

Cutbacks Raise The Specter Of New Depression

Labor Spokesman Foresees Unemployment Of 15 to 19 Million Workers in 'Postwar' Era

By Harvey Brown

Cutbacks in war production, plant shutdowns due to contract termination and mass dismissals of war workers are an object of growing concern to the labor movement. In an attempt to focus attention on this problem the United Automobile Workers, CIO, has drawn up a program designed to ease unemployment during the period of reconversion and to "prevent mass unemployment after the war." In announcing the program, R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, revealed that 800,000 war workers have already been dropped from the payroll and a million more will be dropped by the end of the year. The magazine *Time* confirms this trend when it states that: "Manufacturing employment has steadily declined since last November. By last month the U. S. had 1,000,000 fewer workers than it had six months earlier."

Congress Acclaims Mangled Version Of Price Control

By R. Bell

War profiteers won a major victory last week with the adoption by Congress of a maimed and mangled version of the "Price Control and Stabilization Act," which is a complete misnomer for a measure that makes "price control" a hollow mockery and "stabilization" a hideous jest. By a series of crippling amendments, Congress has acted to remove all effective restraint on the greedy appetites of profit-hungry black market operators, price gougers and rent hogs. The bill was passed through the House and Senate amid a general atmosphere of self-congratulation by the political deputies of wealth and privilege for a "constructive piece of work"—on behalf of their capitalist masters.

GRAVE PORTENTS

War Mobilization Director, Byrnes, states that the Army alone "has been terminating more than 1,400 contracts a month." Meanwhile, according to the United States Employment Service, discharged war veterans are entering the labor market at a rate of 70,000 a month. It is estimated that the peak of war production will be reached within the next few months and then start downward. The reduction of employment has taken place on an ascending curve of production, which means that fewer workers produce a greater quantity of war materials. The advance of technology, spurred by the needs of the war machine, has resulted in a pronounced rise in the productivity of labor. The steady decline of employment taking place in the midst of the war is a grave portent of what the "free enterprise" system holds in store for the people in the "post-war" world.

Commenting on this aspect of the problem, R. J. Thomas asserts that a return to prewar production levels would mean unemployment of between 15 and 19 million people. Corroborating this assertion the Federal Reserve bulletin for May points out that a

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Labor Solidarity

By The Editors

The strength of the working class lies in its solidarity and numbers. This elementary axiom has entered into the very blood-stream of the labor movement. It has been universally acclaimed by the advanced workers and instinctively embraced by the more backward. The employers have long understood the source of labor's strength and have left no stone unturned to divide labor's ranks and to rupture its essential solidarity.

Those within the labor movement who lend aid and encouragement to the disruptive efforts of the employing class commit the greatest crime against the interests of the workers. They are, in the true sense of the word—SCABS! This word expresses in full measure the hatred and loathing of the workers for those who break ranks in the struggle and go over to the enemy camp.

About 50 years ago, when a young man of 26, Lenin, the organizing genius of the Russian revolution, gave classic expression to the source of labor's strength. In one of the first documents signaling Lenin's active participation in the labor movement, he wrote:

"What recourse then is there for us in order to improve our position, to raise the wage rates, to shorten the working day...? Everybody is lined up against us—the employers (because they live all the better the worse is our plight) and all their flunkies, all those who live on the sops of the capitalists and who for the benefit of the employers keep us in ignorance and slavery. We have nowhere to turn for assistance, we can depend only on ourselves. Our strength lies in unification, our recourse is joint, unanimous and stubborn resistance to the employers. The employers have long ago understood wherein our strength lies and they strain all their efforts in order to create disunity in our ranks, in order not to permit us to understand that all workers have interests in common." (From the May Day Manifesto written by Lenin on April 19, 1896 in Czarist prison addressed to the workers of Petrograd.)

These words written by Lenin 50 years ago retain all the force of their inextinguishable freshness and truth today. "All workers have interests in common." The most elementary form of organization devised to protect the "common interests" of the workers is the trade union. The essential function of the trade union is to strive to gain for the workers a more equitable share of the national income. That is, to raise the wage rates, to shorten the working day, to improve the standard of living

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Four British Trotskyist Leaders Are Railroaded To Jail By London Court

Tory Democracy: Freedom for a Fascist, Jail for Trotskyists!



Class Bias Pervades Trial Of Four Fighters For Socialism

Defendants Bravely Uphold Their Socialist Principles, Exhort Comrades to Build Party

By Cable to *The Militant*

LONDON, June 23 — Four members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (British Section of the Fourth International), including Jock Haston, the party's general secretary, have been found guilty of "furthering, aiding and abetting" a strike declared illegal under the infamous

Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927 after a trial lasting six days at the London Assizes.

Those convicted, in addition to Haston, are Roy Tearse, national secretary of the Militant Workers' Federation; Ann Keen, northeast (London) district secretary of the RCP; Heaton Lee, former organizer of native mine-workers in South Africa.

The four were sent to prison from the courtroom and the defense committee in charge of the

case has initiated a country-wide campaign to secure their release. To this end it has appealed for the raising of an additional fund of one thousand pounds.

Lee and Tearse were sentenced to 12 months, Haston to 6 months, and Ann Keen to 13 days, on the charge of aiding workers on strike. (Although the American capitalist press carried reports of the arrests, and displayed no hesitation in echoing the red-baiting smear campaign which preceded the arrests, news of the trial and convictions has been completely suppressed. — Editor.)

CLASS JUSTICE

In the finest traditions of the revolutionary movement, the Trotskyist victims of British capitalist "justice" defended the program of the Fourth International in the courtroom and inspired a wide feeling of sympathy and solidarity among the workers of Britain.

The prosecution arose from strikes among young apprentices in the shipyards and engineering shops of the Tyne-side several months ago — strikes which coincided with great walk-outs among British coal miners.

Panic-stricken by the mounting wave of working-class militancy, which expressed the refusal of Britain's workers to continue bearing the intolerable burdens of the imperialist war while the capitalists grow ever richer from the "blood, sweat and tears," Britain's ruling class cast around for a scapegoat for its own crimes and mismanagement. The Trotskyists, as the most ardent and consistent defenders of labor's rights and interests, were singled out as the first target of capitalist counter-attack.

POLITICAL TIRADE

In opening the case for the prosecution, the Crown Advocate, Mr. Paley Scott, warned the jury not to be swayed by any political prejudice they might entertain against the Trotskyists. Then, launching into the case for the prosecution, he indulged in a political tirade against the ideas of the Trotskyist defendants, thereby seeking deliberately to create that very atmosphere of bias he

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New Labor And Progressive Support Rallies To The 18

One of the foremost labor fraternal organizations in the United States, the Workmen's Benefit Fund, is strongly backing the Civil Rights Defense Committee campaign to secure an immediate unconditional presidential pardon for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Transport Workers Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded to prison under the Smith "Gag" Act.

This national fraternal organization has sent a letter to its hundreds of branches urging them "to support wholeheartedly and to the best of their ability the efforts of the Civil Rights Defense Committee."

Close to 300 union and liberal organizations, representing more than 1,750,000 workers, have already endorsed the CRDC campaign, and many additional groups each week are joining the forces defending the democratic rights of American labor by aiding in the fight to free the 18, reports George Novack, CRDC National Secretary.

Among the national bodies

Tories Lie About India Famine Toll

In order to conceal the full horror of the famine in India under British rule, British colonial authorities have denied the most reliable estimates of over 5,000,000 dead by starvation, claiming that "only" about 600,000 had perished from hunger during the past year.

Sir Alfred Watson has defended "the accuracy of the official machine of record" on which the government's figures are based. This "accuracy" can be best judged in terms of previous official statements about the "official machine of record."

The census Commission for India in 1941 cited the Bengal Government Report of 1936 which complains, "The system of registration, collection, and transmission of vital statistics still continued to work unsatisfactorily." The Census Commissioner states this is true for 1941, adding: "Hence the importance of associating a skilled statistical treatment with a profound understanding of the quality of the original data."

Such a skilled statistical treatment, based on the government's own data, was given to the famine in Bengal province, representing only about a fifth of India's population, by the Calcutta University Research Department. Its estimates place the 1943 "abnormal mortality" in Bengal alone at 3,500,000—one in twenty,

which are backing this fight, in addition to the Workmen's Benefit Fund, are the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union; CIO Textile Workers of America; CIO United Transport Service Employees; CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; Workmen's Circle; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; American Civil Liberties Union and Workers Defense League.

Last week the Greater Flint Industrial Union Council; Fleetwood Local 15 and Budd Local 306 of the CIO United Automobile Workers in Detroit adopted resolutions urging President Roosevelt to pardon the 18. Richard L. Schmidt, Budd Local President, wrote the President that "a refusal of a review of their case and of the clearly unconstitutional Smith 'Gag' Act places in jeopardy the rights of every progressive, liberal and pro-labor citizen of this nation."

The next important phase of the CRDC campaign is the completion of the drive for 10,000 signatures on the Pardon Petition which will be presented to Roosevelt. Over 8,000 signatures have already been collected, and the CRDC has requested all its Local Committees to push the petition drive forward in the next few weeks to fulfill the quota by the end of July.

CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors during the past week to the CRDC Pardon and Relief Fund include: UAW-CIO Buick Local 6, Chicago, Ill.; Brewers Local 98, Davenport, Ia.; CIO Barbers and Beauty Culturists Local 2, Brooklyn, N. Y.; UAW-CIO Local 15, Detroit, Mich.; Flint Industrial Union Council, Flint, Mich.; Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Reading Lodge No. 652 and Italo-American Democratic Club, Reading, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., June 23 — Local labor and Negro leaders condemned the imprisonments of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case defendants at a CRDC Mass Meeting held here tonight at the Labor Educational Center. The principal speaker was

"Brave New World"

British workers in soldiers' uniforms have more than a vague idea of what awaits them in the "brave new world" of the post-war era if capitalism is not swept away. Accompanied by Prime Minister Churchill, Ernest Bevin, labor flunkies in the British cabinet, went to a port where troops were embarking for France at the opening of the invasion. As related by Bevin in the House of Commons on June 21:

"The one question they put to me was: 'Ernie, when we have done this job for you, are we coming back to the dole?'"

"It stung. The Prime Minister and I answered them: 'No, you are not.'"

Bevin, His Majesty's Minister of Labor, knows that capitalism and unemployment — the dole — are inseparable. But this labor traitor is nevertheless one of capitalism's most ardent defenders. That's why he was "stung" by the soldiers' query. He felt their awareness of this fact.

George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, who pointed out the contrast between the recent verdict of the U. S. Supreme Court reversing the conviction of an

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Lyttelton 'Error' Embarrasses the Allied Coalition

Capitalist war has developed the art of camouflage to a high degree not merely in the military but in the diplomatic sphere. The art of diplomacy is the art of concealment—the lie has become the greatest of all "secret weapons."

All the imperialist belligerents pursue their real war aims behind a smokescreen of hypocrisy and deception. These aims without exception are so greedy and sordid they cannot stand the light of day. The highest virtue of capitalist statesmanship is the ability to sweeten and perfume the lie.

But in the present war of imperialist rivalries the lie is of such enormity it strains the ingenuity of the political leaders to conceal it. Now and then, the tissue of deception rips to reveal the abysmal truth behind it.

DAMAGING TEAR

The Anglo-American coalition was confronted last week with one such damaging tear in the fabric of its diplomatic camouflage. At a luncheon meeting of the

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JAILED



JOCK HASTON
National Secretary,
Revolutionary Communist Party

'Liberating' Italy's Farmers

By James Cowan

Dirty chores which the capitalists and their political representatives are reluctant to carry out themselves for fear of arousing fierce opposition from the flunkies of capitalism in the labor movement. Prominent among these flunkies today are the Stalinists in every country.

When the Badoglio government in Italy was given a "democratic" face-lifting some weeks ago, it was the Stalinists who sprang to the rescue of this regime of reaction which was about to be swept away by the angered masses. And it was a Stalinist, Fausto Gullo, who was given the post of Minister of Agriculture. Badoglio was ousted when the Allies entered Rome. Bonomi took his place. But Fausto Gullo has remained as Minister of Agriculture.

The most urgent problem of the Allied "democrats" and their Italian capitalist puppets is to induce or compel the Italian farmers to deliver up their grain and other food-stuffs so that the starving cities may be fed, for famine produces a dangerous mass temper.

cellent job — in the interests of his imperialist-capitalist masters. Displaying all the "necessary resolution," he has "worked through proposals put forward by his experts, and has signed decrees (decrees, mark you!) instituting regional provincial inspectors and the organization of provincial communal committees to assess contributions due from farmers and to control the collection."

The farmers of southern Italy are thus being subjected to a system of forced grain collections. They are being compelled to deliver up their produce in exchange for an almost worthless currency.

Prior to the Allied landings in Italy, Roosevelt and Churchill promised to feed the hungry. The slogan "Freedom from Want" was even inscribed on the AMG currency. But what the Italian people actually got was intensified hunger. All food finds its way into the black markets and workers paid in AMG currency cannot buy the wherewithal to support life.

Now the Italian farmers are to be robbed to feed the hungry urban population — so that the Allied "liberators" may be able to wriggle out of their lying promises. The instrumentality of this robbery is the Stalinist Minister of Agriculture, who, with Allied bayonets at his back, will force the farmers to deliver up their produce in exchange for AMG money of highly dubious purchasing power.

FORCED DELIVERIES

It remains to be seen how the Italian farmers will react to draconian measures of grain collection, carried out under Stalinist auspices. Stalin himself once had difficulty in forcing the Russian peasants to deliver up their grain. The fires of Italian mass discontent will be fed immeasurably. The Italian farmers are to discover that the Stalinists are now the instruments of reaction in their country, agents of their oppressors, enemies of the toilers of both town and country.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The "wave of the future," so far as the Wall Street "post-war" planners are concerned, is foreshadowed by such events as the firing of 1,500 workers on 24 hours' notice by the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Co. Port Newark (N. J.) shipyard, and the contemplated lay-off of several thousand more.

The company, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, "generously" offered to permit the men workers, excluding several hundred women, to apply for work at its Kearny, N. J., yards — "on a 30-day probationary period." This was naturally protested by the union, CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 16, as a union-busting move aimed at destroying seniority, eliminating active union men and down-grading, at lower pay, those rehired.

As a result of the union's protest, the War Manpower Commission directed the company to transfer the fired workers to Kearny without "restrictive hiring practices." The company brazenly refused to comply.

Federal Shipbuilding has received over \$450,000,000 in government contracts, on which it is realizing huge profits. We have yet to hear a single squeak from Roosevelt, his government agencies or the big business press in indignant condemnation of Federal Shipbuilding. Such indignation is reserved for workers provoked into strikes by the vicious practices of companies like Federal.

