

COURT DEALS BLOW AT LABOR'S RIGHTS

Allies Plan To Maintain Colonial Power In Asia

Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration On Asia at Cairo Conference Discloses Predatory Plans of Anglo-American Capitalist Bloc

The capitalist press has rapturously greeted the Three-Power declaration drawn up at the five-day conference at Cairo between Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek as nothing less than "a charter for the Pacific."

Ever since Roosevelt and Churchill met for the first time in August 1941 the public has been deluged with this kind of bombastic hypocrisy which serves to cover up the real decisions arrived at in the conferences and to camouflage their reactionary nature. The first Roosevelt-Churchill conference resulted in the Atlantic Charter which promised liberation to the oppressed nations and a new birth of democracy throughout the world. These promises have been repeated after each of the next six conferences between the Allied leaders.

Mankind is now entering the fifth year of the Second World War. Have all these successive meetings and flowery declarations emanating from them brought any noticeable increase of liberty to the oppressed peoples or infused new vitality into the fast-dying democracy under capitalist rule? Immediately after the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter, Churchill explained that its provisions did not apply to India or any other of the colonial possessions of his Majesty. "I have not become the King's first minister," boasted this Tory chief, "to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

TRUE TO FORM

This cynical contradiction between their pretentious promises and their subsequent actions has fixed the pattern for the Roosevelt-Churchill capitalist coalition. Roosevelt, chief author of the Atlantic Charter and champion of the "Four Freedoms," has given neither freedom nor democracy to the natives of North Africa or to the peoples of Sicily and Italy. On the contrary, he concludes deals with dictators, ex-fascists and decrepit monarchs in conspiracies against the masses.

The decisions and declarations issued after the Cairo conference, the eighth between Roosevelt and Churchill, run true to form. Here are the same glittering phrases and deceitful promises designed to cover up the predatory aims of the imperialist parties and to delude the people.

Just as defeated Germany was stripped of all its accumulated colonies by the victorious Allies after the last war, so the American and British commanders have

UNRRA Conference Reveals Dominance Of Wall Street

By S. MARCY

Want Freedom

Kim Ku, president of the provisional Korean government located in Chungking, denounced the Cairo conference pledge that Korea would be freed "in due course" and warned that Koreans would continue their historic fight unless they got "independence the moment the Japanese collapse." Mr. Ku said that "more than 1,000 free Koreans in Free China are furious about the expression 'in due course.'"

announced their intention of depriving Japan of all its seized and stolen territories, Manchuria, Formosa, the Pescadores, Korea, the Pacific islands and other acquisitions are to be taken away and Japan is to be pushed back to the island position she occupied in 1853 when the guns of Commodore Perry's boats opened the "hermit Kingdom" to the trade of the western world.

FAMILIAR MAXIMS

"To the victor belongs the spoils" and "woe to the conquered" are old and familiar maxims of imperial conquests. The Cairo Declaration simply applies these rules of conquest to Japan just as Germany and Japan, if victorious, are ready to apply them to their imperialist rivals.

The declaration specifically provides that Japan is to be "stripped of all islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914." It

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The United Nations Relief Conference has finally ended, and it is clear to all who wish to see, that it has failed in one of its major stated objectives. The UNRRA Conference was not conceived by its sponsors (Britain and U. S. A.) as an agency whose simple aim was to relieve the misery of the millions of European and Asiatic peoples who have been ravaged by the capitalist war. According to the official statements, UNRRA was to set a pattern which would "make effective the principles of international cooperation laid down in the Declaration of Moscow."

In order to make effective these "principles of international cooperation," UNRRA had to offer a living example of international economic cooperation among the "community of nations." In this sense, UNRRA was a miserable failure.

Hardly had the conference been in session for more than a week, when the predatory and divergent economic interests of the U. S. and Great Britain, which had been held at bay for not longer than several sessions at the Conference, broke out in an open clash in the form of a struggle between Lehman, representing American capitalism and Sir Llewellyn, representing British Big Business.

As reflected in the American capitalist press, it seems that Lehman, of the Lehman Bros. Wall Street banking firm appeared in the role of stalwart defender of the "poor nations," and Sir Llewellyn, representing British Big Business,

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Soldiers Disenfranchised

An Editorial

The northern monopolists and the southern bourgeois have joined hands to perpetrate a new crime against the American people. With a brazenness that is almost breathtaking, they have moved to deprive ten million men of the armed forces and the merchant marine of their right to vote. For that is exactly what the Senate "recommendation" to the "several states" to "enact appropriate legislation" for absentee balloting means in essence.

Ten million men, who have been grabbed up by the capitalist government, forcibly removed from their families and their homes and transported to every section of the globe to face hardships, danger and death, all presumably on behalf of "democracy," have thus themselves become one of the first casualties of democracy in the Second World War.

The venal Congressional timeservers of the American plutocracy explain their reactionary stand by falling back on the moth-eaten doctrine of states rights. States rights, which was the formula under which the old southern slaveholders fought to preserve chattel slavery, has now become the formula for the disenfranchisement of ten million American soldiers and sailors. As far as the Congressmen are concerned, it is alright for American boys to die on the battlefields in accordance with "federal regulations" but they cannot vote, except on the strict basis of "states rights."

Why has this unholy alliance of northern anti-labor Congressmen and southern poll taxers moved so desperately to prevent the soldiers from voting? Some have pointed to the recent Gallup Poll findings that the support for the two major parties is so evenly divided that the soldiers' vote may determine the outcome of the 1944 elections. Such a consideration may have influenced the vote of some of the die-hard reactionary senators.

The fundamental reason, however, lies elsewhere. It is the determination of the southern bourgeois to perpetuate the poll tax system,

which disenfranchises over 90% of the southern people, both Negroes and white. It is by these means, that the southern bourgeois perpetuate their oligarchic rule over the south and squeeze the last ounce out of the southern workers and share croppers. The southern bourgeois are furthermore able to act as the spearhead of every single union-busting, labor baiting campaign of Big Business. The unholy alliance of the northern monopolists and the southern aristocracy is, as we see, an alliance, not only against the Negro people, but against the working people of the whole country, north as well as south.

The growth of CIO and of the new union movement of the south, the increasing independence and militancy of the Negroes, the general awakening of the southern people, has thrown American reaction into a panic. The southern bourgeois, viewing the increasingly powerful drives to abolish the poll tax, see their oligarchic rule menaced. Wall Street, in turn, fears the power of the mass production unions. The Tory insolence of the Senate in proposing to disenfranchise ten million soldiers in the very midst of the war, shows how far they are ready to go, even today, to perpetuate the poll tax as well as their oligarchic control over the American people.

The American soldiers and sailors are far more educated, far more informed, far more independent and aggressive than were their fathers of 25 years ago. Congress is making a big mistake if it thinks it is dealing with just a lot of cannon fodder. Many of the soldiers are veterans of strike struggles. All of them are veterans of the 1929 depression. They may not be too concerned right now with voting for tweddle-dee or tweddle-dum in 1944; but they are very much concerned with their rights, their freedom, their security. When they return to speak their minds, there will be a terrible day of reckoning for the Rankins, the Eastlands, the McKellers, for all the exploiters and tyrants.

Douglas Aircraft Poll Won By Chicago UAW-CIO

CHICAGO, Dec. 3.—The United Automobile Workers, CIO, won a decisive victory in the NLRB elections at the new huge Douglas Aircraft plant here last Wednesday. This victory comes as a fitting answer to the vicious smear campaign against the UAW which has commanded the head lines of the notorious *Chicago Daily Tribune* for the past three weeks.

In spite of the slanderous red-baiting barrage of the *Tribune*, which tried to split the UAW locals on the "communist" issue and howled that the "reds had taken over Studebaker plant," were "sabotaging" and "preventing loyal workers from working," etc., the Douglas workers thronged to the polls to give the International Association of Machinists, AFL, a trouncing. With the exception of a relative handful of skilled craft workers, who voted in separate elections for various small AFL craft locals,

the production workers went overwhelmingly CIO. The IAM had tried to make capital of the *Tribune's* anti-CIO slander drive. Only one percent of the workers, voted "no-union."

Instead of falling for the *Tribune's* lies, the organized UAW workers in Buick, Electro-Motive, Studebaker and other important plants, rallied to the defense of their unions. They refused to be intimidated by the swarms of FBI, Army and Navy Intelligence and other police agents who invaded the plants and third-degreed union members, under the pretext provided by the *Tribune's* hysterical charges.

