stalinists to put over reactionary measures such as the piecework "incentive pay" plan have served to discredit them. In the campaign for convention delegates the more militant elements organized a caucus and backed a slate which publicly announced:

"We advocate that our delegates at the

Convention vote to have the International Union withdraw the no-strike pledge, and thus protect labor's rights."

"Withdraw the labor members of the War Labor Board and back collective bargaining through straight union-management negotiations."

"Labor has been the only one to sacrifice! Let's go back to real union conditions. We are for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living."

"We are against piecework in any shape or form, whether it is called incentive pay, or 'increased wages for increased production.' Piecework makes young men old and puts old men in the grave!"

The Stalinists, who less than a year ago were in top positions, including the presidency of the local, came out with a vicious attack against "caucuses" and called on the members to "support our commander-in-chief," etc. They were completely skunked out in the elections.

Progressive Slate Wins

Other outright reactionaries, sensing the temper of the membership, did not dare to run on a program of open support for the no-strike pledge. A group headed by Harry Mays, a leading reactionary opportunist, felt compelled to run on a weasel-worded program calling for a "review of the no-strike pledge."

Ten of the eleven delegates running on the progressive program won out in the elections. Only Mays squeezed through for the "review" program.

Sensing the real feelings of the rank and file, the Local 6 executive board itself introduced several convention resolutions ex-

pressing the sentiments of the members. These included a call to rescind the no-strike pledge, to withdraw the labor members from the War Labor Board, to include in all contracts a clause for a rising scale of wages to meet rising prices, and to oppose unconditionally any form of the "incentive pay" plan.

At the shift meetings called to debate these resolutions, only the Stalinists — and most of them hesitated to take the floor to expose their real position of unconditional surrender to the bosses — opposed these progressive resolutions. Even Mays did not press his "review" position. He did offer a resolution calling on labor to seek greater representation on government boards. But with the experiences of the War Labor Board in mind, the membership voted down this resolution for further collaboration on capitalist government boards.

The shortcoming of the otherwise excellent program adopted by Local 6 is the failure to give a political conclusion to the announced break with the policy of union retreat. While there is growing sentiment for an independent labor party, the executive board and convention delegates hesitated to bring forward this perfectly logical and necessary proposal.

Labor Party Sentiment

The sentiment against the no-strike policy became heightened within recent weeks at the GM Electro-Motive Diesel plant, where close to 10,000 are employed. This local was dominated by the Stalinists until last spring, when they were narrowly defeated in the local elections by an independent grouping, which, however, did not

differ very much with the Stalinists on any fundamental program.

A sharp cleavage on the no-strike policy arose several weeks ago when two workers were fired by the company after a short strike of crane men. The Stalinists and some of the union officials were for supporting this company action against the union. But the best union elements have been aroused by this high-handed act, and the issue is still unsettled.

Just before the election for convention delegates, a group of workers, including several nominees, drafted a statement calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge and went to the various candidates and asked them to sign it. Of the ten delegates elected, eight were signers of the statement opposing the no-strike pledge, including the two candidates with the highest vote. Robert Wilson, who usually ran highest in previous elections but who refused to sign the statement, came in third.

Stalinists Lose Ground

No resolutions have been adopted as yet by local 719. A special meeting for this purpose will be held just prior to the convention. It is expected that the still powerful Stalinist machine headed by Terry Kendall, with the support of Wilson's group, will bring terrific pressure to bear to prevent passage of any resolution opposing the no-strike pledge. However, the significant action of Buick local, plus the growing militancy of the Electro-Motive rank and file, will have an important bearing on the outcome. It was a noticeable fact that the popularity of the Stalinists dipped markedly just before the delegate elections, when

Kendall, in a public debate with a Typographical Union member, held under Local 719 auspices, committed himself openly and unconditionally to the no-strike policy.

The Reuther-Leonard caucus is playing its typically shabby role here. Through Nordstrom, the international board member in this region, the Reutherites, who have no well-organized following here, are trying to capitalize on the reaction to the Stalinists by converting the struggle around basic issues into a clique fight to reelect Nordstrom against the Stalinist choice of the moment, Roy Spaeth of Milwaukee. Until recent weeks, Nordstrom had followed a policy of unprincipled horse-trading with the Stalinists and backed them against the genuine militants.

Significant Developments

The pre-convention developments in the Chicago area are significant because it is here that the Stalinists had hoped to capture a solid base in the UAW. In the past two years the auto corporations have concentrated in this city, and the UAW has had a tremendous growth. Despite the fact that these new unions have had little fighting tradition and that they have been infested with Stalinists since their inception, the workers are getting fed up with conditions and with the traitorous policies of the Stalinists and international board representatives.

This dissatisfaction has now found positive expression in the two largest UAW plants in this area, Buick and Electro-Motive. And the signs are multiplying that other important locals will soon be following their lead.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

Another mine disaster at Harlan, Ky. last week cost the lives of at least three miners.

Over two hundred miners, employed by the Three Point Coal Company, were in the workings when the explosion occurred. All but eighteen got out safely. The three dead miners and six still alive were brought to the surface shortly after rescue work began, but not before the families of the miners and hundreds of mine families from the mountains around had gathered at the mine face to take up their silent, tragic vigil.

Only those who have lived through this vigil can know the horror and heartbreak which each mine explosion brings. But that is only one phase of the suffering endured every day by the mine workers and their families.

And it is all so unnecessary but for the greed of the mine owners. Proper warning devices, regular inspection of existing ventilation systems, the installation of adequate ventilation and rock-dusting could eliminate most of these disasters. Because of the refusal of the mine owners to provide adequate protection these tragedies have become so common that the reports are usually relegated to the back pages of the daily press, unless the number of dead is sufficient to make a sensational story.

The Roosevelt administration is still blocking a wage increase for more than one million railroad workers.

In May a special railway panel finally recommended a paltry increase of eight cents an hour for non-operating employees. But Fred M. Vinson, economic stabilization director, arbitrarily turned it down.

On August 7, the railroad unions and the companies signed a contract for an eight cent an hour pay rise, effective as of last Feb. 1, but subject to approval by the Federal government. More than a month has passed and Vinson has not yet passed on this agreement.

The union officials have gone to Roosevelt about the question but still there is no action reported.

The railroad union officials were among the strikebreakers who supported Roosevelt against the coal miners and told the miners they did not need to strike because the government would see that they got a raise.

Statistics covering the number of strikes in the United States during the first two years of the war as compared to those which occurred during the previous four years make an interesting picture.

Despite the no-strike pledge of the top union leadership, the growing government intervention into union affairs, the WLB and its Little Steel formula, there were more strikes in 1942 than occurred in either 1938, 1939 or 1940. In the first year of the war 839,961 workers were involved in 2,968 strikes.

During the first quarter of 1943 there were 1,060 strikes involving 404,000 workers. These figures do not include the three strikes of over 500,000 coal miners and the walkouts of 40,000 rubber workers and 25,000 Chrysler workers.