The demand for the removal of Harry Bridges, Stalinist stooge head of the CIO Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, from his post as CIO West Coast regional director is spreading throughout the CIO.

Following the recent example of the Toledo Industrial Union Council, the St. Louis Joint Council, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, CIO, has passed a resolution calling on the national CIO to take action against Bridges for his scab role in the Montgomery Ward Strike and his declaration for a permanent no-strike pledge.

Bridges, you will recall, instructed his local in St. Paul to work overtime to help Sewell L. Avery fill his Chicago orders halted by the strike. "Call it scabbing if you will," declared Bridges, "but Chicago orders will be filled eight hours a day."

The Roosevelt-McNutt "sneak" forced labor decree, issued through the War Manpower Commission, was sharply denounced in Midwest Labor World, organ of the St. Louis URWDSE-CIO. This "voluntary" order, which requires that unemployed workers be hired only through the U. S. Employment Service which can force them to take a job anywhere under any conditions, amounts to telling the jobless worker, says Midwest Labor World, "You voluntarily take this job on the west coast or you can stay here and starve."

Midwest Labor World appeals to "the leaders of the CIO to hotfoot it to the White House with a protest . . . because the President can stop this nonsense instantly if he will. . . ." But the editorial emphasizes as its strong point that unless the forced labor directive is withdrawn, "we, the top porkchoppers, lesser porkchoppers, propagandists, orators, local officers and shop stewards

of the CIO, committed to the support of the President for a fourth term, will be embarrassed in our efforts to re-elect him!"

The St. Louis union brothers underestimate what it takes to "embarrass" the "top porkchoppers" of the CIO. Philip Murray and his lieutenants haven't been "embarrassed" by Roosevelt's wage freeze, his strikebreaking plant seizures, his call for universal forced labor by law, the pro-corporation policies of his WLB and NLRB, his support of the Baruch-Hancock monopoly "grab-all" plan, his complete failure, after all his demagogic promises, to make any fight against the war profiteers.

In fact, according to the testimony of William Green, and never denied by the CIO officials, the WMC decree was "developed by the management-labor committee of the WMC" on which sits Clinton Golden, Philip Murray's personal representative in that body.

If the CIO workers were supporting and building a genuine independent labor party and backing real labor candidates, then the "top porkchoppers and lesser porkchoppers" would not always have to be "embarrassed in our efforts to reelect" the capitalist demagogue Roosevelt.

The chief complaints these days of the CIO officialdom are being directed against Roosevelt's labor relations agencies, particularly the NLRB and WLB. Only recently the CIO Executive Council issued one of its typical resolutions in which all its "whereases" are a biting condemnation of the WLB, while its "therefore" concludes with a pledge of "complete support" to that same body.

The CIO statement charges that the WLB is "blandly contemplating the present national wage freeze although the cost of living has risen above the 15 percent allowance of the Little Steel formula," that "the wage bracket system resulted in rates much lower than those established through collective bargaining and threatened to destroy such bargaining;" that "the Board had abdicated its authority to the wage stabilization division which arrogantly has assumed final authority over all wage problems;" and that "interminable delays in the board's procedure have made a mockery of any relief to be obtained through resort to the board."

Having thus shown that the WLB exists to clamp the wage freeze on the workers, impose wage cuts and destroy collective bargaining, that it has no authority anyway and it is a "mockery" to go before it, the CIO skates wind up by calling for "complete support" for the WLB "as an agency which must be continued to resolve in a peaceful manner the industrial disputes between management and labor."

This "peaceful manner" of the WLB, strangely enough, according to Murray, has served only "to provoke labor and to cause political confusion and national unrest." The "political confusion" that the CIO bureaucrats fear is the workers' increasing awareness of the anti-labor character of Roosevelt's agencies for controlling labor and their growing understanding that the "friend of labor" in the White House is in reality the friend exclusively of Wall Street and Big Business.

Branches Near Goal Of 6000 New Readers In 'The Militant' Subscription Campaign

The Militant Subscription Campaign is building up to what will be a rousing finish on June 30. Even though the goal of introducing 3,000 NEW READERS to The Militant through an offer of 13 issues for 25c was reached in the eighth week of the campaign, the branches have continued to sell an average of 662 subscriptions every week since then. This week an all-high was reached—821 subs—and from all indications even a higher number of subscriptions will be sent in during the last week of the campaign.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Buffalo continues to lead nationally with 602 percent. Cleveland jumped from 76 percent to 184 percent.

Los Angeles sold the most subs for the week—153—with Chicago and New York tying for second place with 116 each.

Two more branches joined the 100 percenters: Cleveland and Minneapolis.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Buffalo: "Let me know right away if we have reached 300 yet. The 8 subs I am enclosing makes 296, but there are supposed to be 6 more on the way. In case those 6 subscribers haven't sent in their cards, I'd like to go out and get 4 more subs so we'll have a neat 300. I think Bill's heart would break if we didn't make it exactly!"

San Diego: "We've just returned from an hour's campaign and three of us netted exactly 9 subs. This being our very first try at this house-to-house method we feel quite enthused. Those who didn't go out stayed to take care of the children and t h e y had to buy the beer! Next week we will rotate on this sub-children-and-beer procedure."

San Francisco:

"These 15 subs are a result of Sunday's work in Oakland. This work was done in a working-class neighborhood, where the majority works in shipyards in the Bay area. We will devote another Sunday to this Oakland work, and then will draw up a report on our experiences there. . . The national scores look wonderful. San Francisco is going to double its quota of 160, we are sure."

Minneapolis: "These 19 subs should certainly put us over the 100 percent mark. Ten of these subs were obtained by comrades who went out for door-to-door work Sunday morning. We expect to sell quite a few more subs."

Rochester: "We are going from door-to-door in a few days, but our working hours hinder us some. The subs sell easily. When we are away to work and anyone comes to the door, the children try to sell them a sub. They have sold several this way."

Detroit: "You'll see that one of our subs is from Atlanta, Georgia. This was obtained from a colored sailor on one of the ships here. Subs keep coming in. We'll have 700 by Sunday, and probably more."

Queens Branch (New York Local): "Over one-third of our 90 subs have come from the factories, laying the basis for an extension of the party's influence in the shops."

Milwaukee: "In two hours of house-to-house canvassing Sunday morning, three comrades and a sixteen-year old sympathizer secured 8 subs. Because of the success of our door-to-door work I've been authorized to order more sub blanks. We mean to really go over."

Los Angeles: "400 more to make a thousand! That is now our slogan. . . The importance of our subs campaign cannot be over-estimated. We are broadening our base, and sending our best organizer, The Militant, into the homes of hundreds of workers once every week. The experiences of the comrades who have worked hard in this campaign reveal a shift in the political consciousness of the workers and particularly of the Negro workers."

Only one week left before the official termination of the campaign. Let's finish with every branch at least 100 percent!

Lyttelton "Error" Embarrasses Allies

(Continued from page 1)

American Chamber of Commerce in London, Oliver Lyttelton, British Minister of Production and a key figure in Churchill's War Cabinet, let slip one of those damaging affirmations that causes considerable scurrying in departments of state and chancelleries. "Japan was provoked into attacking the Americans at Pearl Harbor," asserted Lyttelton. "It is a travesty on history ever to say that America was forced into the war. Everyone knows where American sympathies were. It is incorrect to say that America was ever truly neutral, even before America came into the war on an all-out fighting basis."

Quickly the emergency crews were mustered to repair the damage. London issued official disclaimers and vehemently dissociated itself from Lyttelton's statement. Secretary of State Hull, taking an unprecedented step, formally and publicly disavowed the truth of the embarrassing admission. Lyttelton meekly and hastily issued a retraction—he hadn't meant what he said but something else, the fault was "one of expression and not of intention." The bourgeois press rushed its own volunteer

aids to the scene of the damage, belittled and dismissed the incident as a "fluff."

Unfortunately for the peace of mind of the "democratic" statesmen, such "fluffs" have had a disturbing, not to say nerve-racking, recurrence. They have sprung forth, in one form or another, from the lips of men whose utterances are not to be dismissed lightly.

Last April there was the "fluff" made by Lieutenant General Patton, who spread consternation through all the official quarters when he proclaimed to a British audience that "undoubtedly it is our [read: Wall Street's] destiny to rule the world." The frantic efforts on the part of the American and British government to cover up this slip provided a seven-days display of diplomatic gymnastics.

Again, the capitalist press has long since buried from print, but not from memory, that statement of the late Secretary of Navy Knox in which he blusteringly proclaimed the war aims of American imperialism to "police the world for a hundred years."

SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Subs	Percent
Buffalo	80	301	602
Newark	50	304	380
Toledo	30	102	340
New York	500	1582	316
Rochester	15	39	260
Bayonne	50	126	252
Detroit	300	655	218
Chicago	200	435	217
Reading	30	61	203
Philadelphia	30	60	200
Seattle	150	299	199
Cleveland	50	92	184
San Francisco	150	273	182
St. Paul	50	85	170
Texas	10	17	170
Allentown	15	26	170
Los Angeles	400	653	163
Milwaukee	15	24	160
Boston	100	158	158
Youngstown	50	63	126
Minneapolis	200	215	107
New Haven	25	23	92
Akron	40	35	87
San Diego	50	37	74
St. Louis	20	9	45
Quakertown	10	4	40
Members-at-Large, Friends	355	113	32
Pittsburgh	10	2	20
Flint	15	3	20
TOTAL	3,000	5,796	193

CUTBACKS PRODUCE DEPRESSION FEAR

(Continued from page 1)

resumption of civilian production on the 1939 level—a relatively high one—will mean there will be between 15 and 20 million unemployed. The Federal Reserve Bulletin says that in order to confine unemployment to a "normal" 2,000,000 it will be necessary to produce and consume 170 billion dollars worth of goods and services instead of the 108 billions of 1935.

WHAT THE CATCH IS

The United Automobile Worker estimates that on the basis of an equitable distribution of an income of 170 billion it would mean that the average family would receive \$3,500 a year which, computed on the basis of a 40 hour week for 52 weeks is about \$1.65 an hour. These figures are not at all impossible. Writing on the problem in PM, I. F. Stone points out that: "We are currently producing 200 billion dollars worth of goods and services for war and civilian use. There is no doubt that we can produce much more than 170 billion dollars worth of goods and services in peacetime. The catch is whether we have sense enough to get these goods and services distributed and consumed."

"To reach these goals," writes Stone, "we will have to wipe out that one-third ill clothed, ill fed, ill housed." In order to achieve a high level of prosperity, he goes on, "we need to measure our domestic market, not in terms of what people can buy, but of what they need" and adds that such a rational organization of the means of production and distribution "is not incompatible with private enterprise." We have here an eloquent example of the muddleheadedness of the liberals and labor "statesmen." The profit motive lies at the very heart of the "private enterprise" system which could not exist without it. Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange is completely indifferent to the "needs" of the people, and will produce ONLY for profit.

"FREE ENTERPRISE"

When people are unable to "buy," factories shut down and the wheels of industry cease turning. Mass unemployment, insecurity and want in the midst of potential plenty are phenomena peculiar to the "free enterprise" system. Under the capitalist system of production relatively full

closed the fraud of the "Atlantic Charter," when he declared before Parliament: "I have not become the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

These "fluffs" are not needed to disclose the predatory and reactionary aims of the warring capitalist powers. The unprecedented scope of their secret diplomacy, their support of the most reactionary and discredited regimes in the conquered territories, their oppression of colonial peoples sufficiently reveal their true purposes. All that these "fluffs" lay bare is the brazen arrogance of the spokesmen of the capitalist rulers, who think themselves so secure, so powerful, that on occasion they defy the first law of their own diplomacy—never to depart from the lie.

Roosevelt's Plant Seizures Are A Strikebreaking Device

By Art Preis

Events since the most recent and controversial instances of government plant seizures, involving the Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago and Springfield, Ill., have demonstrated most clearly that these seizures were not undertaken by Roosevelt to protect labor's interests, but that they have, in fact, strengthened the hand of the openshop company against the workers.

The immediate issue of the Chicago controversy was the refusal of Sewell L. Avery, Montgomery Ward head, to comply with the War Labor Board directives to extend the union contract pending an NLRB election. The immediate effect of the seizure, however, was only to break the strike. The workers tied their hands once more and looked trustingly to Roosevelt who had assured them that once the union demonstrated it represented a majority Avery would give them a contract.

WHAT HAPPENED

In actuality, Avery not only has refused to sign a contract after the union won an NLRB election, he successfully defied the WLB directive to extend the existing contract prior to the election. Even while the government was in formal control, the Ward management continued to fire workers and union leaders, to cut the helpless union to pieces.

Now the facts have come to light to expose the real fraud of this seizure. As Wayne Taylor, Undersecretary of Commerce and chief government agent in the seizure revealed before a House investigating committee recently, the government never did control the operations of the plant. Taylor never even secured the books of the company. "The truth is you never did operate the plant?" asked Congressman Ranspock.

Taylor replied: "In terms of actual operations as I understand it, the answer is we did not."

The control and profits of the company were actually protected by the government. What the workers received was indignantly stated before the same hearing by Leo Goodman, Washington representative of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, who bitterly complained that the seizure had not brought the benefits ordered by the WLB, that the government had not prevented the company from continuing its union-busting policies and that, in fact, "the union has been betrayed by the Department of Commerce." More correctly, he should have said betrayed by Roosevelt and the union officials who applauded the seizure.

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by

JAMES P. CANNON

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Now the farce is being repeated in Avery's Hummer Manufacturing Co. plant at Springfield. Here the government took over after a 16 day strike called when the WLB for nine months failed to enforce its directives ordering Avery to sign a maintenance of membership contract. The strike is broken, but Avery has signed no contract.

All the army officials have done is "restore order." They report "production is normal," and the Secretary of War, by the terms of the seizure order, will formally restore the plants within a limited time to the company—which has never ceased to control operations and make its profits.

But the army has not enforced the WLB directive. PM, May 24, reported: "Army men here insist they took over the plant to restore production, not to enforce a WLB order. If the WLB order is to be enforced, say Army men here, it is not up to them to act as policemen. Therefore the question as to how Montgomery Ward is to be forced to obey the WLB is still unanswered." But the army officials can and do act as policemen in driving the workers back to work at bayonet point to enforce government orders against the workers.

PREVIOUS SEIZURES

It is obvious that the Ward seizures do not differ essentially from cases where the government's actions were openly for the purpose of strike-breaking. In the North American seizure in 1941, this was so apparent as to evoke the public condemnation even of Philip Murray. Troops marched in, smashed the picket lines with their bayonets, injuring several workers, herded the strikers back into the plant and then acted as the armed overseers for the company.