EXPECT CLEAN SWEEP

Buick Local 6, largest in the area, sent big delegations of members to the Douglas and Chrysler-Dodge plants, to appeal to the workers to vote CIO. An election is impending at Chrysler-Dodge also. Reports reveal that the workers in these plants expressed the sentiment that if the Buick workers thought so much of the UAW-CIO that they would come "all the way out here on their own time" to appeal to the

unorganized workers, the UAW must be a pretty good union.

As a result of the UAW victory at Douglas, which was considered the "toughest nut" in this area for the UAW to crack, it is expected that the UAW will make a clean sweep in the forthcoming elections at Chrysler-Dodge and Bendix.

The *Tribune* descended to the lowest depths of yellow journalism in an attempt to bolster up its fantastic charges. It even seized upon a couple of articles appearing in *The Militant* over two months ago, and by means of appropriate "editing," misleading headlines, quotations taken out of context, etc., tried to "prove" its phoney smear. The *Militant* articles were an analysis of the issues and factions in the Chicago UAW locals prior to the last UAW convention, written from a completely progressive and pro-UAW standpoint. The simple admission of the fact, known to all well-informed union circles here, that the Stalinists had gained great influence in Studebaker Local 998 was played up by the *Tribune* as "admission from Communist sources themselves" that the "reds ruled Studebaker plant" and were committing "sabotage, strikes slowdowns," etc.

CORPORATION AIMS
That the workers at Buick Studebaker, and the other plants, didn't fall for this dirty misleading trick, was evidenced by the

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Defense Plans Mass Meeting In Support Of 18 Prisoners

Labor, Liberal Spokesmen Condemn Court Decision As Grave Threat to Free Speech

Following the brazen refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to consider their appeal, the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis labor case have been ordered to surrender themselves to the U. S. Marshall by Dec. 31 to being serving 12 to 16 month prison terms.

The Supreme Court's refusal to review the order of the Circuit Court of Appeals affirming the convictions of the 18 has been

condemned by leading labor defense and civil liberties bodies as an outrageous and unprecedented action. The American Civil Liberties Union has pointed out that "this is the first time that the Supreme Court has declined

to review a test case under a statute involving important issues of freedom of speech and press." Although the Smith "Gag" Act clearly violates the rights of free speech and free press and has been characterized as unconstitutional by leading jurists, the Supreme Court, without explanation, declined to consider the question of its unconstitutionality. By its refusal to review the convictions of the 18 the Supreme Court justices have actually upheld the Smith "Gag" Act in the most cowardly and hypocritical manner.

GOVERNMENT PLOT

The officials of the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO were originally indicted, tried and convicted in 1941 as part of the preparation of the capitalists, the administration and their labor lieutenants for the impending war. They were sentenced on the same day that the U. S. formally entered the war.

By cracking down upon the militant leaders of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers movement the government and its labor agents sought to remove from the unions the most intransigent opponents of their policies and the most principled fighters for the interests of the working class. They plotted to imprison these men in order to clear the road for their plans to rob the workers of their rights, to shackle them to the war machine and to impose upon labor the capitalist program of wage-freezing, intolerable taxation, profiteering and anti-strike legislation. They hoped thereby to suppress, silence and intimidate any opposition to their policies.

The Washington authorities have moved first against the Trotskyists because they understand that the revolutionary socialists are the most conscious and consistent opponents of Roosevelt's war-policies and the crimes of Big Business. Like Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Vargas and Chiang Kai-shek, Roosevelt fears that the masses revolting against the consequences of this war will turn toward the socialist program as the only way out of their torture and misery. That is why Roosevelt, like the other reactionary rulers, has turned his FBI-Gestapo against the Trotskyists.

Protests against the Supreme Court's unprecedented action and against the administration's attack upon free speech and free press have been voiced this week by prominent liberals and by the labor press. The New Leader (Nov. 27) characterizes the Court's decision as "astounding." "In the case of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels could not be interpreted to mean that the party distributing it advocates the violent overthrow of the government. Since the same document was introduced in evidence by the Government against the Trotskyites, it is doubly strange that the Supreme Court refused to hear the case."

In a radio speech over Station WQXR on Sunday, Dec. 5, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, declared that the "action of the Supreme Court bears adversely on the legal right of free speech. The Court refused to review the conviction of 18 Trotskyists under the Smith Peacetime Sedition Law merely for the use of language in general political discussion which it was alleged constituted conspiracy to cause insubordination in the armed forces, and to advocate the overthrow of the government by force."

It is... the first time since 1798 that anybody has been convicted under a law penalizing the expression of radical political views as in itself seditious. And by refusing to act, the high court leaves men in prison largely because they quoted the same Marxist literature the use of which the court decided should not deprive the Stalinist-Communist, William Schneiderman, of his naturalization. Remember that the proof of your belief in liberty lies in fair play for those with whom you do not agree."

BLOW AT FREE SPEECH
Commenting on the case in the Jewish Day on Dec. 4, Alter Epstein said: "It is not a question of sympathies with the Trotskyists. It so happens that this writer is not in agreement with them. But this is a matter involving democratic and workers' rights. If the situation should be left as it is, it may come about that the mildest ideas in the socialist movement will suffer, for even the reformist groups base themselves upon Marxism. And it will be easy to make out a case against anyone of us for saying something that is against the spirit of capitalism."

"This is an issue of freedom in regard to the working class, the right to propagate what they believe in. It is the duty of every progressive person to do everything to free the 18 individuals of the indictment which is based upon a law in fundamental contradiction to our constitution..." Rev. A. J. Muste, co-secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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Date Set for Surrender of 18

WESTERN UNION
643 DEC 6 1943
PWA 310 9. COLLECT=DX ST PAUL MINN 6 311P
ALBERT GOLDMAN= 217 C
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NYK
RETEL DECEMBER THIRTY FIRST LAST DAY TO SURRENDER= JOHN J FARRELL UNITED STATES MARSHALL

Replying to inquiry from defense attorney Goldman, the U. S. Marshall in St. Paul telegraphed instructions to the 18 defendants to surrender to him on New Year's Eve.

MASS MEETING TO PROTEST THE RAILROADING TO PRISON OF THE 18 MINNEAPOLIS DEFENDANTS

Speakers:

ROGER BALDWIN

Director, American Civil Liberties Union

ALBERT GOLDMAN

Attorney and one of the 18

DANIEL BELL

Editor, "The New Leader"

SAMUEL H. FRIEDMAN

Editor, "The Call"

MAX SHACHTMAN

Secretary, Workers Party

ARON F. GILMARTIN

Workers Defense League

Chairman

GEORGE NOVACK

Secretary, Civil Rights Defense Committee

Thursday, December 16 - 8 P. M.

MANHATTAN CENTER

34th Street at Eighth Avenue, New York City

Auspices: Civil Rights Defense Committee - Admission 25 Cents

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The opening gun has been fired in the fight of 750,000 steel workers for a general wage increase. And an answering salvo from the bosses has likewise been heard. 500 union presidents and national officials of the United Steel Workers Union voted on Dec. 2 to re-open all existing contracts with 500 steel manufacturers, demanding a general 17 cents per hour wage increase.

On Dec. 7 Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation answered the union's demands by serving notice that if the union received any wage increases, the price of steel would also have to be raised.

Fairless shed crocodile tears about the "small dividends of our stockholders" and ranted about "inflation." He said "... we believe in holding the line against inflation ... but if the line is to be breached by the union the Steel Corporation is entitled to adequate protection against the financial consequences to it of that breach."

The union wage conference also voted to demand severance pay, vacations, overtime, a guaranteed weekly wage and the elimination of geographical differentials. An industry wide contract will be drawn up and will be served on the steel manufacturers.

The steel corporations are getting set for a new holdup of the U. S. Treasury. They are already bursting with super-profits. Here are a few typical examples: American Rolling Mill Company showed a profit of \$8,308,000 in 1942, a 114% increase over its 1936-39 average. Crucible Steel showed a profit of \$8,308,000 in 1942, an increase of 337% over its 1936-39 average. Jones and Laughlin showed a profit of \$11,149,000 in 1942, an increase of 605% over its 1936-39 average. U. S. Steel showed a profit of \$96,819,000, an increase of 115% over its 1936-39 average etc. etc.