Since the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law went into effect, over 200 unions have filed notification of intention to strike.

UE Convention Adopts CP Line

(Continued from page 1)

The whole question of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula and the traitorous role of the labor members on the War Labor Board was not even referred to in the resolutions passed. No objection was raised to the punitive powers given to the WLB in the Smith-Connelly Act and the Roosevelt sanctions order.

SPEEDUP PLANS

According to James Matles, Stalinist director of organization, the UE must conform to the Little Steel formula so long as it is part of the government's policy. The Stalinist formula for getting "wage increases" is that vicious speedup system, the incentive plan. Betraying the trade union movement of the years of struggle of the trade union movement to do away with piecework and the speedup, the UE leaders have joined the Big Business interests in a campaign for this union-busting program.

There were several delegates who voiced misgivings and hesitation over adopting such a plan. The arrogant Stalinists, unwilling to brook the slightest opposition, rode roughshod over them.

The Stalinists are unequalled in the bitterness of their attacks against John L. Lewis for leading the mine strike. Mounting phrases in support of the miners' demands, they attacked as "traitorous" the miners' struggle to obtain these demands.

A former miner, member of UE Local 615, took the floor in opposition to this resolution, calling it an attack on the miners themselves. "They're union men the same as we are," he said. The resolution passed, but not without opposition.

The complete Stalinist character of the convention is indicated in the adoption of the resolution calling for a second front in western Europe, a purely Stalinist demand.

James Carey was defeated in his attempt to get the endorsement of the UE for re-election as secretary-treasurer of the CIO. Carey professed complete agreement with the Stalinist program, including the second front. Despite his boot-licking attempt to ingratiate himself with the Stalinists, they shoved him aside. He

was defeated 2211 to 780 in a roll call vote.

The UE officials were forced to compromise with the membership on the 10 cent increase in the per capita tax. Vice President Block, of District 1, declared that if it were possible to get a 5 cent

FEPC Finally Holds Hearings On Railroads

The Fair Employment Practices Committee's long-delayed hearings on railroad employment discrimination were concluded last week. The labor movement and members of the minority groups discriminated against by the railroads are now waiting to see what the FEPC is going to do about the testimony at the hearings, which showed:

That on 22 railroads Negroes and Mexicans are systematically discriminated against, being denied either employment altogether or employment at non-menial jobs;

That Negroes are ineligible for promotion on most railroads even though promotion is supposed to be based on seniority;

That Negro firemen, unlike whites, are denied the right to become engineers, and now face elimination from their jobs as the result of an agreement between the major Southern roads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers;

That as the result of discrimination the proportion of Negro railroad workers fell by at least one-third from 1910 to 1930;

That two government agencies, the National Mediation Board and the National Railroad Adjustment Board, are helping to maintain Jim Crow policies.

RAILROAD ALIBI

Representatives of the railroads did not deny discrimination — that would have been exceedingly difficult. Instead they blamed the situation on "the civilization in which they find themselves." In other words, they said: Why pick on us — we're only doing what others are doing.

The railroad spokesmen also contended that their discrimination was not hurting the war ef-

fort — the implication being that this kind of discrimination is all right. (The FEPC has the power to investigate only discrimination interfering with the war effort.)

The Southern Railway added that the employment of Negroes as engineers would probably result in "boycott and bloodshed" and in "suspension of service" by white workers. This was an obvious effort to blame the white workers for the company's Jim Crow policies. Several Negro and white workers took the witness stand to assert that they believed Negro and white workers would work together on all railroad jobs if they had the chance.

A statement by the Union Pacific Railroad, headed by William Jeffers, declared that it was opposed to discrimination against Mexicans and workers of Mexican descent. This statement was strongly praised by the FEPC counsel although it said nothing whatever about discrimination against Negroes.

None of the 15 railroad unions charged with discrimination set representatives to participate in the hearings.

FEPC chairman Mgr. Haas declared that the committee would make "findings of fact and recommendations" after its investigations were completed. He did not indicate what the committee would do when these recommendations are ignored, as they so often have been ignored in the past, by the railroads and railroad unions.

The FEPC has no power to compel compliance with its recommendations. Its chief weapon is supposed to be publicity. But its members were forced to take public note of the fact last week that its railroad hearings were getting very little play in the daily press.

margin of 1650 to 1311 in a roll call vote.

NOTHING TO OFFER

No opportunity was lost at this convention to prove to the government and to the bosses that the main purpose of the Stalinist leadership of the UE is not to defend the interests of the workers but to support the bosses' speedup program.

The reactionary program of the Stalinists has nothing to offer the workers who want to protect their living standards. The rift between the workers in the shops and the Stalinist leadership of the union grows daily. Even at this convention, strong as the Stalinists were, the sentiment of the workers was reflected through some opposition on the convention floor against the incentive pay, against the Stalinist position on the miners' strike and against the increase in per capita.

The ninth convention of the UE should serve to confirm the conviction of its militant members that the Stalinists cannot be depended on to fight for even the most elementary needs of the workers and that these finks must be replaced with a leadership devoted to the interests of the working class.

Fall Sessions On Trotskyism Open in N. Y.

The fall Sessions of the Basic Training Course in Marxism sponsored by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party open Friday, Sept. 24. Classes in this ten week course will be held each Friday evening, 8:15 P. M., at 116 University Place. Harry Frankel will be the instructor.

The course will be given in conference style, with the instructor leading the study group in discussions of the program, strategy and tactics of revolutionary Marxism. Works by Leon Trotsky and the pamphlets "Socialism on Trial" by James P. Cannon and "In Defense of Socialism" by Albert Goldman will be used as textbooks.

A fee of 50 cents will be charged, for which the student will receive all the pamphlets and documents studied in the course.

Friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party and those just learning of its program for the first time are especially urged to attend.

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by

JAMES P. CANNON
48 Pages 10 Cents

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N. Y. BOOK SALES CAMPAIGN ENDS AT SOCIAL ON SEPT. 25

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 — Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, will conclude its current campaign to distribute James P. Cannon's book, "The Struggle For A Proletarian Party," with a social on Sept. 25 in honor of the winners of the campaign. The Local's quota of 200 books is expected to be surpassed before the end of the campaign.

Branches throughout the city have participated in the campaign. Reports have been highly successful, indicating that Cannon's book is meeting a welcome response from a wide range of readers.

The individual comrade selling the highest number of books during the campaign will be presented with a set of Cannon's book and Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism," handsomely bound in red leather. The Saturday night social will honor the members of the winning team. Book sales made at the social will receive credit in the campaign.

Those comrades who remember the column entitled "Militant Army" which formerly appeared in *The Militant* will be glad to know that it will again appear in the paper as a regular feature. We believe this medium is one of the best ways of informing our readers about the work being done by our agents and branches in regard to distribution of the paper.