This was too crude. The role of the capitalist government as the direct agent of the owners was too apparent. Subsequent seizures have been more subtle, involving the attempt to make the workers believe that the government has removed the private management, that it is running a plant in the interests of the "public" and not the profits of the owners, and that the workers are no longer toiling for the bosses but "for the government" as an "impartial" agency.

When the government took over the mines during last year's strikes, there was no use of troops at all. Roosevelt simply decreed that the mines were government property and that anyone who struck was "striking against the government." John L. Lewis himself fortified this idea when he made cancellation of the strike conditional on the continued operation of the mines under the formal control of the government. The government, however, in this instance was the mine operators, whom the administration appointed as the government representatives. As the undecided miners put it, government control was "the same old lady in a new dress." (The Militant, May 8, 1943.)

SIMILAR DEVICE

A similar device was used to prevent the threatened general rail strike last December. Roosevelt "took over" the railroads simply by stating they were government property and appointing seven railroad presidents, with brand-new officer commissions as the government's agents. This provided the pretext for union officials to call off the strike with the excuse that the workers could not "strike against the government."

Thus, an examination of the actual operations and consequences of government plant seizures—almost a score of them in the past three years—show they have invariably brought three principal concrete anti-labor results: 1. They have broken strikes and weakened the bargaining powers of the unions; 2. They have whittled down the gains which the workers were in a position to win by carrying their struggles through to the end; 3. They have strengthened and protected the profit and property interests of the employers.

The workers must learn to see through the fraud of government plant seizures by Roosevelt. They must refuse to have any part in calling on the capitalist government to defend their interests. Labor's interests can only be safeguarded by the workers themselves, through their own weapons of organized independent mass struggle both on the economic and political fields.



One of our agents in Seattle voices our oft-repeated request that all branches, all readers of The Militant, contribute their ideas and new experiences so that they may be utilized by others:

"What the branches are doing and what workers think of our paper is what we in the field want to know. And that is what the 'Militant Army' tells us. Also, a very important aspect of the column is the new ideas on how to distribute, how to sell subs to The Militant, etc. Branches should send in all new experiences and try-out ideas they have on getting The Militant into the hands of new readers."

Our agent in Plentywood, Montana, writes: "I am going to stop giving papers away. My opinion is that I will get more subs." This opinion has been substantiated by the receipt of three 1-year subscriptions and one 6-month sub to The Militant from this area.

A subscriber in Cleveland not

Wall Street Plutocrats Control Nation's Press

By Ralph Graham

When workers of the Montgomery Ward mail order company went out on strike in Chicago recently, to force the signing of a new contract to preserve their wage standards and working conditions, almost the entire capitalist press lined up against the strikers—as was to be expected. Among the great daily newspapers which took part in the campaign against the striking workers was the Chicago Daily News, in which the late Col. Frank Knox, Roosevelt's secretary of the navy, was the principal stockholder.

But how many of the Ward strikers were aware of the fact that Sewell L. Avery, president of Montgomery Ward, was and is a director of this big Chicago newspaper, besides being president of the U. S. Gypsum Company and a director of U. S. Steel, which like the mail order house itself are numbered among the interests of the great banking house of Morgan?

This interlocking of big capitalist corporations with a single newspaper enterprise is characteristic of the press as a whole. The press of America is owned by, and serves the interests of, Big Business. While pretending a never-flagging concern for the public weal, in reality it serves the small plutocratic minority which rules America.

The public press, like the radio, the movies and the church, is an instrument of capitalist propaganda and of capitalist rule—the rule of the tiny exploiting minority over the vast exploited majority. Its function is to glorify and defend capitalism, and to befuddle and intimidate the victims of capitalism, the workers, the producers of all social wealth.

Today, in the midst of the predatory war, in which the capitalist plutocrats are coining new and immense fortunes from the blood and agony of the common people, not a day passes but what the press of the Sixty Families attacks the workers for their "selfishness" in trying to maintain their hard-won living standards in face of the greedy assaults of their exploiters.

The plutocratic press believes there must be sacrifices in the interest of the war effort—provided the sacrifices are all made by the workers. It justifies the huge war profits of the monopolistic corporations and unflinchingly springs to their defense whenever there is an exposure of war frauds. It opposes investigations of these frauds but always clamors for investigations of trade unions and their funds. It spearheads every reactionary attack on the labor movement and its organizations. In particular, it favors and presses forward the campaign for a National Service Act—American counterpart of the Nazi-fascist slave labor laws—in order to straitjacket the working-class and prevent it from fighting for its rights.

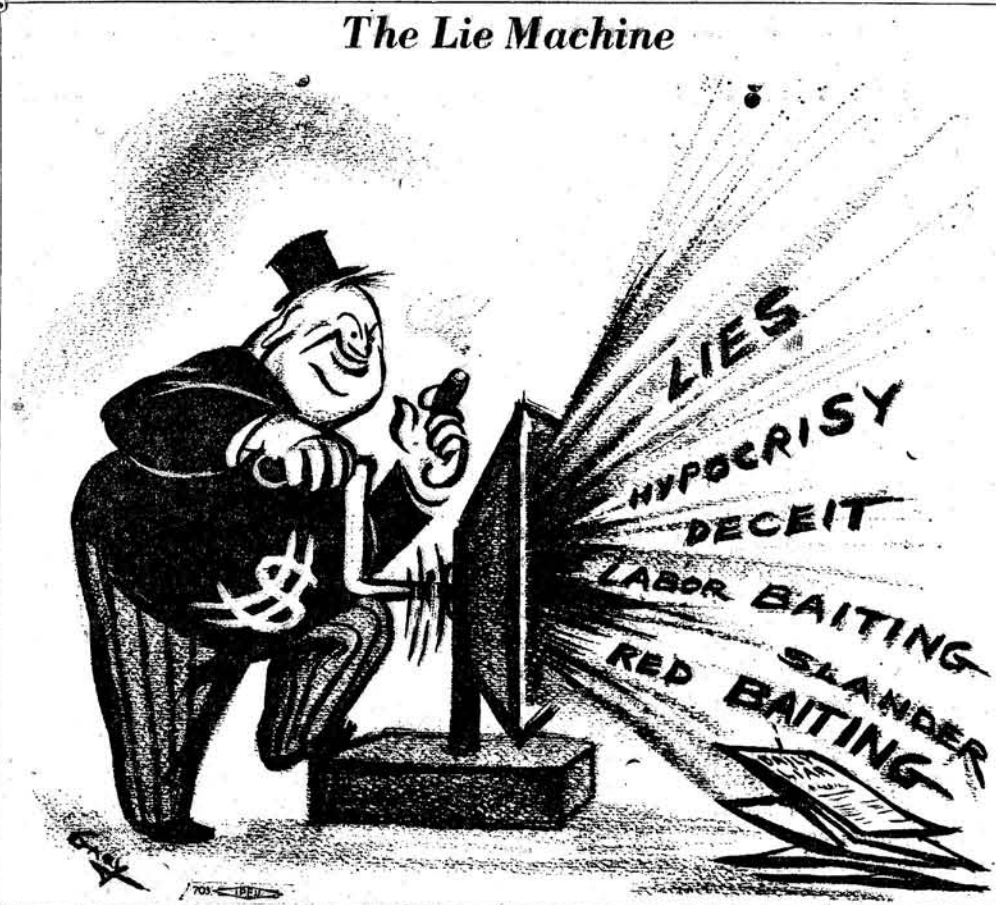
Just as the great banking house of J. P. Morgan owns or controls a large part of the country's heavy industries—including U. S. Steel and General Motors—and many secondary industries as well, so, too, it holds a leading place in ownership or control of the press.

J. P. Morgan's Network

Among the principal press interests of J. P. Morgan and Co. is Time, Inc., publishers of the weekly news magazine Time, which consistently follows the line laid down by Big Business, Fortune, which is among the leading exponents of the interests of the Sixty Families, and Life, the widely-circulated picture magazine. Ownership of the Time properties is shared by the Morgan interests with the Rockefellers and other big business concerns.

In many cases, ownership or control of newspapers and other publications is concealed or camouflaged, because if certain publications were known or easily identified as mouthpieces of big capitalist interests they would largely lose their value and effectiveness.

Control of newspapers not owned outright is effected by ownership or control of advertising sources or by direct subvention. An example of the latter on a grand scale was revealed before the first



world war in a government investigation of the bankrupt New Haven Railroad, a Morgan property. It was shown that more than one thousand New England newspapers were on the New Haven payroll for about \$400,000 annually. The purpose of this huge subvention—"bribery" would be a more accurate term—was to enable Morgan to utilize the newspapers in a campaign to unload a lot of questionable stock on unsuspecting investors.

Thomas H. Lamont, Morgan's partner, is related to the Gardner Cowles family which owns the Des Moines Register and the Tribune-Capital, as well as the Minneapolis Star and various radio stations. This is an example of indirect Morgan con-

trol over the so-called organs of "public opinion." All three papers, as well as many others in which the House of Morgan is interested, speak the language of Big Business and stand in the front ranks of every attack on the labor movement. Still another Morgan newspaper enterprise is the reactionary New York Sun which is tied to the great banking house through an outstanding loan of many millions of dollars from Morgan's Guaranty Trust Company.

The House of Morgan exerts an ubiquitous influence even over press organs and press activities which it does not own or control. To the desk of Thomas W. Lamont at 23 Wall Street, relates Ferdinand Lund-

berg in his thorough and authoritative book, America's Sixty Families, come newspapers, magazines, and books from all over the world. Relevant passages have been marked by a staff of readers, works in foreign languages translated. "Lamont reads and evaluates praise and dispraise of J. P. Morgan and Company; then the material is filed. Sometimes he enters into personal correspondence with writers and editors; sometimes he sends out a letter for publication; sometimes he suggests that a third party make denial, emendation, affirmation.

"At least half of Lamont's contact with the surrounding world is with publishers, writers that cater to mass audiences, newspapermen, and editors. Among the many Lamont literary and journalistic friends are Walter Lippmann, who went with him on a trip to the Near East in 1931 and who has forwarded in his nationally syndicated column, many theses that Wall Street financial writers had previously heard, often similarly phrased, from the lips of Lamont. . . ; Edwin L. James, managing editor of the New York Times; and Mrs. Ogden Reid of the New York Herald-Tribune.

"Writers of standing and repute not personally acquainted with Lamont will sometimes receive an invitation to lunch with him, and will learn from him wherein they have erred in reviewing a certain book, in writing a preface, or in composing an essay that mentions J. P. Morgan and Company or one of its many enterprises or friends. They will be asked to retract, and, failing to comply, they may count upon Morgan hostility to manifest itself visibly in various parts of the magazine and book-publishing world."

Control in this sphere is exercised through the Morgan interest in the Crowell Publishing Company which publishes The American Magazine, The Country Home, Collier's Weekly and the Woman's Home Companion, all with huge national circulations. The Morgan interest in Crowell is represented by Director A. H. Lockett, who is also a director of Newsweek, owned by the Astor-Harriman-Mellon-Whitney-Che- ney interests.

Like the House of Morgan, the House of Rockefeller, the House of Dupont and the other big capitalist families have numerous direct and indirect interests in the press. There was a time, in the nineteenth century and even as late as the early part of the present century, when there existed a so-called "free" and "independent" press. Some of the papers in this category were of the liberal capitalist variety.

But that was in the days of "free competition." This era in the development of capitalism has long since disappeared. Monopoly and the rule of finance capital have taken the place of "free competition." Just as in the realm of industry and business, capital has become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, so, too, the press as a whole has fallen under the control of big capital.

Monopolization of the Press

During the depression that preceded the present war boom more than one thousand daily newspapers folded up and went out of business or disappeared through merger. The independent or liberal press, free of any direct ties with Big Business, is no more—if one excepts such feeble weekly publications as The Nation and New Republic and perhaps the Baltimore Sun. The Scripps-Howard chain, once noted for its liberalism, is now an unabashed spokesman of big business and reaction.

The vociferous and unanimous support of the war by the entire capitalist press is itself testimony to the fact that this press is the organ of Big Business, which is the sole beneficiary of the terrible slaughter and destruction. American capitalism is bent on dominating the world in order to maintain and increase its super-profits. The job of the press is to "sell" this imperialist program to the workers, to make them believe that the war is being fought for democracy and the "Four Freedoms", so that they will continue to offer up their blood and their lives on the altar of capitalist greed.

Four British Trotskyists Convicted In Trial Under Notorious Anti-Union Law

(Continued from page 1)

had hypocritically w a r n e d against.

As the case unfolded, 9 young apprentices from Tyneside, aged 18 to 20, were called to testify for the government. But they

JAILED



RONALD TEARSE

gave no aid or comfort to the prosecution. All declared that they had gone on strike on their own initiative and responsibility without being "agitated" or "instigated" by anyone.

The majority of these witness-

es, under questioning, declared that nationalization of the coal mines under workers' control was the only solution to Britain's coal crisis. It was Labor Minister Ernest Bevin's practice of "drafting" apprentices in the engineering trades for work in the coal mines that led to the outbreak of apprentice strikes.

Bevin himself, the traitorous labor leader and member of Churchill's Tory government, appeared as a witness against the Trotskyist defendants. When questioned as to the government's refusal to negotiate with the apprentices, Bevin said it was the policy of the government to negotiate only with official bodies. Hence the refusal to have dealings with the striking young workers. Bevin refrained from observing that the apprentices were compelled to organize themselves because the established trade union leadership had refused to organize or recognize them.

JURY'S VERDICT

Hurling back into the teeth of the capitalist court the charge that the Trotskyists had "conspired" to bring about strikes and had engaged in "inciting" workers to down tools, the defendants charged the British capitalists and their Tory government with conspiring to railroad the Trotskyists to prison solely because

they remained true to their revolutionary socialist principles and championed every struggle of the workers. They upheld the Trotskyist policy as one of unconditional support of the working-class, or any section of it, in any and every struggle to improve

JAILED



HEATON LEE

working-class conditions or defend working-class rights.

TROTSKYIST ANSWERS

Judge Cassels, presiding over the court in wig and ermine, asked the defendant Heaton Lee, "What is a Trotskyist?" Lee replied: "The name Trotskyist is given to followers of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We are called Trotskyist to differentiate ourselves from the Stalinists, who are not Communists at all, 'Trotskyist' and 'Revolutionary Communist' are synonymous terms."

Regarding the working-class demand for nationalization of the coal mines, a demand vigorously pushed by the Trotskyists, Prosecutor Paley Scott asked Lee: "You knew the government could not nationalize the mines in three weeks?"

Lee replied: "I believe it could be done. The mines and all the social services of Russia were nationalized in one week in 1917."

Paley Scott: "But that was in the days of Trotsky?"

Lee: "Hear, hear?"

Roy Tearse also took the witness-stand and was asked by the prosecutor to describe the Militant Workers' Federation of which he is national secretary. The MWF, he said, was formed to coordinate the struggles of the working-class, through the trade unions and in the factories, and to render assistance to workers on strike.