This year's profits and reserves set aside will be far larger than those of 1942. The steel corporations have plenty of income to pay the steel workers wage demands right out of their super profits.

The War Shipping Administration, the ill-disguised executive committee for the shipowners has made another move in its long range program to drive the militant seamen's unions from the sea. This latest maneuver was General Order No. 51, providing for periodical physical examinations for all seamen. On the face of it this appeared to be merely an altruistic gesture to keep the seamen in good health. But only on the face. This apparently innocuous order masked a grim plan to rid the sea lanes of all of the older, militant, union conscious seamen. It will, if allowed to go into effect, act as a legal black list for trade unionists.

The Seafarers International Union, on both the east and west coasts have long been watching this plan develop. It was first suggested and boosted by the Stalinist National Maritime Union, and was snatched up by the WSA who attempted to make it appear as a union demand. Harry Lundeberg, secretary-treasurer of the SIU, issued a scathing statement in the name of the union as soon as the announcement of the General Order was made. Lundeberg said: "In our opinion it is part of a long range program adopted by

the bureaucrats of the WSA in conjunction with certain ship-owners to move to eliminate the old time seamen. This is directly in line with your training program and with your recruitment and manning organization—and now your medical program."

Lundeberg's statement so infuriated WSA Deputy Administrator Capt. Edward Macauley that he immediately called in the press to hear his reply. Macauley said in his statement that the government intended to put the order into effect on Dec. 1 "with or without the approval of Mr. Lundeberg," and that "we will sail the ships and if we have to get protection from the Army and the Navy we will call upon them." Meanwhile, scare headlines appeared in the daily papers, announcing a threatened "strike of 48,000 seamen on the west coast."

Both the SIU and the SUP local unions in San Francisco and New York deny that a strike threat has been issued. The Seafarers Log, official organ of the SIU in New York, reiterating the stand taken by the West coast local, stated that telegrams have been pouring into Macauley's office from all ports in the country, protesting the General Order. There is a near revolt against the order inside the NMU, whose Stalinist mis-leader Joseph Curran, first suggested it.

More than one quarter of the workers involved in wage increase cases brought before the WLB during September earned less than 50 cents per hour. More than 70% earned less than 80 cents, and 4.3% earned less than 40 cents.

Another set of statistics released by the NLRB concerning strikes since the passage of the Smith-Connally Act is also interesting. 197 applications for strike ballots were filed. Of these 144 were withdrawn. Of the 53 ballots conducted, 47 were overwhelmingly in favor of strike action. Of these 47 only 15 strikes actually materialized. But there were more than 500 strikes in war industries during this same period; 500 strikes in which the workers completely ignored the anti-strike law with its cooling off period. These workers were not deterred by the penalties which could be invoked against them.

Montgomery-Ward and Co. have started still another law suit against the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees Union. Last month the company announced that it was abrogating its contract with the union and seeking an injunction in federal court to restrain the WLB from "forcing" them to sign another contract. At the same time they began a one million dollar libel suit against the union and fourteen of its officers, basing their case on articles written in the union's official organ The Spotlight and in the CIO News.

Now the company is seeking an injunction against the union to restrain it or the CIO from publishing articles "designed to defame Montgomery-Ward and Co." In this suit the union's Kansas City Local union is also named, as is the Kansas City Spotlight.

LOS ANGELES LOCAL OF SWP WILL HOLD NEW YEARS BALL

Two big events are being planned by the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party. A New Year's Eve Ball will be held Friday, Dec. 31, in the South Hall of the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles. A gala program of entertainment is planned for the occasion and will be announced soon. Admission will be \$2 per person.

The Los Angeles Marxist School will open Feb. 1 with classes in the following four subjects: "The Theory of the Permanent Revolution" — Murry Weiss, instructor.

"Class Struggles in the Second World War" — F. Graves, instructor.

"The American Labor Movement: Problems and Prospects" — Janet Bowers, instructor.

"Marxist Economics" — Jack Dale, instructor.

Chicago UAW Wins Election

(Continued from page 1)

exceptionally splendid reception accorded the Nov. 27 Militant at the plants and union meetings. This issue contained a front page exposure of the Tribune's smear campaign. At one big plant, the workers lined up for a solid block in their cars to get the paper, which had to be rationed out one to a car because of insufficient supply.

The frantic efforts of the Tribune, which speaks for the big corporations, to keep the UAW-CIO out of the big new plants is a sign of their despera-

San Diego SWP Meets Fund Quota

By Rose Karsner, Director

Three weeks from today the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Union Local 544-CIO will have surrendered to the United States Marshall at Minneapolis and will be on their way to federal prisons in "democratic" America.

There is no denying that their imprisonment will be a blow to the Party. But the membership throughout the country is determined to intensify its efforts and activity in the class struggle and prove in action that although the capitalist government can imprison men, it cannot incarcerate their ideas.

The San Diego Branch is the first to show how to do this. They sent in a letter of solidarity with the class-war victims and enclosed a check for their full quota in the Campaign.

From the Branches

San Diego tops the list on the Scoreboard, with Cleveland and San Francisco in second place and New York not far behind. Several of the branches have already indicated their intention to fulfill their quotas before the terminating date.

Janet Bowers of Los Angeles: "The decision of the Supreme Court in the Minneapolis case has had a profound effect on our local movement. We are determined to send in our quota soon. Some comrades are borrowing the money they pledged so that the Party won't be receiving it in dribbles. We are equally determined not to fall behind on our Monthly Sustaining Fund obligation."

Portland, Ore.: Referring to the Anniversary Fund, Chas Hughes says: "We feel that this is a timely measure, and are confident that the Party will achieve it without difficulty."

Cleveland, M. Baker: "Our members here realize the seriousness of the situation and the drive is off to an auspicious beginning. Even those who, for one reason or another, have been lax in their regular contributions, are pitching in now. Enclosed find \$100 for the Fund and \$46 on our regular Monthly Sustaining Fund."

Boston, M. London: The comrades of our branch realize that the fund drive is a serious matter and they are determined to make it a success. Enclosed find check to apply to our quota, also one to pay up our Monthly Sustaining Fund."

SCOREBOARD

	\$15,000 Quotas	Paid	Percent
SAN DIEGO	\$ 100.00	\$ 100.00	100
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
San Francisco	1,000.00	500.00	50
New York	2,500.00	1,208.75	48
Buffalo	300.00	39.50	33
Reading	100.00	30.00	33
Detroit	2,000.00	545.00	27
Newark	300.00	75.00	25
Los Angeles	2,000.00	437.16	21
Bayonne	300.00	50.00	17
Boston	300.00	49.50	17
Twin Cities	1,000.00	150.00	15
Chicago	2,000.00	145.00	7
Members-at-Large			
& Friends	800.00	60.00	7
Akron	200.00	0	0
Allentown	25.00	0	0
East Chicago	100.00	0	0
Flint	100.00	0	0
Milwaukee	25.00	0	0
New Haven	50.00	0	0
Philadelphia	150.00	0	0
Quakertown	25.00	0	0
Rochester	50.00	0	0
St. Louis	100.00	0	0
Seattle	1,000.00	0	0
Texas	25.00	0	0
Toledo	100.00	0	0
Youngstown	200.00	0	0
TOTALS		\$ 3,489.91	23%



We are more than pleased with the following letter from our San Francisco agent. It is the first time a branch has complained about not appearing in the Militant Army.

"Enclosed find money order covering ten subscriptions from last Sunday's house-to-house work."

"I noticed in the Militant Army column that there is no mention of our subscriptions and with all due modesty I believe our work deserves mention."

This complaint is a justifiable one because for the past month San Francisco has sent us approximately ten subscriptions each week. Getting subscriptions at this rate means that (1) the agent is conscious of the importance of getting subscriptions and (2) every comrade in the branch is putting forth considerable effort and energy.

Our Toledo agent also realizes the importance of getting subscriptions. He writes: "Enclosed is \$6 to cover two

subscriptions. The automobile corporations have been building heavily here on the understanding that Chicago is and would remain an open shop town. It is no secret that these corporations had hoped to escape the power of the UAW in Detroit and Michigan by removing much of their production to Chicago. These plans are being decisively frustrated.

one-year combination subs to The Militant and Fourth International. "We have not had any too good luck in getting subs but we are still plugging away and would like to have more sub blanks. Several people told us they would send in subs, but time will tell if they do."