During this past week we have received many interesting letters, some of which we will quote:

Chicago has just concluded its subscription campaign and our agent writes as follows: "Am enclosing \$8 money order for four more subscriptions from the Chicago Branch. This terminates our sub drive, but we hope that the interest stimulated by the campaign will continue and that we'll be sending in new subs from now on." Chicago's subscription campaign resulted in approximately \$80 worth of subs.

The Militant distributions in Chicago are bringing gratifying results as is shown by the following letter:

"A lady gave me a copy of *The Militant* at a meeting of the CIO, of which I am a member. I was so pleased to read a paper that tells the truth and understands the workers' economic interests that I am subscribing to it. Enclosed you will find \$1."

San Diego says, "Due to more extensive contact work, we wish to increase our Militant bundle by ten copies. Also will you please include subscription blanks for *The Militant* and *Fourth International*."

San Francisco is just getting its subscription drive under way. "Enclosed are twenty subs which are the result of last Sunday's house-to-house campaign. Fourteen of the subs were sold to Negroes. Seven comrades participated in the work and spent about one hour. Under the impetus of the campaign we hope to get 100 new subscribers to *The Militant* in the four week campaign. Comrades get immense encouragement from the fact that in carrying on this house-to-house work we frequently come across workers who have received the paper at factory gates where we distribute and have a 'talking' acquaintance with *The Militant*. Also, nearly every worker who takes a copy or a subscription buys one or another of the pamphlets which our distributors carry."

For future use, we urge our readers and agents to submit any information about their work in distributing *The Militant* and the reactions of the readers that they think will be of interest. Suggestions are also welcome.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Two Kinds of Justice in the Army

Last week's issue of The Militant contained two short items which reveal as much as a volume could about the position of the Negro in the U. S. Army.

One item was about a colonel who was telling the faculty of the University of Maryland about a university course to be attended by army students. When asked if Negro soldiers would be permitted to attend, the colonel answered with a laugh: "No. We don't have enough trees around here to hang 'em from."

The second item dealt with the court-martial, demotion and imprisonment of a former unionist, Staff Sergeant Alton Levy, stationed at the Lincoln Air Base in Nebraska. His crime? That he had dared to speak against the brutal Jim Crow treatment of Negro soldiers.

Note the contrast. One man speaks with the voice of the slaveholder and the lynch mob; nothing happens to him. The other speaks on behalf of democratic rights and equality; he feels the heavy hand of the brass hats, is put at hard labor for four months and in effect warned never to open his mouth on this question again.

Since then we have been provided with two more examples, offering an equally vivid contrast. Both of them centered around courts-martial in Michigan.

The first was the case of another colonel, William T. Colman, former commanding officer of the big air base at Selfridge Field, tried by an army court on 28 charges, the most important of which was the shooting of a Negro soldier, Private William McRae. Colman was quoted later as saying: "I have given orders repeatedly that a Negro chauffeur should never be sent to drive my car." Because someone violated these orders, Colman shot McRae on May 5 of this year. Other charges against him included drunkenness, fraudulent transfer of enlisted men, acceptance of a vacation, lodge for personal use from a private contractor, misappropriation of government property, etc.

The military court dismissed 23 of the charges and found Colman guilty on four of the drunkenness charges. He was also pronounced guilty of shooting McRae—but the charge on this count was changed to read "careless use of firearms!"

The penalty? Colman was reduced to the rank of captain, and made ineligible for promotion for the next year. And that was all. No imprisonment at hard labor for Colman. He is still in command of a considerable number of soldiers—some of whom may again be the victims of his "careless use of firearms" merely because he doesn't like their color.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

A HYPOCRITICAL ALIBI FOR MILITARY JIM CROW

By Albert Parker

Protests and needs of the armed forces compelled the military authorities to admit Negroes into many branches previously closed to them. But always, and under all circumstances, this was done on a strictly segregated basis.

To change this "satisfactory" setup in the armed forces, says Roosevelt, "would produce situations destructive to morale." He does not say whose morale. But it is not hard to guess that he means primarily the morale of Southern ruling class opinion. To protect Southern bias, therefore, the military authorities try to spread anti-Negro prejudices among hundreds of thousands of non-Southern white youth in uniform, many of whom went to school with Negroes and were taught to regard them as equals. To prevent "situation destructive to morale," the military authorities export their prejudices to Great Britain where the people greeted American Negro soldiers in the most friendly and comradely manner until they were ordered to desist in the interest of not hurting the feelings of bigoted U. S. Army officers and soldiers.

But the utter hypocrisy of Roosevelt's explanation for segregating Negroes in the armed forces has been bared most conclusively by his reaction to a very reasonable request made by several liberal and Negro organizations representing at least a million people. Very well, they said in effect, you don't want to end segregation in the armed forces and we won't press you on

The other case concerns four Negro soldiers at Fort Custer, Mich. On June 21 these men heard about the outbreak of anti-Negro violence in nearby Detroit, where two of them had families. They tried to secure arms and trucks in order to ride to Detroit and defend their friends and brothers, but were arrested and held "for investigation." As The Militant said at that time: "An honest investigation should disclose only that these soldiers wanted to fight for democracy."

On Sept. 14, the same day that Colman's "punishment" was announced, the AP carried a dispatch revealing for the first time that these men had been court-martialed and found guilty of violating four articles of war. One had been sentenced to 20 years at hard labor, another to 18 years, and the remaining two to 15 years. The AP dispatch announced that the commandant of the Sixth Service Command had reviewed the sentences and reduced them. The final result was: the soldier sentenced to 20 years will now serve ten; two others will serve eight years; the fourth was cleared of the charges.

The contrast in these cases is so striking as to make extended comment unnecessary. In one an officer breaks half the rules of the army, shoots a man because he doesn't like his color and gets off with a slap on the wrist. In the other, soldiers are "guilty" of trying to combat lynch attacks on their people and are thrown into prison as though they were criminals.

In the armed forces, where the will of the authorities is not to be questioned and where there is no pretense of democratic rights, it is impossible not to recognize that there are two kinds of "justice"—one for those who defend reactionary institutions and practices, another for those who want to change or abolish them. The same situation prevails in civilian society.

The existence of two kinds of "justice" arises from the conflict between the ruling capitalist class and the exploited working class. As long as this conflict lasts—and it will endure as long as there is private ownership of the means of production—class "justice" will continue.

The militant white and Negro workers must unite in protesting the harsh treatment meted out to Alton Levy and the Negro soldiers at Fort Custer, and they must demand their unconditional release. But to make sure that there will be no similar persecutions in the future, the workers must seek to end capitalist injustice itself. And that they can achieve only by replacing the power of the capitalists with the Workers' and Farmers' Government.

that; but why don't you at least permit the formation of a single mixed division which would be made up of white and Negro soldiers volunteering to serve in it?