Prosecutor Paley Scott asked: "You want to shake the country?"

Tearse: "I want a socialist society in Britain and the world, a

complete overturn of present-day society."

Jock Haston, general secretary of the RCP, took the stand to advocate the party demand for nationalization of the mines and all other industry under a system of workers' control, as a transitional stage in the struggle of the working-class for socialism.

CLASS BIAS

In his charge to the jury, Judge Cassels' class bias was ill-concealed beneath the vestments of judicial impartiality. By slanting his summation of the case favorably for the prosecution, he practically invited the jury to bring in convictions.

Haston pinned down this obvious class bias when, from the prisoners' dock, after the verdict had been announced, he addressed the court to say: "I hope I have served my class as well as you have served yours!"

With heads lifted high, undaunted by the prospect of long prison terms, the four Trotskyists were marched off to their cells.

ISSUE STATEMENT

Before the iron gates clanged behind them they issued a statement to their comrades outside who will carry the banner of Trotskyism in their absence. "This trial demonstrates," the statement ran, "that evidence or no evidence, the capitalists will condemn the revolutionists. Such a fate will not shake our faith in the program of the Fourth International. We believe the working class has no alternative to the leadership of the Fourth International in the achievement of its emancipation. At this critical juncture in the history of the RCP the main task of our comrades is to close ranks and knit the party together. Our watchword must be: 'Unify the ranks. Build the party for the victory of the Fourth International.'"

The jury brought in convictions on the charges of "furthering, aiding and abetting" strikes made illegal by the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, but acquitted the defendants on the charges of "conspiracy" and "incitement."

To the four English Trotskyist leaders belongs the distinction of being the first representatives of the British working-class to be charged, tried and convicted under the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, which was passed by the Tory government in 1927 following the great general strike of the previous year.

ANTI-LABOR ACT

The purpose of the Act was to hamstring the labor movement by the threat of severe penalties against those advocating or taking part in strikes. The Act was denounced by the entire British labor movement and demands for its repeal have been made by the

trade unions and other labor organizations ever since it was written into law.

It has now been used, for the first time, against the Trotskyists. And those who have wielded this judicial bludgeon are, quite characteristically, Ernest Bevin,

JAILED



ANN KEEN

His Majesty's most loyal Minister of Labor, and Herbert Morrison, His Majesty's most loyal Minister for Home Security. There were other days, before they occupied their present ministerial posts in the Tory government of Churchill, when Bevin and Morrison were among the loudest declaimers against the very law which they have now used to railroad the Trotskyists to prison.

Haston, Tearse, Lee and Ann Keen were arrested early in April to the accompaniment of a wild campaign of slander and red-baiting conducted in the London Tory and Stalinist press. Strikes were convulsing the country from end to end and the nifty capitalists pretended to see behind this great wave of renewed working-class militancy a sinister underground plot with "foreign funds" and all the rest of the rigamarole essential to the preparation of a frame-up. However, acquittal of the defendants on the "conspiracy" and "incitement" charges has completely exposed the fraudulence of the press campaign and the fact that the real conspirators and inciters are the capitalist class, their government and their press.

RABID CAMPAIGN

Early in April, with the Stalinists pointing the way, Morrison's police raided RCP offices in London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Nottingham, Walsend and other industrial centers and carried out wild raids on homes of party members. The Tory press shouted with glee: "Aha!—the conspirators have been found. The

Trotskyists are back of all the strikes."

The arrests followed. Four Trotskyists, innocent of any crime save that of fighting for the interests of the workers against their exploiters and oppressors, are being railroaded to prison.

But Bevin and Morrison—and their master, Churchill—have miscalculated. The Trotskyists are not isolated "conspirators." The RCP is a part of the British working-class movement, its militant spearhead, its advanced revolutionary expression. The trial has provoked a storm of protest throughout the ranks of labor.

From all quarters comes support for the committee in charge of the defense of the four. The committee is composed of representatives of the broad labor movement, including a number of prominent labor members of parliament. Bevin and Morrison sought to strike a blow against labor by jailing the Trotskyist leaders. But they have stirred up the labor movement, aroused the indignation of the workers, and revealed themselves as the reactionary tools of British capitalism.

The viciousness of the attack

JAILER



ERNEST BEVIN

on the Trotskyists is attested not only by the unbridled smear campaign in the Tory press, not only by the arrests and the trial, but by many attendant circumstances.

ENGLISH "DEMOCRACY"

For 42 days after their arrest the four Trotskyist leaders were held in prison without bail, and

when bail was finally granted it was made conditional upon the defendants reporting DAILY at a police station.

In prison the defendants were treated like common felons. Ann Keen, the only woman prisoner among the four, was rudely stripped of her clothing by a woman matron despite severe cold and the fact that she had not yet recovered from an illness. All were subjected, despite the fact that they had not yet been tried—much less convicted—to the harshest prison regime while awaiting the time for their court appearance.

The Churchill government showed a touching concern for the fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley and released him from prison on grounds of illness—through the instrumentality of Minister Morrison. Naturally no such solicitude was shown for the Trotskyist prisoners.

Churchill freed Mosley over the outraged protests of the British workers. The British workers will now strive to free the four imprisoned Trotskyists. They are already moving into line behind the defense committee.

Who Are The 4 Trotskyists Jailed By Churchill-Bevin?

Four more names were added last week to the long honor roll of the fighters for labor and socialism who have been framed up and convicted by the "democratic" capitalist courts. The four convicted British Trotskyists have records of many years of devoted service to the English and international labor movements.

JOCK HASTON

JOCK HASTON, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, has spent most of his 32 years as an active participant in the class struggle of the British workers. He has known hard toil since his earliest youth, working as a seaman and a steeplejack. At the age of 14 he joined the Young Communist League, then a revolutionary organization. A union man to the bone, he participated in every struggle of his union organizations.

He says of himself: "I have had my head battered before by the British police. In the depression days of strikes I had a taste of the struggle." Since 1938, he has been active in the Trotskyist movement as a speaker, writer and organizer. He includes among his many party activities the post of Assistant Editor of the Socialist Appeal, organ of the RCP.

ANN KEEN

ANN KEEN is distinguished as the sole woman defendant among the four convicted British Trotskyists. She has been one of the most indefatigable workers in the British Trotskyist movement. Before joining the Trotskyists she was an active member of the Paddington Labor Party and aided in many of the campaigns and struggles of British labor. At the time of her arrest she was serving as the North East (Lon-

don) District Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

ROY TEARSE

ROY TEARSE has been a leading figure in organizing and educating the English workers through the Militant Workers' Federation, of which he is national secretary. This body has been active in co-ordinating militant trade union work and fighting for the independence of the unions from the influence of the employers and their government.

Since his discharge from the Navy because of an attack of infantile paralysis, he has worked as a tester in the engine shop of De Havilland in London, was on the Shop Stewards' Committee and was a member and President of No. 3 Edgeware Branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He was a member of the Independent Labor Party, which he left to join the Trotskyist party.

HEATON LEE

HEATON LEE has spent many years in the revolutionary class struggle not only in England but among the oppressed peoples of the British colonies. Before coming to England, where he joined the Trotskyist movement in 1937, he was a mining engineer in South Africa. There he took a leading part in attempting to organize the native miners into a trade union under the most difficult and hazardous conditions.

He is an active member of the Amalgamated Society of Construction Workers and until his arrest worked as a surveying engineer for a large concern. His labor activities included serving as a lecturer for the National Council of Labor Colleges.

In The Colonies

By LI FU-JEN

Netherlands East Indies

Imperialist "liberation" of the Netherlands East Indies has begun. On April 22, American troops of MacArthur's command landed in the Humboldt Bay area of Dutch New Guinea, vanquished the Japanese garrison and seized the port town of Hollandia. Accompanying them were officers of the NEI Civil Administration who proceeded to set up administrative organs in the wake of the advancing troops.

This is just a beginning. According to a Washington dispatch to the N. Y. Times on May 4 a "shadow government" for the whole of the Indonesian islands, consisting of both Dutchmen and Indonesians, has been formed in Australia "with the idea of taking over when the islands are freed."

Plans are also being worked out for resumption of Dutch exploitation of the islands. An official NEI import and export organization has been formed in Australia. According to official Dutch sources, its staff consists "entirely of import and export experts who have come, and are coming, to Australia from all parts of the world. . . . They are all former executives or employees of Netherlands Indies firms."

AGE-OLD PILLAGE

Thus with the aid and under the auspices of Anglo-American imperialism, the Dutch imperialist bandits are preparing to resume their age-old pillage of Indonesia and its 67 million inhabitants. The Indonesians themselves are not being consulted as to their wishes. They are simply ignored in that contemptuous fashion which is characteristic of the imperialists in all their dealings with subject peoples.

Indonesia is a fabulously rich colonial empire. It accounts for 90 percent of world exports of cinchona bark (from which quinine is extracted), 85 percent of the pepper, 82 percent of the kapok, 33 percent of the natural rubber, 30 percent of the coconut, 25 percent of the hard cordage fiber, 24 percent of the palm oil products, 17 percent of the tea. The islands are also sizable producers of sugar, tobacco, coffee, cocoa and teakwood.

From the sixteenth century until the islands were grabbed by Japan in 1941-42, the Dutch imperialists systematically looted Indonesia of its riches. India, with twice the area and six times the population of Indonesia, had only twice its volume of exports and imports. Indonesia's export surplus even exceeded that of India. In the year 1938 it amounted to \$100,000,000 and in previous years reached as high as \$400,000,000.

PARASITIC MONARCHY

All this wealth has enriched the Dutch plantation owners and the capitalists back in Holland who have waxed prosperous from the toil and sweat of the native population. Among the greatest beneficiaries of this exploitation was the parasitic Dutch monarchy. Fat Queen Wilhelmina and her fat daughter are leading stockholders in corporations which exploit Indonesia.

Before the Dutch conquest, the Indonesians never experienced an insufficiency of food. Lush nature took care of that. And the population was small. But the imperialist freebooters, after subduing the inhabitants with fire and sword, proceeded to plunder the islands. Hunger and epidemics descended on the people.

After a while, the policy of outright looting became uneconomical and the profits of empire dropped. By 1830, as a result of wars in Europe and "punitive expeditions" in Java, Holland was in a state of bankruptcy. To replenish the empty imperial treasury, the so-called Vandenbosch Cultivation System was introduced in the

colonies, including Java and other Indonesian islands.

Under this system the peasant was compelled to devote part of his land to the cultivation of products profitable for export, the proceeds going to the Dutch treasury. These products, mainly coffee and spices, demanded more time and care than the native food crops and the peasant was left with little time to provide for his own livelihood.

There were frequent revolts and bloody suppressions, but the systematic robbery of the natives saved bankrupt Holland. By 1870, the forced method of cultivation had in turn ceased to be profitable, but it continued until the dawn of the twentieth century. Its last vestiges were the "Lords' Services" whereby all men up to fifty years of age were required to labor at public works and roads for a specified number of days each year without pay.

As the twentieth century opened, the system of large plantations was rapidly superseding the old primitive methods of cultivation. Larger labor forces became necessary. To provide these, some care was necessary for the population. Modern transport and medicine banished famine and epidemics. A population of some 1,000,000 around the year 1800 has reached the figure of 67,000,000 today.

The conditions of the inhabitants were somewhat improved, but no step was ever taken in this direction by the Dutch colonial despots unless it was calculated to intensify the exploitation and robbery of the natives. If one excepts the fairly large petroleum extraction and refining industry built up in recent years, there has been practically no industrial development.

DELIBERATE POLICY

This is a deliberate policy. The Dutch capitalists do not want an industry whose products would eventually compete with the output of Holland's industries. Indonesia is very profitable indeed as a plantation. Moreover, as an official publication of the Netherlands Government stated with surprising candor, large-scale industry is not desired in Indonesia because the rulers do not wish the thought of creating an industrial working class which would challenge their piratical rule.

Economic backwardness has thus been deliberately fostered, for the exclusive benefit of the imperialist freebooters. But this backward plantation economy can scarcely keep pace with even the most elementary needs of the growing population. Said the Dutch economist Boeke in his study of "The Structure of Netherlands Indies' Economy":

"We may well look with anxiety upon the fact that in Java the crop balance becomes negative with every crop failure of any dimensions and that we are only two years ahead in the race between production and population. This means we cannot afford to allow the expansion of production to flag even for a single year."

Economic backwardness goes hand in hand with a retarded social development. Most of the colonial revenue—derived from land, plantation, export and import taxes, and from government monopolies of railroads, public utilities, postal-telegraph and pawnshops—went to pay the lush salaries of the Dutch colonial officials. Only 10 percent was devoted to education and during the depression this was cut to five percent. Less than one-tenth of the population can read and write. In most cases, children must work to supplement the family incomes.

TRADE UNIONS

Indonesian trade unions came into existence during the first world war and in 1920 the plantation workers went out in the first organized strikes. Also that year, there were strikes of printers, machine-shop workers and dockworkers in Surabaya, the great port and naval base. In 1925 there was a fresh strike wave, and in 1926 the railroad workers called a general strike which paralyzed transportation for several days. It was in 1926, too, that the Communist Party, formed six years earlier, summoned the masses to premature uprisings against the Dutch imperialists. Troops were called out to crush the rebellion. More than 13,000 revolutionists were arrested and more than 1,000 of their leaders were exiled to Boven Digul in the fever-ridden swamps of Dutch New Guinea.

Seven years later, in February, 1933, mutiny broke out in the Indonesian navy, both Dutch and Indonesian sailors participating. The immediate cause of dissatisfaction was a 17 percent pay cut. Sailors aboard naval vessels at Surabaya refused to present themselves for morning inspection.

Why The American Workers Must Have Their Own Labor Party To Defend Class Interests

By Vincent R. Dunne

In the summer of 1939 Vincent R. Dunne wrote a letter on the highly important question of the labor party to Sarah Tarleton Colvin. She has just published his letter in her interesting and informative book, *A Rebel in Thought* (Island Press, N. Y., N. Y.) This 1939 letter is reprinted below. Vincent R. Dunne, together with 17 other Trotskyist leaders is now serving sentence in one of Roosevelt's federal penitentiaries for his irreconcilable adherence to his revolutionary socialist ideas and ideals.—Ed.

Among serious people who today are concerned about and active in the development of progressive forces fighting for change from the present war-torn, poverty-ridden social order, there can be no two opinions as to who leads on the economic, political, and cultural plane. The industrially developed countries lead the more primitive and backward ones. The city leads the countryside. Progress towards the achievement of a more scientific, freer, and fuller life commands an acceptance of this fact with a genuine respect and understanding of it. We live in a class society which is still dominated and rigidly controlled by the capitalists, who have evolved from their former progressive role, as the leaders of the revolution which swept away the feudal system, to their present place as the exploiters and oppressors of the more numerous and progressive class, the real producers of gigantic social wealth.