Subscriptions will undoubtedly be forthcoming from Milwaukee in the near future. Our agent writes:

"Enclosed is a money order in payment of our coming December bill. Please send us a supply of Militant and FI sub blanks."

An order from Seattle for bound volumes of The Militant arrived just under the wire. The prices on all bound volumes have gone up, and under present conditions a further increase in prices may be necessary. Therefore you should get your orders in soon. Our agent writes:

"I'd like to order one each of all the bound volumes of the paper—1938 through 1942. Will you send them to me and let me pay in installments?"

We will be glad to do this in cases where a suitable arrangement can be made.

Our St. Louis agent writes concerning a newsstand there: "Please continue sending The Militant to Foster's Book Store. He displays and sells them along with all the radical papers published in the United States."

German Social-Democrats Give Servile Support To Anglo-American Capitalism

By A. Roland

Socialist German exiles representing four pre-Hitler and post-Hitler groupings have just issued a Manifesto in Great Britain. This is a moment in the Second World War when, with the defeat of Germany imminent, a message to the German working class might, if it embodied a correct and courageous program, evoke a heartening echo inside Germany. Now, the peculiarity of this "Socialist" Manifesto is that not by one single word—literally not by one single word—does it address the German proletariat. It addressed instead the Allied imperialists.

The declaration is issued by Hans Vogel as Chairman of the Union of German Socialists including the Social Democratic Party, the SAP (the German Socialist Workers Party) the ISK (International Socialist Fighting Group), and the New Beginning Group. The latter three groups split off at various periods from the Second International at critical moments when the German workers became thoroughly disgusted with the role of that rotting organization. The SAP occupied for a time a centrist position which impelled it for a few brief moments in the direction of the Fourth International. The Manifesto is the declaration of complete bankruptcy of all these groups.

NO FAITH IN WORKERS

It is clear that these exiles have no faith whatsoever in the German workers or their ability to establish a socialist Germany. They see a Europe dominated by an all-powerful imperialist coalition and it is to the leaders of this coalition that they in reality send their crass and cowardly statement. Not even the obvious conspiracy of Anglo-American capitalism in North Africa and in Italy to constitute a reactionary totalitarian regime in the occupied lands, has discouraged these toadies of bourgeois power. They still hope to convince the Roosevelt and the Churchills that it would be perfectly safe to entrust them with power in post-war Germany.

What sort of policies do these would-be bureaucrats propose for the future Germany? "It is a vital interest of German democrats and socialists and indeed of the democrats and socialists of all Europe, that the peace of Europe should be given a stable foundation through the cooperation of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America. A free and united Europe can only develop in friendly co-operation with all of these powers, not by leaning to one or the other side only."

This bracketing of the workers' state (albeit a degenerated workers' state) with the world's most powerful capitalist states, without any further comment, shows the complete unconcern of these "socialist" parties with the problems of socialism. Offering lip service to socialism, their entire efforts are bent towards maintaining "democratic" capitalism. If a major conflict does break out between the Soviet Union and its present allies? We can be sure that these social democrats would be on the side of capitalism.

The peace of the world is to be left once again in the hands

of the victorious capitalist powers, constituted in a new, more powerful League of Nations. "The first objective of the post-war international policy of German socialists must be to integrate a democratic Germany into this international order." This integration into the order imposed on Europe by the victorious nations must consist, naturally enough, in fulfilling the demands made on Germany by the victors. "We German socialists recognize the need for real guarantees of security felt by the nations attacked and oppressed by the national-socialist and fascist aggressors. The first contribution of a democratic Germany to such a system will be its immediate military disarmament. . . . We

recognize it as a duty of honor for the coming free Germany to help with all her strength in the reparation of the injustices inflicted on other peoples by Hitlerite Germany and in the rebuilding of Europe." Stripped of all casuistry, this means that these "socialists" are willing to serve as the henchmen of international capitalism in forcing the masses of Germany to suffer punishment for the crimes of Hitler and his gangsters. Would they be willing also to send millions of German workers to serve under the whips of the Stalinist GPU in the rebuilding of war-devastated Russia?

The aim of the German social democrats is not the establishing of a socialist Germany, but the

re-constitution of a reactionary Weimar Republic. These careerist elements propose once again to discredit the ideas of socialism in the eyes of the German masses by having slavery imposed on them with a socialist label. Socialism could be established only with the revolutionary aid of the German workers and peasants against the ruthless opposition of the foreign and domestic capitalists.

SPINELESS BANKRUPTS

The social democrats dare not breathe a single word of the German revolution. Their Manifesto aims on the contrary to do everything possible to placate the Allies, to ingratiate themselves with the seemingly all-powerful capitalist political leaders.

These spineless bankrupts will hardly be the leaders of the future Germany. The tasks faced by the German masses after the disappearance of Hitler and his crew are enormous ones. The solution to their life-and-death problems lies only on the road to the socialist society. To guide them along this road, the German toilers will look to men of revolutionary vision and courage, men whose honesty and appeal will reach the minds and hearts of the masses of all countries.

The German workers will seek not to fit Germany into an order imposed on it by imperialism, but rather the establishing of a new order in which all slavery will be abolished. They will look not to a new capitalist created League of Nations, but to the building of the Socialist United States of Europe.

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The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

Negroes and the Smith "Gag" Act

Freedom of speech and press are limited for Negroes by the silence with which the capitalist owned and controlled press passes over abuses of their democratic rights. With the exception of *The Militant* and other working-class papers, Negroes find expression for their grievances only in their own press. Only in Negro papers is there a full-scale criticism of the way Negroes are mistreated in the armed forces and condemnation of the government's Jim-Crow policies.

Any curb on the freedom of the Negro press would be a severe blow to the Negro's struggle for equality. As Horace Cayton points out in his column in the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Nov. 27, "if the Negro press were quieted down or censored in any way, 13 million Negroes would be left at the absolute mercy of the more reactionary elements of our population." And in Cayton's opinion such a danger to the freedom of the Negro press does exist today.

Who are the people who want to stifle the militant criticisms in the Negro press? Mr. Cayton names them. There are the traditional anti-Negro elements, "the Army and Navy, and the Southern politicians." And alongside of them, says Cayton, stands those "friends" of the Negro, the so-called liberals in the government. These liberals, says Mr. Cayton, are interested in winning the war first, and therefore think, "in the interest of the national welfare it would be better if the Negro press would cease and desist printing inflammatory articles which destroy the morale of Negro soldiers and civilians."

It is interesting to note that the reasoning of Mr. Cayton's liberals is followed to a "t" by the government's propaganda agency, the Office of War Information, in censoring Negro news. According to the *Pittsburgh Courier* of Dec. 4, the OWI has developed a policy of "keeping Negro news down to the barest non-controversial limits." The *Pittsburgh Courier* charges the OWI with trying to bury a government report showing that discrimination against Negroes in industry is still as strong today as it was a year ago.

So Mr. Cayton is correct when he warns Negroes about the current drive to discredit the Negro press as "irresponsible" and "inflammatory" because it tells the truth about discrimination. "The Negro press," says Mr. Cayton, "had better remain vigilant about the possibilities of censorship."

But correct though Mr. Cayton is, he has not gone far enough in his analysis of the dangers that face the Negro press and Negro militants who speak up for their people. The truth is the government has moved far beyond the mere censorship of news. The government has already set a precedent for stifling any criticism of its domestic and foreign policy by indicting and convicting 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Teamsters Union 544-CIO of Minneapolis under the provisions of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Now that the United States Supreme Court has refused to test the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act, which makes the mere expression of ideas a federal crime, by refusing to review the case of the 18, the government is in a position to deal even greater blows than it already has against those sections of the labor movement and those Negro spokesmen and papers who oppose it and

condemn its antidemocratic policies.

Every Negro militant should understand that the 18 Minneapolis defendants were the first victims of a government drive against the whole labor movement and the Negro struggle against Jim Crow. The 18 were picked off first because they advocated socialism and stood in the vanguard of the struggle to defend the democratic rights of all workers, white and Negro.

The government made clear at the time of trial that it considered it illegal for members of the Socialist Workers Party to criticize Jim Crow in the armed forces. To the government this was a "conspiracy to incite members of the armed forces to insubordination."

And when the government continued its persecution of the Trotskyists by taking away the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant* and suppressing some issues of the paper, it revealed again how much it fears any criticism of its anti-Negro policies.