It is hard to see how anyone could argue against the creation of such a division on the ground that it would produce situations harmful to morale; being made up of volunteers who would want to show that it is possible for Negroes and whites to collaborate amicably and fruitfully, it would probably have the highest morale in the armed forces. Precisely for this reason Roosevelt not only refused to act on the mixed division petitions delivered to him—he even refused to comment on them.

This incident, and many others like it, indicate that what Roosevelt and the government are upholding is not morale but anti-Negro prejudice and the predominant Southern technique for keeping the Negro "in his (separate) place." This is upheld in the armed forces because the Southern rulers fear, in the words of a resolution of the Socialist Workers Party, "that no Negro trained to handle a gun would peacefully go back to the old life of discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement and insult, after training in an army where he was treated as an equal with white soldiers."

(From Pages 10-12, "Negroes In The Post-War World," 1943, 16 pages, 5 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.)

Murray, Green And Hillman On The Surrender Of Italy

By Philip Blake

"There is a need to transmit to the people of Italy the conviction that there is still a feeling of brotherhood and kinship linking the American labor movement and the harassed, decent, freedom-loving people who constitute the majority in Italy." These are the words of AFL leader Matthew Woll, spoken after the surrender of Italy.

No worker will dispute the need for a demonstration of solidarity with the Italian working class, now caught between the fire of the Allies and the Axis, and yet fighting on for freedom and peace. Without international solidarity and aid the Italian workers can never be victorious. The question is: how to express that solidarity, how to help the Italian masses in their heroic struggle?

Woll's answer is for the labor movement here to send food, clothing and medical supplies through the Labor League for Human Rights, which he heads, "as soon as the military situation allows."

KIND OF AID NEEDED

Supplies are certainly needed as soon as possible, but far more necessary to the struggle of the Italian workers is help in combating the Allied leaders' policy of establishing an Allied Military Government (AMG) which will prohibit political activity and prevent the Italian workers from setting up a government of their

own choice. On this question not a single union leader in this country has opened his mouth.

On the contrary, the union bureaucrats, when they have spoken at all, have had the effect only of insulting and discouraging the Italian masses.

After the armistice with Badoglio, Philip Murray issued a statement by shortwave broadcast to Italy. Sitting comfortably in his padded seat in Washington, Murray even felt called on to deliver to the already suffering workers of Italy a little lecture on their duties and obligations.

MURRAY'S PROMISE

Ignoring his own obligations as a labor leader, omitting all reference to AMG's policy of collaborating with fascist officials in Sicily, he told the Italian workers that they must help to frustrate their "true enemies, the Nazi Germans." By helping to sabotage the German war machine, Italian workers can help to save Allied lives by shortening the battle of Italy.

The masses of Italy, we know, are fighting against great odds to win peace and freedom—and have shown they don't need advice from Murray about fighting Nazism. But many of them listening to the broadcast must have wondered if the only reward they would get for fighting the Nazi troops would be "to save Allied lives." Murray went on at once, however, to set their minds at ease on this score:

"If the Italian worker performs his patriotic duty to the utmost, he will have the lasting respect of great labor organizations such as the CIO."

Isn't that an enticing prospect? If they lose their lives fighting the Nazis, they can have the respect of a man who won't even put up a fight against the Little Steel formula. Win or lose, live or die, the Italian workers surely have nothing to worry about now.

OTHER ASSURANCES

Even if Murray waffles on this promise—as he has on his promise to fight for wage increases to meet the rising cost of living—the Italian masses will still be taken care of. They can take William Green's word for it. Green says:

"The Italian people have not lost by the unconditional surrender of their country. They have gained. They have won freedom from the yoke of fascism and the opportunity to govern themselves in the future in a free and democratic country."

If William Green says it, it must be so. After all, he is a dean. And didn't he predict in 1942 that the American government would stabilize prices? Didn't he predict in 1943 that prices would be rolled back? In the face of an assurance by a man who speaks with so much authority about the government's policies, isn't it a little impolite to recall AMG and the Darlan deal? If Green doesn't clinch the mat-

ter, then Sidney Hillman will. The Sept. 15 issue of his paper, The Advance, devoted a full two pages to Italy and even went to the point of defending the Allied deal with Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel, who helped Mussolini oppress the Italian workers for more than two decades. Then it went on to say:

"The Allies will neither endeavor to maintain this (Badoglio) stopgap government in office nor will they want to help to rise to power over the Italians any government save such as will be chosen by the fully and freely expressed will of the people of Italy. Italy will have the kind of government the Italians will want."

WHAT THEY WANT

But the Italian workers have had a long experience with demagogues and liars. If Mussolini couldn't convince them, we have the right to expect that they will pay little attention to the worthless promises of second-raters such as the Murrays and Greens and Hillmans and their Italian counterparts. They know better than anyone else the enormous difficulties of their struggle. What they are waiting and hoping for are the voices and deeds which say:

"Fight for your freedom from all oppressors; take the fate of your country into your own hands; do not trust the promises of any of the capitalists. We will aid you in every way possible; we will fight your enemies, no matter where they are."

But such words can never be spoken by the union bureaucrats who bend the knee to Roosevelt and do nothing which he does not sanction. These words can be spoken—and acted on—only by the militant American workers.

Circuit Court Upholds Minnesota Convictions

(Continued from page 1)

The Smith 'Omnibus Gag' Act Is Aimed at Organized Labor

The 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case are the first victims of the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act passed in 1940. The sponsor of this law—the most reactionary statute in the U. S. Code—is poll tax Representative Howard W. Smith, leader of the anti-labor bloc in Congress and co-author of the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

The Smith "Gag" Act is the first federal peacetime law since the infamous Alien & Sedition Acts of 1798 which makes mere advocacy of ideas a felony. Under its provisions it is a penal offense punishable by ten years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine to advocate any revolutionary change in the U. S. government or to criticize conditions in the armed forces. It could easily be used to include the CIO's protest against training soldiers in strike-breaking tactics or protests against Jim Crow in the armed forces.

During the debates in Congress Representative Geyer of California declared: "This bill is an attempt to put an end to real democracy. It is an attempt to break the labor movement." Representative Martin of Colorado said: "It is enough to make Thomas Jefferson turn over in his grave. It is without precedent in the history of labor legislation. It is an invention of intolerance contrary to every principle of democracy."

The CIO and AFL protested against the Smith "Gag" law as a violation of the Bill of Rights. The American Civil Liberties Union pleaded with President Roosevelt to veto it on the ground that it "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor." This prediction has been confirmed by the conviction of the members of the Socialist Workers Party and officials of the Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO.

UNIONS, LIBERALS URGE KELLY POSTAL PARDON

(Continued from page 1)

"This is a prostitution of the ends of justice which must not go unchallenged. I ask you, Governor Thye, and members of the Board of Pardons, in the name of human decency and elementary democratic principles, to grant Kelly Postal a full and unconditional pardon."