Political parties, properly understood, represent the interests of special economic groups. The main economic group is composed of the workers of town and country, in other words, the agricultural worker on the farm and the industrial laborer in the city. Industrial workers are best fitted for political leadership. This powerfully numerous and socially significant class cannot be faithfully represented or served by a political party dominated by their masters. Experience has shown that the worker and the farmer can expect nothing but treachery from them. The producers must build and control their own political party or parties.

A labor party, or a farmer-labor party, in order to escape the fate of absorption or control by the bosses' parties, must be controlled by the organizations of workers, that is, by the trade unions. The worker has been conditioned by factory and job discipline to act in an organized manner. By virtue of this fact, the trade union



VINCENT R. DUNNE

has become the most important and efficient economic and social organization of our time. Just as the industrially developed country dominates one less industrially developed, just as the city dominates

Stalinists Attempt To Extend Slander Campaign Into Unions

By Art Preis

Shore workers in the naval establishment struck. News of the mutiny reached the crew of the cruiser *Zeven Provinciën* which was on a cruise off Sumatra. They seized the vessel from control of the officers, with the intention of sailing it back to the Surabaya base as a demonstrative act of solidarity with the mutineers there. Bombers were sent after the cruiser and a direct bomb hit enabled the officers to regain control. Troops suppressed the mutineers at the base.

When Japan's imperialist forces struck at Indonesia just after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Dutch imperialists found themselves helpless and defenseless in the face of their Japanese rivals. The Indonesians, despoiled and oppressed for more than three centuries, showed not the slightest disposition to defend the hides or properties of their hated Dutch taskmasters, who were compelled to scurry away from their rich tropical empire.

Now, thanks to the American and British imperialists, they are preparing to go back and resume their old positions as robbers of the people. But, having no one but the Allied imperialists to lean on and secure aid from, their old colonial sovereignty is gone. They will return, if at all, as the vassals of Wall Street.

America's monopoly capitalists are very much interested in the vast wealth of Indonesia, as they are in the riches of all Asia. This is the meaning of Vice-President Wallace's new pamphlet, entitled "Our Job in the Pacific," which gives a rough outline of Wall Street's policy in Asia.

COLONIAL "TRUSTEESHIP"

When the war is over, says Wallace, Asia will be divided into Free Asia, in which he includes China, Soviet Asia, the Philippines, Korea and Thailand, and "subject or colonial Asia," in which he puts India, the Netherlands East Indies, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and a great many small Pacific islands.

Britain and the other colonial powers concerned, he continues, must announce a specific date on which they will terminate their "trusteeship" over the colonial areas of the Pacific. Because—"It is to our interest that there should be a ladder of evolution upward out of colonial subjection and coolie economics to self-government and an economy of opportunity and reward." To what end? To the end that the old colonial monopolies may be broken down and the rich colonies thrown open to Wall Street exploitation. Mr. Wallace, be it noted, had nothing to say about "liberating" Puerto Rico, which is a colony of American imperialism. Colonial subjection and coolie economics are quite all right there!

The Indonesians were robbed and oppressed by the Dutch imperialists for more than three centuries. Today they are under the heel of the Japanese imperialists. Tomorrow Wall Street plans to move in, together with the old Dutch exploiters. None of the imperialist powers is the bearer of freedom, independence, material well-being. These can be won by the Indonesians only in struggle with the colonial peoples elsewhere, and with the world working-class, for the destruction of capitalist-imperialism and the establishment of Socialism.

Whipped into a frenzy by the fast-mounting trade union support for the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Labor Case victims and by the increasing influence of Trotskyist ideas as reflected in the success of *The Militant's* current subscription drive, the Stalinists are extending and intensifying their organized campaign of slander and lynch-citation against the Trotskyists and all other labor militants.

With each unfolding phase of their own degrading capitulation to Wall Street and big business reaction, the Stalinist strikebreakers hurl ever more venomous shafts at the most progressive



sectors of the labor movement. They direct most of their venom at the Trotskyists, who represent the most conscious and uncompromising defenders of both the immediate and the historic interests of the working class.

EXTENSIVE, MALEVOLENT

This campaign becomes more sustained, extensive and malevolent with each succeeding week. It is being conducted not merely in the official gutter-press of the Communist Political Association, but through all the unions and union organs dominated by the Stalinists and in every other labor body where these contemptible scabs and corporation stoop-pigeons dare to raise their voices.

Two weeks ago *The Militant* reported the opening stages of this slander drive within the union movement. The lead was then taken by strikebreaker Harry Bridges. Stalinist stooge at the head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union, who devoted his entire personal column in his organ, *The Dispatcher*, to a rabid diatribe against the Trotskyists in the very issue where he presented his infamous proposal for a permanent no-strike pledge.

Stalinist Joseph Curran, president of the CIO National Maritime Union, next joined the witch-hunt pack. His organ, *The Pilot*, on June 9, launched a smear against the Trotskyists, and, not by accident, in the same issue which features a signed article by Bridges "explaining" his proposal for all-out surrender to the bosses not only for the "duration" but forever after.

FANTASTIC DISPATCH

The *Pilot* essays a flank attack on the Trotskyists, and through them on all militant labor, by reprinting directly from the Stalinist west coast daily, *People's World*, a fantastic dispatch from Mexico accusing the Trotskyists

there of "inciting" 75 railroad strikes. From this the workers are supposed to draw the inference that the Trotskyists in America are also "strike provocateurs" and "disorderly elements" in general—presumably the only type of people who oppose the permanent no-strike pledge.

Reports are now coming in that the Stalinists have reopened their campaign in the unions to secure the passage of resolutions banning distribution of *The Militant* at labor gatherings and appealing to the FBI bloodhounds to get on the trail and "probe" this publication.

Furnishing most of the stink-bomb ammunition for these attacks is the *Daily Worker*. This red-baiting sheet and self-avowed defender of capitalist reaction between June 17 and June 24 spit forth no less than seven smear pieces against the "Trotskyites" and all labor militants on whom they stick the same label. Each article howls the slanderous refrain that the imprisoned "anti-fascist" Trotskyist fighters, who head the Socialist Workers Party which has organized and led giant demonstrations before the war against the Bundists and Christian Fronters, are the "same" and even "worse" than the indicted 29 fascists now on trial in Washington. This slimy lie is intended to persuade the American workers that the Minneapolis Labor Case, which is now supported by nearly 300 unions representing a million and a half members, is not a labor case but a "fascist" case.

Like most criminals, the Stalinists try to escape retribution for their crimes by falsely attributing them to others. They even pervert the very meaning of the terms which correctly characterize their own foul deeds and attempt to plaster these terms on those who loyally defend labor's rights and interests. This trick of brazen perversion was employed editorially in the June 19 *Daily Worker*.

SQUIRMING SCABS
The Stalinists have been justly branded as scabs throughout the labor movement, particularly since their strikebreaking conduct in the Montgomery Ward strike and their pronouncement of a permanent no-strike pledge. In the *Daily Worker* editorial, the Stalinists seek to escape their own indictment as scabs by simply twisting the word around to its opposite and then flinging it at—striking workers.

Strikes, says the *Daily Worker*, are the result of "provocations" by "Lewisites, Trotskyites, Klansmen and Coughlinites." Two abominable frameup lies are incorporated in this assertion. When the Stalinists claim that strikes are the result of "provocations" by anyone but the corporations themselves, they have no other purpose than to whitewash and cover up for the bosses. As self-confessed defenders of capitalism and recognized volunteer strikebreakers, the Stalinists seek to justify their anti-labor role by concealing the crimes of the corporation owners which are the real provocation for strikes. The Stalinists say not a word about corporation profiteering, discri-

mination against union members, violations of contracts, chiseling on wages, open intimidation and union-busting, stalling on negotiations, speed-up and other forms of intensified exploitation. No, their fulminations are directed exclusively against striking workers and all defenders of labor's rights who resist the provocations of the corporations.

TYPICAL AMALGAM

At the same time, to reinforce their slanderous attack on the militant workers, the Stalinists introduce a typical amalgam, bracketing the Trotskyists—the fighters for workers' rights and conditions—with Klansmen and Coughlinites, the most vicious fascist enemies of labor.

The bosses and their agents have always used red-baiting as a weapon against militant workers; the Stalinists have likewise adopted this anti-labor device in order to confuse the issues in workers' struggles and smear striking workers. If the bosses raise the cry of "Reds!—Agitators!—Communists!" when the workers dare to fight for so much as a nickel raise, then the Stalinists now fling the labels "Lewisites!—Inciters!—Trotskyites!" at striking workers.

THE REAL SCABS

But, in this same editorial, they go one dastardly step further. Not those who break strikes, but those who strike are "scabs," the *Daily Worker* dares to assert. This term which grew up out of the labor movement, which has been used universally to describe those degraded creatures who violate labor picket lines and take the jobs of striking workers, has been distorted to its exact opposite by the Stalinists.

Ending on a sinister note, the scabby *Daily Worker*, screams: "Those who violate the no-strike pledge are scabs and should be so treated. Scabs were never handled with silk gloves." In short, the strikebreaking Stalinists are trying to remove the correctly applied term of scab from themselves and pin it on to the coal miners, the Montgomery Ward workers, and the hundreds of thousands of other striking workers whom the Stalinists tried to stab in the back!

Twist and squirm, lie and slander, threaten and abuse as much as they will, the contemptible Stalinist agents of big business reaction will not avoid being known and called for what they are—scabs. All their cunning and deceit will not avail against the workers' growing understanding of Stalinism's traitorous role. Millions of organized workers already condemn the Stalinists as scabs, playing their dirty craft within the camp of labor. Organized labor must eliminate completely from its system the Stalinist poison, the deadliest internal menace within the labor movement.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

the country-side, so the trade unions and workers' organizations must take the lead in organizing the other less stable economic groups and merge with them in a political party.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT

The class struggle is an inevitable outgrowth of a class society. The conflict rages over the division of wealth produced by labor, which is appropriated in the main by the financiers, industrialists, and their allies. This struggle swiftly develops into a life or death question for the millions of unemployed and miserably paid workers. They and they alone, through the medium of trade unions, are equipped by experience, discipline, and organization to lead the fight for the emancipation of all.

The simple truth that the economic welfare of industrial workers cannot be fully protected by trade unions alone, has not been appreciated in the past, and is even now, after ten years of panic and mass unemployment, only partially understood by the leadership of the American trade unions. Due primarily to this misunderstanding, the trade unions have remained, quite generally, harnessed to the Republican and Democratic political machines. Economic pressure, the strongest motive force in society, has in the last few years impinged sharply upon the consciousness of this leadership.

The Minnesota trade unions from the world war period to the present time have gone through a completely different course of development in the political arena than their sister unions in almost all other sections of the country. Here the unions, not without continuous opposition from important leadership personnel, have exercised a powerful although inadequate influence in launching and building the Farmer-Labor Party (Shipstead's election to the Senate in 1922 was the direct result of the intervention of five thousand striking railway shopmen, fully supported by all other Minnesota trade unions). They were, however, never allowed in the pilot house. They were not responsible for its shipwreck.

CURRENT CONDITIONS AND THE PROSPECT

The shattering of the Farmer-Labor Party in November 1938 (it was not merely an electoral defeat) was the inevitable culmination of a course shaped by politicians, compromisers of all sorts, and outright charlatans. Only the smug and timid will conclude, however, that the Labor Party has been destroyed.

The idea of independent political action is based upon something much firmer and more important than the hazy whims of a campus radical or the wishes of semi-skilled intellectuals who look at their belt buckles for inspiration. When the Labor Party, or Farmer-Labor Party, comes back into Minnesota, it will be as part of a nation-wide movement based on and dominated by the mass trade unions, dispossessed farmers' organizations, and unemployed sections affiliated with the trade unions. The driving force of such a political party will bring to its support the so-called middle-class elements in present-day society. Countless thousands of excellent students, professionals, technicians, and honest intellectuals will be inspired by the program of the Labor Party. It will be brilliantly colored by their talent and culture.

That the trade unions will finally tread this path, there can be little doubt. The New Deal has evolved into a war deal. The millions who have been taken off the breadlines will not return to selling apples on the street corners. The Republicans, even as the Democrats, have only one program of "reconstruction"; cut wages, hamstring the unions, starve the unemployed, drive the farmer into bankruptcy, and give all the Coughlins free rein. The trade unions, either with the present leadership, or against it if necessary, will be forced to organize and lead a labor party toward conquest of state power, thereby clearing the way for the reconstruction of our world on the plane of reason, logic, and justice.

[A REBEL IN THOUGHT by Sarah Tarleton Colvin. Island Press, New York 1944. Pages 170-173.]

Tresca Case 'Neglect' Draws Labor Protests

Not a single line in the entire 41-page annual report issued by New York's District Attorney Frank S. Hogan on June 20, is given to one of the most outrageous political assassinations in recent years — the murder of Carlo Tresca, who was shot down

allegedly the owner or lessee of the garage in which the car had been kept. Galente was returned to Sing Sing as a parole violator; Nuccio was freed last November on a \$5,000 bond; and then the police apparently dropped the whole matter.



CARLO TRESCA

in cold blood on the streets of New York over 17 months ago. The Tresca case is still unsolved.

Hogan's lengthy report, which said nothing about the negligence in the case of the murder of a courageous working class leader, gave praise to the attorney's office for attaining the "highest percentage of successful prosecutions . . . in 42 years." Although Carlo Tresca, as a militant antifascist and ardent fighter for civil liberties, and editor of the antifascist Italian paper, *Il Martello*, had powerful enemies neither city nor state authorities ever attempted to ferret them out.

THE "INVESTIGATION"

The police first tried to handle the case as they would a "racket murder." Two "material witnesses" were held for questioning. One was Carmine Galente, ex-convict, picked up as a suspect with the explanation that he was seen, two hours before Tresca's murder, getting into a sedan abandoned the same night a few blocks from the scene of the crime. The other was Frank Nuccio, "small-time racketeer,"

With which New York police have handled the Tresca case, has aroused growing indignation in the labor movement. Thus, last week the ILGWU-AFL convention called upon the Federal Government to bring the assassin to justice. Again, as reported in last week's issue of *The Militant*, Aldo Feliciani, associate editor of the anti-fascist *Countercurrent*, in an open letter to Mayor LaGuardia, asked pointedly, "Is the course of justice being obstructed by the same dark forces which hired Carlo Tresca's assassin?"

The omission of the Tresca case from the Hogan report was met this week by a protest from the Workers' Defense League, which demanded: "What . . . did your office discover about the different suspects connected with foreign political groups named as having possible motives for 'eliminating' Carlo Tresca?"

More and more voices of the labor movement must and will be raised, to break the furtive silence of the police in the Tresca murder.