Hassel, the lawyer for the government, said, that "to urge Negroes to fight for their rights at the present moment" justified the withholding of any issue of a paper from the mails. And as evidence to deny *The Militant* its second-class mailing rights, the government presented an article from *The Militant* which reported the speech of A. Phillip Randolph at a conference of the March-on-Washington Movement.

If *The Militant* can be suppressed for advocating that Negroes fight for their rights, then the majority of Negro papers can be suppressed for the same reasons. If it is a crime to quote A. Phillip Randolph when he assails segregation in the armed forces, how long will it be before Randolph himself is charged with promoting racial discord, "lowering the morale of Negroes," and indicted under the Smith "Gag" Act?

The Negro press has pointed out time and time again that Roosevelt rewards the poll-tax politicians by leaving the existing system of Jim Crow alone. But the anti-Negro forces will never be satisfied until they stifle and suppress any militant action or expression by Negroes that threatens their supremacy. And who can doubt that Roosevelt will heed their wishes in the matter? Through his "liberal" mouthpiece, Attorney-General Biddle, Roosevelt assures the Southern reactionaries that government "pressure" will not be used to give the Negro his constitutional rights in the South. Instead, Biddle talks hypocritically about "education and community leadership." This is the same Biddle who advised Roosevelt in July that the way to prevent "race riots" was to stop Negroes from leaving the South.

But Biddle who is reluctant to use government "pressure" to make sure the constitutional rights of Southern Negroes are respected is not at all squeamish about tearing up the Bill of Rights and jailing 18 working class leaders because they defend the rights of labor and oppose Jim Crow.

Yes, Mr. Cayton is right when he talks about the "danger of censorship." And unless the Negro press speaks up on behalf of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO it stands in great danger of being itself attacked under the Smith "Gag" Act.

Medical Authorities Report Increase Of 'Shell Shock'

By Grace Carlson

Since the belated report that some time in August Lt. General George S. Patton, Jr., slapped a shell-shocked American soldier in an Army hospital tent in Sicily, and ordered him back to front line duty, because he thought the soldier was faking an illness, hundreds of articles about "shell shock" have appeared in the daily press and in bourgeois periodicals.

The Patton incident has thus served to dramatize a situation which is causing great concern to Army medical authorities, i.e., the mounting number of psychiatric casualties in this war. Some 10,000 men a month are now being discharged from the Army because of mental or nervous disorders, and it is expected that this number will increase rapidly as larger forces of U. S. troops participate in active warfare on foreign fronts.

THIRD OF CASUALTIES

"Shell shock" sometimes called by psychiatrists "war conversion hysteria," "traumatic war neurosis," or simply "war nerves" is, in the words of Dr. Edward Strecker, president of the American Psychiatric Association, "an abnormal solution of a strong emotional conflict which takes place in the soldier between his instinct for self-preservation and the opposing claims of soldierly ideals and disciplinary reactions. When the conflict within the soldier, which is common among to-

day's combatants, becomes too strong, the soldier responds by a state of shell shock."

Nearly one third (30%) of the casualties now coming back from overseas suffer from a form of shell shock. Although this overall average may seem like a high figure, the percentage of nervous and mental casualties reported from some fronts is almost unbelievable.

DOMINANCE OF U. S. BIG BUSINESS REVEALED AT UNRRA CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1)

welyn, his British counterpart, appeared in the unsavory role of champion of the "rich nations."

The opposite positions taken by Britain and the U. S. at the UNRRA Conference was merely a logical extension of the differences manifested by these two capitalist contenders at the Hot Springs Food Conference held last spring. The capitulation which followed on the part of Britain and her so-called group of "rich nations" was the inevitable result of Britain's steady economic deterioration in relation to Wall Street. This capitulation also closed the door to efforts on the part of the United States to enlarge the scope of UNRRA activities.

Sir Llewellyn entered an objection on behalf of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway. These are the so-called "rich nations" which still retain some material wealth, either in the form of colonial possessions or other resources.

On the face of it, Lehman's request that all the recipients should content themselves with an "equitable share" of relief supplies and materials from the common pool created by UNRRA, seems entirely harmless. The common pool, however, is created by the purchase of these materials by Lehman from the combined Food Board, composed of Great Britain, United States, and Canada. The price for the purchased materials, would be negotiated solely between Lehman and the combined Food Board, and the price charged to UNRRA. The "poor nations," who would not have to pay for the food, raised no objection to this; they will pay later in terms of political concessions.

For the so-called "rich nations," Lehman's request not only implies the surrender of their rights to purchase these materials elsewhere in cheaper markets, but gives him a blank check to purchase materials for them, and charge them whatever prices the traffic would bear. It is for that reason that Sir Llewellyn appeared in the role of defender of these nations. Britain needs their political support on the continent, not only as a bulwark against the Soviet Union but also as a market for her industrial products.

There was further reason for the so-called "rich nations" in objecting to Lehman's plan. The Combined Food Board controls 95% of the materials needed for the relief of the devastated countries. But there are other sources of food supplies such as Argentina, which is not controlled by the Combined Food Board.

If UNRRA needed a hundred million bushels of wheat, would Lehman purchase it in markets controlled by Britain and America (Combined Food Board), or would he purchase it in Argentina, where the price is much

far from the normal practices of capitalism? In peacetime Big Business' concern for profits and profits alone often results in the shutting of the factories. The hardships this brings to the whole working class, the undernourishment it visits on millions of children, the diseases that follow in its wake, surely take as heavy a toll of human life and well-being as the war frauds. Who will say which is worse? Who will contend that the cause is different?

(From pages 8-9, "Wartime Crimes of Big Business," 1943, 16 pages, five cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

lower? Lehman's answer was that he was not obligated to purchase in the cheapest markets.

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Sir Llewellyn, chairman of the "Scope Committee," announced that the "scope" (jurisdiction) of UNRRA would be confined merely to relief activities. By implication, this meant that "rehabilitation" under which category is included commercial agreements for the shipments of heavy equipment to European territory for purpose of rebuilding devastated areas, would not be part of the UNRRA agreement.

Allies To Maintain Far East Colonies

(Continued from page 1)

is conveniently forgotten that Japan either took these islands as the ally of the United States and Great Britain during that war or were given the islands by mandate with their consent in the subsequent settlement.

The attack upon Pearl Harbor and the military experiences of this war have taught the American capitalists that they cannot permit another power to possess or fortify these Pacific islands. To wrest them from Japanese hands is the indispensable step toward gaining direct possession of them for naval and air bases. "These islands are of special interest to the United States," remarks the N. Y. Times. "Without adequate Allied bases in these archipelagos there can be no satisfactory defense against a revival of Japanese imperialism." And the Times proposes that "one or more of the Great Powers" take them over as "trustees." That is, maintain the mandate system but transfer the islands to American sovereignty.

FAKERY

So long as the Allies were at peace with Japan, they manifested neither interest nor indignation at the enslavement of the Koreans. As the Times coyly remarks: "All this was none of our business." The Three Powers now say that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent." The joker in this promise lies in the phrase: "in due course." Every imperialist power is ready to grant freedom to its colonial slaves at some indefinite time in the future. India too has been promised freedom "in due course." But that day never comes if the decision is left to the imperialists.

The fakery of the declaration is exposed by the fact that nothing is said about Britain's surrender of any rights to Hong-Kong or Singapore. These parts of the Empire, the Tories frankly proclaim, they intend to keep as their own. The same holds for the ter-

medical vocabulary. Lt. Commander Edwin R. Smith, director of the hospital in which the Guadalcanal veterans were treated, said that the "strain and stress experienced by these men reduced the seasoned, tough US Marine to a man who, weeks after, was frequently close to tears, jumped and ran from the room at the slightest noise, wore cotton in his ears, and in the transport coming home required physical restraint if there was test firing."

DOUBTS AND RESERVATIONS

Even after six months of rest in the U. S., Commander Smith reported, many of the marines sent back to limited military duty broke down again. Those who are still taking treatment, said Commander Smith, "do not know what they should or want to do, except that they do not want to go back to Guadalcanal."

Breakdowns from nervous and mental disorders are far higher in this war than in the First World War. According to a recent OWI report, the rate of admissions for neuro-psychiatric diseases in Army hospitals averaged about 20 per 1000 men per year in the American Expeditionary Forces in 1917-18. In the present war, the rate of admission for

hospital treatment of similar diseases is running about 50 per 1000 men in the U. S. and this figure is substantially higher among overseas forces.