In a letter to the editors printed in The Nation of Sept. 11, James T. Farrell, noted novelist, protested that: "The Kelly Postal case is as flimsy a frame-up as were the Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti cases." The Michigan CIO has condemned the frame-up of Kelly Postal and urged its locals to give full moral and financial support to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the authorized representative of his defense. The defense of Kelly Postal is the defense of trade union democracy in this country; the freeing of Kelly Postal will be an important victory for trade union democracy in the face of a wave of reaction which seeks to enchain labor by gag acts and other means."

James Rorty, in an article in the New Leader of Sept. 11, declares that the Kelly Postal case is "a frame up of a unionist that must be fought. Any time the trade union movement permits anybody—employer, government or a rival union faction—to get away with framing a union officer, then trade unionism as a whole loses face disastrously."

A letter from the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, Local 205, Minneapolis, Minn., enclosing a substantial donation to the CRDC's Kelly Postal Pardon Fund, stated: "Local Union 205 has always stood for justice in the labor movement and we do hope that the small part we are doing in this fight eventually will gain the well deserved freedom of Kelly Postal."

Almost 400 signatures were received on the petition blanks from this union.

Another large donation was received this week from UAW-CIO Local 647, Reading, Ohio, which wrote: "We are glad to contribute to such a worthy cause."

LEON TROTSKY On THEIR MORALS AND OURS

The answer of a revolutionary Marxist to the 'moralist' critics of Bolshevism in two illuminating articles on Capitalist and Bolshevik morality.

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Among them was the socialist classic, the "Communist Manifesto," which is carried on the shelves of thousands of libraries and universities.

JURY'S VERDICT

The trial jury dismissed the charges against five of the defendants, and the jury acquitted five others. The jury found no evidence whatever of overt acts committed by any of the defendants and all were declared not guilty on the first count of the indictment. Thus the 18 were convicted under the Smith Act alone—not for any acts they had committed but solely because of beliefs they held and expressed.

This aspect of the trial is all the more ominous because, although the defendants were victims of an attack on the free speech provisions of the Bill of Rights, the reports in the capitalist press of the trial and the Circuit Court decision deliberately seek to create a contrary impression.

Twelve of the defendants were given 16 month prison sentences, the others terms of a year and a day. The 18 defendants are:

James P. Cannon, SWP national secretary; Grace Carlson, New York SWP organizer; Jake Cooper, Minneapolis truckdriver; Oscar Coover, Minneapolis SWP leader; Harry DeBoer, Local 544-CIO organizer; Farrell Doobs, editor of The Militant; V. R. Dunne, SWP national labor secretary; Max Geldman, recording secretary, Local 544 Federal Workers Section; Albert Goldman, attorney for SWP and The Militant.

Clarence Hamel, Local 544 organizer; Emil Hansen, Local 544 organizer; Carlos Hudson, editor of Local 544's weekly paper, The Industrial Organizer; Karl Kuehn, Federal Workers Sec. officer; F. Morrow, editor of Fourth International; Edward Palmquist, Local 544 organizer; Alfred Russell, former officer of Omaha Teamsters Local 554; Oscar Schoenfeld, former organizer, Federal Workers Section youth division; Carl Skoglund, Local 544 organizer.

Grant Dunne, Local 544 organizer and one of the original 29 defendants, committed suicide three weeks before the trial began. He had been in ill health for a long time as a result of shell shock suffered during the First World War.

DEFENSE APPEALS

The verdict in the Minneapolis trial, widely condemned by labor and liberal organizations, was appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit on Nov. 5, 1942. The defense asked for a reversal of the conviction on the grounds that the Smith Act was unconstitutional, and that it was applied in an unconstitutional manner.

Subsequent issues of The Militant will contain a report and analysis of the Circuit Court's decision as well as news of further developments in the case.

Anti-USSR Moves Made at Quebec, Says F. Davis

(Continued from page 1)

hints that Allied statesmen and certain Washington "experts" are planning far beyond mere isolation of the USSR. They anticipate "continuing hostilities after the downfall of Germany and Japan." There is only one major country against whom hostilities could be continued after the elimination of Germany and Japan. That country is the Soviet Union.

Davis, it will be observed, reaffirms and surpasses the charges of anti-Soviet bias made by columnist Drew Pearson who was so loudly denounced by Hull and Roosevelt. There has been no denunciation of Davis as yet, although authorities in Washington must have known well in advance about the publication of the article in the Saturday Evening Post.

ATTACKS AMG

Far from improving, the relations between the Kremlin and its Allies are growing worse. The latest issue of War and the Working Class repeats its previous attack on the AMG as having "nothing in common with democratic principles." In addition, the Kremlin is now proclaiming to the world that the AMG is operating solely in the interests of Big Business in England and this country. War and the Working Class, ostensibly the organ of the Russian trade unions but actually the mouthpiece for the Kremlin's foreign policy, writes: "Among its (the AMG's) important tasks is the attempt to secure a leading voice in the solution of economic problems for Anglo-Saxon banking, industrial and commercial groups."

Nor is the Kremlin's attack limited to the AMG. It is beginning to aim its barbs at the State Department in Washington. Singled out for criticism is Dean Acheson's Board of Economic Action. Acheson is a high official of the State Department and the Board he heads is under the direct supervision of Hull.

KEY TO THE CONFLICT

The great and continued victories of the Red Army act to drive deeper and deeper the wedge between Stalin and his "democratic" allies. In striking blows against German imperialism the Red Army deals at the same time powerful blows to the entire system of world imperialism.

The Soviet Union as a new social system based on nationalized economy remains, even under Stalin, in irreconcilable conflict with the capitalist system defended by Churchill and Roosevelt. This lies at the bottom of all the current "misunderstandings" and "difficulties."

Obstacles In The Way Of The Italian Revolution

By M. Morrison

Roosevelt and Churchill must be happy at the thought that they have accomplished two very important objectives with reference to Italy. They have avoided a revolution and obtained the unconditional surrender that they demanded of the Badoglio regime.

While a complete explanation for the failure of the Italian revolution to develop must wait for the time when all the facts will be available, it is not very difficult to point to two factors which must have played a very important role in restraining the Italian masses. Although we permitted ourselves the hope that the Italian revolution would develop, sober analysis reduced that hope to very moderate proportions. Our fears and not our hopes were realized because the difficulties confronting the Italian masses were too great.

The German army, having actual control of Italy, was the greatest single obstacle. The Italian workers clearly understood that taking power would inevitably mean a clash with the Nazi army and they did not feel sufficiently strong to risk such a clash.

It may be pointed out that when the Russian workers overthrew the monarchy in February 1917, there was also a German army on Russian soil. But that army occupied only a small part of Russia and the revolution was free to develop in the most important metropolitan centers. Furthermore the rulers of Germany in 1917 were actually in favor of revolutionary propaganda in Russia, hoping thereby that the Russian armies would be completely demoralized and that they would be able to shift all of their forces to meet any attack from the west. Berlin permitted Lenin to cross Germany on the way to Russia in order to help along the revolutionary movement. Naturally the expectations of the Kaiser were not at all realized. The revolution that Lenin led helped considerably in disintegrating the Kaiser's forces.