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Mutiny and No Bounty

According to an Associated Press dispatch June 22 from Washington, D. C., the mother of a Negro soldier got the chance and also had the guts to tell the members of an Army judge-advocate's review board what she thought of the official policy of racial segregation in the Army as practised in this so-called democracy ostensibly dedicated to the principle that "all men are created equal."

She was pleading "not for clemency but for justice" for her son, Pvt. Leo M. Jones of Philadelphia, who had been sentenced to 15 years in prison and a dishonorable discharge in connection with a refusal to work at Dale Mabry Field near Tallahassee, Fla., March 23. At the time of the disturbance Pvt. Jones was confined in the guard house for going AWOL for six days. He and five other Negro soldiers from northern cities were classified as "general prisoners." They refused to report for work because, according to their instruction, (and this was not refuted by the review board), only "garrison prisoners" are required to work. Yet the Florida court martial found them guilty of that most unpardonable crime as far as the brass hats are concerned—mutiny.

Reviewing the record, Pvt. Jones' mother made it plain that the reactionary U. S. Army policy of dealing with the Negro troops was, in reality, the basic causative factor in any violation of the rules of which her son might be guilty. She told how when the war broke out and Leo knew he would be drafted he tried to get in as a pilot. "He was told," she said, "in the shadow of the Liberty Bell that Negroes were not wanted in the Air Corps." Of course Pvt. Jones' mother evidently doesn't realize that about the only two liberties that are found in the shadow or in the country of that famous bell today are the liberty to exploit the masses and the liberty to kick the minorities around.

She told of his treatment when he was later at Bolling Field, Washington, where, she said, he was required to eat in the kitchen while the white soldiers were served in the mess hall. While stationed in camps in the South the terrible conditions of discrimination against his race which he observed and experienced with the apparent hopelessness of his doing anything about it led to extreme mental anguish and a feeling of frustration.

He telephoned her from the Florida camp telling her that, under such circumstances, life was unbearable. Finally, he went home for a visit, the first in three years, without obtaining a leave. He was away from camp for six days. While a prisoner for that violation of the refusal to work occurred which led to the mutiny charge.

It was her plea before the review board that the segregation and other indignities suffered by Leo as a Negro soldier in the Jim Crow Army were the underlying causes of "mental and

physical illness" which precipitated any violation of the rules. Openly blaming the system, she asked the officers not for mercy but for fairness.

Evidently preparing to sanction the reactionary judgement of the officers of the court martial, Col. Terry A. Lyon, chairman of the review board, said the case would be considered "solely on the record" regardless of other factors relating to the background. Different members of the officers' caste are just as united against the soldiers as the capitalists are against the interests of the workers.

From a factual analysis of this mother's plea, there is plenty of reason to believe her charges. Hundreds of thousands of white soldiers have developed "mental illnesses" during this war and been discharged from the army. Regardless of the psychiatric explanations, the unpublished fact is this: the vast majority of such psychoneurotic cases are caused by a failure to be convinced that the aims of this imperialist war are sufficiently lofty to warrant the sacrifice of one's freedom, limbs and life. If low morale can cause a white soldier to crack up then it stands to reason that the same thing can happen to the Negro soldier whose frustrations are doubled by the factor of Army racial policy. Even the arch-reactionary Westbrook Pegler who harangued the Negro Press for requesting equality has had to admit that, if he were a Negro, the life of insult would probably drive him to splutter his brains out against a brick wall.

As far as physical illness is concerned, it is obvious that the second class food and second class facilities available to the segregated, second class army must lead to second class physical condition provided all other factors are equal. Furthermore, the beatings and clubbings by southern civilians and police, as well as by prejudiced MPs can hardly contribute to an Atlantean physique.

Pvt. Jones' mother made a brave and truthful plea. As she indicated, such oppression cannot help but gestate a rebellious mood and reaction. As the brass hats sow so shall they reap. We admire his spunk and her spunk and we will always support militant action by any minority in their struggle for the equality.

No bounty of justice, however, can be expected with this type of mutiny. By the very nature of capitalism, under which this country operates during peace and during war, the type of justice that is administered must always be that type which strengthens and protects the interests of the non-productive ruling class. The Army brass hats, as well as all other agencies of government, can be depended upon to carry out a policy of minority oppression and racial segregation as long as the capitalist system remains to utilize such a policy as drives a dividing wedge in the ranks of the masses and, therefore, remains of such great value to the handful of exploiters

Congressmen Happy Over New Price Control Act

(Continued from page 1)

Committee in conjunction with top officials of the Roosevelt administration. In a statement submitted to the conference committee by OPA officials themselves it was pointed out that the effects of the amendments would spell the destruction of price control. Yet, though these amendments were retained, high administration spokesmen led by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes, more commonly known as the "Assistant President", are opposing a Presidential veto. In fact, it is reported that: "Prior to the conference committee's final sessions, there was a meeting of top Administration officials in Byrnes' office at the White House where he laid down the policy to be followed. Bowles (OPA Administrator) participated in that discussion and its results were relayed by telephone to the conference committee at the Capitol."

Under the whip of Byrnes, spokesman for Roosevelt, administration forces lined up in support of the amended price gouging bill. This was a cruel blow to the liberals and labor bureaucrats who had concentrated their fire on the "reactionaries" in Congress for allegedly taking advantage of Roosevelt's "preoccupation" with the invasion to blast the price control machinery to pieces. The liberal PM, zealous supporter of Roosevelt, had furiously assailed the "profiteering paratroopers" who had seized the moment of invasion to launch an attack on price control enforcement, adding: "Administration forces, with attention focused on the heroic drama of the Nor-

mandy beach-heads, have concluded that the campaign of these special interests can be blocked only by the heaviest firepower. That will take the form of a resounding veto message by the President if the legislation extending the Price Control and Stabilization Act emerges from Congressional conference as bad as it now looks."

LIBERAL MUDDLEHEADS

But because of the active participation of the administration in framing the measure, PM itself is forced to conclude: "There is no question of the bill's immediate adoption. But there are likely to be no votes against it because War Mobilization Chief Byrnes has passed the word around the Hill that there will be no veto unless something unexpected happens." Like a drowning man clutching at a straw, the liberals cling to the tantalizing hope of the "unexpected." The myth of "price control" under capitalism is another of the fairy tales which clutter up the liberals' Museum of Abandoned Hopes. These people are capable only of confusing and disorienting the struggle of the workers against soaring prices and a constantly declining standard of living.

The American people have long been victims of a political shell game, Congressional representatives of big business interests have perfected the technique of making exorbitant demands on behalf of their "clients." This is usually followed by a furious outcry by liberals, labor bureaucrats and Stalinists against the "reactionaries" for trying to "undermine" the administration. Dark hints are made of a Presidential

veto unless the Congress withdraws its more outrageous demands. This stage play is passed off as a real conflict between the administration and Congress thus providing a perfect setting for behind-the-scenes bargaining which culminates in a "compromise." A compromise in which the "reactionaries" are given what they really wanted in the first place and the curtain is rung down on a scene of "love and kisses." A happy ending in which the protagonists congratulate each other on having once again fleeced the people.

This performance has been repeated time and again. Each time the liberals and labor statesmen hasten to "deplore" the action of Congress. They exert themselves to whitewash the Roosevelt administration of all responsibility in order to be able to repeat the performance at a later date.

"The result," says Philip Murray of the amended price control act, "can be only a marked and continuing rise in prices and rents." Murray then carefully excludes the Administration from his line of fire which is directed solely against the "reactionaries" in Congress. How could it be otherwise with the "labor statesmen" committed to the task of mobilizing the labor movement in support of the fourth term for their "friend" in the White House?

But the facts give the lie to any such arbitrary and fraudulent division between the "reactionaries" in Congress and the "progressives" in the administration. The mutilated version of the Price Control and Stabilization Act was adopted by a virtually unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress. The bill was drawn up in close consultation with top officials of the administration and was given the blessing of the administration before it was submitted to Congress. The responsibility for completing the wreckage of a price control bill which was largely ineffective even before the addition of the crippling amendments lies squarely on the shoulders of both the legislative and executive branches of the government. No amount of demagoguery can conceal that fact.

The workers have been given another lesson in the class character of the government. Dependence on the political agents of the ruling class to safeguard the standard of living of the masses can lead only to disaster.

AP USES ANONYMOUS LETTER AS VILE ANTI-LABOR SMEAR

A typewritten, anonymous letter, containing \$412 in big folding money, was the basis last week for one of the dirtiest smears against organized labor since the Wall Street press published its fake story last year about a "strike" of merchant seamen at Guadalcanal.

Screaming from front-page headlines, that in some instances took the play away from the war news, there appeared last Thursday afternoon and Friday morning an Associated Press dispatch featuring a letter, with the typewritten signature "The Crew of the U.S.S. Coos Bay," which offered to "pay the wage increase . . . that money-hungry strikers are demanding." The letter contained \$412, including three \$100 bills, "to buy off" the present strikers of the Wright Aircraft Corporation.

Without checking the authenticity of the letter, or ascertaining who were its real authors, the AP flashed the letter with an inflammatory anti-labor write-up all over the country. The story buried the fact that the Wright industry was precipitated by a group of Wright employes, not members of the union. It did not involve the question of a wage increase, but was a reactionary anti-Negro action which the union vigorously denounced.

Even if the letter were actually the product of the Coos Bay crewmen, which is a matter of considerable doubt, its references to the Wright strike clearly show that "they were propagandized" with false anti-labor information, as R. J. Thomas, UAW-CIO President, has charged, and that the AP and its member papers played up the story for the sole purpose of scandalizing the labor movement. Even Paul Mickelson, executive news editor of the AP, has admitted that "emphatically it is not" the customary policy for the AP to publish anonymous letters.

It now appears likely that one of the inspirers, if not authors, of the Coos Bay letter is none other than a Lieut. W. F. James, who has been sending Congressmen similar anti-labor missives in which he has identified himself as the executive officer of the Coos Bay.

Representative Ranulf Compton, of Connecticut, has revealed that he received a copy of the Coos Bay letter, prior to its publication by the AP, directly from Lieut. James, who had been corresponding with him for some time "about reaction among the men in the armed services to war-plants strikes." Compton read one such rabid labor-baiting letter from James on January 12 in the House and later inserted it into the Congressional Record.

This AP piece of vicious yellow journalism is part of the anti-labor offensive of Big Business and the government. The agents of Wall Street have been trying to put over forced labor and the wage freeze under the pretext that these are being "demanded" by the rank and file servicemen. At the same time, the corporation press, Roosevelt's army and navy officials and Congressional labor-haters have been engaged in a

campaign to incite workers in uniform against the workers on the production lines.

Even if the AP should now reveal the whole truth about the Coos Bay letter, it will undoubtedly be in the same snide fashion as the Guadalcanal "strike" was treated. Banner headlines blazoned the fake story of the "strike"; the reputation of the story by the Navy Department was buried in a tiny item back in the financial sections. The capitalist press thus upholds its reputation for "impartiality."

JUNE F. I. FEATURES TIMELY ARTICLES ON ENGLAND, U. S.

Four British Trotskyists were convicted last week under the vicious Labor Disputes Act. The June issue of Fourth International, now on sale, presents a concise review of the political background of their arrest, in a "Brief Report on England" by J. B. Stuart. The domestic crisis of Churchill's Tory government, growing pressure by the labor movement against the treachery of the Labor Party and the trade union bureaucrats, the strike-breaking activities of the Stalinists, and the fusion of the Trotskyists into the Revolutionary Communist Party, are analyzed in relation to the persecution of Trotskyist leaders.

On the home scene, as American Big Business begins to reconvert its industries for peacetime production, workers face the problem of vanishing jobs. In a detailed survey, "U. S. Capitalism Heads for Bankruptcy," William Simmons proves that despite increased labor productivity it is impossible for American capitalism to provide work for millions of toilers, unless Socialism replaces capitalist monopoly.

Also featured in the June issue of Fourth International is an

excellent article, "Religion — Its Social Roots and Role," by Felix Morrow, particularly timely in view of Stalin's embrace of the church. Morrow traces the history of the church as an instrument of the ruling class, with emphasis on its adaptation to the needs of monopoly capitalism today, in America as well as in Europe. Other articles of interest are "The Pucheu Case and 'Free France'" which analyzes the antagonisms in the French ruling class which made such a war-guilt trial both a necessity and a danger to its own preservation; and an article by an Indian revolutionist who recently broke with Stalinism, in which he demonstrates the treachery of the Indian Communist Party, as a logical outgrowth of Stalin's betrayal of international socialism.

Summarizing and analyzing the important developments of recent weeks, "Review of the Month" discusses the significance of the "new" Bonomi regime in Italy, the persecution of the British Trotskyists, and the nationwide campaign of Stalinism in America to sabotage and slander labor's defense of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners.

More Progressive And Labor Support Rallies to the 18

(Continued from page 1)

avowed Hitlerite and the refusal of the same court even to review the convictions in the Minneapolis Labor Case. "Only the mighty voice of organized labor demanding freedom for the 18 can liberate them from their prison cells," declared Mr. Novack.

Herbert Moyer, Executive Secretary of Cramps Shipyard Local 42, IUMSWA-CIO, Kazimier Miller, Organizational Director, Dist. 7, United Steel Workers of America-CIO, and Reverend E. L. Cunningham of St. Paul's Baptist Church, called upon all workers and progressive-minded people to back the fight to free the 18. Mr. Samuel Otto, Business Manager of the Philadelphia Joint Board of the ILGWU-AFL and Theodore Spaulding, President of the Philadelphia NAACP, sent telegrams of solidarity to the meeting.

ALLENTOWN, Pa., June 24—George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, speaking at the CRDC meeting held here tonight at the Hotel Allen, told the auto workers and other trade unionists present that the campaign around the Minneapolis Labor Case was the greatest labor defense struggle in the Second World War, comparable to the cases of Mooney-Billings and Eugene V. Debs, who were likewise jailed for their labor militancy and revolutionary socialist views in the First World War.

Mr. Novack gave an inspiring review of the fast-growing army of workers throughout the country who have already come to the aid of the victimized CIO and Trotskyist leaders. The enthusiastic audience contributed \$28 to the Minneapolis fund.

READING, Pa., June 25 — More than 250 Reading workers and their families turned out to hear George Novack at the CRDC picnic held this Sunday at the Angelica Picnic Grove. Addressing his audience from a table in the open air, the CRDC National Secretary pointed out that the framework of the 18 was an attack upon the entire labor movement and the democratic rights of the American people. "What is primarily at stake in this case is not the political opinions of the 18, but the fact that they have been railroaded to prison because of their struggles for labor and for real democracy." The audience cheered and applauded Mr. Novack's stirring appeal for aid for the 18.