Such a high rate of mental breakdown obtains in the Army despite elaborate "screening out" techniques now being used by psychiatrists in induction centers. Selective Service reports show that over half a million men have been rejected because of nervous instability. This means a rate of rejection for mental disability of 329 per 1,000 drafted men.

In a startlingly frank article, "The Psychiatric Toll of Warfare," the ultra-capitalistic periodical, *Fortune*, in its December issue breaks down and confesses that "Americans today face fire and the prospect of fire... with more doubts and reservations than their fathers did in 1917.... Then, America went forth to battle armed with an idealism unblunted by the bitter contemplation of a war won and a peace lost, unblunted by ten years of depression and twenty years of pacifism.... Most American soldiers believed they were making the world safe for democracy."

It is necessary, says this cynical organ of Wall Street, to try to teach the American soldier "why he is fighting," although the kind of propaganda campaign it would take to do a thorough job "would smack too redolently of Herr Goebbels."

DRUGGING TROOPS

British Army officials have attempted to increase the morale of their troops by dosing them with drugs, such as sodium amylal. The motivation for this unusual medical practice was given in an editorial entitled "Courage to Order," appearing in the British medical publication *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*. "In war," says the *Journal*, "a reduction in fear, if it can be attained without too great a sacrifice in mental efficiency, is often as useful as intellectual stimulation."

No report has been found of the use of courage-inducing drugs by the Soviet troops, but Marxists know that the heroic soldiers of the Red Army are spurred on by the most powerful stimulant yet discovered.

In an inspirational address to young science students on "Science and the Future," U. S. Surgeon-General Thomas Parran said recently "a healthy man can fight on against overwhelming odds and not crack up, unless he feels a sense of injustice." Large numbers of American soldiers are breaking down under the stresses and strains of modern warfare because they do feel "a sense of injustice." They do not know why they are fighting.

In striking contrast, the Soviet troops and the Russian workers and peasants who back them up, struggle fiercely against the Nazi war machine, because they are fighting for factories and land which have been taken away from the capitalists and the landlords.

The Minneapolis Case And 15 Years Of Trotskyism

By M. Stein

The coincidence of the Supreme Court decision with the Fifteenth Anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement is something that nobody had planned. We are quite sure that none of the nine black-robed judges of this highest court of the land nor any of their clerks consulted the calendar of the Socialist Workers Party for the most appropriate date to place behind bars the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Trial, among whom are included the outstanding leaders and founders of the American Trotskyist movement.

But while the timing of the Supreme Court decision was accidental, everything else about this assault upon our movement—the indictments, the trial, the conviction, the Supreme Court refusal to hear the appeal—all of this is part of a distinct pattern—an attempt to head off the force within the working-class which represents its socialist consciousness.

The American capitalist class is absorbed completely in the mad gamble for the mastery of the world—a gamble that is swallowing up countless human lives and is causing unprecedented destruction of wealth. This is why they do not like to have anybody around who is sane and who points the road to a world of freedom and plenty—a world without wars and exploitation. This is why the Trotskyist leaders must go to jail!

When the Trotskyist movement made its appearance in the United States 15 years ago, it wasn't looked upon as a challenge to the power and privileges of the ruling class. The press agents of American capitalism have never distinguished themselves as profound analysts. They thought the struggle of the Trotskyists was motivated by a conflict of personalities. The more initiated capitalist commentators expressed vague sympathies for Stalin, "the realist," as against Trotsky, "the dreamer," the "firebrand" who will be satisfied with nothing short of the international socialist revolution.

But what did the birth of the Trotskyism on this continent matter to the men of Wall Street in 1928. This was the time when profits were at their peak, when speculative buying on the stock exchange sent prices skyrocketing. These were the days of Coolidge. He personified the fact that capitalism was sitting so firmly in the saddle that it could afford to place the highest office of the land in the hands of a nonentity. The only ones who were in any way disturbed by the emergence of the Trotskyist movement were the Stalinists. Even that far back, their methods of struggle consisted of goon-squads sent to break up Trotskyist meetings, and physical assault on individual Trotskyists distributing literature or selling *The Militant*. But the ferocity of the Stalinists was dictated directly from the Kremlin and only there were the real issues known. The rank and file member of the Communist Party was deceived into believing that Trotskyists were traitors to the cause of socialism, counter-revolutionists and renegades. Their classic formula at the time was that the Trotskyists were Mensheviks who cover themselves with left phrases.

How fantastic it all seems today when the Stalinists have probed the lowest depths of treachery and the Trotskyists on the other hand stand out as the only champions of the struggle for socialism.

Then came the stockmarket crash in 1929. The industrial plants were closing down in rapid succession, creating a huge army of unemployed. When the unemployed had used up their meager savings, when the lines in front of the soup kitchens became unbearably long, when selling apples on the street corners no longer brought any returns because there

were more apple vendors than buyers, the unemployed became restless. They began to view their sad plight, which seemed to them at first as a personal tragedy, as a social problem and they eagerly looked for leadership in the struggle for work or relief. They found that leadership in the Communist Party.

The Trotskyist movement was not even two years old at the time. It was struggling for survival against Stalinist brutality and slander campaigns. Against the powerful machine of the Stalinist party, the Trotskyists seemed almost powerless. The Militant at the time addressed itself almost exclusively to the ranks of the Communist Party in an effort to clarify the programmatic issues and hurl back the Stalinist slanders.

Stalinist policy at the time was of the ultra-radical, adventurist variety and they eagerly seized the opportunity to lead the impoverished unemployed in endless demonstrations. Police persecution and brutality was at that time directed primarily against the Communist Party members. "This however did not last long. The Stalinist line changed abruptly with Hitler's triumph in Germany in 1933. Stalin then gave the order for an about face and the period of servility to the democratic capitalists commenced.

This Stalinist line has been continuous with the exception of the 22 month period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. The Stalinists heaped one abomination on another, one crime against the working-class on another—all to prove to the democratic imperialists that they can be trusted.

The Trotskyists, too, effected a change of line with Hitler's triumph in Germany. This change of line, however, was not programmatic. It had to do with the estimate of the Communist International. Hitler's triumph in Germany without any resistance on the part of the powerful German Communist Party made it clear that the Comintern was through as the instrument of working-class struggle.

Beginning with this period the Trotskyists directed their activities primarily to the mass struggles of the Workers and to the building of the Fourth International through these struggles. The Trotskyists had their greatest success in Minneapolis in the leadership of the truck drivers. Through bitter strike struggles they built a powerful militant union. This union became the inspirer of the organization of the truck drivers in the entire Northwest.

Two years ago, prompted by Tobin, the head of the Teamsters International Union, who was anxious to rid the union of revolutionary socialists, President Roosevelt set into motion the machinery of the government for the indictment, trial and imprisonment of the Minneapolis defendants under the Smith "Gag" Act.

This is in general outline the background against which the Supreme Court made its decision to refuse a hearing in the Minneapolis case, and thus became a party to the conspiracy to railroad the Trotskyists to jail.

To understand the action of the Supreme Court one must have an understanding of the developments of the past 15 years and an appreciation of the deep crisis confronting capitalism today. The last 15 years have woven a new pattern of the revolutionary socialist movement. The Comintern, which was feared by the capitalist world, is no more.

The Stalinist parties are the faithful servants of the capitalist masters of the "democratic" countries. It is universally recognized today that the Trotskyists are the only fighters for a socialist world. This is why the Trotskyists have been singled out for persecution.

Pioneer Paragraphs

WHY BIG BUSINESS COMMITS WARTIME PRODUCTION FRAUDS

By George Breitman

The sale of defective war material has shocked some people more than the other wartime activities of the corporations because it is so openly cynical and in such flagrant contrast to the high-minded sentiments spread over the newspaper advertisements. As a result there is a tendency to look upon this practice as something exceptional and unrelated to the general policies of capitalism. But at bottom it is no different in kind from the other "scandals" perpetrated by Big Business every day in the year.

The explanation for the policies and activities of the monopolies and corporations is always to be found in the profit motive. No employer keeps his factory running unless there is a profit to

be made from it. This is as true in wartime as in peace time, with only one difference: In wartime there is usually more profit to be made and the capitalists, madened by greed, sweep aside all restraints and obstacles in the way of ever greater profits. Rare indeed is the case of an employer who has said: "I have got enough." The tendency of the ruling class is always to go after more and more. Billions are being made on war contracts, but even the most powerful corporations do not disdain to pick up a few millions extra by manufacturing substandard products and then palming off the defective material as the article for which they are being paid such generous prices.