The fundamental difference in the situation of Russia in 1917 and Italy in 1943 is that whereas in the former country the masses were confronted by a Russian army that sympathized with and helped the workers to achieve the revolution, the Italian masses are confronted by a German army into which the idea of revolution has not yet penetrated.

Nothing helped Badoglio to remain in power more than the demand of Churchill and Roosevelt for Italy's unconditional surrender. The masses wanted peace above everything else but they did not want the capitalist democracies to replace the Nazis in controlling Italy. It may be that as a last resort the Italian people would choose the so-called lesser evil of American and English control as against Nazi control but what they wanted was to be left alone and to have peace. They knew that the unconditional surrender demanded by the Allies would mean nothing more than transforming Italy into a battle ground.

Badoglio cleverly played upon this demand of the Allies to convince the masses that he wanted peace but that they must give him a chance to negotiate for better terms. He, of course, also used force but it is almost certain that the force he could muster against the masses would not have availed him. What was effective to restrain the masses was Badoglio's offer to take Italy out of the war and keep it neutral with the German army leaving and the Allied armies not marching in. The masses were hopeful that such an arrangement could be accomplished.

It is very significant that soon after Mussolini's fall the Italian

workers began demonstration strikes lasting a half-hour each day. By means of such a tactic they plainly said to Badoglio: Remember that we want peace and we are giving you a chance to achieve it.

Liberal critics of Roosevelt and Churchill contend that the negotiations with Badoglio were a mistake because they permitted Hitler to strengthen his forces in Italy. We are not critics of the Italian masses but it can be seen that their hope for a peace to be arranged on favorable terms by Badoglio was a more serious mistake than that made by Churchill and Roosevelt. For the latter at least obtained the unconditional surrender that they were after. The Italian masses did not get any peace and at the same time the German army was permitted to strengthen its forces so that when Badoglio announced his unconditional surrender the masses found themselves completely surrounded by the Nazi army.

When I refer to the failure of the Italian revolution to develop, I do not mean the failure of the Italian workers to bring about an "October" revolution but only a "February" one. For an October revolution, that is, a revolution where the Italian workers would establish their own power, proclaim socialism as their goal and call upon the European workers to follow in their footsteps and establish a Socialist United States of Europe, a powerful revolutionary party is indispensable together with a degree of political consciousness that the Italian workers had no chance to develop.

The February Revolution was made by the workers and peasants of Russia without the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party. The masses had the power in their hands but trustfully turned it over to the middle-class intellectuals who in turn gave it to the provisional government representing the interests of the capitalist class. The Italian masses were undoubtedly on the verge of a February revolution but hesitated before the enormous difficulties.

In a sense it was their hope for peace that led the Italian masses astray. They hoped that Badoglio could bring them peace without their direct interference. In this they were of course mistaken. The situation was such that under no circumstances could the Italian people get peace. A capitalist government could only make Italy a battleground either with or without the direct participation of Italian imperialism. A workers' and peasants' government would not bring peace but it would bring a struggle for peace on the basis of extending the revolution throughout Europe. Under the prevailing conditions it was too much to expect the Italian masses to take the road of revolutionary socialism.

A revolutionary situation brought to the highest tension by the fall of Mussolini passed without a revolution. The Italian masses must see their country ravaged in the gigantic struggle between the Nazis and the capitalist democracies. The agony which has been their lot for more than three years continues. They have learned how bitter it is to be under the heel of the Nazi oppressor. With a victory for the Allies they will be the first to experience the "benevolence" of American and British capitalist armies. From that experience they will surely learn that there can be no national or social freedom under the rule of any capitalist group. The Italian masses may yet have the honor of being the first to take power into their own hands and call upon the world to struggle for socialism and peace.

LEON TROTSKY'S

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— LEON TROTSKY

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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.

Free Kelly Postal

Behind the walls of Stillwater State Penitentiary in southern Minnesota sits Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO. This militant fighter for the working class is the victim of a frameup. He is serving a five year sentence in that jail on a trumped-up charge of "embezzlement."

On Monday, Oct. 11, Postal's application for pardon will be heard by the Minnesota State Pardons Board.

Many voices have already been raised condemning the persecution of Postal, and asking for his immediate and unconditional pardon. At its recent convention the Michigan State CIO, representing 700,000 workers, declared that Postal's conviction "endangers trade union democracy fully as much as the numerous anti-labor laws now being rushed through Congress and state legislatures, such as the Smith-Connally Act." Many thousands of signatures petitioning for Postal's pardon have been collected in shops and factories, in union halls and meetings. Leading civil liberties organizations, scores of trade unions and other progressive bodies have passed resolutions and pledged support to Postal's fight for freedom.

This national protest movement must grow in volume until the authorities who hold the keys to Postal's prison cell can no longer ignore it.

The Governor of Minnesota is one of the three members of the Minnesota Pardons Board. He knows how indignant the truck drivers of the Northwest are because Postal has been railroaded to jail. He has already heard from individual workers all over the country protesting the grave injustice against an honorable union official devoted to union democracy. Let him hear from many more.

The Militant urges all its readers to write to Governor Edward Thye at St. Paul, Minnesota and ask that a full pardon be given Kelly Postal. Have your friends and fellow-workers do likewise.

Less than three weeks remain before Postal's fate will be decided. Help open the prison gates for Postal. WRITE TODAY!

Fulbright Resolution

The first important action of the House of Representatives in its current session was to pass the Fulbright resolution. This measure, which now goes to the Senate, puts Congress on record as favoring United States participation in "the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace."

The Fulbright resolution marks a significant step in the unfolding of the foreign policy of America's ruling class. It openly acknowledges and formally ratifies the reactionary role that the United States in ever-increasing measure is playing in world affairs. In the words of Secretary of War Knox: "The United States must police the world for the next hundred years." To "maintain a just and lasting peace" as the resolution claims? No, to maintain and extend the profits and privileges of American Big Business.

Through the Fulbright resolution America's monopolists serve notice that they are determined to preserve world capitalism under the mastery of Wall Street.

Endorsement of the Fulbright resolution by both houses of Congress would administer a decisive defeat to the "isolationist" tendency which appeared so powerful before the war. Isolationist policies cannot provide a guiding line to Wall Street which has irrevocably launched upon the course of subjugating and reorganizing the planet in its own interests.

The Fulbright resolution passed the House by a bi-partisan vote. Representative Charles A. Eaton of New Jersey, ranking Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, worked with the Democratic leaders to assure a favorable vote. In the showdown both parties have committed themselves to the foreign policy dictated by Big Business.