Five of the most prominent trade union leaders of Reading also spoke to the rally on behalf of the 18. John Torchio, Local Chairman of the Blacksmiths Local, AFL, acted as Chairman. Preceding Novack as speakers were: Giuseppe Bufano, President of the Maintenance of Way Employees, AFL; Martin Enoch, President, Blacksmith Local, AFL; George Parsons Vice Chairman of the Boilermakers Local AFL, and Clarence Farragame, Local Vice-Chairman of International Association of Machinists.

A home-made cake was raffled off for \$18.88 and over \$100 was raised for the 18 at this enjoyable affair.

The second installment of Leon Trotsky's report and speech to the Eleventh Party Congress in Moscow on April 1, 1922, appears in this month's Arsenal of Marxism.

Every worker who seeks an understanding of the Trotskyist movement should read the June issue of Fourth International, for its exposure of the real aims of those who persecute the leaders of international socialism. Single copies may be obtained for 20c., a yearly subscription for \$2, by ordering from the Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

SHOP - TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

"Say, who are you working for, the Company or the Union?"

Every good steward has had this flung at him one time or another by some boot-licking company stooge who doesn't forget to add, "Laurence J. Ding Dong gave you this job. Where would you be if it weren't for him?" And so on. And a beautiful water tight piece of logic it is. The boss gives you a job, so—you shouldn't bite the hand that feeds you. Well, it's true enough he gives a man the royal privilege of getting down on his knees while he milks him of all his strength and energy. But just what does he give him beyond this? A living wage? Every union man knows what a struggle it is to make the boss pay you enough to really live on. "But still," a worker might say, "It is true that the boss gives you jobs. So we better not put him out of business, or take over the shops ourselves like the Socialists want to."

Actually just the opposite is true. The boss could never get rich without people rolling up wealth for him in the form of production. Yours is really the hand that feeds the boss. And he's biting it all the time. Besides, he's always putting people out of work.

When General Motors were "giving" people work in Detroit, Pierce Arrow was laying them off in Buffalo. Greater capital and cheaper production methods at General Motors (getting more sweat out of the workers) finally drove Pierce out completely. Lots of skilled men were out of work for years. And small foundries around the city that used to supply Pierce with castings for pistons, motor blocks, etc.—they were hit hard too. Chippers, grinders, core makers and molders had to hit the streets.

Lackawanna Steel imported all kinds of people around the time of World War I to run their mills. Serbs, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Mexicans, Negroes from the south — nearly all former farmers who had lived poorly, but worked steadily all their lives. Then for years in the thirties Lackawanna became a ghost town—a town of living shadows who always looked hopefully at the smokestacks at the west end of town, waiting for the furnaces to start up. The steel bosses put them out of work. In the meantime, during those years their sons grew old enough to work. But by this time the bosses were engaged in World War II, so the second generation of young men could find work — shouldering bayonet and gun.

All over the country, on every turnpike, on every river and harbor, you can see factories and mills abandoned in their prime — and on the skid rows of every city you can find some of the human wrecks that this has made. Knitting mills in New England shut down for 9 months, some-

times a whole year—while men and women hug the wood fires in 40 below weather for lack of enough wool clothing. They would like to work an extra week in the mills for a supply of winter heavies. But the good-hearted boss says, No!

Many of these mills are crumbling now. Since the war started new factories have been built—million and billion dollar factories and plants. When the war is over will they start crumbling before their time? Of course, that is, if we still have the bosses to throw people out of jobs. This process will go on as long as capitalism goes on.

The boss may not deliberately want to put you out of work, because the more he has working for him, the more money he chisels. But out of work you go just the same—off the land, out of the factories, in depressions the world never knew in days gone by—before, that is, we heard of the genius of these capitalist bosses. Is this because they're stupid? No, it's the "stupidity" of their outworn system that causes this.

In 1932 they were throwing oranges in the ocean—letting tomatoes rot on the vine, while little kids in the slum areas had to live on white spaghetti. Here in the city no boss would give you work. Out in the country the farmers were going broke because they couldn't sell the very things you needed. Why didn't Laurence J. Ding Dong give you a job then? Why were you laid off because you were lazy—because you didn't produce enough? What a laugh! Production, production, efficiency and more production! . . . You produced TOO MUCH! The bosses' warehouses were crammed full and he couldn't sell the stuff. So out you went.

Now you're back again producing like hell again. And when will the next crash come? Well, you don't know exactly. But you know it's coming.

Smokeless smokestacks at the steel plant, deserted foundries, auto plants with skeleton crews—and thousands of thousands of hard working people tossed out—while the kind-hearted bosses go south for the winter. That's the kind of thing you're really looking forward to when you think it over. That's your future under capitalism. That's the kind of system the bosses have—the kind of job they give you.

There's really only one alternative. Instead of letting the bosses boot you out—kick the bosses out—abolish their rotten system—and run the factories, mills and mines yourselves.

And we'll never let the warehouses choke and food rot while people need it. What we want we'll produce, without asking any bosses' permission. Because the factories will be ours. And we won't let them crumble until we're ready to build new ones.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 30, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS—General Drivers Union 574 voted unanimously on June 28 to answer company stalling on wage demands by preparations for new strike action. The employers, having signed a contract on May 29, giving recognition to the union and providing for negotiation of wage demands, were using the time-worn tactics of delaying proceedings, in a desperate attempt to rally their forces in order to destroy the union. The membership, according to a special dispatch to The Militant, called for "A strike conference of all Transportation Unions to be held within five days. . . the conference to prepare for the necessary action to force wage increases."

SAN FRANCISCO—The seventh week of the Pacific Coast longshoremen's strike opened with an attack on the militant unionists by the reactionary top leadership of the American Federation of Labor, to which the union was affiliated. Stalinist attempts to win representation for their rival "Red Union" on the Longshoremen's strike committee, were seized upon by the AFL bureaucracy as reason to demand that the Longshoremen's union "cleanse itself of communistic elements." The real purpose of this demand was to discredit the militant unionists whose struggle, winning ever more support amongst West Coast workers, threatened to grow into a general strike.

GERMANY—Speaking at Marburn on June 17, Vice-Chancellor von Papen disclosed the first move of the Nazi party to cast off its demagogic mask and openly embrace the program of the big bourgeoisie. Complaining of the impatience of the masses, von Papen demanded, "Have we gone through an anti-Marxist revolution in order to carry out a Marxist program? For every attempt to solve the social problem by collectivization of property is Marxism."

Thus von Papen renounced the two points—nationalization of trusts and land reforms—which had won to the brownshirt ranks the discontented petty bourgeoisie and the declassed workers. Point 13 of the official Nazi program, "We demand the nationalization of all businesses which have been up to the present time formed into trusts;" and Point 17, "We demand land reform suitable to our national requirements, confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes and the abolition of interest on land loans," had never been intended for fulfillment. Thus, eighteen months after Hitler's seizure of power, the Nazis discarded those planks of its program which had given a semblance of credibility to their "anti-capitalist" demagoguery.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IS INESCAPABLE NEED

War, we are told, creates a revolutionary situation. But have we had a lack of revolutionary situations in the period from 1917 until today? Let us glance briefly at the post-war period:

A revolutionary situation in Germany, 1918-1919.

A revolutionary situation in Austria and Hungary at the same time.

A revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923 (the Ruhr occupation).

A revolutionary situation in China, 1925-1927, which was not immediately preceded by a war.

Profound revolutionary convulsions in Poland in 1926.

A revolutionary situation in Germany, 1931-1933.

A revolution in Spain, 1931-37.

A pre-revolutionary situation in France, beginning in 1934.

A pre-revolutionary situation in Belgium at present (1937).

Despite the superabundance of revolutionary situations, the toiling masses have not carried off any revolutionary victory in any of the enumerated cases. What is lacking? A party capable of utilizing the revolutionary situation.

Precisely for this reason there rises before the proletariat the iron necessity of building new parties and a new International which corresponds to the character of our epoch — an epoch of

great social convulsions and permanent war danger.

If, in the event of a new war, the masses are not headed by a bold, courageous, consistent revolutionary party, tested through experience and enjoying the confidence of the masses, a new revolutionary situation would throw society back. A war may, under such circumstances, terminate not with a victorious revolution, but with the crumbling of our whole civilization. One would have to be pathetically blind not to see this danger.

War and revolution are the gravest and most tragic phenomena in human history. You cannot joke with them. They do not tolerate dilettantism. We must understand clearly the interrelationship of war and revolution. We must understand no less clearly the interrelationship of the objective revolutionary factors, which cannot be induced at will, and the subjective factor of the revolution — the conscious vanguard of the proletariat, its party. It is necessary to prepare this party with the utmost energy.

(From "The Case of Leon Trotsky," — Trotsky's Summary Speech — Report of the Dewey Commission, pp. 513-514. Harper & Bros. New York 1937. 640 pages, paper \$1.00. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Labor Solidarity

(Continued from page 1)

of the working class. Such interests run counter to the interests of the employers who use their economic and political power to appropriate for themselves the great bulk of the wealth produced by labor.

That is why the employing class has fought the unions from the very beginning, and—as long as the struggle over the division of the national income prevails—must continue to wage an unrelenting war against their existence. The employers have at their disposal all the state instruments of repression—police, militia, army—as well as their own privately-armed thugs and vigilante gangs. "Our strength," as Lenin wrote, "lies in unification (solidarity), our recourse is joint, unanimous and stubborn resistance to the employers." In order to destroy this solidarity and crush the stubborn resistance of the workers to unrestrained exploitation and oppression, the employers use other powerful weapons in their arsenal—control of the press, radio, school and pulpit—to accomplish their purpose.

The workers have learned, through history as well as through bitter experience, to prize and cherish the united front of labor in defense of their common interests. The trade union itself is the most elementary form of the united front, designed to include within its ranks all workers employed in a trade or industry regardless of race or creed, politics or religion. Whatever differences may exist among individuals in the labor movement they must stand UNITED in the struggle against the common enemy. The reason that SCABS are so universally loathed is that they violate this first principle of working class solidarity.

The first halting steps of the labor movement led to the formation of primitive trade union organizations of a local and isolated character. These led by successive stages, against the violent opposition of the employers and their government, to the development of powerful National and International unions. Thousands of labor martyrs paid with their lives to establish the "legal" status of the unions, to wrest from the employers and their political agents the right to strike—without which "union recognition" is a hollow mockery—together with the right to use other effective weapons which labor had forged such as the "boycott" and "sym-

pathy strike." The latter two, expressing as they do in a high degree the solidarity of labor, have been the particular targets of repressive legislation designed to prevent their effective utilization in defense of the "common interests" of labor.

"The right to strike," says a CIO pamphlet published in April 1941, "is basic to all workers' rights and to all liberty in the United States. Without this right, labor has no real protection against low wages and living standards. Labor must keep this right in order to remain free, in order to keep and improve standards won over past years of struggle. The right to organize and bargain collectively implies the right to strike, since strike action is frequently the only way organized workers have of enforcing collective bargaining."

While the CIO statement is nothing new, any more than are the fundamental principles set forth in this editorial, they bear repetition because there has been launched a monstrous campaign by the Stalinists to falsify, pervert and distort the history, tradition and principles upon which the labor movement is founded in order to cover up the enormity of the crimes they are committing in disrupting the essential solidarity of the working class. In a recent issue of the ILWU Dispatcher, controlled by the Bridges-Stalinist clique, strikes are stigmatized as "ignoble, contemptible, traitorous and murderous."

Strikes, says Bridges, should not only be outlawed for the "duration" but permanently. The *Daily Worker* vilifies workers on strike by applying to them the term which, by its own record, it has earned for itself—SCAB! When the workers at the Chicago plant of Montgomery Ward were compelled to strike to defend the very existence of their union, they received a magnificent demonstration of working class solidarity when the whole labor movement, with one exception, rallied to their support. The exception, of course, was the Bridges-Stalinist clique who brazenly announced that the St. Paul plant of Montgomery Ward (which they controlled) would handle all orders diverted from the struck Chicago plant. The action was, in the true sense of the word, that of a SCAB!

When Roosevelt proposed the enactment of a forced labor law to conscript labor for private industry the leaders of the organized labor movement vigorously denounced the proposal as a blow against the "common interests" of labor. The only group within the labor movement who demonstratively endorsed the proposal were—the Stalinist "labor leaders" Bridges, Curran and others. Constantly breaking ranks, ranging themselves on the side of the bitter enemies of labor, supporting the most reactionary proposals, spreading the poisonous propaganda of the employers within the labor movement, the Stalinists sap the source of that strength which Lenin affirmed and which history and experience has confirmed: labor solidarity. Were Lenin alive today, he could find no stronger term to characterize the Stalinists than that to which their activity entitles them: SCAB!