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— LEON TROTSKY

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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.

Minneapolis Case

The three months suppression of reports about Lt. General Patton's assault upon a wounded soldier and the handling of news regarding the Cairo and Teheran conferences have served to disclose the rigid control over the press exercised today by the government. In addition to this official suppression and censorship, the capitalist press itself so presents and misrepresents the news as to favor Big Business of which it is not only an indispensable instrument but an integral part. While the capitalist press contrives to cover up the crimes and profiteering of Big Business, it seizes every opportunity to slant the news against the labor movement.

This conspiracy between the capitalist government and the Big Business press to keep important information from the masses of the people and to twist facts to suit their reactionary purposes has been demonstrated by the attitude of the metropolitan press toward the U. S. Supreme Court's refusal to review the convictions of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis case. Here is the first case to come before the highest Federal court under the Smith "Gag" Act. This vicious law, which for the first time since the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 makes the mere expression of opinion a federal crime, raises constitutional questions of the first magnitude involving the rights of free speech and free press. For these reasons the Minneapolis case has been nationally recognized as the major test case of civil liberties and labor's rights in the Second World War.

The shameful refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court even to consider the appeal of the defendants was an unprecedented action. "This is the first time," states the American Civil Liberties Union, "that the Supreme Court has declined to review a test case under a statute involving important issues of freedom of speech and press." By denying the defendants a hearing, the Supreme Court, which is supposed to safeguard the constitutional rights of American citizens, has discarded even the pretense of democratic judicial procedure. The Minneapolis defendants have been deprived of their democratic and constitutional rights in the most outrageously undemocratic manner.

What has the metropolitan press done in the face of these facts? If they bothered to publish

any news of the decision, the report was extremely cursory and brief and invariably misrepresented the facts and issues in the case. No mention of the Smith "Gag" Act and its character. According to the news dispatches, the defendants were guilty of "fomenting insubordination in the armed forces." No reference to the fact that the defendants were convicted not for anything they did but solely because of their belief and their union activities.

No mention of the fact that under the provisions of the Smith "Gag" Act any criticism of conditions in the armed forces or the mere publication of socialist ideas could be construed, according to the prosecution, as an incitement to insubordination. Or that it need not be shown that any soldier or sailor had ever read such statements for the defendants to be found guilty—and that in fact the prosecution did not produce any member of the armed forces to substantiate this contention. Thus the very reports of the decision continued the frameup initiated by the government prosecutors.

The principal capitalist paper, the *N. Y. Times*, which claims to publish "all the news that's fit to print," did not carry even such a distorted account of the Supreme Court's action. The *Times* buried the news in a routine summary of cases disposed of by the Supreme Court. Presumably, the unprecedented action of the Justices was news not "fit to print."

Whenever attempts have been made to make the newspaper magnates bargain collectively with their employees or to break up their news monopolies, the metropolitan press has howled about freedom of the press. But they have published no such editorials about the freedom of expression violated by the Supreme Court's decision and the democratic rights nullified by railroading the Minneapolis defendants to prison.

Such pro-administration papers as *PM* and the *N. Y. Post*, which advertise themselves as guardians of democracy, have made no protest whatever against the anti-democratic actions committed by the Washington authorities.

To date the *Chicago Tribune* has been the sole big capitalist sheet to break the conspiracy of editorial silence around the Minneapolis case. However, this ultra-reactionary paper far from condemning the attack upon labor's democratic rights, criticized Roosevelt for not jailing the Stalinists as well. Whether they keep mum or express their real sentiments, the reptile publishers bare their reactionary fangs and spew poison at the labor movement.

Thus the capitalist courts and the capitalist press work hand in glove first to frame up revolutionary socialists and unionists, and then try to conceal their crimes behind a conspiracy of silence.

The labor movement cannot permit the government, the courts, and the press to get away with their conspiracy to hush up the railroading of the 18 Minneapolis defendants to prison. This is the first big step in the campaign of Big Business and its agents to outlaw workers' rights of free speech. The Smith "Gag" Act was deliberately designed by poll-tax Representative Smith and his colleagues as a weapon against workers' political parties and the trade unions. If the authorities succeed in keeping the 18 Minneapolis defendants behind bars without vigorous protests in the ranks of organized labor, they will use this precedent to proceed against other union leaders and minority groups.

Organized labor has the most vital concern in smashing the conspiracy of silence by which the capitalist class is trying to bury the Minneapolis case. This can best be done by supporting the efforts of the Civil Rights Defense Committee to secure the freedom of the 18 and fight for repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Two editors of the U. S. Army magazine *Yank* recently resigned in protest against dictation of its policy and contents by a new Major placed in charge of the publication. They contended that this meant the magazine was no longer put out by the enlisted men and could not be considered a voice of "the rank and file."

Attack On Militant

The Minneapolis labor case is not the only attack the Roosevelt administration has made upon freedom of the press. On March 3, 1943 Postmaster-General Walker cancelled the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant* for the same general reasons that the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO members have been railroaded to jail: because *The Militant* opposes the administration's domestic and foreign policies, exposes the war time crimes of Big Business and fights for the rights of labor and all progressive groups.

Many labor and liberal organizations have protested against this arbitrary cancelling of the mailing rights of a working class paper. Indeed, the only public commendation of the Post Office's attack upon the labor press has come from the fink Stalinist publications.

Last July 8 *The Militant* reapplied for its second-class mailing rights. Five months have passed and the postal authorities still have not acted. They are still "considering" the matter. Meanwhile the delivery of *The Militant* is being delayed every week.

The Roosevelt administration persists in its systematic persecution of the Trotskyist movement. Freedom of the press continues to be severely rationed for revolutionary socialists under Roosevelt's regime.

Lynn Case First Legal Test Of Army Jim Crow

On Dec. 8, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals sitting in New York City, will hear the Winfred Lynn case. Arthur Garfield Hays, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, will argue the case and if necessary will carry it to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Lynn case originated in June 1942 when Winfred Lynn, Negro worker of Jamaica, L. I., notified his draft board "that I am ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces of my country which is not segregated by race. Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group, I will refuse to report for induction."

The Lynn case is thus a part of the struggle of the Negro people against the whole Jim Crow system. To date it is the only court test of the legality of the U. S. Army's discriminatory treatment of Negro soldiers. The legal basis of the Lynn case rests on the 1940 draft act, section 4-A of which specifically states that "in the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the



Winfred Lynn

provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

In practice, of course, Winfred Lynn, like all Negro draftees, was selected from a separate Jim Crow quota, in clear violation of the 1940 Draft Act itself. Lynn

accepted induction in order to make the test case. He is suing the army authorities to be allowed to return to civilian life on the grounds that the Jim Crow methods of his selection violates the Draft Act.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has described the vicious Jim Crow system of the Army and Navy brass hats: "The treatment of Negroes in the armed services is marked by daily subjection to the indignities of segregation and discrimination with the constant recurrence of brutalities and murders by civilian and military police."

The American Civil Liberties Union, the March-On-Washington Movement, the National Association of Colored people, the National Council for a permanent FEPC, the Workers Defense League and other liberal and labor organizations have endorsed the Lynn case.

The National Citizens Committee for Winfred Lynn, with offices at 1 W. 125th Street, was recently formed to publicize the case and win labor and liberal support.

U. S. Supreme Court Deals Blow At Rights Of Labor

(Continued from page 1)

tion, expressed the conviction that the Supreme Court's refusal to hear the case is a "blow at freedom of speech and press. One inevitably wonders," said Rev. Muste, "whether the fact that these eighteen defendants were followers of the teachings of Leon Trotsky and are critical of the government's war policy has some bearing on this contradiction. One may regard the opinions of the defendants as politically or morally reprehensible and yet profoundly deplore the fact that the Supreme Court should have struck a blow at freedom by refusing to rule on the constitutionality of the Smith Act."

MEETING DEC. 16

In an editorial published in its Dec. 6 issue, *Labor Action* writes: "While notorious and outspoken fascists walk the streets and propagate their ideas, while supporters of Hitlerism speak their filthy propaganda in the Houses of Congress, revolutionary socialists, the best defenders of the common interests of the workers, are being sent to jail for exercising their democratic rights!"