Pegging A Liar

Westbrook Pegler, notoriously anti-labor Scripps-Howard newspaper columnist, in his syndicated column of Sept. 17, identified the IWW with "Trotsky revolutionists." Then, quoting some reactionary dribble from the official organ of the IWW, he explained that "The Trotsky revolutionists always identify Stalin Communists as Nazis."

Pegler shows himself to be an ignorant liar on two counts.

First, the IWW is a moribund organization of the anarcho-syndicalist school, specializing in anti-communism, whose reactionary futility increases with its age. Its organ is the *Industrial Worker*. The "Trotsky revolutionists" belong to the Marxist school and are represented by the Fourth International and in this country by the Socialist Workers Party. Their doctrine is supported by *The Militant*. There is nothing in common between these two schools. Any half-literate reporter on the *World-Telegram* could have explained this to Pegler if he had taken the trouble to inquire.

Second, Trotskyists are mortal enemies of Stalinism; they mercilessly expose and denounce the crimes of the Stalinists against the working class, but they never "identify Stalin Communists as Nazis." The *political methods* of fascism and Stalinism—totalitarian regime, police rule, etc.—are quite similar, but the *economic bases* of the two systems are entirely different and antagonistic.

Nazism which bases itself upon the system of private property represents the naked rule of monopoly capitalism in the period of capitalist decay. Stalinism represents the usurpation of state power in the Soviet Union by a bureaucratic caste which, although placing its own interests above the interests of the toiling masses, continues to base itself upon the nationalized property created by the October revolution. The Soviet economic system is a great progressive force in the world, while the system of private property defended by fascism is a completely reactionary force.

For these fundamental reasons all honest, progressive workers support the Soviet Union against the Nazis, despite their antipathy to Stalinism.

This ABC lesson is not intended to teach Pegler anything, but to keep the record clear for the workers.

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WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

How Stalinists Dominate the UE

Editor:

It must not be assumed because the Stalinists ran things the way they wanted to at the UE national convention that they have corresponding influence in all of the local unions of the UE. In Local 447, one of the largest in the Newark area, the Stalinists dominate the leadership but there is much dissatisfaction with their methods and policies among the active members.

A few weeks ago the local executive board drew up a slate which was to have been presented to a special membership meeting called to elect convention delegates. A majority of those who arrived at this meeting were opposed to the executive board slate and wanted to elect their own delegates.

When the Stalinists saw this, they sent word around for all those who favored the executive board nominations to leave the room. Because of this maneuver the meeting was declared adjourned for lack of a quorum and the nominees of the executive board went to the convention as delegates.

By methods like these the Stalinists maintain machine control of the UE, but that does not mean that they represent the members of this union.

N. Lessing
Newark, N. J.

More About Army Jim Crow

Editor:

After reading your story about how Sergeant Levy was imprisoned at the Lincoln air base in

Nebraska because he criticized army Jim Crow, I think you might be interested in another story told me by a friend who was home on leave from this same camp.

It seems that the mess hall where he eats is divided, with white soldiers sitting on one side and colored on the other. At mealtime one day my friend sat down, without thinking, on the side occupied by the Negro soldiers. When he was halfway through his meal, his sergeant tapped him on the shoulder, telling him: "Get over to your own side. You should know better than that."

It isn't that Negroes and whites can't get along together. It's that they aren't allowed to try.

E. Evans
New York City

Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE WIND THAT SWEPT MEXICO by Anita Brenner and George R. Leighton. Harper & Brothers, 1943. 302 pp. \$5.

In October of 1910 General Porfirio Diaz celebrated the thirty-fourth year of his dictatorial regime by assuming the Mexican presidency for the eighth time. Just a few weeks later, Diaz was overthrown by a revolution which must be studied and understood if one is to find the key to Mexico's turbulent politics for the past three decades. It is the story of these three decades which Anita Brenner covers in her excellent book, "The Wind That Swept Mexico."

Under Diaz, Mexico had become a safe investment for international capital. German funds bolstered up the national debt; English money was developing vast concessions in oil deposits; and American investments increased from half a billion dollars in 1902 to a billion and a half by 1910.

While Mexico was safe and profitable for foreign investors—they enjoyed extraterritorial rights of person and property—Mexico was unsafe and unprofitable for all Mexicans outside the small ruling circle of militarists, financiers and landowners. The peasantry, more than three-fourths of the population, had been stripped of whatever lands they possessed and reduced to peonage on vast estates. The rise of industry, foreign owned, had snatched the internal market away from the artisan and peasant trader. Landless and without occupation, they drifted into the industrial centers to become low-paid workers. The independent farmer, the small mine-owner and manufacturer, under the double burden of heavy taxes and insufficient capital, could not compete

with the foreign companies commanding vast financial resources.

Diaz was ousted from power by the armed peasant bands who demanded the immediate distribution of the land. But the state power went to that section of the bourgeoisie excluded from the ruling circles. They asked nothing more than a share of the power, an understanding with foreign finance capital, and an immediate halt to the revolution.

Francisco Madero, a landowner who replaced Diaz as president, was a Mexican capitalist of this type. His first concern was to disarm the guerrilla bands, placate the foreign powers who saw their investments jeopardized, and consolidate his regime in the interests of the Mexican capitalists and landowners. Unable to satisfy either the foreign powers or the radical agrarians, Madero's regime soon fell before a military conspiracy aided and abetted by the American ambassador, Wilson.

But General Huerta, thrust into the role of a military dictator to protect the interests of foreign finance capital, was no match for the armed bands of the four popular guerrilla chieftains: Zapata, Obregon, Villa and Carranza. By July 1914, despite the threat of armed intervention on the part of the European powers and the actual invasion of Vera Cruz by American forces, Huerta had been driven from Mexico and his armies routed.

Then followed five years of civil strife between the various factions, and a compromise which brought Obregon to power on a program of conciliation. The essence of Obregon's strategy was to steer a middle course: to promise agrarian reforms to the peasantry and at the same time pledge respect to private property.

to grant the workers the right to organize and yet permit and invite foreign capital to invest its money in Mexico's ample resources and cheap labor. Fundamentally, it was a program that guaranteed private property.

Miss Brenner describes the swing of Mexico's political pendulum from left to right. From Obregon to Calles, who called a halt to agrarian reform, then to Cardenas who resumed it and also forced the expropriation of the foreign-controlled oil fields. Finally, Miss Brenner brings the story up to date with the administration of Camacho, who like Calles has called a halt to agrarian reform, invited foreign capital into Mexico, and taken the country into the war on the side of Mexico's traditional enemy, the American government.

Despite 32 years of social and political upheaval, Miss Brenner shows, Mexico remains a land where the vast majority are have-nots, living in dire poverty. For the fundamental drive of the Mexican revolution, the demand of the peasantry for the land, remains unsatisfied. To fulfill this demand, the Mexican capitalists and landowners, who have been able to maintain the leadership of the revolution since the beginning, would have to expropriate not only the foreign capitalists but themselves as well. The history of the period covered by this book shows they are incapable of doing either satisfactorily. That job will be carried out, in the next stage of the revolution, by the workers of Mexico in an alliance with the peasantry.