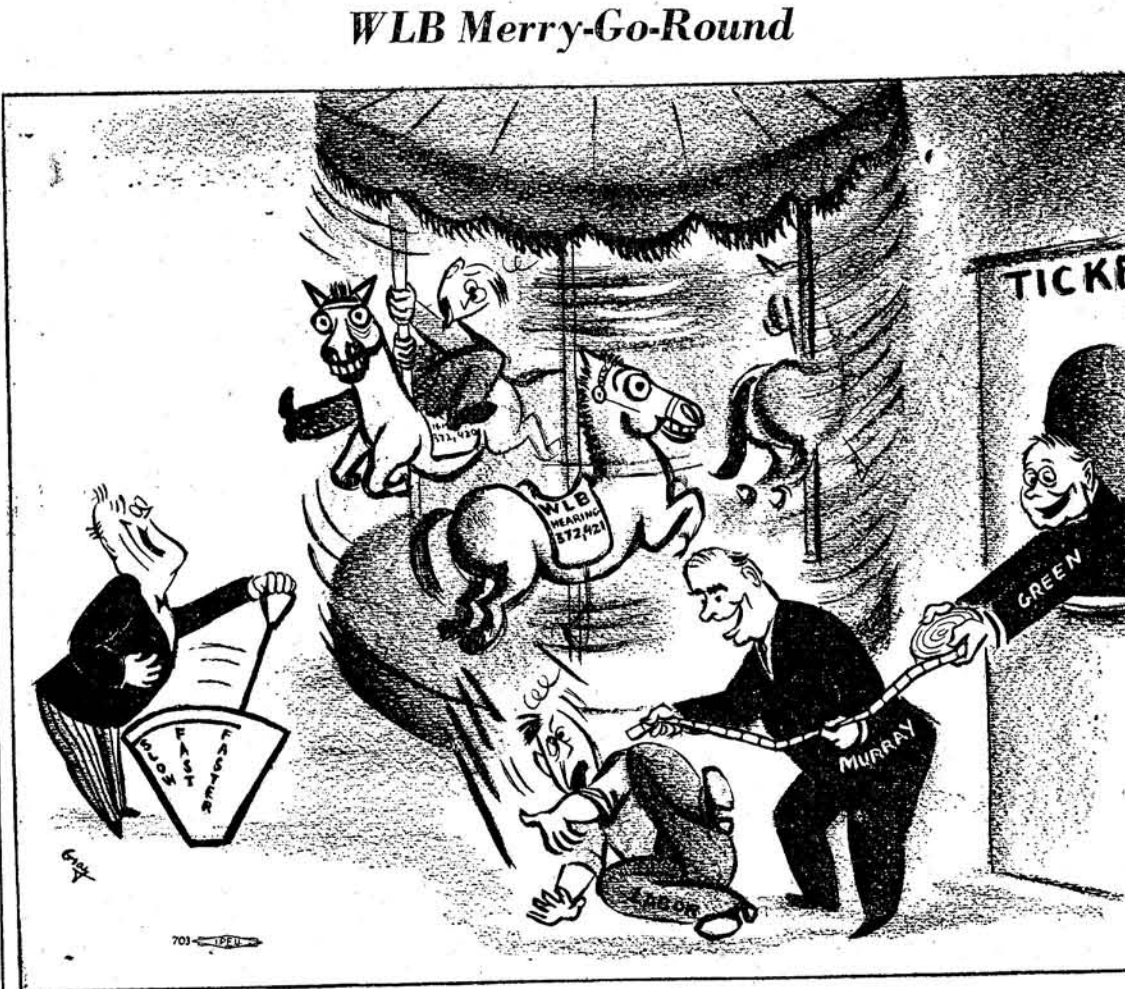
Class Justice

The subordination of "justice" to political expediency is one of the calculated policies in the "democratic" record of the Roosevelt administration. In a report released last week, Attorney General Biddle whitewashed what has been termed "one of the dirtiest frameups" in the history of Hudson County, Hudson County, New Jersey, is the stamping ground of Boss Hague, prominent member of the National Committee of the Democratic Party. The Hague machine had framed a political opponent, John R. Longo, who was railroaded by a Hague-controlled prosecutor and sentenced by a Hague-controlled judge. The frame-up was so raw that an insistent demand arose for an investigation of the gross denial of civil rights in Hague's political domain. After first refusing to act, Attorney General Biddle later yielded to public pressure and announced that the FBI would investigate the Longo case.

Instead of prosecuting those guilty of perpetrating the frame-up the "investigation" was turned into a smear of Longo and a whitewash for Hague. Apparently, the titular head of the Democratic Party is not at all averse to doing a little favor for one of his "boys"—particularly for one who stands high in the councils of the Democratic Party, controls a corrupt machine that delivers the vote and is an ardent fourth-term advocate. The abstract principle of "justice" is twisted and tortured to serve political ends. This is nothing new. We saw the same thing occur in the frame-up and imprisonment of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders and Minneapolis CIO truckdrivers.

In the Minneapolis Case the Roosevelt-Biddle combination rushed to the aid of Daniel J. Tobin who called for their assistance in preventing the Minneapolis truckdrivers from exercising their democratic right to designate their own leaders of a union of their own choosing. Tobin, bureaucratic head of the AFL Teamsters Union, is one of Roosevelt's 10 special assistants and was head of the labor committee of the Democratic National Committee in the 1940 presidential campaign. As in the case of Boss Hague, Roosevelt-Biddle placed the machinery of the Department of Justice (no one has ever explained why they call it that) at the disposal of Tobin to railroad militant workers and political opponents to jail—and keep them there in the face of an obvious violation of civil liberties and labor's rights.

Of a piece with this mockery of "justice" is the action of Roosevelt's "liberal" Supreme Court which has three times refused to review the case of the democratic right to designate their own leaders of a union of their own choosing. Tobin, bureaucratic head of the AFL Teamsters Union, is one of Roosevelt's 10 special assistants and was head of the labor committee of the Democratic National Committee in the 1940 presidential campaign. As in the case of Boss Hague, Roosevelt-Biddle placed the machinery of the Department of Justice (no one has ever explained why they call it that) at the disposal of Tobin to railroad militant workers and political opponents to jail—and keep them there in the face of an obvious violation of civil liberties and labor's rights.



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.

Incentive Pay

I would like to relate an incident that happened in my shop concerning production and the war effort. I, being against the incentive plan in general, would say that we have about the best bonus system possible. One reason why I say this is that if one has a job calling for a quota of forty an hour, he could make twenty more in one hour and get paid for one half hour extra in that hour. If he continues like that all day for ten hours, he gets paid extra five hours. In this job that I just mentioned a man could make ninety pieces an hour and paid one hour and ten extra pieces in that one hour. The bosses in our shop didn't like that. So they wanted to raise the quota on all jobs to the limit of production and from there they will determine fifty percent from the top limit. If a man can't make more than ninety an hour then the bosses will set sixty as the quota and thirty as the bonus. The shop committee refused to consider anything. We had a shop meeting after work that day to talk about this change. We decided that if the bosses carry out their threat, we'll just forget about the bonus and work our normal way. One smart alec gets up and says that we'll be hurting the war effort. One member

of the committee answered him by saying that he had a son in the army, that other members of the committee had brothers in the army. He continued by saying that the bosses in general and in our shop are not interested in production but more profits. He continued by saying, "Why should we kill ourselves for bosses' profits while they raise our quotas? It is the bosses who are holding up production, and not the workers."

To date the bosses have not carried out their threat. A. D. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Supreme Court

Enclosed is a letter signed by Arthur W. Hopkins which was published in the *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, June 23: "When it comes to fighting fascism the United States Supreme Court doesn't even talk a good fight. On May 15 the Supreme Court decided to review the case of 24 former officials of the German-American Bund, who had been convicted in New York federal court for 'conspiring to advise evasion and resistance to the selective service act.' It also reversed the conviction of Elmer Hartzell, avowed Chicago fascist, who had been found guilty by a lower court of violating the 1917

espionage act, on the grounds that the government had failed to prove 'willful intent' to impair morale of the armed services through pamphlets he had circulated.

"Now the lawyer for the 29 fascist defendants in the mass sedition trial now being held in Washington is asking for a directed verdict of 'not guilty' for his clients on the grounds that had the Supreme Court handed down its Hartzell verdict before the 29 had been indicted, there never would have been a trial.

"Compare the solicitous treatment accorded fascists with that received by the defendants in the Minneapolis labor case. Here were 18 militant working-class leaders, whose loyalty to their class had never been questioned, and whose uncompromising struggle against fascism here and throughout the world had earned them the hatred and fear of reactionaries the world over. How did the Supreme Court deal with these people? It refused even to review the case, despite the fact that its constitutionality is doubted by large and important sections of the population. Over 200 labor, fraternal and liberal organizations have condemned this law (Smith 'Gag' Act) and have asked for the release of the 18 prisoners, 14 of whom are at Sandstone. Why doesn't the Supreme Court join the rest of us in the struggle against fascism?"

International Notes

GREECE

A fearfully harrowing picture of conditions in Nazi-occupied Greece is drawn by C. L. Sulzberger of the N. Y. Times in a dispatch from Cairo on June 17. A wild, uncontrolled inflation reminiscent of the collapse of the currency in Germany in the early twenties reflects the general economic ruin. The Greek drachma is today worth 1/180,000th of its value when Mussolini's fascist armies attacked the country. "Already million drachma notes are in common circulation, the correspondent reports. 'When the Greek war started 1,000,000 drachma was worth more than \$6,600. Athens shops are refusing to accept 5,000 drachma notes in payment for goods because of the difficulty in counting them. Gold is used openly by the few lucky people who have it. The vast majority of the population does its shopping either on a barter basis or with housewives carrying suitcases or huge peasant-cloth bags of bills. Recently a man bought an oka (about 2 1/2 lbs) of meat and the money he paid for it weighed more than the purchase."

Here are some of the current Athens prices in drachmas: One newspaper, 200,000; one cigarette, 20,000; a pair of men's shoes, 500,000,000; a pair of women's shoes, 150,000,000; a loaf of bread, 2,000,000; one egg, 200,000; one oka of sugar, 7,000,000; one oka of olive oil, 12,000,000. Athens suffered a terrible famine during the first year of occupation, due to an absolute lack of food. Today, as Sulzberger states, there is food available but

only the very well-to-do can buy it. "Grocers are well stocked with rice, sugar, meat, biscuits, marmalade, all kinds of cheeses, ham and bacon. But not even the German occupying forces can raise money for purchases and about all the Nazi soldiers buy ordinarily are raisins at 2,000,000 drachmas an oka. Paradoxically, the German conquerors themselves are hungry now and a common sight is to see private soldiers seeking to beg cigarettes or silently staring into shop windows.

"The very poor in Athens are able to scrape along peddling vegetables, bread or cigarettes obtained from black market profiteers. . . . The black market is an open, recognized source of supply, although the profiteers are hated. Except on the black market, all prices are fixed by the Quisling government, but supplies are rationed in quantities insufficient for subsistence. The ration price for a loaf of bread—which is a five-day allotment—is 125,000 drachmas, as compared to fifteen times as much on the black market."

Greece's middle class and white collar workers have been utterly and completely ruined. White-collar workers' wives and children are joining the ever-increasing hordes of peddlers. Although the terrible famine of 1941-42 is at an end, hundreds of persons in the Athens area are still on the verge of starvation and in the north and west miserable famine is spreading.

The war has brought ruin to all of Europe. The Greeks are ravished by famine and hunger, black markets and uncontrolled inflation. But so are the Italians who have been "liberated" by the Allied imperialists. The only road out of all this ruin is the road of Socialism.

CANADA

The leftward surge of the workers and farmers of Canada continued last week when the Canadian Commonwealth Federation pactedly swept the board in the Saskatchewan provincial elections, winning 43 of the 51 contested seats in the legislature. Not a single seat was won by the Tories (Progressive Conservatives).

Highly significant is the fact that this western province of Canada is largely rural, grain-growing and most of its 896,000 population are farmers who now quite clearly have lined up with the leftward moving workers in central and eastern Canada. The phony Liberal party, which ruled the province with slight intermissions for most of forty years, is all but swept away, retaining only four seats in the legislature.

The CCF is a reformist party with a socialist program to which its leaders pay only lip service. As *Time* magazine pointedly comments: "The truth was that it was not socialism but practical politicians who called themselves socialists that had won in Saskatchewan." This fact, however, does not lessen the political significance of the CCF victory. The farmers and workers solidly backed the party with the most radical program and reputation. A real struggle for socialism is not far distant.

Roosevelt's 'Solution' For the Refugee Problem

Approximately 1,000 refugees from Nazi persecution in Europe, are to be brought to the United States and housed for the duration of the war in a concentration camp to be established at Fort Ontario, near Oswego, New York.

This is the "contribution" of American capitalism, the most wealthy and powerful in all the world, to the solution of the fearful refugee problem over which the press organs of capitalist opinion have been shedding crocodile tears these many years. This is Roosevelt's "helping hand" to the victims of Nazi tyranny and persecution.

For years the occupant of the White House has turned a deaf ear to appeals by labor and liberal organizations and individuals who asked that the doors of this country be opened to Jews and others threatened with extermination by the Nazis.

Roosevelt's belated answer to these appeals is the announcement that 1,000 persons, and no more — he stressed this point! — are to be given asylum here. They are to be admitted outside the regular immigration procedure and Fort Ontario has been designated a "free port" for this purpose.

A "free port!" No customs and immigration regulations will be applied to these 1,000 human commodity items! Their "freedom" will be the freedom of the concentration camp, for it is not intended that they shall enjoy any of the much-vaunted liberties of this "land of the free and the home of the brave."

Roosevelt has directed that "the Army shall take the necessary security precautions so that the refugees will remain in the camp for the duration of the war" and then be transported back to the places whence they came.

The camp will be administered by the War Relocation Authority, the same department of government which runs the camps into which tens of thousands of Japanese, citizens and non-citizens, were herded like cattle upon entry of the United States into the war. A high fence will surround this "free port" and soldiers will be on duty to see that none of the recipients of Rooseveltian benevolence gets away to greater liberty.

This is what is being held forth as "aid" to victims of Nazi persecution! The refugees who will arrive at Fort Ontario will doubtless wonder whether it was really worth while to escape Hitler's concentration camps just to be able to enter a "democratic" concentration camp in the United States.

House Steamrollers Bill Aiding Insurance Racket

Insurance companies control scores of billions of capital. They are, in fact, the biggest business in the country. Through their monumental financial power, the insurance monopoly has played a major part in enabling America's Sixty Families, particularly the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons and duPonts, to secure control of every basic industry in the country.

Recently, the Supreme Court upheld the indictment of 200 fire insurance corporations which the Department of Justice was prosecuting for violations of the anti-trust laws. The charges included conspiracy to control insurance rates, robbing the public through extortionate premiums, discriminating between the small and big policy holders, etc.

But a rip-roaring reactionary Congress has rushed to save the multi-billion dollar insurance corporations from criminal prosecution. Led by a shouting, hooting block of insurance agents, the House of Representatives last week passed by a vote of 283-54 a bill exempting one of the most ruthless financial monopolies in the country from prosecution under the anti-trust laws, and specifically exempting those already indicted.

Rarely in its long history of legislating for capitalist interests, has Congress given such an open and brazen demonstration of its function as a governmental agency of the ruling capitalist class.

Why No One 'Understands' BLS Living Cost Figures

The union leaders, both AFL and CIO, have been engaged in a "battle of statistics" to disprove Roosevelt's Bureau of Labor Statistics figures that living costs have risen only 23.4 percent since January 1941. A joint AFL-CIO committee established what every housewife has known from experience, that the cost of living has soared at least 43.5 percent.

Now a committee appointed by WLB Chairman Davis is compelled to report that the misleading BLS figures are only "a measure of price changes" and do not give the real picture of the actual rise in the cost of living. "The widespread opinion that the BLS index grossly understates the rise in the cost of living is justified, if cost of living is taken to mean the amount of money a family spends for the commodities and services it buys." To believe the report, the "careful housewives" have not understood "the highly technical sense in which the BLS uses cost of living."

But now that this "highly technical sense" has been made clear, and everybody knows what was known all along that the BLS figures were phony, that doesn't mean the labor leaders have won the case for higher wages. Wage raises have never been won, and never will be just because the workers need them and can prove as much by all laws, including those of higher mathematics. The workers win better conditions only by fighting for them.

As a matter of fact, the "battle of statistics" has been just a lot of shadow boxing. Over two years ago, in the International Harvester case, the War Labor Board ruled that while the workers could expect existing wages to be "reasonably protected," this "does not mean that labor can expect to receive throughout the war upward changes in its wage structure which will enable it to keep pace with the upward changes in the cost of living."

In short, the workers will have to use a lot more militant and effective argument than statistics to smash the Little Steel formula.