"In its refusal to review the case, the Supreme Court, by eva-

Message From San Diego SWP To 18 Smith 'Gag' Act Victims

Your persecution convinces us of the greater weakening of that system which we are seeking to change, and further strengthens our belief in the ultimate triumph of the Fourth International. It has inspired us with a determination and a will to fight toward a successful conclusion of the working class struggle. Should the same fate befall any of us, we hope we can face it as resolutely as all of you have.

We in San Diego want each of you courageous 18 to know that your sacrifices are most keenly felt. We know that your desire would be for us to show our sentiment in concrete work. Therefore, we as a group pledge that we will work harder to carry on than ever before, and as an indication we are enclosing our full quota towards the 15th Anniversary, \$15,000 fund.

sion, is actually upholding the Smith 'gag' law. This makes it all the more necessary to fight for its repeal, since it is a threat against the whole labor movement."

As the first step in its national campaign to secure the freedom of the 18, the Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the defendants, will hold a mass protest meeting in New York City on Thursday evening, Dec. 16, at Manhattan Center,

34th Street at Eighth Avenue. Speakers will include Albert Goldman, attorney and one of the 18 defendants, Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, Daniel Bell, editor, *New Leader*, Samuel H. Friedman, editor, *The Call*, Aaron Gilmartin of the Workers Defense League, Max Schachtman, Secretary, Workers Party, George Novack, Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, will act as chairman.

International Notes

By EDITH KANE

According to a Dec. 1 *AP* dispatch a mass exodus of Rumanians from Crimea, Odessa and Bessarabia to Rumania proper is taking place. It is also reported that machinery and other installations are being removed from Bessarabia to the interior of Rumania.

At the same time, as the Red Army approaches closer to the Rumanian border, wealthy Rumanians and Nazi mouthpieces are hastily preparing to flee the country. The Swiss legation in Bucharest announces it has received 30,000 visa applications; the Turkish legation is besieged by thousands of Rumanians for permission to enter that country. Meanwhile the panicky Rumanian bourgeoisie is trying to smuggle as much of its capital out of the country as possible.

Guerrilla resistance in Bulgaria and Rumania is reported to be spreading. According to a dispatch by C. L. Sulzberger in Dec. 1, *N. Y. Times*, Bulgarian and Rumanian guerrilla units have joined the Yugoslav Partisans under General Tito. The communiqué of the Partisans asserts that "all Bulgarian soldiers taken prisoner by our units during the recent battles at the village of Kremna have now volunteered for the People's Army of Liberation." One Bulgarian company, according to an official Partisan communiqué, is "fighting shoulder to shoulder with our units against the Fascist occupiers."

Growing friction between the Nazis and their Croatian satellites is likewise reported:

"Reports from the French border told of a clash at Rodez, capital of Aveyron Department, between German and Croat occupation forces, arising from a quarrel in which two Croat officers killed three Nazi officers. Some 500 Germans were said to have battled 225 Croats in an all-night fray,

with three German officers and 150 soldiers killed, after which the surviving Croats were executed without trial." (*N. Y. Times*, Dec. 2.)

In a recent report to the Senate on his trip to 20 Latin American countries, Senator Hugh Butler, Republican of Nebraska, charged that the U. S. Government was expending six billion dollars on unnecessary projects there. He concluded, among other things, that the United States "exercises control together with the local dictators." He cited as one item of wasteful expenditure a loan to Bolivia for the purchase of planes on condition that a subsidy be granted annually to the *Panagra* (Pan American Airways).

The report also stated that the U. S. government intervenes in the affairs of various Latin American countries by furnishing them with the governments with supplies, money, and arms thus "creating" fiery jealousies between peoples of Latin-American countries."

An immediate apology to the

Latin-American countries was made by Vice President Wallace, and Butler's figures and statements were severely criticized.

The Senate Appropriations Committee, headed by Nye of North Dakota, plans to enlarge the scope of its inquiry into lend-lease to include the dealings between the U. S. and Latin American countries; and the Byrd Economy Committee has ordered an inquiry into the operation carried on in Latin America by Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

The American capitalist politicians represented by the Democratic and Republican parties have really no deep-going differences over policy with regard to Latin America. All of them want the American ruling class to control the politics and the economic life of "our good neighbors" in Central and South America. But the Republicans are not sure that the profit returns will be commensurate with the huge investments being made by the Roosevelt administration.

Mine Operators Sabotage Union Wage Negotiations

Since last winter the tight-fisted coal operators have tried every dodge to avoid signing a new contract with the miners. The coal barons found a powerful leader in Roosevelt who helped promote their conspiracy against the miners by means of the Little Steel formula of the WLB, by taking over the mines, and by numerous menacing attacks upon the miners and their union. Thanks to four general strikes, the miners were able to break through the main barricades erected against them by Roosevelt and force the government to sign a contract with their union.

But the die-hard operators have still not surrendered. They continue to sabotage the negotiations now going on between the owners and the United Mine Workers. The sabotaging maneuvers of the operators have become so flagrant that even Fuels Administrator Ickes has found it necessary to condemn them.

Ickes charged that the Southern operators, who have refused to attend the conference, were conducting a "sitdown strike" after adopting a "to-Hell-with-the-Government" attitude. He specifically singled out James D. Francis, head of the Island Creek and Pond Creek Coal Companies of West Virginia, as the "principal devil" behind ex-Senator Burke, official spokesman for the Southern operators. Francis' only interest, Ickes said, appeared to be protecting the corporate property and profits of "four or five or six elderly persons," beneficiaries of the trust controlling these two companies.

Why must the mines which are so vital a part of the nation's productive forces continue to be controlled by a few absentee owners solely concerned with the profits they can sweat out of the mine workers? Why must the miners' welfare depend upon the small clique of money-hungry capitalist wolves? It need not be so once the miners themselves become conscious and convinced that there exists another and better way of operating the mines.

There is such a way. Have the government take over the mines and let the miners and their union committees operate them.

Tories Draft Labor But Release Fascist Leaders

At the same time that the Churchill government is releasing Sir Oswald Mosley, British Fascist No. 1, Labor Minister Bevin has announced that 30,000 young men between the ages of 17 and 25 years will be drafted for work in the coal mines. This is the first time in Britain's industrial history that official labor conscription has been imposed upon the working class.

Churchill's government is carrying out in practice the labor conscription with which Roosevelt has already threatened the American miners during the recent coal strikes.

As we have reported in previous issues of *The Militant*, the British miners have struck, time and again, against low wages, intolerable working and living conditions, and against the injustices inflicted by the Essential Works Regulations. Now the government intends to send into the mines thousands of young conscripts who can be forced to act as strike-breakers.

Not satisfied with dragging millions of workers to fight for the preservation of His Majesty's Empire and the greater power and profits of English capitalism, Churchill's regime is now converting English workers into serfs of the coal operators by conscripting them for service in the mines. And this step toward enslaving the British workers is taken in the name of the "war for democracy."

Bevin, Morrison and the whole treacherous gang of official labor leaders in the Churchill government not only endorse these vicious moves against the liberties of the workers but actually administer them. Like the Greens and the Murrays here in the U. S., these labor fakers have become little more than police chiefs for the government and the bosses in their campaign to rob the workers of their rights and degrade them to the status of slaves.

1943 -- Record Year for Profits of Big Business

While Big Business is shrieking about heavier taxes, fighting against wage increases and sabotaging regulation of food prices, war profits continue to mount. The *N. Y. Times* (Dec. 5) estimates that on the basis of the first nine months this year, operating income of industrial manufacturing companies for the full year of 1943 will show a substantial increase over 1942. A compilation of 287 such companies for the nine-month period registered a combined net income of \$968,823,453. This is an increase of 12% over the record profits in the corresponding three quarters of last year.

The big steel producers, the petroleum companies, the automotive industry, the electrical manufacturers and chemical companies—the leading sectors of Big Business—are out in front among the profiteers.

The UNRRA is off to a great start. While the conference was in session, thousands of people were dying daily from starvation in India's worst famine in 70 years. But the conference was unable to take up the matter, because it was not on the "agenda." Besides, India is not an Axis-occupied country. Dean Acheson announced however that he was "devoutly" hopeful that the ravages of famine may be brought under control. What more can the Indian masses ask for?

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

Los Angeles New Year's Eve Ball

A GALA PROGRAM OF ENTERTAINMENT

Friday, December 31

EMBASSY AUDITORIUM, SOUTH HALL

ADMISSION \$2 PER PERSON

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Local