Miss Brenner's compact account of this period is accompanied by 184 beautiful and stirring historical photographs assembled by George R. Leighton.

Reviewed by DAVID RANSOM.

International Notes

The widespread famine in India, which has previously been reported in *The Militant*, is taking a toll of at least 150 lives daily in Calcutta, according to a UP dispatch on Sept. 18. The populous Bengal province is among the hardest hit.

UP correspondent Walter Briggs says that in Calcutta he saw "children with bloated stomachs, mothers suffering gravely from malnutrition, men collapsing on the sidewalks of the British Empire's so-called 'second-city'."

"Walking through the streets at dawn, I saw dozens of dead on the sidewalk. The weekly toll of dead from starvation and diseases such as cholera and dysentery is said by responsible persons to be increasing."

The Stalinist Daily Worker, which gets UP services, printed most of Briggs' dispatch but omitted the following:

"Naturally, the famine threat applies only to part of the population. Around the corner from the food line (where a free kitchen supplied watery gruel to people in a line five or six blocks long) an orchestra was playing 'Sweet Sue' in a big hotel where there were 17 courses on the dinner menu."

That's the British version of "equality of sacrifice."

Between 15,000 and 23,000 British miners went out on strike in Nottinghamshire last week to protest the jailing of an 18 year old boy who refused to work underground.

The authorities expressed surprise that so many men had struck over a comparatively minor incident. But this was the miners' way of expressing their dissatisfaction with labor conscription in the mines, low pay and dangerous working conditions. (Through August of this year 480 men were killed in the mines, and 1,684 were seriously injured.)

Washington reports that in recent months Hitler has expanded the Waffen SS, shock troops of the Elite Guard, and filled its ranks with a large number of non-Germans. The Waffen SS is now estimated to number 250,000.

Hitler's recruitment of non-Germans for this body is based on the hope that mixed troops will be more unwilling than an all-German unit would be to shoot down German workers trying to overthrow Nazism.

These troops are being trained in all parts of occupied Europe and are being indoctrinated with "the philosophy of life which is fundamental to the Greater German Reich."

"Only a contingent composed of such men," said Field Marshal General Keitel in a recent circular to the Waffen SS, "will resist disruptive influence in critical times. Such a contingent will feel pride in its integrity and will therefore not fraternize with the proletariat."

Hitler's precautions are as significant as they will be fruitless when the German and European workers rise in revolutionary wrath.

All collective bargaining is banned for the duration of the war, strikes are forbidden and labor's demands can be presented only to the Labor Department of the administration, the Brazilian government announced last week.

This is nothing new for Brazil. Under the brutal Vargas dictatorship the workers of that country have been denied their democratic rights for many years. The "war for democracy" has not changed the situation at all.

Servicemen's Families Get Pittance to Live On

The wives and children of more than half a million men in the armed forces "are existing today on government dependency allowances far below even the minimum maintenance budget of WPA days," reports the special subcommittee of the National CIO Legislative Department in the Sept. 20 issue of CIO News. "Another half million servicemen with what the army calls 'collateral or Class B' dependents—parents, other relatives, etc.—have the same worries about their families on their minds."

In Dec. 1942 a minimum of \$108 a month was listed by the WPA in San Francisco as necessary for subsistence of a wife and two children. The Heller Committee of the University of California estimates \$89 a month as the absolute minimum for a family of this size.

"Yet under present government allowances," the CIO committee observes, "the wife of a man in the armed forces with two children gets \$72 a month to live and keep her children on."

"And under the bill backed by the War Department and passed by the Senate July 8, 1943 (S. 1279), the soldier or sailor's wife with two children will get \$79 a month—an increase of only \$7. This is \$29 under the WPA figure; \$10 under the Heller Committee budget."

"Even this proposed increase of \$7 a month is more apparent than real, when you take into account the official increase in the cost of living between June, 1942 and June, 1943. Look at the breakdown:

"According to the U. S. Department of Labor, the cost of living went up 7.2% in that period. This means that the real value of the increase under the proposed bill (S. 1279) for a soldier's wife with two children, is only \$1.82 a month. The rise in the cost of living eats up the rest."

The committee also quotes other government figures to show that the overwhelming majority of families of men in the draft ages are wholly dependent on their earnings, and that 70% of these families have an income of less than \$200 a year from other sources.

Congress can't seem to find enough money to provide a subsistence income for the families of the servicemen. Yet Big Business profits this year are the highest in American history.

Congressman Implicated In War-Contracts Racket

Another small corner of the war profits scandals was exposed last week when Representative James M. Curley of Massachusetts and five others were indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of mail fraud.

Curley and his associates are charged with operating a war contracts brokerage racket under cover of "Engineers Group, Inc." This false front represented itself as a firm of "consulting engineers" with special facilities for obtaining war contracts from the government. Retainer fees up to \$9,000 were accepted and contracts entered into with clients calling for commissions of as high as 8%.

Operations such as those of Curley and Company constitute but a small part of the thriving war-contracts racket which has mushroomed out of the dealings between the government and Big Business. Many of the monopolist corporations have their own men within the War Production Board and the Army and Navy departments so that they do not have to employ go-betweens to land juicy million-dollar contracts. But many other and especially smaller businesses have to retain brokers in order to get their snouts into the war-profits trough, or even to survive.

This legion of brokers infesting Washington either has close relations with the military men who award or approve contracts or it stands high enough in the councils of the Democratic and Republican parties to exert influence for their clients. Curley, for example, is National Democratic Chairman from Massachusetts, the No. 1 Roosevelt man in New England as Boss Hague is in New Jersey.

Only a small number of these war contract racketeers are ever indicted. Fewer still are found guilty and sent to jail. The business men who buy their services go scot-free.

The best method of exterminating all these vermin who feed upon the blood of workers and soldiers is to confiscate all war profits, expropriate all war industries, and operate them under workers' control.

Senate Bill Obstructs Exposure of War Frauds

A bill passed by the U. S. Senate on Sept. 17 would eliminate virtually all "informers suits" by private citizens for damages based on frauds against the government.

This legislation was sponsored and pushed by the Department of Justice, which wants to have control over the initiation of fraud suits, but it will be greeted joyfully by all those corporations whose practices make them subject to such suits.

The effect of this bill will be to discourage investigation of war frauds against the government by private citizens, who have hitherto been able to sue in the courts and collect damages for themselves as well as the government in those cases where the government did not bring suit itself.

The bill has been sent back to the House for consideration of minor Senate revisions. If it is enacted into law, the handling of almost all war fraud suits will be in the hands of the Department of Justice, which has done a far from effective job in prosecuting and punishing the profit-mad corporation officials who do not hesitate to engage in frauds endangering the lives of the servicemen.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party